Spring 2014

"The Poor Kid Finds the Pirate Treasure": Depictions of Social Class in Newbery Medal and Honor Books 2004-2013

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"THE POOR KID FINDS THE PIRATE TREASURE": DEPICTIONS OF
SOCIAL CLASS IN NEWBERY MEDAL AND HONOR BOOKS,
2004-2013

by

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A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of
Old Dominion University in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

EDUCATION

OLD DOMINION UNIVERSITY
May 2014

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ABSTRACT

THE POOR KID FINDS THE PIRATE TREASURE: DEPICTIONS OF SOCIAL CLASS IN NEWBERY MEDAL AND HONOR BOOKS, 2004-2013

Danielle Eileen Forest
Old Dominion University, 2014
Director: Sue Kimmel

Background: Given events of recent years like the economic recession, issues related to social class are more important than ever before. Although educational scholars have devoted increasing attention to social class, it has not been widely studied in curricular materials like children’s literature. Because books can influence children’s views of the world, understanding what values and ideologies are communicated about class in literature is important.

Focus of Study: Grounded in the theoretical perspectives of critical literacy and the sociology of school knowledge, the purpose of this study was to deconstruct portrayals of social class in books earning the Newbery Medal or Honor between 2004 and 2013. Forty-two books comprised the sample. Newbery titles were selected since they are easily accessible to children and used in school settings.

Research Design: The study utilized a flexible design incorporating both the deductive and inductive approaches to qualitative content analysis. In the deductive part of the analysis, references to social class in the books were coded according to portrayals, or ”frames,” of class identified in prior research. In the inductive part of
the analysis, references to class not fitting the frames were analyzed and categorized using the abstraction process to develop new frames.

Findings: Thirty-one frames emerged as ways of portraying characters in the four class groups (upper class, middle class, working class, and poor). While some frames were positive depictions of class groups, some included negative stereotypes. Additionally, working class characters constituted the majority of protagonists in the texts, though they were usually portrayed in historical rather than contemporary settings.

Conclusions: The findings offer a framework for future researchers interested in analyzing portrayals of social class in children’s literature, curricular materials, and other media. They also suggest a need for teaching critical literacy skills in K-12 and teacher education settings since some titles included negative framings of class groups. Further, teachers and librarians might use the findings to select books validating the class identities of their students and to offer entryways into discussing issues of class in school settings.
Copyright, 2014, by Danielle E. Forest, All Rights Reserved.
This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Larry and Janice Forest. Thanks for making sure that I always had a book in my hands when I was small.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the members of my dissertation committee - Dr. Carol Doll, Dr. Yonghee Suh, and Dr. Karla Collins - for their continual encouragement and feedback throughout this process. I would also like to thank my good friend Wendy Scott for her assistance with coding. Special thanks go to my advisor and chair, Dr. Sue Kimmel, for her willingness to read every draft of this paper and for her steadfast support.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Class and Children'</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Rationale for Studying Class in Children's Literature</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose and Research Questions</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical Perspectives</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significance of the Study</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Overview of Social Class</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Groups</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceptions about Social Class</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Awareness and Children</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sociology of School Knowledge and Social Class</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical Literacy</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's Literature</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portrayals of Social Groups in Children's Literature</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Messages in Children's Literature</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Present Study</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>METHODS</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Design</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coding Scheme</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceptualizing Social Class</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Collection and Analysis</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-Rater Reliability</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Credibility</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FINDINGS</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Indicators: A Framework</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Groups of Protagonists</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Framing across Class Groups</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Framing the Upper Class</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Framing the Middle Class</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Framing the Working Class</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Framing the Poor</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DISCUSSION ........................................................................................................................................ 278
  Overview of the Study.......................................................................................................................... 278
  A Sociology of School Knowledge Analysis ...................................................................................... 285
  The Findings and Past Studies of Class Portrayals .......................................................................... 308
  Significance and Implications............................................................................................................ 315
  Conclusions....................................................................................................................................... 327

REFERENCES......................................................................................................................................... 332

APPENDICES
  A. Citations and Summaries of Children's Literature ...................................................................... 350
  B. Memos about the Books.................................................................................................................. 363
  C. Email Communication..................................................................................................................... 410
  D. Protocol for Recording Memos ..................................................................................................... 412
  E. Protocol for Reading and Coding Books ...................................................................................... 413
  F. Notes from Meeting with the Coder ............................................................................................... 414
  G. Agreements, Disagreements, Omissions, and Reconciliations ..................................................... 422
  H. Memos Recorded During the Inductive Analysis ......................................................................... 429
  I. Main Categories, Initial Categories, and Open Codes .................................................................. 433
  J. Sample Passages: Main Categories, Initial Categories, and Open Codes .................................... 439
  K. Updated Framework of Class Indicators ....................................................................................... 441

VITA ..................................................................................................................................................... 454
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Class Groups Identified by Savage et al. (2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Summary of the Gilbert-Kahl Model of the American Class Structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Summary of Research Analyzing Social Class in Children’s Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Sample of Newbery Medal and Honor Books, 2004-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Class Frames Identified by Kendall (2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Preliminary Data and Kendall’s (2011) Coding Frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Synthesis of Class Groups and Class Indicators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Indicators Developed from Pilot Study (Upper Class)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Indicators Developed from Pilot Study (Middle Class)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Indicators Developed from Pilot Study (Working Class)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Indicators Developed from the Pilot Study (Poor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Preliminary New Class Frames Identified from Memos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Initial Categories and Descriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Main Categories: New, Modified, and Original, Unmodified Frames</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Data Collection, Coding, and Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Class of Protagonists in 2004-2013 Newbery Titles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Class of Newbery Protagonists vs. Class of Actual Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Protagonists, Class, and Temporal Settings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Frames of the Upper Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Frames of the Middle Class</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
21. Frames of the Working Class ................................................................. 214
22. Frames of the Poor ................................................................................ 257
F. Agreement/Disagreement for Training Exercise with Coder ............. 417
G1. Agreement/Disagreement for Three Times Lucky ......................... 422
G2. Agreement/Disagreement for Princess Academy ......................... 425
I. Main Categories, Initial Categories, and Open Codes .................... 433
J. Sample Passages: Main Categories, Initial Categories, and Open Codes 439
K1. Indicators Developed from the Full Sample (Upper Class) .............. 441
K2. Indicators Developed from the Full Sample (Middle Class) .......... 444
K3. Indicators Developed from the Full Sample (Working Class) ......... 447
K4. Indicators Developed from the Full Sample (Poor) ....................... 451
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

"... we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank ..." (Marx & Engels, 1908, p. 11)

The stratification described by Marx and Engels above is more commonly referred to as "social class." A social class is a group of people who share similar amounts of wealth and income and have similar lifestyles (Gilbert, 2008). While Marx and Engels discussed class in terms of ownership of economic capital, more contemporary researchers have broadened the meaning of social class, defining it in terms of an individual's educational attainment, occupation, and income (e.g., Abramowitz & Teixeira, 2009; Anyon, 1981; Hill, 2012) as well as an individual's social network, recreational preferences, and cultural tastes (e.g., Savage et al., 2013). Langston (1988) offered a succinct and concrete definition of class:

... while one's class status can be defined in important ways in terms of monetary income, class is also a whole lot more - specifically, class is your understanding of the world and where you fit in; it's composed of ideas, behavior, attitudes, values, and language; class is how you think, feel, act, look, dress, talk, move, walk; class is what stores you shop at, restaurants you eat in; class is the schools you attend, the education you attain; class is the very jobs you will work at throughout your adult life. Class even determines when we marry and become mothers ... We experience class at every level of our lives; class is who our friends are, where we live and work, even what kind of car we drive, if we own one, and what kind of health care we receive, if any. Have I left anything out? (p. 398)

Although class is a complex, multi-dimensional social construct, it can be conceptualized as a hierarchy: People who have the least amount of economic resources comprise the bottom, people who have the most economic resources
make up the top, and there are people with varying amounts of resources in between these two ends.

Social class shapes the lives of individuals in powerful, pervasive ways (hooks, 2000; Storck, 2002). Class membership dictates the type of neighborhood and home in which an individual lives (Gilbert, 2008; Iceland & Wilkes, 2006), the possessions he or she owns, the recreational activities in which he or she participates (Bourdieu, 2000), and the type of education he or she receives (Anyon, 1980; Bourdieu, 2000). Despite the important role of social class in an individual's life, class is an unpopular topic in the United States; writer and social critic hooks (2000) once called it the "uncool subject" (p. vii). Many Americans consider it impolite or even taboo to mention class (Holtzman, 2000; Sanders & Mahalingam, 2012; Storck, 2002), and some refuse to acknowledge class differences (Brown, 1974; hooks, 2000). Meanwhile, the myth of the United States as a classless society is a pervasive one (Holtzman, 2000; hooks, 2000; Ostrove & Cole, 2003; Neitzel & Chafel, 2010).

However, issues related to social class have been receiving greater attention in the national media in the last five years. Events associated with the economic recession of the late 2000s, such as the collapse of large businesses like Lehman Brothers, Fannie Mae, and Freddie Mac; the housing crisis; and unemployment rates (Smiley & West, 2012) have placed class and class differences in the national spotlight. Activists in the Occupy Wall Street movement have publicly decried corporate greed and the growing wealth of the richest Americans at the expense of everyone else (Occupy Wall Street, n.d.), and protests have been beamed into homes
across the country via television and the internet. Terms such as “the 99%,” referring to Americans outside of the wealthiest 1%, have entered everyday language. Even popular music has addressed class. The rap hit “Thrift Shop” by duo Macklemore and Lewis can be interpreted as an anthem against corporate greed: “Fifty dollars for a shirt . . . I call that getting swindled and pimped . . . I call that getting tricked by a business” (Macklemore & Lewis, 2012).

Issues of class have also been gaining prominence in other Western nations. In 2011, the British Broadcasting Corporation conducted the Great British Class Survey Experiment, a national-scale study with over 160,000 participants (Savage et al., 2013). Savage et al. (2013) noted the survey is an indicator of a growing interest in social class. Additionally, a recent issue of Psychological Inquiry (2013, volume 24, issue 2), an international journal, was dedicated to exploring class-related topics in the domain of psychology.

Though increasing attention has been given to social class in national and international discourse, it has long been a concern in the field of education. Since its beginnings, the American educational system has been perceived as a means of achieving (or maintaining) class status (Beller & Hout, 2006; Labaree, 1997; Tierney, 2013). According to Labaree (1997), American schools have had three competing goals: democratic equality, a concern with educating future decision-makers; social efficiency, a concern with preparing students to fulfill jobs meeting the society’s economic needs; and social mobility, a concern with acquiring the credentials needed to gain social and economic advantage. While the democratic equality and social efficiency goals are viewed as “public goods” meant to benefit the
wider society, the social mobility goal is a “private good” meant to give an individual a competitive edge socially and economically (Labaree, 1997, p. 42). As Labaree (1997) and others (Anyon, 1980, 1981; Bourdieu, 2000) have contended, class status and educational opportunities are closely intertwined.

Issues of social class have been highlighted in education most recently. The 2013 meeting of the American Educational Research Association was centered on the theme of “Education and Poverty: Theory, Research, Policy, and Praxis.” Tierney’s (2013) presidential address mentioned the widening class inequality in the United States, a gap larger than at any other time since the 1920s, an observation made earlier by hooks (2000) and Hill (2012). Additionally, in a recent issue of *Educational Researcher*, Jones and Vagle (2013) argued the need for “class sensitive pedagogy” in K-12 schools, noting that teachers sometimes unwittingly disparage working class families and privilege middle class families by presenting the middle class as the “norm.”

**Social Class and Children’s Literature**

Despite the increasing attention given to social class in national discourse and in education, issues of class in children’s literature have not been widely studied (McLeod, 2008; Sano, 2009). Children’s literature is an important component of the school curriculum, “one that has a tremendous impact on children’s lives” (Boutte, 2002, p. 152). Books for youth are often regarded as means of educating and socializing children (Apol, 1998; Kohl, 2007) and passing on social and cultural values (Botelho & Rudman, 2009; Kelley, Rosenberger, & Botelho, 2005; MacLeod, 1985; McCallum & Stephens, 2011). Since children’s literature communicates
information about the values, beliefs, and assumptions of a society, studying children’s literature helps researchers and educators understand how children’s views of the world are formed (Taxel, 1989a). Deconstructing the messages about social class appearing in children’s literature is thus a way of 1) understanding the class-based assumptions of the society producing the literature and 2) understanding how children may have formed their ideas about social class.

To date, there has been limited research about portrayals of social class in children’s literature. Some researchers have explored class depictions in picture books, such as studies by Kelley et al. (2005), Kelley and Darragh (2011), Sano (2009), and Boutte, Hopkins, and Waklatsi (2008). Though this research about picture books is important, it is equally important to understand what is communicated about class in chapter books. Presently, only a handful of studies have investigated social class portrayals in children’s literature other than picture books.

Further, there has been no research about how social class is portrayed in books receiving the Newbery Medal or Honor. The Newbery is a prize honoring literary excellence in books written for children 14 years old and younger (ALSC, 2008). According to Horning (2010), the winners of the Newbery have a tremendous impact on the children’s publishing industry, often setting the bar of literary excellence and influencing the type of books selected for publication. It is a significant award in children’s literature.
A Rationale for Studying Class in Children's Literature

Unpacking the messages about social class conveyed in children’s literature is a critical undertaking. As noted earlier, children’s literature is influential: It has the potential to shape how children think about the world (Taxel, 1989a), and it functions as a model for how children should behave (Kohl, 2007). If portrayals of social class in children’s literature are not studied, the ideas about class conveyed to young people in books are unknown. This is problematic because if negative portrayals about class groups are present in literature, children may develop classist attitudes about people belonging to particular groups unless they are taught to recognize and resist class stereotypes. Underscoring this idea is the influential work of Larrick (1965), who called attention to the absence of positive portrayals of black characters in children’s literature. Larrick stated “the all-white world of children’s books” marginalized black children and prompted white children to believe (falsely) in the superiority of their race (p. 63). Larrick contended, "There seems little chance of developing the humility so urgently needed for world cooperation, instead of world conflict, as long as our children are brought up on gentle doses of racism through their books" (p. 63). Likewise, if portrayals of social class are not examined in children’s literature, educators and others working with young people remain unaware of the messages about class communicated to children. This is troublesome, particularly if literature involves “gentle doses” of classism.
Further, children should be able to see positive, affirming images of people like themselves in literature (Aitken, 1988; Dutro, 2010). Children in the United States come from a range of class groups:

- 45% of families with children enrolled in public schools were eligible for free or reduced lunch (National Center for Education Statistics, 2013b).
- Approximately 28 million American families had dependent children in K-12 public schools in 2010, and of these, 4.5 million earned less than $20,000 per year, 11.2 million earned more than $20,000 but less than $75,000, and 7.2 million earned more than $75,000 (5 million did not report income; United States Census Bureau, n.d.).

While sociologists do not agree on the number of classes in the contemporary United States (Hill, 2012), and the Census Bureau does not categorize people by class group (other than poverty), these numbers suggest a range of socioeconomic realities. In other words, American children live along a continuum from poverty to affluence. Because of this, children should see a range of different class groups represented in literature, and studying class in books for young people sheds light on whether this is happening or not.

Moreover, researchers like Sutton (2009) have observed that class identities are formed during childhood. Children are already aware of class before they enter elementary school. Preschool children enact class identities (Strieb, 2011) and can differentiate between "rich" and "poor" (Ramsey & Dickson, 1991), while
kindergarten children are capable of discussing social class (Labadie, Pole, & Rogers, 2013). Children have perceptions about how class groups are perceived in the wider society (Sutton, 2009) and some maintain stereotyped images of people from other classes (Weinger, 2000). Awareness of class begins early in childhood, and ideas about class evolve throughout elementary school (Sigelman, 2012). Class remains a salient social identity into adulthood (Jones & McEwen, 2000).

Children’s literature has the potential to counter some of the stereotypes about class that children may already possess. Literature can introduce children to diversity and encourage them to develop empathy toward differences (Temple, Martinez, & Yokota, 2006). Jones (2008) and Labadie et al. (2013) suggested literature is a way for children to see class realities other than the middle class or upper class. However, literature cannot be used to oppose children’s negative ideas about social class and show children socioeconomic diversity if books include stereotypes and classist messages. Investigating how social classes are portrayed in children’s literature must occur first.

Finally, there are unsupported hypotheses about how social class is represented in literature. Labadie et al. (2013) and Kohl (2007) contended that books for children tend to depict middle class families, while Jones (2008) asserted the poor and the working class are not well-represented in children’s literature. Although these declarations may be true, there are currently few studies about which class groups are portrayed in literature and how they are portrayed. Studies about social class in children’s literature thus far have emphasized depictions of poverty (Kelley et al., 2005; Kelley and Darragh, 2011), depictions of the wealthy
(Glenn, 2008), depictions of how class intersects with race (Boutte et al., 2008), and depictions of class in books for English Language Learners compared to Caldecott Medal books (Sano, 2009). More research about social class in children’s literature is needed before assumptions about class representations in books (like those of Jones, 2008; Kohl, 2007; and Labadie et al., 2013) are made.

Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to deconstruct portrayals of social class in award-winning children’s literature. The following research questions guided the analysis:

1. In what ways is social class portrayed in titles receiving the Newbery Medal or Honor between 2004 and 2013?
   a. How are characters from different class groups portrayed?
   b. What messages about social class are conveyed in the books?

This particular sample, Newbery Medal and Honor books from 2004 to 2013, was chosen for several reasons. The years of 2004 to 2013 represent the most recent 10 year period of Newbery books as of this writing. Further, this time period offers an interesting slice of class-related issues in the United States. Though the economic recession began in December 2007 (Seefeldt, Abner, Bolinger, Xu, & Graham, 2012), the economy took a further downward turn in late 2008: It was a “financial crisis” due to “failures in government regulation, corporate mismanagement and heedless risk-taking by Wall Street” (Chan, 2011). The time frame of 2004 to 2013 includes a period of relative prosperity from 2004 to late 2007; a period of economic turmoil, or the “Great Recession” from late 2007 to the
recession's end in mid-2009; and a period of emergent economic recovery after mid-2009 (Seefeldt et al., 2012). Although social class is based on several variables such as education level and occupation, income is one component of class (Hill, 2012), and the income one can earn is tied to the state of the economy.

As Taxel (1989b) and Clark (2007) have suggested, there may be a relationship between the social climate of the United States and children's literature. For instance, Taxel (1989b) observed children’s books about the American Revolution published in the violent, unhappy Vietnam era had an anti-war message, while Clark (2007) noted female characters in Newbery and Caldecott books were prominent from the early 1970s to the early 1980s, the period of the “second wave feminist movement” (p. 278). The years between 2004 and 2013 offer a glimpse into a period with a varied social and economic climate, and therefore, they offer an especially interesting time period to study social class in children's literature.

Additionally, books honored with the Newbery award merit scholarly examination. The Newbery Medal is given to a title making the “the most distinguished contribution to American literature for children” (ALSC, 2008), while the Newbery Honor is given to books which are close contenders for the Medal. The Newbery is a highly influential (Horning, 2010) and prestigious (Clark, 2007; Kidd, 2007) book award. Books winning the Newbery enjoy increased sales and placement on library and bookstore shelves for decades (Clark, 2007; Kidd, 2007). Newbery titles are often selected for teacher read-alouds in classrooms and are recommended as instructional materials (Kasten, Kristo, & McClure, 2005; Tompkins, 2013). The Newbery is the “gold standard” of children's literature
and Newbery titles are widely accessible to educators, parents, and children.

**Theoretical Perspectives**

Two theoretical perspectives, the sociology of school knowledge and critical literacy, informed this study. Theorists of the sociology of school knowledge posit that schools preserve hegemony, or more simply, keep the most powerful people in a society in power (Taxel, 1989b; Wexler, 1982). Anyon (1980) explained schools “make available different type of educational experiences and curriculum knowledge to students in different social classes” (p. 67), while books, which are a form of school knowledge, also represent the views and ideologies of a society’s dominant culture (Taxel, 1986, 1989a). In the sociology of school knowledge perspective, school experiences and texts are not socially or politically neutral: They are designed to perpetuate the social hierarchy and class stratification.

Theorists of the sociology of school knowledge are concerned with how children’s views of the world are developed (Taxel, 1989a). A key assumption of the theory is the idea that books can influence children’s values and perceptions (Aitken, 1988; Taxel, 1986, 1989a, 1989b). Taxel (1989a) contended that repeated negative messages about social groups in children’s literature can prompt children to believe certain groups are unimportant. However, Taxel (1986) also asserted that children are able to resist the messages they encounter in texts; they do not always accept messages passively.

Critical literacy was also employed as a perspective in this study. Critical literacy is a “lens” of looking at media (Jones, 2006a, p. 294), and it involves
challenging and critiquing mainstream and dominant ideologies appearing in texts and media (Kohl, 2007; Luke, 2012). A critically literate reader questions the intent of the author, analyzes how certain groups of people are privileged or marginalized, identifies and critiques stereotypes, and considers a text or media message from different perspectives (Jones & Enriquez, 2009). A critical reader also considers how the world as it is presented in a text highlights the nature of the real world (Kohl, 2007).

Though critical literacy involves understanding issues of power and the ideological motivations of message producers, it is a political stance itself. Luke (2012) has described critical literacy as “an overtly political orientation to teaching and learning and to the cultural, ideological, and sociolinguistic content of the curriculum” (p. 5). Critical literacy is about transformation: Its goal is to work toward reshaping social and political conditions to make them more just and equitable (Kellner & Share, 2005; Luke, 2012). Freire’s (1970/2000) work with Brazilian peasants, a marginalized group that gained awareness of oppressive social and political conditions through education, illustrates the idea of critical literacy as a transformative and liberating educational practice.

According to Jones (2006b), there are three assumptions supporting a critical literacy perspective. First, texts are created by people with a set of values and ideologies. Second, texts privilege the experiences of some people and marginalize the experiences of others. Finally, texts are indicators of social power as well as generators of social power. These assumptions, as well as the perspectives of the
sociology of school knowledge described previously, were used as lenses in the current study.

Significance of the Study

Several reasons support the significance of this research. To begin, the study fills a gap in the knowledge base since research about depictions of social class in children’s literature is scant, especially in chapter books. Additionally, the study illuminates how children’s understandings of social class may be formed since it is grounded in the assumptions of the sociology of school knowledge, a theory supporting the role of literature in shaping children's worldviews. As noted earlier, understanding the discourse about class conveyed in literature is critical in the present era of economic troubles and increasingly visible class tensions. It is no longer admissible to leave messages and ideologies about social class in children’s literature unexamined.

Further, the findings of the study may also help teacher educators, classroom teachers, and school librarians identify books that affirm students' class identities. As Boutte (2002) observed, many teachers do not examine children’s books for bias and stereotypes related to class, race, or gender. Yet if educators become aware of the messages about class conveyed in children’s literature, they will be able to make informed book selections that validate the students in their classroom and school communities (McLeod, 2008). Dissemination of findings like the ones articulated in this study may help educators become aware of what ideologies and values are communicated to children in books. Similarly, the findings of this study may help educators recognize the need for teaching critical literacy if negative portrayals of
social class groups are found. Developing a critical literacy stance can help readers resist and challenge the messages they encounter in texts.

The following literature review elaborates on some of the topics addressed in this introduction. First, perspectives on social class in the United States are discussed. The two theoretical perspectives utilized in this study, the sociology of school knowledge and critical literacy, are addressed next. Then, information about children's literature and the Newbery Medal and Honor is presented. After that, studies about social class portrayals in children's literature are described in detail. The literature review ends by highlighting the contributions and significance of the present study and presenting an outline Chapter 3.
CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Class is a contentious topic in the United States. Class tensions are gaining a greater amount of attention on a national level, and inequality between the “haves” and "have-nots" has been growing since the 1970s. Negative discourse about the poor and the working class are common, particularly in the mass media. Such discourse can further economic inequality since it elicits support for the rich and powerful and disparages, and even blames, people on the lower levels of the economic hierarchy. Young children are aware of class and class differences, and some already possess negative, potentially damaging stereotypes about certain class groups. Since the school curriculum is a means of passing on social and cultural knowledge, studying the discourse about social class presented in schools is a way of understanding how and why people acquire their beliefs about class. As part of the school curriculum, and as a channel for the transmission of social and cultural knowledge, children's literature also warrants examination. Studying the messages and values about social class in books for children may reveal how dominant discourses about class are perpetuated. The purpose of the present study is to deconstruct the messages about class in widely available, award-winning children's literature. It is grounded by the following research questions:

1. In what ways is social class portrayed in titles receiving the Newbery Medal or Honor between 2004 and 2013?
   a. How are characters from different class groups portrayed?
   b. What messages about social class are conveyed in the books?
The literature review in this chapter addresses topics related to this study's purpose and goals in order to contextualize the research and demonstrate how it contributes to the knowledge base in education and in children's literature. This review of the literature begins with social class, the construct analyzed in this study. This discussion of class presents some of the popular beliefs and discourses about social class in the contemporary United States. It also demonstrates that beliefs about class begin at a young age through a review of recent studies examining children's knowledge and understandings of class. After this, the perspectives informing this study, the sociology of school knowledge and critical literacy, are addressed. The review of the sociology of school knowledge highlights how schools contribute to spreading popular beliefs about social class, while the examination of critical literacy shows how educators (and children) can resist the ideologies and values about class that are transmitted in schools. Following this is a discussion of past research about social class portrayals in children's literature, a discussion that underscores how books are a source for the spread of beliefs, ideologies, and cultural knowledge. The literature review ends with an overview of key concepts in the present study and the study's significance.

**An Overview of Social Class**

Social class impacts an individual's daily life in many ways. Langston (1988) observed that class influences every aspect of daily life: what one eats, where one shops, where one goes to school, how one feels about his or her place in the world, the type of job one has or can attain, and the attitudes and beliefs one holds. Brown (1974) noted that class influences expectations of oneself and others, ideas about
what the future holds for oneself, and how problems are understood and solved.

Research on identity formation also points to the importance of social class. In their model of multiple dimensions of identity based on research with college students, Jones and McEwen (2000) included class as a dimension of identity along with sexual orientation, race, gender, religion, and culture. As hooks (2000) said in the title of her book on class, “class matters.”

In Chapter 1, class was defined broadly as a hierarchy of people. Some people have few resources and others have many resources; those with little are at the hierarchy’s bottom, and those with a lot are at the hierarchy’s top. However, scholars do not agree on a standard definition of social class (Holtzman, 2000), though many describe class groups in relation to each other (Storck, 2002). Families belonging to a particular class “are differentiated from other families above or below them with regard to characteristics such as occupation, income, wealth, and prestige” (Gilbert, 2008, p. 11).

Class is sometimes defined in terms of three indicators: education level, occupation, and income (Abramowitz & Teixeira, 2009; Anyon, 1981; Hill, 2012). Level of educational attainment indicates the skills a person has as well as the type of job that person can obtain (Abramowitz & Teixeira, 2009). A higher level of education can equate to a higher income, while a lack of education can limit opportunities for generating income. Occupation refers to a worker’s role in the economy; certain job types are associated with certain classes. For instance, businessmen belong to the middle or upper middle class while manual workers belong to the working class (Abramowitz & Teixeira, 2009). The type of work one
does and the authority one has in the workplace are also components of occupation as a class indicator (Anyon, 1981). Occupations involving a high level of authority, such as managerial positions, are associated with the middle or upper class, while occupations involving low levels of autonomy and authority are associated with the working class. Finally, income refers to the amount of money an individual acquires in a given period of time.

Class Groups

There is little agreement among social scientists about the number of class groups in the contemporary United States (Hill, 2012; Holtzman, 2000). Simple hierarchies typically include three groups: lower, middle, and upper class (Storck, 2002), with each class representing a different level of a hierarchy. In their seminal *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx and Engels (1908) identified three classes in industrial societies: bourgeoisie, or industrial leaders and owners of capital; proletarians, the working class; and the petty bourgeoisie, a “lower strata of the middle class” which includes shopkeepers and tradesmen (p. 22). Since Marx and Engels predicted the petty bourgeoisie would eventually fall into the proletariat, essentially their theory articulated a class system consisting of two groups, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

In Marx’s theory, class was largely defined by an individual’s relationship to economic capital (Brown, 1974; Gilbert, 2008). Contemporary scholars have expanded on the concept of social class by incorporating other forms of capital (e.g., social and cultural capital), and they have identified more than two class groups. Savage et al. (2013) identified seven classes in Great Britain based on the British
Broadcasting Corporation's Great British Class Survey Experiment, which solicited 162,426 participants. The survey measured economic capital (income, savings, home price), social capital (social network and contacts), and cultural capital (leisure activities such as going to concerts, visiting museums, watching or playing sports, etc.). The seven groups they identified are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

*Class Groups Identified by Savage et al. (2013)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Group</th>
<th>Sample Occupations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elite</td>
<td>CEOs, judges, doctors, dentists, high level managers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Established Middle Class</td>
<td>Engineers, police officers, therapists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Middle Class</td>
<td>Pilots, pharmacists, college professors, scientists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Affluent Workers</td>
<td>Electricians, postal workers, heating/ventilation/air conditioning (HVAC) technicians, plumbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Working Class</td>
<td>Secretaries, drivers, cleaners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emergent Service Workers</td>
<td>Chefs, nursing aides, care workers, bartenders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precariat</td>
<td>Cleaners, cashiers, travel agents</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The elite group usually had high capital on all three indicators: a high income (economic capital), a large and varied social network (social capital), and an interest in "highbrow" culture such as attending classical concerts or museums (cultural capital). Meanwhile, class groups such as the precariat and emergent service workers had minimal economic capital, a less extensive social network, and a greater interest in "emerging" culture (playing sports and videogames, surfing the
internet, rap music) rather than highbrow culture (Savage et al., 2013, p. 9). The other class groups fell in between these two ends on the three indicators. Though Savage et al.'s class groups may not be representative of class groups in the United States, their study provides a more complex and nuanced picture of class than simple two-or three-class models, especially since it incorporates social and cultural capital as part of social class along with occupation.

The Gilbert-Kahl Model elucidates the class structure of the contemporary United States, and it includes six class groups: the capitalist class, the upper middle class, the middle class, the working class, the working poor, and the underclass (Gilbert, 2008). Influenced by the work of Marx and Weber, the model is based on economic differences between class groups like income source and the type of occupation held by the highest-paid member of a household; it does not factor in concepts like status or prestige, which were articulated by Weber (Gilbert, 2008). Since the Gilbert-Kahl Model does not consider social and cultural capital, it is less nuanced than the class structure described by Savage et al. (2013). However, it is more detailed than Savage et al.'s model in other ways since it defines the percentage of U.S. households which belong to each class group and includes a typical income level. Table 2 summarizes the Gilbert-Kahl Model.
Table 2

Summary of the Gilbert-Kahl Model of the American Class Structure (Gilbert, 2008)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Type</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Percent of Population</th>
<th>Occupation and Education</th>
<th>Typical Income (2005 Dollars)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Privileged</td>
<td>Capitalist</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>Heirs, investors; elite colleges and graduate school</td>
<td>$2 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privileged</td>
<td>Upper Middle</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>Professionals; college and graduate school</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majority</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>Semiprofessionals; high school and some college</td>
<td>$70,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majority</td>
<td>Working</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>Workers with routine tasks; high school</td>
<td>$40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Working Poor</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>Service workers; some high school</td>
<td>$25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Underclass</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>Intermittent workers; some high school</td>
<td>$15,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Over the past several decades, the stratification between class groups has been widening: Groups beneath the upper class are facing a number of problems. Income inequality has been growing since the 1980s (Lichter & Eggebeen, 1993), and this inequality has continued to grow through the present (Hill, 2012; Smiley & West, 2012). According to Lichter and Eggebeen (1993), the influx of more women into the workplace could be one reason for the growing chasm between social classes. Income inequality was lower before 1970 because women in high income households tended not to work outside the home, while women in low income households were already working and earning an income. When affluent women
started entering the workforce after 1970 and adding a salary to their high income households, the income gap widened (Lichter & Eggebeen, 1993). Other reasons for growing income inequality include a movement towards a service-based economy, which results in fewer well-paying jobs for those who do not have a college education, and the weakening of labor unions, which advocate for fair wages and workers' rights (Gilbert, 2008).

Besides growing income inequality, many Americans have been impacted by income stagnation; only the richest 5% of people have experienced income growth in recent years (Gilbert, 2008; Smiley & West, 2012). Further, unemployment rates have been a major concern in the years during and after the Great Recession of 2007-2009, while jobs that could enable economic security are disappearing. Jobs are being relocated overseas, and fewer well-paying industrial jobs have resulted in a smaller middle class (Smiley & West, 2012). Just as Marx and Engels (1908) predicted about the petty bourgeoisie, the middle class is shrinking since its members are joining the working class (Hill, 2012). At the same time, upper class families have seen their incomes grow (Gilbert, 2008). In sum, rising income inequality, income stagnation, and unemployment are problems that have plagued the poor and the working and middle classes in recent years, and these problems have contributed to increasing stratification between class groups.

**Perceptions about Social Class**

In the United States, class is an unpopular topic that few know how to conceptualize (Van Galen, 2007). Class is not often the subject of public discourse (hooks, 2000; Jones, 2006a; Kelley et al., 2005); class issues are discussed more
often in the home than publicly (Jones, 2006b). Some consider class an impolite subject of conversation (Holtzman, 2000; hooks, 2000; Sanders & Mahlingam, 2012; Storck, 2002). Meanwhile, the people who have the social power to legitimize and put forward discourse about class do not bring it up because they do not view class as a problem for themselves as individuals (Jones, 2006a).

Many Americans maintain misconceptions about social class. One of these misconceptions is the notion that the United States is a classless society (Brown, 1974; Holtzman, 2000; hooks, 2000; Jones, 2006b; Neitzel & Chafel, 2010). The "classless society" myth is perpetuated by several phenomena. First, residential segregation separates the classes (Gilbert, 2008; Holtzman, 2000; Iceland & Wilkes, 2006); it is uncommon to find the poor, for instance, living alongside the middle class or the rich. This residential segregation also leads to segregation in the public school system since the school a child attends is often determined by the neighborhood in which he or she lives. Unless they are enrolled in a private or charter school, children from the same neighborhood usually attend the same public schools.

Further, the media usually depict the middle class (hooks, 2000), which gives the impression that the United States is a largely middle class or upper middle class society. In fact, it is common for Americans to believe that everyone in this country is middle class (Van Galen, 2007). As will be discussed shortly, members of lower social classes are infrequently depicted in the mass media, and this solidifies the belief in an overwhelmingly middle class society.
Additionally, consumerism contributes to the illusion of classlessness since lower income people often own some of the same material goods as the wealthy (hooks, 2000), and consumption is regarded as a proxy for class status (Wiseman, 2009). Smiley and West (2012) noted the ready availability of credit cards makes it easy for people other than the rich to buy coveted items. As an example, Minor (2012) observed that poor students are often iPhone owners; at the present, iPhones are one of the more expensive phones on the market. Ownership of popular items by people from all locations on the class hierarchy contributes to the idea that everyone belongs to the same class.

**Class and the American dream.** The myth of the American dream may add to the misconceptions that Americans have about class. Traditionally, the American dream has been defined as the achievement of success, and success equates to the attainment of wealth and a secure, high status job (Hochschild, 2002). According to Hochschild (2002), there are four tenets of the American dream: 1) Everyone in the United States has equal access to opportunities; 2) expecting success is reasonable; 3) success is under the individual's control; and 4) success is associated with virtue, and failure is attributed to a lack of virtue. Beach (2007) elaborated on the fourth tenet, noting that "self-reliance, hard work, frugality" and "dutiful industry" are virtues of the American dream (page 151). Meanings of the American dream have changed somewhat in the 21st century, with less emphasis placed on the fourth tenet of virtue. Presently, the American dream is "defined by wealth and unpredictable lottery-type success" (Smiley & West, 2012, p. 21). There are many examples of this
more contemporary version of the American dream: *American Idol* winners, sports heroes, Presidents, and celebrities exemplify it (Smiley & West, 2012).

Though the American dream has undoubtedly played a significant role in American culture, it has also been the subject of critique. Brown (1974) contended the American dream gives poor people false hope of overcoming the challenges they face. Further, Brown (1974) argued the American dream "reinforces middle class people's belief in their own superiority" (p. 14) because middle class people have realized the traditional meaning of success (i.e., financial stability). Hochschild (2002) is another critic; she has pointed out several flaws tied to the tenets of the American dream. The first tenet of equal access to opportunities is flawed because there is no such thing as equal opportunity: Forms of discrimination such as racism and sexism highlight how access to opportunities is actually unequal. The second tenet, which indicates expecting success is reasonable, is problematic since resources are scarce, not unlimited. The expectation of achieving wealth is unfounded since not everyone in a society can acquire the resources necessary to be wealthy: There are simply not enough resources available for everyone to have an abundance of them. The third tenet of the American dream postulates that achieving success is under an individual's control, yet Hochschild argued structural and systematic inequalities place the achievement of success largely out of an individual's control. Finally, the fourth tenet places blame for failure on the individual. Between the challenges of unequal access to opportunities and structural and systematic inequalities, Hochschild contended the individual cannot be at fault for failure to achieve the American dream.
Despite arguments like Hochschild's (2002), personal failure is still perceived as the cause of poverty and low income (Beach, 2007; Heilman, 2004; Holtzman, 2000; Kelley et al., 2005), and this is likely a function of widespread belief in the third and fourth tenets of the American dream (the individual has control over his/her achievement of success; failure is equated to a lack of virtue). Social class is typically viewed as a personal choice (Hill, 2012). As a result, people from higher classes blame the poor for their circumstances and attribute poverty to laziness or bad luck (Langston, 1988). Likewise, the belief in individual responsibility for one's success prompts young people to see socioeconomic status as "evidence of their relative worth and ability" (Van Galen, 2007, p. 158); it is not difficult to understand how this belief could contribute to a negative sense of self-worth among youth in the lower classes. Though the American dream has a long history in the United States, it is not attainable for everyone, and its tenets herald the wealthy and middle classes, disparage the poor, and encourage people to view their class status as a choice rather than a nexus of inequitable access to opportunities and systemic biases.

**Perceptions of the poor.** Besides beliefs in a classless society and the American Dream, Americans have strong ideas about the group Gilbert (2008) called the "underclass" (p. 235). Members of the poor are sometimes shunned by people of other classes (Heilman, 2004; hooks, 2000; Smiley & West, 2012). hooks (2000) stated it aptly: "To be poor in the United States today is to be always at risk, the object of scorn and shame" (p. 45). hooks viewed this attitude as a consequence of the decline of religion, which encouraged helping and caring for the poor. According to hooks, several decades ago, when Americans were more religious, the
poor were regarded as "the chosen" while the rich were thought to have a more
difficult path to achieving grace. This attitude began to change with the decline of
religion in the 1970s. The negative view of the poor that is prevalent today benefits
the middle and the upper classes because it gives them justification for ignoring the
poor and refusing to help them (hooks, 2000). Mass media may also be responsible
for influencing the perceptions people hold about the poor.

**Class and the mass media.** Studies of the mass media are helpful in
illuminating why Americans hold some of the class perceptions that have been
described. The mass media, which have a widespread and influential impact, have
been examined for representations of various class groups. Media rarely include the
poor and the working class, and when they do, portrayals are usually negative
(hooks, 2000). In a study analyzing hundreds of television shows and news
broadcasts, Kendall (2011) identified 18 frames often used to portray members of
different class groups. For instance, the wealthy were characterized as being bad
apples, or corrupt and greedy, and dysfunctional and unhappy despite their
affluence. People in the middle class were framed as victims of the greediness of
both the upper class and the lower class. Those in the working class and the
working poor were depicted as white trash and bigots; they were also portrayed as
shady, sometimes being shown as members of organized crime groups. Charitable
framing, or the necessity of receiving help from the affluent, was one of several
frames used to portray the poor. Since Kendall's 18 frames were used as the coding
scheme in this study, they are described in further detail in Chapter 3.
Like Kendall (2011), Butsch (1992) was also interested in how media portrays class groups. Butsch studied four decades (1946-1990) of primetime situation comedies (sitcoms) with domestic settings. Butsch found 70.4% of sitcoms depicted middle class families, while only 11 out of 262 shows depicted a working class character as the head of a household. Middle class men and women were shown as competent and smart. Working class men were often stereotyped as dumb, and they received problem-solving assistance from their more competent wives. Butsch concluded:

... the domestic situation comedy population has been persistently and overwhelmingly middle class... A fictional world in which success is so pervasive makes success the expected norm. When success is confined predominantly to middle-class series, and failure to the working class, the failing working-class men are thereby labeled deviants who are responsible for their own failure. (Butsch, 1992, p. 390)

Butsch's conclusion is reminiscent of the American Dream tenets: The working class characters he observed could be perceived as at-fault for their failure to be successful since they were dumb and buffoonish, and they lacked the virtues of intelligence and competence. Butsch's study underscores how the mass media perpetuate popular perceptions (and misconceptions) about social class.

Analyses of social class portrayals in television have not been confined to sitcoms. Perks (2007) conducted a Marxist analysis of four reality television shows: The Apprentice, The Bachelor, While You Were Out, and Pimp My Ride. Markers of upper class lifestyles such as filet mignon and lobster dinners, cigars, mansions, evening gowns, and expensive trips were common on the shows. Perks noted the upper class is normalized on these shows, and this normalization stigmatizes members of the working class who are unable to attain these markers of affluence.
However, Perks (2007) said critiquing “the prevalence of upper class images and the myth of social mobility” can chip away at the perception that excessive consumption is normal and desirable (p. 103).

As the above paragraphs have illustrated, the poor and the working class are usually portrayed in unflattering ways in the mass media, and the upper class is shown as desirable and even normal. Some say that such depictions are a function of the class interests of the people who own and produce the media. The media is controlled by people who have class privilege (Gilbert, 2008), and the media “pimps the values of the ruling class to all other groups” (hooks, 2000, p. 68), meaning audiences are encouraged to favor and identify with the rich. Freire (1970/2000) called this phenomenon “cultural conquest,” and as a result, the oppressed (i.e., the lower class) begin emulating the oppressors (p. 153). In other words, the poor and other disenfranchised classes begin to assume the values of the wealthy and behave in ways that promote the interests of the upper class.

**Consequences of class perceptions.** The class perceptions described here bear implications for all class groups, especially the poor and the working class. For instance, highly visible people who achieve upward social mobility, such as celebrities, uphold the idea that anyone in America can get ahead (hooks, 2000; Langston, 1988). The visibility of such people may encourage members of the lower classes to believe they, too, can “make it,” and as a result, the lower classes may not challenge the social inequities that hold them back from “making it.” Further, as a consequence of the American Dream’s prevalence, the poor and the working class blame themselves when they cannot “get ahead” (Langston, 1988). The American
Dream also stigmatizes those who do not achieve success; these people are marked as failures (Hochschild, 2002). Finally, children in poor families who cannot acquire the tangible markers of success, such as popular goods, feel shame and envy (hooks, 2000). Despite the belief of classlessness and the tendency to avoid conversations about social class, discourse about class is not only happening, but it is perpetuating negative messages about class groups, in particular the poor.

**Class Awareness and Children**

Perceptions and misconceptions of social class are not confined to the realm of adults. Children are also aware of social class and class differences, and their awareness of class expands as they grow older (Chafel, 1997). In the last few decades, particularly within the past several years, there have been a number of studies exploring how children understand social class.

Tudor (1971) led one of the earliest studies about children and awareness of social class. Interested in determining when class awareness develops, Tudor (1971) studied children in first, fourth, and sixth grades enrolled in public elementary schools in the South. Tudor found first graders could sort photographs of people by social class (upper class, middle class, and lower class) with better-than-chance accuracy. Awareness of behaviors associated with class, like type of job or educational attainment, developed after first grade but before fourth grade, and Tudor observed that sixth grade girls were particularly aware of class. Tudor's findings support the idea that children have knowledge about social class.

Other scholars have found that children possess an awareness of social class prior to first grade. In a study with preschoolers, Ramsey and Dickson (1991) found
children could accurately categorize photographs of rich and poor people with greater-than-chance probability, and they observed no socioeconomic differences in children’s ability to sort photographs. These results suggest the preschool children participating in the study had some knowledge of class, at least the ability to differentiate the rich from the poor. In a qualitative study with preschool children, Strieb (2011) found four-year-olds behave according to their social class. For several months, Strieb observed a preschool classroom with six working class students and 10 upper middle class students. The upper middle class students spoke more often and used language to get what they wanted from the teacher; they also interrupted and complained more. The working class children were reluctant to speak with the teacher, asked for help less frequently, and did their tasks independently. They were less likely to stand up for themselves in arguments with other students. In short, the upper middle class students dominated the class while the working class students were more passive. Strieb concluded that children do not just know about class by preschool: They already enact class roles.

Kindergarten students may have more complex ideas about social class than preschoolers, which is unsurprising given Chafel’s (1997) contention that class awareness grows with age. Labadie et al. (2013) engaged kindergarten students in interactive read-alouds using books with themes related to social class. Seventeen children participated in the qualitative study, and of them, ten were eligible for free or reduced price lunch, an indicator of low income. Labadie et al. observed that students made connections between their own lives and the texts, sometimes without prompting from the teacher. The kindergarteners also challenged the texts
when they noticed discrepancies between their own experiences and the story. The authors concluded that young children are capable of making both connections and disconnections between portrayals of social class in books and their own lives.

**Children's perceptions of class groups.** While some researchers have been interested in when class awareness develops, others have explored how children perceive different social classes. For instance, Neitzel and Chafel (2010) studied what eight-year-old girls think about poverty. Three of the girls were from high income families, while the other three were from low income families. Though the girls understood that poverty meant having unmet needs and believed poverty was unfair, two of the three lower class children did not recognize that they themselves were poor and believed they were more fortunate than the poor. The sample size is too small to make generalizations, but Neitzel and Chafel's work suggests that some children may have inaccurate understandings of class and where they are located on the class hierarchy. Further research on this topic is needed to support this idea, however.

Weinger (2000) explored what children think about class inequalities in a study with 24 children from low income families and 24 children from middle class families, a sample size larger than in Neitzel and Chafel's (2010) study. The children in Weinger's research, who were between five and fourteen years old, were interviewed and shown photographs of a dilapidated home and a well-kempt home; they were invited to speak about the home's possible occupants. The poor children were more empathetic toward the possible occupants of the dilapidated home (i.e., the poor): 71% said neutral or positive things about the family living in the run-
down home, 79% mentioned poverty is a challenge, and 50% said they would want to be friends with a poor child rather than a middle class child. The middle class children, on the other hand, were less empathetic toward the poor: Less than half (46%) said neutral or positive things about the family in the shabby house, 50% made negative comments about the imagined poor family ("dirty," "lazy," p. 50), and only 13% said they would pick a poor child as a friend instead of a middle class or a wealthy friend. Unlike the poor children, the middle class children could not describe specific information about economic hardship or its consequences.

Weinger hypothesized this lack of understanding about poverty could prompt middle class children to think the poor are at-fault for their troubles: "Middle-class children who cannot appreciate the real hardships of a life in poverty may think that it is easy to get out of poverty, and hence blame the poor for their disadvantaged position" (Weinger, 2000, p. 144). As noted earlier, blaming the poor for their troubles is common in the United States, and Weinger’s work suggests this belief could take root in childhood.

Like Weinger (2000), Sutton (2009) also explored how children from high income families (n = 23) and children from low income families (n = 19) perceive class differences. The children in Sutton’s participatory research were between eight and thirteen years old. Children from high income families and low income families both viewed wealth and poverty as opposite ends of a spectrum. Sutton also found both groups expressed stereotypes about the poor (e.g., the poor are drug and alcohol users), but the low income children had more empathetic attitudes than the high income children. “The [low income] children displayed a sense of
social justice when they talked about those who they thought were poor and firmly believed in helping out those without money” (Sutton, 2009, p. 285), while some of the high income children indicated that the poor were responsible for their poverty (though some attributed poverty to circumstances like job loss).

Sigelman (2012) asked children of various age groups about their perceptions of class. The 88 participants were in first, fifth, and ninth grade. Using a method similar to Weinger (2000), who showed images of an ill-kempt home and a well-kempt home to participants, Sigelman displayed images of a rich man and a poor man. The first graders viewed the poor man as more socially attractive than the rich man, a perception not held by the fifth and the ninth graders. The children often attributed poverty to lack of ability, not having a job, and not working hard, though the fifth and ninth graders stated this more often than the first graders. Sigelman concluded that young children are more empathetic toward the poor, and she suggested this empathy may diminish with age as children become more aware of unflattering stereotypes about poor people.

The studies described above indicate that very young children and poor children tend to have more compassionate feelings toward the poor than older children and children from high income families. Researchers have also analyzed children's perceptions of the middle class, though there are fewer studies on this topic. Sutton's (2009) study indicated that children think being middle class is desirable; the participants said they would prefer to be “average" instead of rich or poor (p. 282). Weinger (2000) found poor and middle class children have markedly different attitudes about the middle class. Among the poor children in her study,
58% made neutral or positive comments about an imagined middle class family, 16% said middle class families could be “nice” but also “snobby” (p. 142), 25% made wholly negative comments about the middle class family, and 33% said they would pick a middle class child as a friend over a poor child. In contrast, 83% of the middle class children said positive things about the imagined middle class family, calling them “nice” and “normal” (p. 141). While the poor children had mixed feelings about the middle class, the middle class children tended to align themselves with the middle class by making positive statements.

Studies exploring what children think of the upper class seem to be even less common than studies of middle class perceptions. In Sigelman’s (2012) study, students in all grade levels viewed the rich man as more competent than the poor man. Woods, Kurtz-Costes, and Rowley (2005) had similar findings in their study of children and stereotypes, noting that the fourth, sixth, and eighth graders tended to believe the rich were more competent than the poor, at least in school settings. African-American children especially endorsed this view. Though the rich are seen as intelligent and competent, they are not necessarily seen as desirable friends. Only 17% of the middle class children in Weinger’s (2000) research indicated they would want to be friends with a wealthy child.

As these studies have indicated, children have knowledge of social class despite the common belief that the United States is a classless society. Preschoolers can identify class differences (Ramsey & Dickson, 1991) and enact class roles (Strieb, 2011). Awareness of class increases as children grow older (Chafel, 1997; Tudor, 1971), and negative attitudes toward the poor appear to increase with age as
well (Sigelman, 2012). Some middle class children in particular have negative views of the poor (Weinger, 2000) and even blame the poor for their poverty (Sutton, 2009). Both poor and middle class children have some positive views of the middle class (Weinger, 2000), while children at multiple age levels believe the rich are more competent than the poor (Woods et al., 2005). Where do children’s perceptions about social class come from? How do children develop their ideas about class? Children’s exposure to depictions of different class groups in the mass media, like television, is an obvious answer to these questions, yet school experiences, including reading children’s literature, could also explain how ideas about social class are shaped. The sociology of school knowledge, which is concerned with how children form their views of the world in school settings (Taxel, 1989a), offers a useful lens for interrogating how children develop their ideas and perceptions about society and social class in particular.

The Sociology of School Knowledge and Social Class

According to Taxel (1981), the sociology of school knowledge is a framework for analyzing curricular materials, including children’s literature. There are several assumptions undergirding this theory. From a sociology of school knowledge perspective, schools are viewed as vehicles for transmitting culture and ideology to students (Bourdieu, 2000). “The study of educational knowledge is a study in ideology,” as Apple and King put it (1977, p. 342). The knowledge in the school curriculum is not neutral, and the sociology of school knowledge concerns itself with what knowledge is taught in school as well as whose knowledge is represented in the curriculum (Apple, 1992).
School knowledge both demonstrates and justifies the social, political, and economic power of dominant social groups and institutions (Anyon, 1978). School materials are created and controlled by the people who have power in a society (Anyon, 2011; Sleeter & Grant, 2010; Taxel, 1981). Taxel (1981) observed, “Those groups or social classes which have historically been able to define their knowledge as the knowledge have been the dominant groups in society, while those unable to do so have tended to lack power and influence in society” (p. 208). The content of curriculum is highly contested and political because texts transmit social power. Certain texts privilege some groups of people and marginalize others. This gives legitimacy to the people who have power (Apple & King, 1977; Sleeter & Grant, 2010; Wexler, 1982) and reflects the powerlessness of non-dominant groups (Taxel, 1981).

Proponents of the sociology of school knowledge believe the school curriculum is a form of social control that legitimizes the social hierarchy (Anyon, 1978, 2011; Sleeter & Grant, 2010; Wexler, 1982). Looking at the history of public schools, Apple and King (1977) stated the structures and routines of public schools came into being at a time when social control was a goal of the public school system. Social control in the schools would produce students who were prepared to join the workforce. The view of schooling as a form of social control has also been expounded by Bowles and Gintis (1976/2011) in their seminal work Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life. “Schools foster types of personal development compatible with the relationships of dominance and subordinacy in the economic sphere” as well as “depoliticize the
potentially explosive class relations” resulting from an economic system that
produces class stratification (i.e., capitalism) according to Bowles and Gintis

Further, the sociology of school knowledge posits that school knowledge can
be reproductive and highly influential. “Reproductive” means that certain ideologies
and beliefs (those of the dominant group) are perpetuated in schools, and these
recreate the existing system of social stratification among new generations (Anyon,
1981; Apple & King, 1977; Bourdieu, 2000). Most sociology of school knowledge
scholars agree that school knowledge reproduces the cultural and economic
hierarchy (Taxel, 1981).

Anyon’s (1980, 1981) landmark study of fifth grade classes offers a clear
example of research grounded in the theory of the sociology of school knowledge:
Her work demonstrated how social class inequities play out in classrooms and how
schools contribute to reproducing the class hierarchy. Anyon observed two working
class schools; one middle class school; one “affluent professional,” or upper middle
class school, where parents were doctors and executives; and one “executive elite
school,” where parents were high level executives (1981, p. 5). In the working class
schools, Anyon noted an emphasis on teaching basic skills, little student decision-
making, and rote tasks. Students resisted their teachers both actively and passively.
In contrast, the middle class school emphasized teaching for understanding over
rote tasks like in the working class school. Education was viewed as important in
this school. At the affluent professional school, inquiry was encouraged, students
believed that knowledge could be acquired through active effort, and individual
efforts were valued. Finally, instruction at the executive elite school focused on reasoning and decision-making, and achieving excellence and academic competition were recurrent themes.

As a result of this study, Anyon (1980, 1981) believed that much of what students were taught (or not taught) in school recreated class hierarchies. Working class students did not learn their own history (labor history), and they performed the rote tasks that would be expected of working class laborers. The affluent professional students, on the other hand, learned to think creatively at school, and creativity is a requirement of upper middle class jobs (e.g., college professors, scientists). The executive elite students were educated to be decision-makers like their executive-level parents. Though Americans believe school "has the miraculous power of leveling inequalities even as it lifts everyone" (Traub, 2002, p. 238), Anyon's work shows how schools can actually perpetuate class-based inequalities and stratification, and it also highlights the concerns of scholars who view the schooling experience through a sociology of school knowledge perspective.

Other scholars have also contended that schools reproduce inequalities related to social class. Hochschild (2003) asserted that class inequalities occur at four levels: the state, district, school, and classroom. At the state and district levels, these inequalities are partially a function of inequitable distribution of funding. Some districts receive more money than others, making them better-equipped to educate students than in districts receiving less funding. Variable teacher quality also contributes to inequality since weak teachers are often placed in a district's low-performing schools. At the school and classroom levels, academic tracking
plays a role in inequality since ability-based groups tend to fall along class lines; affluent students go to high tracks and low-income students are placed in low tracks (Hochschild, 2003; Langston, 1988). Additionally, Hochschild noted that some schools have more rigorous coursework than others. The poorest students have "a completely different educational experience" from the most affluent students (Hochschild, 2003, p. 826).

Wexler (1982) believed the theory of sociology of school knowledge promotes awareness of class hierarchies and inequities in schools: It exposes how school knowledge benefits certain groups and marginalizes others. Additionally, the sociology of school knowledge theory illuminates how social conditions and inequalities between groups of people persist over time (Apple & King, 1977). Further, it shows how ideology contributes to the relationship between social classes since ideology elicits “buy-in” about the class structure from groups that do not benefit from it (Anyon, 2011; Apple & King, 1977). The sociology of school knowledge thus calls attention to inequities as they relate to the school experience.

**The selective tradition.** The selective tradition is an element of the sociology of school knowledge. According to this perspective, school materials position their portrayals of society as natural and normal (Apple, 1992; Sleeter & Grant, 2010; Wexler, 1982). However, selective information is presented in texts, and this practice benefits some people at the expense of others (Sleeter & Grant, 2010), usually members of the dominant group (Taxel, 1986). Some groups are represented in the curriculum while others are not (Apple & King, 1977). “All too often, ‘legitimate’ knowledge [appearing in the school curriculum] does not include
the historical experiences and cultural expressions of labor, women, people of color, and others who have been less powerful," Apple (1992) observed (p. 7). This skewed portrayal of society has been called the selective tradition.

Unfortunately, the selective tradition can propagate negative beliefs such as racism and sexism (Taxel, 1981). Taxel (1981) found the selective tradition operating in a set of children's books he examined about the American Revolution. While many Americans in revolutionary times were aware of the contradiction between their quest for liberty and the practice of slavery, this contradiction was rarely addressed in the books comprising Taxel's text set. The absence of depictions of slaves exercising agency to attain freedom contributes to a "paternalistic white belief that blacks are incapable of thinking and fending for themselves" (Taxel, 1981, p. 216). This selective presentation of history illustrates how whites maintain their privileged, dominant position by marginalizing and stereotyping members of a non-dominant group. Similarly, in Anyon's (1980, 1981) study of fifth grade classes, a selective tradition operated in the working class schools since the history of labor and the working class was absent from the curriculum; meanwhile, information about business, political, and military leaders was presented in social studies textbooks. A selective tradition that privileged the powerful and marginalized the working class was evident in the curriculum at these schools.

As mentioned before, the sociology of school knowledge is a framework suitable for analyzing the curriculum. Researchers working from a sociology of school knowledge perspective explore questions such as "Where do children's views about social class come from?" and "How do children develop their ideas about
social class?" Scholars grounding their work in the sociology of school knowledge have put forth possible explanations to these questions. Examination of textbooks used in schools, for instance, have demonstrated how children's perspectives of class may be formed.

**Social class and social studies texts.** Anyon (1980, 1981), who studied the type of knowledge presented in schools serving children from different social classes, is also known for a seminal study deconstructing high school textbooks. In her textbook study, which was originally published in the *Harvard Educational Review* in 1979, Anyon (2011) examined 17 social studies texts for their representation of labor and economic history during the industrial era, the period between the Civil War and World War I. Anyon found industrialists were portrayed favorably, acquiring their wealth through hard work and saving money. Anyon said this type of portrayal leads readers to believe that anyone can become successful, and it elicits support for the current economic system (capitalism). On the other hand, radical labor movements were presented unfavorably in the textbooks. The less radical unions which were more cooperative with the industrialists (like the American Federation of Labor under the leadership of Samuel Gompers) were portrayed in more positive terms compared to the radical unions.

Anyon (2011) concluded the textbooks legitimize the interests of industrialists and large corporations, and they marginalize the perspectives of the individuals and groups (like radical unions) who contested the interests of the powerful industrialists. By ignoring the history of the working class, Anyon argued, textbooks provide no information about how groups of people with similar class
interests can work together to change social conditions oppressing them. Further, since readers align themselves with the dominant group (industrialists) because the working class is not well-represented, the positive attitudes about the dominant group that readers learn from books may translate into giving the dominant group political power. In other words, readers will politically support the dominant group (or not challenge it). However, Anyon (2011) believed the curriculum could also be used to empower non-dominant groups and foster social change. If the curriculum can elicit support for the dominant group, it can also promote the interests of other groups.

Similarly, Anyon (1978) examined how political and economic practices were depicted in four series of social studies texts frequently used in elementary schools. Anyon found the social studies texts depicted acts of political dissent occurring within the boundaries of social and political institutions, such as voting and writing letters to political leaders. More radical acts of political dissent such as protesting were not included, and neither were radical political leaders like Malcolm X. According to Anyon, “these texts deny legitimacy to radical ideas largely by omission” (1978, p. 47). As for portrayals of economic practices, Anyon observed that Americans were shown having a vast amount of economic freedom: They can work anywhere they wish, they can buy whatever goods they want from any store they want, and they can use their money toward enhancing their own economic status, such as purchasing capital. The textbooks did not address sources of economic conflicts and tensions such as low wages and unemployment. The texts, Anyon argued, provided support for the prevailing political and economic systems
by omitting information that challenged these systems. Presumably, this support of
the economic system also extends to support for the prevailing social class
hierarchy.

Social class in textbooks. Sleeter and Grant (2010) also analyzed textbooks
through the sociology of school knowledge lens. They examined 47 books with
copyright dates between 1980 and 1988; the books were written for students in
grades one through eight. Sleeter and Grant analyzed portrayals of several social
identities, including social class, in their study. In social studies textbooks, poverty
was only shown during the Great Depression. The poor and the working poor were
not openly discussed, and they were only represented when an exceptional person,
like Abraham Lincoln, gained national attention. Half of the language arts textbooks
only depicted middle class people, though the other half did show characters from
other class groups. All of the upper class characters in the language arts books were
white, while the lower class characters were both white and ethnic minorities.
Some of the lower class characters were portrayed as silly or unintelligent, though
some were shown sympathetically. In science textbooks, middle and upper class
settings and portrayals were most common. Among the math textbooks, nearly all
people in the images appeared to be middle class. Only a few lower class people
were shown, and they were often racial minorities. However, unlike the language
arts books, the math books featured upper class people who were white, black, and
Asian. Sleeter and Grant (2010) concluded,

The great majority of people and situations presented are middle-class or
involve at least a modest level of financial status. The image that books in all
subject areas convey is that the United States is not stratified on the basis of
social class, that almost everyone is middle-class, that there is no poverty and no great wealth. (p. 204)

As a result of these textbook portrayals, students may be led to believe in the prevalence of the middle class, and they may not learn the reasons why there is poverty and class stratification in the United States. As noted before, there is a predominant belief that the United States is a middle class society (Van Galen, 2007), and studies like Sleeter and Grant's demonstrate why such a belief may be common. Likewise, Anyon's (2011) work may help explain the vilification of the poor and the adulation of the rich, a cultural phenomenon that has been observed by hooks (2000). While textbook portrayals of social class groups like those described by Anyon (1978, 2011) and Sleeter and Grant (2010) may not necessarily cause people to adopt certain perspectives about social class, the sociology of school knowledge suggests that such portrayals may at least influence how people think about social class.

**Children's literature and the sociology of school knowledge.** In the purview of the sociology of school knowledge, children's literature is a source for children's development of attitudes and perspectives about the world (Taxel, 1986, 1989a) much like textbooks and other forms of school knowledge. A sociology of school knowledge perspective assumes that what children read has the power to shape what they believe and how they behave (Aitken, 1988). Children's literature is thus viewed as influential and normative. The sociology of school knowledge perspective also assumes the economic, political and social climate of a society influences the development and authorship of books for young people (Taxel, 1988, 1997).
Taxel (1989a) asserted that children's literature has not often been examined from a sociology of school knowledge lens. However, he contended that it should be since "this perspective promises to infuse the discussion of children's literature with a greater concern with the issues of justice and equity than is generally the case" (Taxel, 1989a, p. 33). This is especially important given the "well-documented" existence of a selective tradition in books for youth (Taxel, 1988, p. 222; Taxel, 1989a). Children's books position some groups of people as normal and they marginalize other groups, as Larrick (1965) observed in her landmark study about the absence of black characters in children's literature. The selective tradition is damaging, especially if children receive the same negative messages about particular groups over and over again (Taxel, 1989a).

However, although Taxel (1989a) said literature is highly influential, he also asserted that children are not necessarily passive recipients of the social messages they encounter in texts. Factors such as race, social class, maturity level, and personal experiences influence how individual readers interpret the messages communicated in children's literature (Apple, 1992; Taxel, 1989a). Apple (1992) articulated this belief well:

We cannot assume that what is "in" the text is actually taught. Nor can we assume that what is taught is actually learned. Teachers have a long history of modeling and transforming text material when they employ it in classrooms. Students bring their own classed, raced, and gendered biographies with them as well. They, too, accept, reinterpret, and reject what counts as legitimate knowledge selectively. (p. 10)

Apple identified three ways in which readers can interact with a text. These ways include 1) a dominated reading, in which readers passively accept the ideologies and messages in texts; 2) a negotiated reading, in which readers accept parts of texts
and critique others; and 3) an oppositional reading, in which readers reject the ideology in texts and assume the point of view of those who are disempowered in the text.

Taxel's (1989a) and Apple's (1992) beliefs are in accordance with Rosenblatt's (1978) transactional theory of reading, which contends readers do not passively accept what authors communicate in texts. Rosenblatt saw the act of reading as a negotiation between the author and the reader; readers construct their own meanings of texts. Thus, there are as many possible interpretations of a text as there are readers of the text.

Critical literacy is a way of reading that encourages readers to challenge the messages, values, and ideologies conveyed in books and in other forms of communication. Critical literacy champions the interpretation of texts by individual readers and is the sort of "oppositional reading" described by Apple (1992). Since damaging messages about social class groups (particularly the poor and the working class) are propagated in public discourse, the mass media, and the school curriculum, promoting a critical literacy stance in educational settings is an important undertaking.

**Critical Literacy**

Critical literacy is a political perspective (Jones, 2006a, 2006b) that shares some common assumptions with the sociology of school knowledge theory. Both perspectives assume that 1) texts convey a culture's values and ideologies, 2) texts are a source of power for their producers, and 3) texts present the views of some groups of people and marginalize the views of others. Both are optimistic
perspectives since they assert that readers can actively resist the messages in texts if these messages contradict their life experiences or if they know how to read critically, or "read against" the texts. Additionally, both perspectives are concerned with social justice and shedding light on inequity, particularly the ways in which the dominant group maintains its power through cultural products like literature or the school curriculum.

Despite the commonalities between these perspectives, the sociology of school knowledge theory does not focus on social change and transformation, which is a major emphasis in a critical literacy perspective (Jones, 2006b, 2008). Critical literacy is an activist stance while the sociology of school knowledge is not. These perspectives further diverge since the sociology of school knowledge is a theory explaining how support is elicited for dominant groups and institutions; it is a broader outlook on the educational system than critical literacy, which is an individual stance. Additionally, the sociology of school knowledge assumes that texts and other forms of school knowledge legitimize institutions such as the political and economic systems by presenting particular ideologies and values (Anyon, 1978). Though critical literacy assumes that someone's ideologies and values are present in a text, it does not assume these ideologies and values necessarily serve to legitimize the social order. Further, the sociology of school knowledge assumes that texts, including children's literature, can influence the worldview of young people (Taxel, 1989a). A critical literacy perspective does not explicitly make this assumption, though an adoption of a critical literacy stance is a more implicit assumption that what people read and view can influence their
thinking since critical literacy is concerned with questioning texts. While the sociology of school knowledge and critical literacy are largely compatible, each lens offers something different: The sociology of school knowledge offers a theoretical framework explaining how children may develop their views toward different social groups and institutions, while critical literacy offers the possibility of resisting and transforming the ideologies that are presented in texts and media.

**Critical literacy: foundations, assumptions, and tenets.** Freire (1970/2000) is credited with providing the foundations for critical literacy in his seminal book *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Jones, 2006b). A critical literacy stance involves analyzing a text from multiple perspectives (Jones, 2006b; Boutte, 2002). According to Jones (2006b), it also involves questioning what is presented as "normal," considering who is privileged and who is marginalized, noticing who is absent and who is present, whose interests are served by the text, and who has power in the text. Similar to Jones (2006b), Luke (2012) stated critical literacy is about challenging what is shown as mainstream and normal.

Jones (2006b, 2008) outlined some key assumptions of critical literacy, and she called these assumptions *perspective, positioning, and power*. The assumption of *perspective* posits that anything created with language is imbued with ideology, which Whitin and Whitin (2012) said is not only true of books but also media messages. Children's literature and other forms of media are simply not neutral (Boutte, 2002). The assumption of *positioning* asserts that texts present some people as more important than others. Some groups of people dominate children's books, while other groups are marginalized or entirely absent, as Larrick's (1965)
research about black characters in children's books demonstrated. Finally, the assumption of power states that texts not only create power for certain social groups, but they are indicative of power. As Dutro (2009) pointed out, those who have social power (not the oppressed or disenfranchised) impart the messages children are given in school, in literature, and in the media.

Jones (2006b) also identified several tenets of critical literacy. One tenet is deconstruction, meaning anything constructed with language can be deconstructed to reveal its underlying ideologies and assumptions. A second tenet is reconstruction. Ideology in texts can be challenged through reconstructing a story and positioning the marginalized in a way that gives them power. The third tenet of critical literacy is social action (Jones, 2006b). Critical literacy is focused on achieving justice and equity (Kellner & Share, 2005; Luke, 2012) and has a goal of generating social change (Jones, 2006b, 2008). Critical literacy can empower the marginalized to critique the dominant group and speak out against their oppression (Jones, 2006b) as Freire (1970/2000) did in his work with Brazilian peasants.

In fact, the tenets described by Jones (2006b) mirror Freire's (1970/2000) process of transformation as described in Pedagogy of the Oppressed. In the first stage of Freire's process, the oppressed recognize and become conscious of their oppression, which is similar to the tenet of deconstruction. In the second stage, the oppressed transform how they view themselves and their oppressors. This bears resemblance to reconstruction, which involves rewriting stories to empower and reposition the marginalized. Finally, in Freire's transformation process, the
oppressed work to free themselves from their oppression, which can be likened to the tenet of social action.

**Conditions for critical literacy.** Scholars have identified some conditions in which critical literacy can be taught and practiced. According to Freire (1970/2000), critical thinking is fostered through problem-posing education rather than through the transmission model of education. In the transmission model, which is also known as "the banking concept of education," knowledge is "deposited" into students by teachers (Freire, 1970/2000, p. 72). However, in the problem-posing educational model, students are encouraged to think critically, engage in dialogue to construct knowledge, and to be creative. Students are viewed as active learners rather than passive recipients of knowledge. A problem-posing model of education supports the teaching and practice of critical literacy.

Relevance is also important when teaching critical literacy. Freire (1970/2000) believed education should be relevant to those it serves, and Jones (2006b) argued critical literacy should be student-centered and grounded in the realities of students' lives. Text choices should be related to the backgrounds and experiences of students (Jones, 2006b). Teachers often select multicultural literature for engaging students in critical literacy practices, but Jones (2006b) stated that mainstream texts should be viewed through a critical literacy lens since they are the ones students will encounter the most often.

As the discussions of the sociology of school knowledge and critical literacy have contended, various texts, including books written for children, convey ideologies, values, and messages to their readers. Both perspectives are useful for
unpacking questions about children's literature, such as "What messages are communicated to children through literature?" and "What ideologies are presented, and whose values are imparted?" In the following discussion, these questions as they relate to portrayals of social class in children's literature are addressed. First, however, the importance of children's literature, especially award-winning books, is considered.

**Children's Literature**

According to Tunnell and Jacobs (2013), there were no books for children prior to the 1600s primarily because children were perceived as smaller versions of grown-ups. Children were expected to read the same materials as adults. Books for youth began appearing in the 17th century, when people began viewing children as distinct from adults. Early literature for young people was didactic, meaning it was written to convey a moral message. Some examples include John Cotton's Puritan-era *Spiritual Milk for Boston Babes in Either England, Drawn from the Breasts of Both Testaments for Their Souls' Nourishment* as well as publisher John Newbery's *The History of Little Goody Two Shoes*, published in 1765 (both titles are cited in Tunnell & Jacobs, 2013).

Though early children's literature was used for teaching moral lessons, today it is used for a variety of purposes. For instance, some young people read children's literature for entertainment (Taxel, 1997), for enjoyment, and to occupy their free time. Others children read books because they want to learn information about a topic of personal interest. However, children's literature is still used for teaching purposes in contemporary times, although in different ways than the earliest books
for young people. Today, children's literature is sometimes used as a vehicle for teaching reading skills (Short, 2011), and it forms the basis of instruction in some K-12 language arts classrooms. As an example, Tompkins (2013) explained how children's literature can be used in literature focus units, guided reading groups, literature circles, reading workshops, and writing workshops.

**The influence of children's literature.** Children's literature is powerful because books are a source of education and socialization for young readers (Apol, 1998, 2002). The morals presented in literature serve as models for children (Kohl, 2007), and stories show them the roles they may play as adults, such as gender roles (Crabb & Marciano, 2011; McCabe, Fairchild, Grauerholz, Pescoslido, & Tope, 2011; Weitzman, Eifler, Hokada, & Ross, 1972). Books written for the young communicate society's expectations and have an impressive influence because they shape how children think and behave not only in childhood but into the adult years. Further, books show children how to understand and make sense of the world around them (Kohl, 2007). Picture books in particular are among the earliest influences on their ideas (Weitzman et al., 1972). As Weitzman et al. explained, children's relationships with books often begin long before they encounter different perspectives in school and in settings outside of the family and neighborhood.

As mentioned earlier in the discussion of critical literacy, no text is neutral. Children's literature is no exception: It communicates ideology (Taxel, 1997), though it may not be overt (McCallum & Stephens, 2011; Boutte, 2002). Literature positions readers in particular ways and tells a certain version of reality (Apol, 2002). Authors infuse their ideologies in books through their framing of
protagonists and antagonists and how problems are presented and solved, though authors may not be conscious of this when they write (Boutte, 2002). When readers are not aware of ideology in literature, it is more influential because the ideological messages are made to seem natural and normal (McCallum & Stephens, 2011). Readers may identify with the ideology appearing in texts unless they read critically (Botelho & Rudman, 2009) or adopt the questioning stance of critical literacy. For these reasons, it is important for both K-12 teachers and teacher educators to promote critical literacy practices like questioning and challenging texts in their classrooms.

Books for young people are also influential because they communicate what is important in a society: Children’s literature is a “repository of cultural values” (Boutte et al., 2008, p. 944). Books communicate social history (Aitken, 1988) and reflect what society values (Kelley et al., 2005; McCabe, et al., 2011; Boutte, 2002; Boutte et al., 2008; Weitzman et al., 1972). Since children’s literature is a product of the social, political and economic environment (Taxel, 1988, 1997), the perspectives, values, and messages communicated in children’s literature are presumably reinforced at school and in children’s social worlds. This would be the case if children’s literature is viewed from a sociology of school knowledge perspective.

According to Aitken (1988), “the power of story no one has doubted since Plato banished the poets” (pp. 199-200). In Apol’s (2002) study of a 19th century periodical’s impact on its readers, she observed how stories can “touch their readers’ hearts and ignite their passion - over time, across years - in profound and
life-changing ways” (p. 59). Kohl (2007) eloquently described how stories, like those appearing in children's literature, can be influential and normative:

I believe that what is read in childhood not only leaves an impression behind but also influences the values, and shapes the dreams, of children. It can provide negative images and stereotypes and cut off hopes and limit aspirations. It can erode self-respect through overt and covert racism or sexism. It can also help young people get beyond family troubles, neighborhood violence, stereotyping and prejudice – all particulars of their lives that they have no control over – and set their imaginations free. (p. 41)

Literature is powerful in that it can be a source of inspiration and hope, yet as Kohl stated, it can also marginalize and suppress children's dreams and their sense of self-worth when groups of people are depicted stereotypically. The impact of damaging messages in literature is not immediately obvious, and these messages may have a cumulative negative effect on children over time (Boutte, 2002).

Understanding the content of what children read and the messages communicated to them in texts, which are goals of the present study, are consequently critical inquiries in children's literature scholarship. As Boutte (2002) asserted, studies of this kind are “imperative” (p. 152). They illuminate the underlying ideologies and beliefs presented to children in the seemingly “neutral” and “innocent” form of children's books. Given the negative, yet popular, perceptions about social class in public discourse, mass media, and even in schools, examining what children learn about social class through literature is especially important, even more so in contemporary times as class tensions heighten and inequality widens. Examining depictions of social class in award-winning literature merits special attention due to the ready availability and high visibility of honored books.
Awards in children's literature. Awards are meant to recognize art (Aitken, 1988), and many children's book awards are designed to encourage literary excellence and the publication of high quality titles. Many awards are given by professional groups such as the American Library Association, the National Council of Teachers of English, and the International Reading Association. Boutte et al. (2008) asserted that special attention should be given to examining the content and messages appearing in award-winning books because of their visibility and accessibility. Books designated as award winners are frequently selected for collections in children's libraries and see increased sales (Clark, 2007; Kidd, 2007; McCabe et al., 2011; Weitzman et al., 1972). McCabe et al. contended that award books are not necessarily read more often or representative of the many other books published each year, a point that was also raised by Kidd. However, Weitzman et al. argued award books set industry standards and are therefore representative of other children's books.

The Newbery Award. The Association of Library Service to Children (ALSC), a division of the American Library Association, is responsible for conferring the Newbery Medal and Honor. The award was named after John Newbery, who is credited with establishing the first publishing house exclusively for children's books (Tunnell & Jacobs, 2013). The Newbery was first awarded in 1922 and has been given every year since then (ALSC, 2008). It was established to encourage the publication of high quality literature for children (ALSC, 2013; Horning, 2010). The award was developed during a period when public libraries were beginning to
create departments specifically for youth and publishers were initiating children’s divisions (Horning, 2010).

The Newbery Medal is the oldest award for children's literature in the world (ALSC, 2013). It is also one of the first literary awards established in the United States: Only the Pulitzer Prize is older than the Newbery Medal (Kidd, 2007). According to ALSC (2013), the Newbery is the most well-known and widely discussed children's book award in the United States, and Kidd (2007) called it the most prestigious of prizes given by the American Library Association, a professional organization that evaluates thousands of books each year. Horning (2010), currently the director of the Cooperative Children’s Book Center at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and a former public librarian, observed “The impact of the Newbery Medal cannot be underestimated in contemporary children’s literature published in the United States” (pp. 23-24).

Winning the Newbery results in national sales increases for a book’s publisher (Clark, 2007; Horning, 2010); the number of copies sold can double after a book is honored with the award (Kidd, 2007). To illustrate, one month after The One and Only Ivan (Applegate, 2012) was given the 2013 Newbery Medal, the book was ranked 39th in overall sales according to the website of bookseller Barnes & Noble (2013; information accessed on February 27, 2013). More recently, Flora and Ulysses: The Illuminated Adventures (DiCamillo, 2013) had a Barnes & Noble sales rank of 9,361 approximately 30 minutes after it was announced as the 2014 Newbery Medal winner on January 27, 2014. Twenty-four hours later, it was ranked 3rd, and three hours after that, it was ranked 2nd on the Barnes & Noble website.
Books receiving the award generate decades-long sales from both consumers and institutions like schools and libraries (Horning, 2010). As Tunnell and Jacobs (2013) have observed, Newbery books from past years are being republished in the 21st century, which is significant given that typical children's books disappear from stores after an average of 18 months (Kidd, 2007). Additionally, Newbery titles stay on public and school library shelves for many years (Kidd, 2007), and they are often highlighted in collections through special sections or placement (Strauss, 2008).

Though the Newbery is not representative of all titles written and published for children (Kidd, 2007; McCabe et al., 2011), the award is influential since it sets the bar for literary excellence and influences the type of book selected for publication (Horning, 2010). Both teachers and parents look to the Newbery to locate and select high quality literature for children (Silvey, 2008). While Kidd (2007) asserted Newbery titles are usually used as instructional supplements rather than core materials of the curriculum, textbooks for educators recommend Newbery titles for instructional use in elementary and middle school classrooms (e.g., Kasten, Kristo, & McClure, 2005; Tompkins, 2013). Recently, Barry, Rice, and McDuffie-Dipman (2013) recommended Newbery titles for teaching character education, and Burns, Kimmel, and Garrison (2013) observed a "notable" number of award books, including Newbery titles, in Appendix B of the Common Core State Standards, a set of standards adopted by 45 states as of this writing (Common Core State Standards Initiative, 2012).

The Newbery honors outstanding writing in books for children 14 years old and younger (ALSC, 2008). Titles given the award must be "marked by eminence" as
well as “excellence in quality” (ALSC, 2008, para. 6). ALSC (2008) criteria indicate titles must be original works and written by authors having citizenship or maintaining a residency in the United States. The award is selected by a committee of 15 ALSC members. Eight are elected, and the chair and six members are appointed by the ALSC president (ALSC, 2009). In addition to the Medal, the Newbery committee has the option of selecting one or more Honor books each year. Newbery Honor books are considered to be outstanding titles that were real contenders for the Medal. Winners of the Medal and the Honor are announced each year at the Midwinter Meeting of the American Library Association.

According to ALSC (2008), Newbery committee members must “consider excellence of presentation for a child audience,” but “popularity” does not matter. However, the Newbery has been criticized for being unpopular with young people (Silvey, 2008; Strauss, 2008) and too challenging in terms of reading level (Schafer, 1986; Strauss, 2008). For instance, Leal and Chamberlain-Solecki (1998) and Schafer (1986) found Newbery books tend to have a reading level at sixth grade or higher. While Newbery books are meant for children up through age 14, the high reading levels of some titles make them inaccessible as independent reading for the youngest children. Additionally, some have decried minimal racial diversity and lack of homosexual and bisexual characters in Newbery titles (Kidd, 2007).

As this discussion has highlighted, books for children, especially award books like Newbery Medal and Honor winners, have an important place: They occupy the shelves of bookstores and school libraries, and they are sometimes recommended for and integrated into K-12 instruction. This discussion has also demonstrated that
children's literature can be influential. From the perspective of both the sociology of school knowledge and critical literacy, the content of books matters because books communicate ideology. Books are selective in their representation of the world; some groups of people are showcased and presented as the “norm” while others are minimized (Jones, 2006b). Such representations may negatively impact children (Boutte, 2002; Larrick, 1965) unless they actively question and challenge characterizations appearing in books. What messages are communicated to children through literature? What ideologies are presented, and whose values are imparted? And particularly salient to this study - what are the messages, ideologies, and values about social class conveyed to children through literature?

**Portrayals of Social Groups in Children's Literature**

There are several reasons why scholars of children's literature examine how groups of people are portrayed in books for youth. One reason is that children need to see images of people like themselves reflected in the books they read (Aitken, 1988; Jones, 2008; Short, 2011). The absence of particular groups of people in literature could prompt children to believe that members of the group are not valuable or important in the society producing the literature (Larrick, 1965). Studying literature can shed light on whether certain groups are marginalized and if negative messages about these groups are transmitted to children. Second, when researchers analyze children's literature, their findings can help educators understand whether the books they use in school include fair and equitable images of groups of people (Boutte et al., 2008). Offering children books reflecting their culture and community is a form of culturally relevant teaching (McLeod, 2008).
Studies about portrayals of social groups in children's literature have called attention to inequities regarding how these groups are depicted. This section provides an overview of research exploring how groups like people of color, females, and socioeconomic classes have been portrayed in books for children. Investigations of race and gender portrayals are considered first to briefly outline the history of scholarship about social groups in children's literature. Following this is a discussion of studies exploring how social class has been portrayed in books for youth. Given the focus of social class in the present study, this discussion is the most robust, yet it should be noted that class portrayals have been studied less frequently than race or gender depictions (McLeod; 2008; Sano, 2009).

**Race and gender.** Larrick's 1965 study about how black characters were depicted in children's literature was among the first to explore portrayals of cultural and social groups. Larrick is often credited with initiating studies exploring diversity in children's literature (Temple et al., 2006). Larrick surveyed more than 5,000 children's books written between 1962 and 1964 and found only 6.7% of them had a black character, and of those that did, less than 1% showed black characters in contemporary United States settings. The scarcity of black characters in children's books at this time normalized whites and marginalized people of color. Larrick's work in calling attention to this problem has resulted in greater inclusion of black characters in children's books. For instance, an analysis of all Newbery and Caldecott Medal and Honor books by Clark (2007) found 21.7% of Newbery books and 32.5% of Caldecott books had a nonwhite main character. While these statistics
indicate non-white people are still depicted less often than whites, they represent a significant improvement over the number of depictions in the early 1960s.

Gender representation has also been a major subject of scholarship. Weitzman et al. (1972) studied Caldecott books and found women were nearly invisible, and when they were shown, they were portrayed in service roles or engaged in passive behavior. Stereotypical portrayals of women continue in contemporary books. Crabb and Marciano (2011) examined illustrations in Caldecott books from 1990 to 2009 and concluded women were more likely than men to be shown using "household artifacts" like kitchen utensils and cleaning supplies, and men were more likely to be shown using "production artifacts" like farming, construction, or manufacturing tools (p. 393). Female characters have also been depicted less frequently than males, which Weitzman et al. (1972) noted. Although most Newbery authors are women, Clark's (2007) study showed 31.5% of Caldecott books had a female main character as did 38.8% of Newbery books. McCabe et al. (2011) furthered understanding of female representation by looking at gender in Caldecott books as well as in popular and frequently read books, including stories from the Little Golden Books series and books listed in the *Children's Catalog*, a resource for librarians. McCabe et al. found males appeared more frequently as main characters and in book titles.

**Social class.** Race and gender depictions in children's literature have been studied for decades, but social class has not. Though social class has been overlooked as a topic of study in children's literature, it has been the subject of several recent reports. The following discussion addresses the messages and ideas
about social class that have been communicated to children through literature. It should be noted that studies or essays about social class in single book titles (e.g., Hollowell, 2013) are not included in this discussion; only studies featuring multiple titles have been included since such studies permit greater generalization of the findings.

**Social class and race.** Among the earliest studies addressing class portrayals in children’s literature is an analysis by Taxel (1981), who explored portrayals of race and class in children's books about the American Revolution using the framework of the sociology of school knowledge. Main characters in the books in Taxel’s sample tended to be upper class and white. Sometimes, the lower class was represented through secondary characters, and these characters were depicted as unintelligent or shady. The perspectives of lower class whites and blacks were rarely included in the books. Taxel said this contributes to the misconceptions that 1) these social groups were unimportant in the American Revolution and 2) racial and class tensions did not exist among the colonists.

Like Taxel (1981), Boutte et al. (2008) examined both race and class in children’s books. Boutte et al. did a content analysis of 29 titles frequently read at the PreK-3 levels in a particular school district. Their purpose was to investigate whether the books validated the perspectives of black children, who made up nearly half of the district’s student population. The titles were coded for the race, gender, and social class of characters. The analysis revealed that 69% of the books featured middle class characters and settings, and white characters were more often shown as members of the middle class than black characters. Though Boutte et al.’s work
did not have an exclusive focus on class, it represents a positive step toward increasing awareness of this topic in children’s literature.

**Social class in books for English Language Learners.** A specific analysis of social class was done by Sano (2009), who explored class portrayals in a study of 50 books frequently used by teachers of English Language Learners (ELLs). These titles were then compared to class portrayals in 20 Caldecott Medal books. Sano found all but three of the ELL books had either an immigrant or first-generation American protagonist. “Manual non-farming jobs,” representative of the working class, were present in 38% of the ELL books and 5% of the Caldecott books (p. 2574). Workers on farms and in factories each appeared in 16% of the ELL books and in none of the Caldecott winners. The “professional worker,” associated with the middle class, appeared in 20% of the ELL books and 40% of the Caldecott books (p. 2574). Sano’s findings confirmed her hypothesis that ELL children are often shown their future social class (working class) in the literature read to them. The findings also suggest award books tend to feature middle class settings and characters. Sano argued her findings highlight an inequity in the school experience. Children who are ELLs are taught to aspire to working class roles, while children in “regular” education settings, who are more likely to be exposed to the Caldecott books, are taught to aspire to middle class roles. Sano speculated that teachers selected the ELL books so students could relate to the characters, who were often immigrants; the intent may not have been to limit ELL children’s aspirations by showing them working class roles. However, the presence of inequity in Sano’s
findings calls attention to the need for scrutinizing how social class is depicted in books shared with children.

**Portrayals of poverty.** Kelley and Darragh (2011) studied how low socioeconomic status is depicted in realistic picture books with characters situated in poverty, a more specific range of books than those studied by Boutte et al. (2008) and Sano (2009). The depictions of poverty appearing in the 58 books included in the study were compared to actual statistics on poverty in the contemporary United States. Kelley and Darragh found the relationship between gender and poverty in the books closely match this relationship at the present time: More women than men live in poverty. They also found that depictions of rural poverty in books occur less often than it does in reality. In the books, 18% included poverty in a contemporary rural setting, when in reality, 44% of the poor are rural. Though children in poverty may have few opportunities to see themselves in books, children living in rural poverty have even less.

In a similar study, Kelley et al. (2005) examined the themes recurring in realistic fiction children's books depicting poverty. Major themes identified by Kelley et al. included “luck, invisibility, alienation, interdependence, resourcefulness, resiliency, and activism” (p. 26), themes they believed are damaging to the poor. For instance, the themes of the poor's resourcefulness and resilience promote the idea that the poor “can or should pull themselves up by the bootstraps” (p. 29). Kelley et al. concluded their findings are consistent with the belief that the poor have themselves to blame for their circumstances, a belief which fails to consider the broader, systemic reasons for poverty. Although the books studied by Kelley
and Darragh (2011) and Kelley et al. (2005) were selected with very specific criteria and are not representative of other children's books, the findings suggest that literature depicting poverty doesn't match reality, particularly depictions of rural poverty, and the messages about poverty appearing in stories contain unfortunate stereotypes of impoverished people.

**Class in young adult literature.** Social class in literature for young adults has been examined as well. Glenn (2008) analyzed three series of popular, contemporary young adult books depicting high society life: *Gossip Girl, The A-List,* and *The Insiders.* Glenn noted these titles had themes such as entitlement of the wealthy, the equation of whiteness to affluence, vapid and superficial relationships between teens and their friends and parents, and the glamorization of consumerism. Members of the working class, including servants, were shown being disparaged and pitied by the upper class characters. As Glenn contended, these novels include damaging messages about class: Being wealthy means one can spend a lot of money and disrespect other people, while being poor means one is unimportant. Glenn said if teens are not taught to read these books critically, they may internalize these negative messages about social class.

More recently, Rawson (2011) explored representations of various social groups, including members of different class locations. Rawson used award-winning books (Printz Award and Honor titles; Young Adult Library Services Association top 10 books), teen-selected titles, and *Publisher's Weekly* best sellers in her sample. Rawson found the middle class was depicted more frequently than other class groups in all three of her book types (award-winning, teen-selected, and
bestselling books). However, in the award and best-selling titles, the poor were over-represented, appearing more frequently than actual poverty statistics in the United States. Though Rawson's study illuminates the class groups present in literature for young adults, her research says little about how these class groups are portrayed since Rawson did not read and qualitatively analyze each title. Rawson's primary source of data consisted of database descriptions of the books.

**Social class in international literature.** Forest, Garrison, and Kimmel (in press) explored portrayals of social class in recent winners and honorees of the Mildred L. Batchelder Award, which recognizes international children's literature translated into English and published in the United States. Forest et al.'s findings detailed a framework for examining social class in books for children. They identified two types of class markers: *outward indicators* like a character's occupation, residence, clothing, and material possessions, and *access to opportunities* such as healthcare, good food, and safety and protection. Further, they also found depictions of class groups that may not be common in literature originating in the United States. For instance, many characters in the Batchelder titles were poor, yet they had agency and were depicted with dignity and respect. Though wealthy characters were present, they were not usually glorified as Glenn (2008) observed in young adult literature. Additionally, Forest et al. noted that downward class mobility was common in the books, which is in opposition to the dominant American narrative of upward class mobility. Table 3 summarizes the findings of studies which have explored portrayals of social class in children's literature.
Table 3

Summary of Research Analyzing Social Class in Children’s Literature

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Researcher</th>
<th>Construct</th>
<th>Type of Books</th>
<th>Findings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taxel (1981)</td>
<td>Portrayals of race and class</td>
<td>Books set during the American Revolution</td>
<td>Predominance of upper class, white characters; lower class characters were unintelligent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boutte et al. (2008)</td>
<td>Portrayals of race and class</td>
<td>Books frequently read books in PreK-3 classrooms</td>
<td>Predominance of middle class characters; more white middle class characters than black middle class characters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sano (2009)</td>
<td>Portrayals of class</td>
<td>Books frequently read to English Language Learners (ELLs) and Caldecott books</td>
<td>Books read to ELLs depicted characters who were immigrants or first generation Americans; more ELL books had working class characters than Caldecott books; more Caldecott books had middle class characters than ELL books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelley &amp; Darragh (2011)</td>
<td>Portrayals of poverty; comparison to U.S. demographics</td>
<td>Realistic fiction picture books</td>
<td>More women than men were shown in poverty, which matches actual demographics; rural poverty was rarely depicted, which does not match actual demographics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelley et al. (2005)</td>
<td>Themes about poverty</td>
<td>Realistic fiction picture books</td>
<td>Themes that blame the poor for their problems, such as the poor should help themselves to rise out of poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glenn (2008)</td>
<td>Themes about the wealthy</td>
<td>Young adult series featuring upper class characters</td>
<td>Themes such as glamorizing consumerism; wealth equated to importance; poverty equated to unimportance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3
Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Researcher</th>
<th>Construct</th>
<th>Type of Books</th>
<th>Findings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rawson (2011)</td>
<td>Gender, race, nationality, religion, sexuality, disability, class</td>
<td>Young adult books: Printz Award winners, Teens' Top Ten list selections, bestselling books</td>
<td>Middle class was depicted most often; the poor were over-represented in Printz and bestselling titles compared to poverty demographics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forest et al. (in press)</td>
<td>Portrayals of class</td>
<td>International literature: Batchelder Award and Honor books</td>
<td>Types of class markers (outward indicators and access to opportunities); the poor depicted with agency and dignity; presence of downward class mobility; the wealthy were not glorified</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class Messages in Children's Literature

What messages about social class are communicated to children through literature? What class-related ideologies are presented, and whose values are imparted? Glenn's (2008) study suggests wealth is valued and idealized in young adult literature, a finding that mirrors those in mass communication studies like those of Perks (2007) and Kendall (2011). Glenn's research, along with Taxel's (1981) and Rawson's (2011), indicate affluence and white skin tend to go hand-in-hand. This is likewise for middle class characters, which are also predominantly white (Boutte et al., 2008). Jones (2008) has commented on the equation of affluence and whiteness and cautioned against its potential impact: "We may be raising our children to connect light skin with class privilege and dark skin with class marginalization, a dichotomous notion that promotes a very narrow and dangerous understanding about social class in the United States" (p. 43).
In the children's literature discussed here, the middle class is presented as the “norm.” Middle class characters were observed more frequently in Rawson's (2011) and Boutte et al.'s (2008) analyses, as were characters in the Caldecott books studied by Sano (2009). The poor and the working class were not entirely absent; Sano (2009) observed characters from these class locations in books for English Language Learners, as did Boutte et al. (2008) in books frequently read in primary level classrooms. Rawson (2011) noted characters in poverty were over-represented in certain books in comparison to actual poverty demographics in the United States, while Forest et al. (in press) observed poor characters were common in international literature. Though the poor are present, positive depictions seem apparent only in the international literature examined by Forest et al. Some books depicting the poor suggested they are able and obligated to work their way out of poverty (Kelley et al., 2005), and other books presented the poor as unintelligent and seedy (Taxel, 1981).

Viewing the findings of these studies from the perspectives of the sociology of school knowledge and critical literacy, books for young people tend to reflect (and perpetuate) beliefs about social class that are prevalent in the broader United States society. Middle class characters are common in literature; meanwhile, there is a widespread belief that the United States is a primarily middle class society. Further, books for children can vilify the poor and blame them for their circumstances (Kelley et al., 2005), which is a common belief in American society according to hooks (2000). Children may also be exposed to literature based on their social class as Sano's (2009) work suggested. Though Sano did not ground her study in a
sociology of school knowledge lens, her study underscored the idea that middle class children may be taught to aspire to middle class roles and working class children may be taught to aspire to working class roles based on the books they are shown in school. It may be concluded that books for the young communicate the messages that being rich is ideal, being middle class is normal, and being poor is deviant. Such messages could result in children forming negative views of certain class groups and unrealistic ideas about class if they are accepted uncritically. However, additional studies about class representations in children’s literature are still needed, especially studies investigating award-winning books, which are easy to obtain, highly visible, and integrated in the school curriculum.

The Present Study

Since children in the United States belong to various class groups, and young people deserve to have books affirming (not disparaging) their cultural identities, studies examining portrayals of class need to be given the limelight in children’s literature scholarship. While some of the studies discussed above foreground cultural constructs like race and gender in addition to social class (e.g., Boutte et al., 2008; Rawson, 2011), the present study has an exclusive focus on class. This focus is significant because, as previously noted, there are fewer studies of social class than there are of other cultural constructs. Drawing on the theoretical lenses of the sociology of school knowledge and critical literacy, this study analyzes class using qualitative content analysis to deconstruct the meanings and messages about social class in children’s books.
To the author's knowledge, this study is the first to examine social class in Newbery titles. Earlier studies of social class portrayals have examined books frequently read to certain populations (Boutte et al., 2008; Sano, 2009), picture books depicting poverty (Kelley & Darragh, 2011; Kelley et al., 2005), and young adult novels (Glenn, 2008; Rawson, 2011). Understanding how class is portrayed in Newbery titles is important because of the enduring nature of the Newbery and the high regard this award receives in the field: It has been "the gold standard in children's literature for more than eight decades" (Strauss, 2008, para. 1).

**Class groups in the present study.** The present study is also important because it takes a more nuanced view of social class than the work of other researchers who have analyzed portrayals of class in children's literature. This study conceptualizes social class into four groups: the upper class, the middle class, the working class, and the poor. Other researchers have clustered class into three groups, like Boutte et al. (2008) with the categories of "upper, middle" and "low/working" (p. 947) or Rawson with the categories of high socioeconomic status (SES), middle SES, and low SES. Studies like these have ignored portrayals of the working class or lumped this group in with other classes such as the lower class (as in the case of Boutte et al., 2008). The lack of consideration of the working class as a distinct group suggests that portrayals of this group may be underexplored, and the present study, with its inclusion of the working class as a distinct group, seeks to contribute to understanding how the working class is depicted in books for children. The conceptualization of class in this particular study is addressed next.
Social class, children's literature, and cultural relevance. In addition to investigating an under-researched construct in children's literature and including a more nuanced conceptualization of social class than past researchers, this study is significant since it calls attention to the issue of whether books for youth validate children's cultural identities and offer them opportunities to experience socioeconomic diversity. In a society that is thought to be overwhelmingly middle class (Van Galen, 2007) or even classless (Brown, 1974; Holtzman, 2000; hooks, 2000; Jones, 2006b; Neitzel & Chafel, 2010), are books for children exposing young people to different class realities? Or are books for children perpetuating the myth in a middle class or classless society? Do children’s books offer an alternative perspective on social class than what is presented in the school curriculum, which, according to a sociology of school knowledge perspective, ignores the working class and the poor? This study seeks to help answer these questions by unpacking representations of social class in a recent sample of award-winning books.

There are several reasons why offering children affirming portrayals of different social class groups is imperative. Gorski (2012) explained that some class groups, namely the poor, are negatively stereotyped in school settings. Common stereotypes about the poor include: 1) They do not care about education, 2) they are lazy, 3) they use drugs, and 4) they lack good language skills. Gorski said stereotypes like these reflect a “deficit ideology” which justifies inequalities that occur at many levels in education (Hochschild, 2003). Gorski concluded “...we cannot hope to provide the best possible educational experiences to students from families in poverty without a willingness to reject stereotypes and prejudices”
(2012, p. 314). It is possible that offering children positive depictions of people in different class groups through children's literature could counter some of these unfortunate stereotypes, but first, it is important to interrogate how class is depicted in books for youth.

Additionally, the white middle class makes up the mainstream, dominant group in public schools, and teachers from this group feel obligated to pass their own cultural norms and ideals on to students (Jones, 2006b). As Freire (1970/2000) noted, teachers may be unaware that they are passing on the dominant group's ideology and beliefs onto students, but schools are nonetheless sites of "cultural invasion" since one group's norms are being pressed upon other groups. Are the norms of the white middle class also being presented in children's literature, or are perspectives of other class groups presented? An analysis of children's literature through lenses like those of the sociology of school knowledge and critical literacy may reveal whose norms and values are presented to children and whose are absent. The results of such a study (like this one) may suggest a need for teaching students critical literacy skills like questioning a text, or they may suggest a need for further studies identifying texts that include positive depictions of class groups.

Another need for examining class depictions in children's literature is found in the prevalence of upward mobility discourse in schools (Jones & Vagle, 2013). As described by Jones and Vagle, the discourse of upward mobility encourages children to shun working class roles and aspire to middle class jobs. This discourse marginalizes poor and working class students since they are told the occupational
roles played by their families are undesirable. Meanwhile, the occupational roles played by middle class families are legitimizied and extolled as ideal. Upward mobility discourse also generates feelings of shame among poor and working class students, a feeling which presumably does not affect middle class children. Inequality is present in this discourse since the class roles of some children's families are celebrated while the class roles of other families are dismissed. Does children's literature also contribute to upward mobility discourse or the marginalization of the poor and working classes? Or does children's literature counter the upward mobility discourse and celebrate people of different class groups?

In sum, this study, which deconstructs portrayals of social class in a set of award-winning children's books, is significant for several reasons. Since children's literature is viewed as a cultural product, exploring class in books for children 1) examines the beliefs about social class in U.S. society as well as 2) the beliefs about class that are passed on to children through literature. With its grounding in the sociology of school knowledge framework, which is concerned with how children form their views (Taxel, 1989a), the study may illuminate how children develop their ideas about social class and how children's literature contributes to popular views about social class. With the study's positioning in a critical literacy perspective, it explores which class groups are present in literature and which are absent, and consequently, which class groups are valued and which are not. The study addresses whether Newbery Medal and Honor books depict socioeconomic diversity and whether they validate students' class identities, which may assist
teachers and librarians with selecting titles that are culturally relevant and that expand students' understandings of social class. The study also calls attention to an area of children's literature scholarship that has not been widely explored, and it does so by using a more complex conceptualization of social class than the work of past researchers. Finally, by identifying the ways social class is portrayed in children's literature, the study builds a framework for class depictions that may be useful to scholars who are interested in studying class in other children's literature, in the school curriculum, and in various forms of media.
CHAPTER 3

METHODS

As Chapters 1 and 2 have indicated, the purpose of this study is to deconstruct depictions of social class in Newbery Medal and Honor books receiving the award between 2004 and 2013. The study was guided by the research questions below:

1. In what ways is social class portrayed in titles receiving the Newbery Medal or Honor between 2004 and 2013?
   a. How are characters from different class groups portrayed?
   b. What messages about social class are conveyed in the books?

The study's design and a rationale to support it begin the discussion of the methods. Then, the sample of books used in the analysis is described and rationalized. Following this is an explanation of the procedures for data collection and analysis, and topics such as the unit of analysis and inter-rater reliability are addressed. Chapter 3 ends by outlining the steps taken to achieve credibility.

Design

The deductive and inductive approaches to qualitative content analysis were both utilized in this study. Leedy and Ormrod (2010) provided a clear description of content analysis:

A content analysis is a detailed and systematic examination of the contents of a particular body of material for the purpose of identifying patterns, themes, or biases. Content analyses are typically performed on forms of human communication, including books, newspapers, films, television, art, music, videotapes of human interactions, transcripts of conversations, and Internet blog and bulletin board entries" (p. 144)
A content analysis reduces data into parts that are manageable to analyze (Weber, 1990) and permits the researcher to make inferences about the data (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992; Weber, 1990). There is no single "correct" method for doing a content analysis (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992; Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Weber, 1990). However, a content analysis typically involves several steps: identifying research questions, selecting a sample, determining qualities or indicators to investigate in the sample, collecting data, and analyzing data for the qualities or indicators specified (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010).

**Rationale.** Content analysis was selected as the mode of inquiry since it is a means of investigating the content of written documents, including books (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010). Since exploring the content of children's literature is the goal of this study, content analysis was an appropriate method. Other researchers who have examined class portrayals in children's literature have employed content analysis, including Sano (2009) and Boutte et al. (2008).

Content analysis can be either qualitative or quantitative (or both), but the qualitative method was selected for this study. The qualitative approach is most often used in education as well as in nursing research (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). According to Hays and Singh (2012), qualitative inquiry is concerned with questions of how or what (p. 4). Because the goal of the study was selected before the methods, and the goal of the study is to analyze how social class is portrayed in children's books, the qualitative method was the most appropriate given this goal.

The researcher employed the deductive and inductive approaches to content analysis in this study. In the deductive approach, the researcher begins a study
using an existing framework or theory to code and analyze data (Berg, 2001; Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). This approach can be used “if the aim is to test an earlier theory in a different situation” (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008, p. 113). Since there is prior research about how social class is portrayed in media and children’s literature as described in Chapter 2, the deductive approach was applicable. A strength of the deductive approach is the ability to connect research to prior theory, but a limitation is the researcher’s bias since there is a prior framework or theory informing the study (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Researchers employing the deductive approach may only select data to support their theory and leave out data that does not fit (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). However, in this study, the researcher mediated this bias by analyzing data inductively as well as deductively.

Although the deductive approach was utilized, the researcher found that not all of the collected data fit the selected framework (the class frames identified by Kendall, 2011; to be described in detail shortly). To make sense of this “unsorted data,” the researcher also used the inductive approach, in which themes emerge from the text and are not pre-determined (Berg, 2001). Employing the inductive approach to this data permitted the researcher to identify several new “frames,” or portrayals of social class. Because qualitative inquiry is meant to be flexible (Hays & Singh, 2012), employing both approaches in a single content analysis is acceptable.

Sample

Books given the Newbery Medal or Honor between 2004 and 2013 comprised the sample in this study. This 10 year period includes 42 titles, which are listed in Table 4. A list of titles and brief summaries are provided in Appendix A.
Table 4

Sample of Newbery Medal and Honor Books, 2004-2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Award Year</th>
<th>Citation</th>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Setting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The One and Only Ivan</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Medal</td>
<td>Fantasy</td>
<td>Contemporary; a zoo in Washington state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Splendors and Glooms</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Fantasy</td>
<td>1860; London and English countryside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bomb</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Nonfiction (History)</td>
<td>World War II; United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Times Lucky</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Contemporary Realism</td>
<td>Contemporary; Tupelo Landing, North Carolina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead End in Norvelt</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Medal</td>
<td>Historical Fiction</td>
<td>1962; Norvelt, Pennsylvania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside Out &amp; Back Again</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td>1975-1976; South Vietnam and Alabama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breaking Stalin's Nose</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Historical Fiction</td>
<td>During Stalin's reign; Moscow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moon Over Manifest</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Medal</td>
<td>Historical Fiction</td>
<td>1917-1918, 1936; Manifest, Kansas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turtle in Paradise</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Historical Fiction</td>
<td>Great Depression; Key West, Florida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart of a Samurai</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Historical Fiction</td>
<td>1841-1852; at sea and in Fairhaven, Massachusetts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark Emperor and Other Poems of the Night</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td>Anytime; a forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Crazy Summer</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Historical Fiction</td>
<td>Summer of 1968; New York City and Oakland, California</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Award Year</th>
<th>Citation</th>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Setting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>When You Reach Me</em></td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Medal</td>
<td>Fantasy</td>
<td>1978-1979; New York City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Claudette Colvin: Twice Toward Justice</em></td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Biography</td>
<td>1950s; Montgomery, Alabama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Evolution of Calpurnia Tate</em></td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Historical Fiction</td>
<td>1899; Fentress, Texas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Where the Mountain Meets the Moon</em></td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Fantasy</td>
<td>Sometime in the past; imaginary place reminiscent of China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Mostly True Adventures of Homer P. Figg</em></td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Historical Fiction</td>
<td>1863; Pine Swamp, Maine and Gettysburg, Pennsylvania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Graveyard Book</em></td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Medal</td>
<td>Fantasy</td>
<td>Contemporary or recent past; graveyard in England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Underneath</em></td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Fantasy</td>
<td>Contemporary with some flashbacks; East Texas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Surrender Tree: Poems of Cuba’s Struggle for Freedom</em></td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td>1850-1899; Cuba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Savvy</em></td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Fantasy</td>
<td>Contemporary; Nebraska/Kansas line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>After Tupac and D Foster</em></td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Contemporary Realism</td>
<td>1994-1996; Queens, New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Good Masters! Sweet Ladies! Voices from a Medieval Village</em></td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Medal</td>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>1255; manor in England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Award Year</td>
<td>Citation</td>
<td>Genre</td>
<td>Setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Elijah of Buxton</em></td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Historical Fiction</td>
<td>1859; Buxton, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Feathers</em></td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Historical Fiction</td>
<td>1971; somewhere in the United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Higher Power of Lucky</em></td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Medal</td>
<td>Contemporary Realism</td>
<td>Present; Hard Pan, California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Penny from Heaven</em></td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Historical Fiction</td>
<td>1953; New Jersey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Hattie Big Sky</em></td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Historical Fiction</td>
<td>1917-1918; Arlington, Iowa and near Vida, Montana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Rules</em></td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Contemporary Realism</td>
<td>Present; coastal Maine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Criss Cross</em></td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Medal</td>
<td>Historical Fiction</td>
<td>1960s or 1970s; Seldem (somewhere in the United States)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Whittington</em></td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Fantasy</td>
<td>Contemporary, 1300s; Northfield (somewhere in the United States), London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Princess Academy</em></td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Fantasy</td>
<td>Sometime in the past; Mount Eskel, an imaginary setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Show Way</em></td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Historical Fiction</td>
<td>Spans decades from 19th century to present; various locations in the United States</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Table 4 Continued**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Award Year</th>
<th>Citation</th>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Setting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Hitler Youth: Growing Up in Hitler's Shadow</em></td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Nonfiction (History)</td>
<td>1930s and 1940s; Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kira-Kira</em></td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Medal</td>
<td>Historical Fiction</td>
<td>Late 1950s and early 1960s; Iowa and Georgia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Al Capone Does My Shirts</em></td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Historical Fiction</td>
<td>1935; Alcatraz Island, California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Voice that Challenged a Nation</em></td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Biography</td>
<td>1920s-1980s; Philadelphia, Washington, DC and various other locations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Lizzie Bright and the Buckminster Boy</em></td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Historical Fiction</td>
<td>1913; Phippsburg, Maine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Tale of Despereaux</em></td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Medal</td>
<td>Fantasy</td>
<td>Sometime in the past; the fictional Kingdom of Dor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Olive's Ocean</em></td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Contemporary Realism</td>
<td>Present; Wisconsin and Buzzards Bay, Massachusetts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>An American Plague</em></td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Honor</td>
<td>Nonfiction (History)</td>
<td>1793; Philadelphia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Rationale.** Newbery books were selected for several reasons. First, books winning the Newbery have a significant impact on book sales as well as the types of books later selected for publication (Horning, 2010). Newbery titles establish standards for children's literature in the publishing industry (Weitzman et al.,
1972): It is a most influential award (Horning, 2010). Second, the Newberys are widely accessible to children because they are placed on special shelves in libraries and book stores (Strauss, 2008) and they stay in circulation for many years (Kidd, 2007). Even Newberys from decades long past are reprinted for modern readers (Tunnell & Jacobs, 2013). Third, Newbery books are recommended for instructional use in schools (Barry et al., 2013; Kasten et al., 2005; Tompkins, 2013). Yokota (2011) indicated “children are often required to read award-winning literature in school” (p. 467). While Newbery books may not be popular with every child (Silvey, 2008; Strauss, 2008), they are readily available to young readers, and children are likely to encounter them in school settings.

The decade of 2004-2013 was also selected for several reasons. As discussed in Chapter 1, this decade included a period of economic stability from 2004 to late 2007, a time of economic turmoil and recession from late 2007 to mid-2009, and the beginning of a recovery from the recession starting in mid-2009 (Seefeldt et al., 2012). Because of the changes in the economic climate during this period, this decade offers an interesting look at issues of social class, especially if children’s literature reflects the economic, social, and political climate as some scholars have suggested (Clark, 2007; Taxel, 1989b, 1997). In qualitative inquiry, samples are purposefully selected to yield the most information (Creswell, 2012; MacMillan & Wergin, 2010), particularly in content analysis (White & Marsh, 2006), and this sample was thought to provide a wealth of information about social class in children’s literature.
However, it should be noted that books in this sample were not analyzed according to the time frames of 2004 to late 2007, late 2007 to mid-2009, and mid-2009 to 2013. The researcher has no way of knowing when the idea for a particular book was conceived by the author, how long the author took writing the book, or how long the publication process lasted. Though a book may have received the Newbery in 2009, for instance, it is possible the author started writing it years before. Therefore, Newbery books from the decade 2004 to 2013 are examined as a whole rather than by time frames within this decade.

Coding Scheme

According to Downe-Wamboldt (1992) a coding scheme is good if it answers the research questions. In this study, the 18 class frames identified by sociologist and media scholar Kendall (2011) were used as the coding scheme for the deductive part of the analysis. Kendall (2011) noted, “Framing is an important way in which the media emphasize some ideological perspectives and manipulate salience by directing people's attention to certain ideas while ignoring others” (p. 12). A frame “constitutes a story line or an unfolding narrative about an issue” (Kendall, 2011, p. 12). The researcher believed using Kendall's frames as the coding scheme would effectively answer the main research question of how social class is portrayed in Newbery books. Kendall’s work identified frames, or portrayals, of social class groups in mass media, and this study explores portrayals of social class in children's literature. Since mass media and books for children are both products of American culture, the researcher hypothesized that some of the class portrayals in mass media might also appear in children's literature.
However, because an inductive analysis was also employed in the study, the researcher had the possibility of identifying class frames in the books that were not evident in Kendall's study. The study therefore has a flexible design since the researcher could 1) connect it to Kendall's work using the deductive approach and 2) remain open to the possibility of new class frames that were not identified by Kendall. The class frames used as the coding scheme in the deductive part of the analysis are shown in Table 5.

Table 5

*Class Frames Identified by Kendall (2011)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poor &amp; Homeless</td>
<td>Dependency &amp; Deviance</td>
<td>Stereotypes about welfare dependency and poverty such as laziness, poor parenting skills, and irresponsibility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exceptionalism</td>
<td>The poor rise above adversity to achieve prosperity or happiness in a higher social class.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sympathetic</td>
<td>Children, elderly people, and ill people are depicted as deserving of sympathy and represent the larger population of the poor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Charitable</td>
<td>The poor are in need of help from the more affluent, especially at the holidays or after tragedies and disasters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Statistics</td>
<td>The poor are faceless numbers, not real people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class &amp; Working Poor</td>
<td>Shady</td>
<td>Working class members are characterized as &quot;greedy workers, unions, and organized crime&quot; (Kendall, 2011, p. 27).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class &amp; Working Poor</td>
<td>Heroic</td>
<td>People of the working class take heroic actions (e.g., firefighters) but can also be victims.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>Caricature</td>
<td>Working class people are bigots, rednecks, buffoons, and white trash.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; Working Poor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>Fading Blue-Collar</td>
<td>Members of this class are unemployed, under-employed, or are unhappy with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; Working Poor</td>
<td></td>
<td>current jobs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>Middle Class Values</td>
<td>These depictions identify middle class values like working hard to get ahead,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the importance of achievement and education, and individualism (i.e., personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>responsibility for life outcomes).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>Squeeze</td>
<td>Middle class possessions and comforts are becoming increasingly difficult to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>attain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>Victimization</td>
<td>The problems of the middle class come from the corruption or greediness of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the upper and lower classes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>Consensus</td>
<td>The wealthy are framed as regular people no different from anyone else.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>Admiration</td>
<td>The wealthy are portrayed as caring, benevolent, and charitable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>Emulation</td>
<td>The wealthy represent the ideals of the American Dream and are models for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>everyone else.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>Price Tag</td>
<td>The wealthy are depicted as conspicuous consumers and are shown to value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>material goods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>Dysfunctional</td>
<td>Wealthy people are unhappy or emotionally unstable despite their affluence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>Bad Apple</td>
<td>The wealthy are corrupt and greedy; they are white collar criminals.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To identify these class frames, Kendall (2011) read newspaper articles and watched “thousands of hours of television entertainment shows” (p. 20). The newspaper articles and television news stories that Kendall studied were located by searching through internet databases; Kendall looked for articles that specifically addressed class and class-related themes in order to build a purposeful sample. The *New York Times* was often analyzed because its articles were frequently reprinted in other newspapers, making it a fairly representative source of news. Kendall also selected popular sitcoms like *Modern Family* and viewed shows with obvious class themes like *Life of Luxury* and *Rich Kids*. Reality shows were excluded, except for those dealing with class issues such as the *Real Housewives* series.

Kendall (2011) determined social class portrayals in the newspaper articles, television news broadcasts, and entertainment shows by noting “class-related identifiers” like “the occupational status of characters and the types and locations of their residences” (p. 20). The Gilbert-Kahl Model (Gilbert, 2008), which identifies six social class groups (capitalist, upper middle, middle, working class, working poor, and underclass), was used to conceptualize social class and develop class frames, though Kendall cited an earlier edition of Gilbert’s (2008) text. However, in her discussion of class frames, Kendall grouped the working poor with the working class. While the reasons for this are not clear in her book, Kendall responded to an email inquiry from the researcher and explained her rationale:

The working poor were grouped with the working class because the “working poor” do have jobs, often similar to those in the “working class,” but their wages are so low and their benefits typically are nonexistent, thus qualifying them for the poverty category. Many in the working class fall into the working poor category if they lose a slightly-better paying job and take
one or more temporary jobs at minimum wage or less. (D. Kendall, personal communication, November 11, 2013)

According to this statement, the working poor and the working class were grouped together because a working class person can easily become a working poor person. Gilbert (2008) noted "many jobs near the boundary between the working class and the working poor could be placed on either side" (p. 235), so this grouping of the working poor and working class seemed reasonable. Kendall also grouped the upper middle class with the middle class, though she does not include much discussion of the upper middle class in her book (D. Kendall, personal communication, November 11, 2013). Though she referenced the six-level Gilbert-Kahl Model (Gilbert, 2008) in her study, Kendall essentially used four class groups: upper class; middle class, including the upper middle class; working class, including the working poor; and the poor and homeless.

Weber (1990) and Hays and Singh (2012) recommended testing a coding scheme on a sample of text in order to determine its utility and if revisions should be made. Before Kendall's (2011) class frames were selected as the coding scheme for this study, their utility was tested using data from two titles, Dead End in Norvelt (Gantos, 2011) and Moon Over Manifest (Vanderpool, 2010). These books won the 2012 and 2011 Newbery Medals, respectively. Passages relating to social class from these titles were coded according to Kendall's class frames. Although not all of this data matched a class frame, text communicating significant ideas about social class, such as a character's direct comments and judgments about class groups, aligned well with one or more frames. After this determination was made, the class frames
were chosen to serve as the coding scheme in this study. Table 6 illustrates how a sample of this preliminary data matched Kendall’s framework.

Table 6

Preliminary Data and Kendall’s (2011) Coding Frame

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>Bad Apple</td>
<td>“Devlin doesn’t care who sees him, because he doesn’t have to answer to anybody. They all answer to him. Around here, whoever owns the mine pretty much owns the town. Everybody has to come crawling to him, his mine, his company store. And believe me, with his wages and his prices, he makes sure you stay on your knees” (Vanderpool, 2010, p. 63).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>Heroic</td>
<td>“Because schools don’t teach the history of social reformers who were real American heroes and fought for workers’ rights and justice,” she said angrily…” (Gantos, 2011, p. 22)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conceptualizing Social Class

To reiterate what was described in Chapters 1 and 2, a social class is a large group of people who have similar economic resources and share similar lifestyles. Members of the upper class have a surplus of economic resources and relatively luxurious lifestyles, while the poor and homeless have few, if any, economic resources. The middle and the working class fall in between the upper class and the poor and homeless in terms of their economic resources and lifestyles.

Although multiple models of class groups are available, the researcher chose to conceptualize class in this study following the methods of Kendall (2011), whose research on class portrayals in mass media informs the coding frame and analysis of this study. Kendall analyzed portrayals of four class groups: upper class, middle
class, working class, and poor. However, the researcher of this study deviated slightly from Kendall's categorizations of class because she chose to place the upper middle class with the upper class, not the middle class as Kendall did (D. Kendall, personal communication, November 11, 2013; see Appendix C for email message). Grouping the upper middle class with the upper class was justifiable because Gilbert (2008), whose model of social class informed Kendall's work, noted both of these groups were part of a privileged class (as shown in Table 2).

Each of these four class groups is described below. An overview of each class group is included to illustrate and clarify what is meant by “upper class,” “middle class,” “working class,” and “poor.” It should be noted that the inclusion of these descriptions is not to stereotype people belonging to a certain class or to suggest these descriptions are representative of all members of a particular class. The intent of including these descriptions is to communicate how class groups were broadly conceptualized in this study.

To begin, the upper class is a group of people who have ready access to a variety of resources and a high income. The upper class is comprised of the people who would be categorized as the “capitalist class” and the “upper middle class” (the privileged groups) in the Gilbert-Kahl Model (Gilbert, 2008). According to Hill (2012), members of this class tend to own what would be considered luxuries to people in other classes, such as multiple homes or yachts. People in the upper class are often graduates of private or prep schools (or send their children to such schools), have memberships in high status organizations or clubs, are politically conservative, live in secluded neighborhoods, and may enjoy expensive recreational
activities such as boating or polo (Hill, 2012). They also have autonomy and power in the workplace (Anyon, 1981).

Within this class, there are individuals who have been wealthy for generations (old money), and there are also people called the *nouveau riche* who are considered inferior to those with old money (Hill, 2012). The top stratum of the upper class is comprised of very wealthy people who do not need to work to generate income; they live off investments or family fortunes (Gilbert, 2008). Others in this class work to earn their income, but they are well-educated and well-paid. These individuals are considered the upper middle class in the Gilbert-Kahl Model, and they have occupations such as doctors and lawyers (Gilbert, 2008).

Members of the upper class, especially the richest among them, are politically powerful because they make large contributions to national political campaigns and own media corporations that have a widespread influence on Americans' social and political perspectives (Gilbert, 2008).

Below the upper class in the class hierarchy is the middle class. The middle class is made up of people who do not have the resources of the upper class but are privileged compared to the working class and the poor. In general, members of the middle class embrace the values of hard work and obtaining an education, believe in upward class mobility, have various levels of economic stability and challenges, defer child-bearing until marriage, possess mainstream political beliefs, prefer living in the suburbs (Hill, 2012), and have leisure time (Lott, 2012). Middle class parents have a permissive parenting style and engage in child-centered activities (Hill, 2012). Middle class workers hold either white collar occupations or they are skilled
blue collar employees (Anyon, 1981; Gilbert, 2008). They work as laborers, teachers, nurses, and public servants like firefighters and police officers (Hill, 2012). They have some autonomy in the workplace, and their jobs are not routine tasks (Gilbert, 2008). People in the middle class have a high school education, though some are college-educated (Gilbert, 2008; Hill, 2012).

In the social class hierarchy, the working class is below the middle class. Individuals in the working class are less likely to be married than middle class people, and working class males tend to hold traditional views about the division of labor in a family, meaning women should have responsibilities such as childrearing, cooking, and cleaning (Hill, 2012). Parents tend to have an authoritarian style compared to the more permissive style of their middle class counterparts (Hill, 2012). Workers in this class have both union and non-union jobs and are blue or pink collar workers (Lott, 2012). Gilbert (2008) indicated white collar workers who perform routine tasks are also members of the working class. Typical working class positions involve manual labor, clerical work, and service jobs (Abramowitz & Teixeira, 2009).

Members of the working poor comprise a lower stratum of the working class. Though similar to the working class, they are not as well-paid (D. Kendall, personal communication, November 11, 2013). The working poor are non-unionized and have few skills (Langston, 1988). They tend to be service and sales workers with unstable jobs and unfavorable working conditions (Gilbert, 2008).

The poor make up the lowest rank of the class hierarchy. Compared to adults in other class groups, the poor are more likely to be single parents, and they often
have an authoritarian parenting style (Hill, 2012). Poor women have children at younger ages than affluent women, sometimes becoming mothers in their teen years (Hill, 2012), while households headed by women are more likely to be living in poverty than households headed by men (Seefeldt et al., 2012). The poor tend to have diets that are not nutritionally optimal, live in houses that are run-down, and reside in districts with ill-equipped public schools (Lott, 2012). Some of the poor have limited educational attainment (Seefeldt et al., 2012) and some are welfare-dependent (Gilbert, 2008; Langston, 1988). They are unemployed, intermittently employed, or employed part-time (Gilbert, 2008). Included in this class group are the homeless, who share the characteristics of the poor but lack a consistent place of residence.

Table 7 is a summary of the preceding discussion about class. It represents a synthesis of class characteristics described by Abramowitz and Teixeira (2009), Anyon (1981), Gilbert (2008), Hill (2012), and Lott (2012). As explained earlier, the class groupings follow Kendall's (2011) conceptualization of class, with the exception that the upper middle class is considered part of the upper class and not the middle class. This conceptualization of class informed the data collection and analysis to be described in upcoming chapters.
### Table 7

**Synthesis of Class Groups and Class Indicators**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Upper Class</th>
<th>Middle Class</th>
<th>Working Class &amp; Homeless</th>
<th>Poor &amp; Homeless</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occupation &amp; type of work</td>
<td>Doctors, lawyers, executives, high level businessmen, people who do not work because they have wealth; have autonomy and power in the workplace</td>
<td>Teachers, nurses, public servants, low level businessmen (white collar and skilled blue color workers); have some autonomy and power in the workplace</td>
<td>Service workers, manual laborers, clerks (white collar workers with routine jobs, some blue collar workers, pink collar workers); little autonomy and power in the workplace</td>
<td>Unemployed, intermittently employed, employed part-time; little autonomy and power in the workplace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income &amp; money</td>
<td>High income; income generated through ownership of capital or investments or well-paid jobs</td>
<td>Middle income; income generated through jobs</td>
<td>Lower income than the middle class; income generated through jobs</td>
<td>Minimal income; income sometimes generated through government support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>College and graduate school; send children to private schools and boarding schools</td>
<td>High school graduates; some are college-educated</td>
<td>Not indicated in the literature</td>
<td>“Incomplete education” (Gilbert, 2008, p. 235)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Because Kendall’s (2011) 18 class frames were used as the coding scheme, the researcher decided to remain mostly consistent with Kendall’s methods by using four class groups: upper, middle, working class, and poor. Although the researcher wished to remain entirely consistent with Kendall’s groupings of class, the researcher decided to group the upper middle class with the capitalist class (the top 1% of people; Gilbert, 2008), not the middle class, in this study. Kendall grouped the upper middle class with the middle class in her book (D. Kendall, personal communication, November 11, 2013). There were two reasons why the researcher grouped the upper middle class and the capitalist class into one group called the “upper class.” First, the researcher found it difficult to discriminate whether some characters were members of the upper middle class or from the capitalist class. Dr. Wintemute in Splendors and Glooms (Schlitz, 2012), for instance, is clearly presented as wealthy: “Dr. Wintemute was a wealthy and important man” (Schlitz,
2012, p. 75). Though he may be upper middle class because he works as a doctor, he could also be generating income in other ways consistent with the capitalist class, such as the inheritance of an estate. Second, the Gilbert-Kahl Model (Gilbert, 2008) identifies both the upper middle class and the capitalist class as "privileged classes," while the middle class is considered a "majority class." The upper middle class even includes a group Gilbert (2008) called the "working rich" comprised of "very successful professionals . . . with incomes in the hundreds of thousands of dollars" (p. 233). The lifestyles of these individuals are likely more similar to those of the capitalist class than the middle class, which is comprised of people like teachers and police officers. Therefore, it seemed reasonable to group the upper middle class with the capitalist class to form one group called "the upper class." As Kendall noted, "when writing about class, I have found that you have to make judgment calls based on what others have written and on your own data because the dividing lines are not clear cut in some categories" (D. Kendall, personal communication, November 11, 2013).

Though Kendall grouped the working class and the working poor together, the researcher tried to label characters as either "working class" or "working poor" whenever the level of detail in the books permitted. Essentially, the working class and the working poor were thought of as two levels of a single class group, and class frames for the working class were applied to working poor characters. Therefore, in this study, characters in the Newbery books were placed into one of four class groups: the upper class, the middle class, the working class/working poor, and the poor/homeless.
Data Collection and Analysis

This section describes how data was collected and analyzed. Topics include how the researcher determined social class, the unit of analysis, and how the content of the Newbery books was coded. The section ends by addressing inter-rater reliability procedures.

Identifying class in children's books. The preceding section explained how the researcher understood (and conceptualized class) in a general sense based on scholarship about class groups in the contemporary United States. However, in the present study, the researcher also utilized a conceptual framework of class that she developed in a pilot study. In the pilot study, the researcher read and coded 22 Newbery titles for class frames and mentions of social class. The pilot study was conducted in the same way as the present study except that a smaller sample was used (the sample was made up of the Newbery Medal and Honor titles receiving the award between 2009 and 2013, and essentially, the present study is an expansion of the pilot study). The framework includes a number of indicators, or markers that help identify a character's social class. These indicators are based on markers of class found in the scholarly literature (summarized in Table 7), and they are also consistent with the markers identified and used by Sano (2009) in her content analysis of Caldecott books and books read to English Language Learners (though Sano added type of transportation, which might be categorized as a possession, and the reading habits of characters). The framework in Tables 8-11, developed through results of the pilot study, informed the researcher as additional data was collected from Newbery Medal and Honor books published between 2004 and 2008. This
framework aided the researcher in identifying instances where social class was mentioned or suggested in the books.

Table 8

*Indicators Developed from the Pilot Study (Upper Class)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>General Characteristics</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occupation &amp; type of work</td>
<td><em>Owners of capital; highly skilled workers with much autonomy</em></td>
<td>&quot;'Cause you a Tate girl. Your daddy owns cotton. Your daddy owns the gin'&quot; (Kelly, 2009, p. 191).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Dr. Wintermute was a wealthy and important man&quot; (Schlitz, 2012, p. 75).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income &amp; money</td>
<td><em>No lack of money</em></td>
<td>&quot;I'm guessing we had more money than other families in the county&quot; (Kelly, 2009, p. 132).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;'Julia needs the money like a fish needs a bicycle'&quot; (Stead, 2009, p. 129).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td><em>University education</em></td>
<td>&quot;She wanted seventeen-year-old Harry, her oldest, to become a gentleman. She had plans to send him off to the university in Austin fifty miles away when he turned eighteen&quot; (Kelly, 2009, p. 6).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td><em>Well-kempt, spacious housing</em></td>
<td>&quot;Place was a mansion. Looked like something Shirley Temple would live in.&quot; (Holm, 2010, pp. 7-8).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;'Very rich people have gatehouses,' explained Lizzie Rose, at the entrance to their estates'&quot; (Schlitz, 2012, p. 200).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicator</td>
<td>General Characteristics</td>
<td>Examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td><em>Well-kempt, spacious housing</em></td>
<td>“They were tall and stately, with columns on either side of the door. The windows were heavily draped, but the rooms beyond them looked warm and bright. Whoever lived here had money enough for fires in every room, and an army of housemaids to stoke them” (Schlitz, 2012, p. 18).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessions</td>
<td><em>Ownership of expensive or luxurious items; may have servants</em></td>
<td>“‘She said you should wear the blue cashmere and your sealskins’” (Schlitz, 2012, p. 9).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“‘But why do I have to cook? Viola cooks for us,’ I said” (Kelly, 2009, p. 212).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Mother made me a new white broderie-anglaise dress with many layers of stiff, scratchy petticoats . . . I also had a brand-new pair of pale cream kid boots” (Kelly, 2009, p. 65).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“She pulled off one of her gloves - they were these beautiful, fuzzy, pale yellow gloves - and she yanked a ring from her finger. ‘I think of it like this,’ she said, holding up the ring. It was gold, studded all the way around with – ‘Are those diamonds?’ I said. ‘Diamond chips’” (Stead, 2009, p. 102).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td><em>Travel occurs in attractive vehicles</em></td>
<td>“… riding in a fine carriage” (Philbrick, 2009, p. 79)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 9

*Indicators Developed from the Pilot Study (Middle Class)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>General Characteristics</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occupation &amp; type of work</td>
<td>Skilled workers with some autonomy</td>
<td>&quot;'No,' Annemarie said, 'he works from home. He illustrates medical journals&quot; (Stead, 2009, p. 37).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income &amp; money</td>
<td>Not indicated in the literature</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Not indicated in the literature</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td>Housing is not shabby, but it is not luxurious</td>
<td>&quot;She has an average house&quot; (Turnage, 2012, p. 55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessions</td>
<td>Possessions beyond necessities; possessions are not shabby</td>
<td>&quot;Randall hadn't been rich, but he had a nice house with beautiful rugs, African statues all around and pretty pictures on the wall&quot; (Woodson, 2008, p. 78).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Annemarie's bedroom was about the same size as mine, but it had nice curtains and the walls were completely covered with all kinds of pictures and photographs&quot; (Stead, 2009, p. 37).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>Not indicated in the literature</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10

**Indicators Developed from the Pilot Study (Working Class and Working Poor)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>General Characteristics</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occupation &amp; type of work</td>
<td>Low-paying occupation; may need multiple jobs to make ends meet; blue collar jobs</td>
<td>“On weekdays/Mother’s a secretary/in a navy office/trusted to count out/salaries in cash/at the end of each month./At night/she stays up late/designing and cutting/baby clothes/to give to seamstresses” (Lai, 2011, pp. 40-41).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“While her father, George, cleans the mall each night, Julia sits by my domain” (Applegate, 2012, p. 43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Sal’s daddy stock shelves at the Piggy Wiggly and her mother stays home with Sal’s little brother” (Turnage, 2012, p. 109).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“I’m nothing b-but a deliveryman, sir,’ the thin man stammered, his shoulders jerking” (Law, 2008, p. 55).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income &amp; money</td>
<td>Money is tight</td>
<td>“. . . everything in our house depended entirely on money. Decisions for us were not made on whether we wanted something, or even needed something, but on whether we could afford it or not” (Gantos, 2011, p. 94).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“If anyone needs the money,” Annemarie said to me coldly, “it’s you, not Julia”” (Stead, 2009, p. 130).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>May not be well-educated</td>
<td>“But somebody opened it - and it must’ve been Lizzie Rose, because it wasn’t me, and the boy can’t read”” (Schlitz, 2012, p. 344).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 10 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>General Characteristics</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td><em>Shabby, plain housing</em></td>
<td>&quot;... he had never seen anything like the gaudy squalor of Grisini's chambers. In one corner there was a sort of playhouse built of rubbish, with a spangled curtain for a door. Clotheslines had been strung from one wall to the next, bearing an assortment of string puppets: some missing arms and legs, some naked, all with oversize heads and staring eyes&quot; (Schlitz, 2012, p. 177).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessions</td>
<td><em>Some possessions beyond necessities; possessions tend to be shabby or not new</em></td>
<td>&quot;Lavender's house is old, with a patched roof, but his pride shows in the way the porch stays swept and the daylilies never want tending&quot; (Turnage, 2012, p. 43-44).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Brother Quang races home/from class,/throws down his bicycle,/exhausted,/no longer able to afford/gasoline for his moped" (Lai, 2011, p. 58).

"I know I'm supposed/to wear everything new./I don't have/anything new/except for the coat,/and a hand-me-down dress/still wrapped in plastic" (Lai, 2011, p. 418).

"She doesn't like Lila Burpee, who teases her because her clothes are old" (Applegate, 2012, p. 44).

""You could use some stitches in this arm. You got insurance?" Lavender winced. 'Are you kidding? Just tape it up, Doc.'" (Turnage, 2012, p. 60).
**Table 10 Continued**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>General Characteristics</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Possessions</td>
<td><em>Some possessions beyond necessities; possessions tend to be shabby or not new</em></td>
<td>“my flea market desk” (Turnage, 2012, p. 28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td><em>Vehicles are in working order but are not new; travel may occur in coach class; may be dependent on public transportation</em></td>
<td>“Brother Quang drives us back/to the sewing factory/in his car made of mismatched parts” (Lai, 2011, p. 425).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“... her rusted-out, dinted and dented, sorry excuse for a car gurgled and gargled and choked on its last drop of gasoline, then died” (Law, 2008, p. 138).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“... it was clear to him that Lizzie Rose and Parsefall belonged in a third-class carriage” (Schlitz, 2012, p. 190).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Montgomery's neighborhood were spread out, and the maids and 'yard boys' - people like Claudette Colvin's parents who scraped together a few dollars a day by attending to the needs of white families - depended on the buses to reach the homes of their white employers” (Hoose, 2009, p. 7).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 11**

*Indicators Developed from the Pilot Study (Poor and Homeless)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>General Characteristics</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occupation &amp; type of work</td>
<td><em>No occupation or low-paying occupation</em></td>
<td>“They were barely able to harvest enough rice to feed themselves” (Lin, 2009, p. 3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicator</td>
<td>General Characteristics</td>
<td>Examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income &amp; money</td>
<td>Minimal amount of money</td>
<td>&quot;... the only money in the house was two old copper coins&quot; (Lin, 2009, p. 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Not indicated in the literature</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td>Shabby, plain housing or no housing</td>
<td>&quot;Our house is bare&quot; (Lin, 2009, pp. 9-10).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;... barns, abandoned railroad cars, even Hoovervilles&quot; (Vanderpool, 2010, p. 18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;In front of her sat a shabby frame house with peeling paint, a house that slumped on one side as if it were sinking into the red dirt&quot; (Appelt, 2008, p. 9).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;It was a poor section of town, and the narrow houses looked bleak and cheerless&quot; (Schlitz, 2012, p. 173).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessions</td>
<td>Few possessions; possessions tend to be shabby</td>
<td>&quot;... rough clothes, rundown house, or meager food&quot; (Lin, 2009, p. 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>Vehicles are in poor shape</td>
<td>&quot;There was a rusted pickup truck parked next to it, a dark puddle of thick oil pooled beneath its undercarriage&quot; (Appelt, 2008, p. 9).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The framework for identifying social class in the preceding tables guided the researcher as she proceeded with the study, reading and coding the 2004-2008 Newbery titles. However, sometimes the researcher was able to determine the class
status of characters because their class positioning was explicitly identified, as this passage from *Where the Mountain Meets the Moon* illustrates:

Ma sighed a great deal, an impatient noise usually accompanied with a frown at their rough clothes, rundown house, or meager food. Minli could not remember a time when Ma did not sigh; it often made Minli wish she had been called a name that meant gold or fortune instead. Because Minli and her parents, like the village and the land around them, were very poor. They were barely able to harvest enough rice to feed themselves, and the only money in the house was two old copper coins that sat in a blue rice bowl with a white rabbit painted on it. The coins and the bowl belonged to Minli; they had been given to her when she was a baby, and she had had them for as long as she could remember. (Lin, 2009, pp. 2-3)

The narrator of *Where the Mountain Meets the Moon* (Lin, 2009) directly states that Minli and her parents are poor; thus, the researcher labeled passages referring to Minli’s family as “poor” in the data spreadsheet for this book.

However, sometimes a character stated he or she was a member of a particular class group, but this self-labeling contradicted the character’s apparent class status. In *Dead End in Norvelt*, the protagonist, Jack, says the following about his family: “Something had to be wrong with me, but one really good advantage about being dirt-poor is that you really can’t afford to go to the doctor and get bad news” (Gantos, 2011, p. 9). Though Jack calls himself “dirt-poor,” his father is a construction worker, his mother is a homemaker, and the family lives in their own home. They own some items that are not necessities, like a game of Monopoly. Despite his self-description, Jack’s family would be better classified as “working class” rather than “poor” according to the synthesis of class group characteristics described earlier and in the framework in Tables 8-11.

When characters explicitly stated their class status, the researcher labeled class according to this self-description in cases where she was unfamiliar with the
cultural context or the social structure of the book’s setting. *Where the Mountain Meets the Moon* (Lin, 2009) is a fantasy set some time in the past in an unnamed location; because the researcher did not know many details about this imaginary society, the researcher labeled Minli and her family as “poor,” the term used by the author to describe Minli’s family. However, when characters labeled their own class status and this status appeared to be inconsistent with the researcher’s framework for social class (see Tables 8-11), the researcher chose to label class status according to the framework rather than relying on the character’s self-description. This was the case with *Dead End in Norvelt* (Gantos, 2011).

At other times, a character’s class status could be inferred through the indicators of money, job, possessions, transportation, and residence as described and depicted in Tables 8-11. For example, in *When You Reach Me* (Stead, 2009), the class status of characters Miranda, Annemarie, and Julia could be identified based on descriptions of their apartments (including their bedrooms) and their possessions. Miranda, a working class character, has a bare carpet in her room, while dead bugs litter the lights in the building lobby and cigarette burns and holes mar the appearance of her couch. Miranda is awed to learn that Julia, an upper class character who vacations in Switzerland and owns real jewelry, has her own bathroom, and she marvels at how Annemarie has a doorman at her apartment building and a charge account at a local pharmacy. Miranda and Julia’s class positions are fairly obvious, though Annemarie’s location in the middle class can be inferred given that she is better off financially than Miranda but seems to have fewer luxuries compared to Julia. Annemarie’s father’s occupation as a medical journal
illustrator (a skilled, white collar job) and stay-at-home dad also suggest a middle class status.

Some characters and real figures had class positions that were difficult to identify even with the framework in Tables 8-11 used as a guide. Captain Whitfield, the captain of a New Bedford whaling ship in *Heart of a Samurai* (Preus, 2010), Robert Oppenheimer, a scientist and academic in *Bomb* (Sheinkin, 2012), and Richard, a lawyer in *When You Reach Me* (Stead, 2009), likely belong to the upper middle class based on the specialized skills or levels of education required for their jobs. Other than their occupations, little information was given about their lifestyles or other markers of their class status, making it hard to label their position. The same was true for Neeka and the narrator in *After Tupac and D Foster* (Woodson, 2008). Their residence in Queens, New York suggests they could be working class, but their “nice house and cute clothes and stuff” (Woodson, 2008, p. 16) could also position them in the middle class (ultimately, they were labeled as “middle class”).

Cecile Johnson, the estranged mother of protagonists Delphine, Vonetta, and Fern in *One Crazy Summer* (Williams-Garcia, 2010), was the most perplexing character in terms of identifying class location. Though she has her own house, her possessions are few; she does not even own a television, but given her love of poetry and political bend, this could be a personal choice rather than a function of her inability to buy a TV. Cecile has no occupation other than writing and printing poems, and how she generates income to keep her house is a mystery. Given these unusual circumstances, no attempt was made to label Cecile’s class status.
Though the researcher believed reasonable judgments were made about the class status of the characters, identifying class membership is not always straightforward whether labeling characters in literature or real people. Gilbert (2008) noted,

The stratification hierarchy . . . is clearest at the extremes. Toward the center, distinctions become blurred, people move more often during their lives from one level to another, and status becomes ambiguous. This is particularly true at the point where the middle class and the working class intersect . . . (p. 233)

The researcher has explained how class was conceptualized both in a general sense (see Table 7) and in a specific way (Tables 8-11) in order to clarify (and support) the conceptualization of social class in this study.

**Unit of analysis.** The unit of analysis refers to the level of text to be coded and analyzed for meaning. Weber (1990) called it a “recording unit” and named several levels of text: words, sentences, and themes (pp. 21-22). In this study, the unit of analysis consisted of instances where social class was mentioned directly or suggested in a text. Sometimes this involved a single sentence, but sometimes these instances were an entire paragraph. The passages below illustrate the unit of analysis. These passages were both coded as “admiration framing,” which depicts the wealthy as kind and charitable (Kendall, 2011). Both passages are from *The Evolution of Calpurnia Tate* (Kelly, 2009), which is about an affluent preteen growing up in 1899 Texas.

**Passage 1:**

There were three pairs of brown woolen socks for my brothers, a crocheted baby's jacket to give to the poor, and an asymmetrical tatted lace collar, rather awkward on the side where I'd begun it and somewhat tidier where I'd finished it up. (Kelly, 2009, p. 274)
Passage 2:

With the change in the weather came the realization that Thanksgiving was sneaking up on us. We’d all been too hot for too long to give it much thought. It was unfortunate that this year the task of feeding our small flock of turkeys (numbering exactly three) fell to Travis. One turkey was destined for our table, one was for the hired help, and one was for the poor at the other end of town. This was traditional in our house. (Kelly, 2009, p. 262)

Both passages illustrate admiration framing because they depict the benevolence that Calpurnia’s family displays toward the poor. However, Passage 1 captures this framing in a single sentence, while Passage 2 is made up of several sentences, which is necessary to capture the context of Calpurnia’s family’s charitable giving.

Although sentences or passages about social class were the unit of analysis, the researcher also considered each book holistically. The researcher realized that sometimes individual passages about social class were not enough to capture meanings about class in the titles, so whole books were analyzed for overarching themes about social class. For instance, the researcher did not code any passages about exceptionalism framing in 2011 Newbery Medal winner When You Reach Me (Stead, 2010). In exceptionalism framing, a character from a lower class achieves upward class mobility and ends up in a higher social class (Kendall, 2011). Though When You Reach Me (Stead, 2010) did not have individual passages depicting exceptionalism framing, the researcher realized that class mobility was a theme in the book as a whole: Miranda’s working class mother wins money on a game show which enables her to attend law school. Thus, the unit of analysis in this study was considered at two levels: 1) passages indicating social class and 2) overarching themes in each book.
Coding of content. Latent content refers to the “tone or implied feeling” conveyed in a book (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992, p. 138). It is the “underlying meaning of the text” (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004, p. 106). As described above in the example of When You Reach Me (Stead, 2010) the researcher considered latent content because sometimes, messages about social class were not captured in passages in the text, but they were present in major themes in a particular story. In order to consider latent content in the analysis, the researcher recorded memos. After completing each title, the researcher thought about each book as a whole and reflected on whether 1) it shared similar themes to other titles in the sample and 2) if any major themes corresponded to the class frames. The researcher's memos appear in Appendix B. Though the researcher recorded memos for the 2009-2013 Newbery titles, these memos were unstructured reflections. More structured memos were recorded for the 2004-2008 Newbery titles. A protocol for recording memos for the 2004-2008 Newbery books appears in Appendix D.

Because analyzing latent content requires an “interpretive reading” of a text (Taylor, 2003, p. 303), it is an admittedly subjective process. However, Taylor (2003) contended that latent content analysis can be credible if the researcher includes thick description of the data. In Chapter 4 (Findings), the researcher supports interpretations of latent content by including details from the books. This permits readers of this study to evaluate whether the researcher's interpretations are valid or not.

Manifest content is “the visible, surface, or obvious components of communication” (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992, p. 318). The researcher analyzed
manifest content by recording passages about social class in each book. In order to accomplish this, the researcher identified a number of social class indicators. As described previously, social class is indicated by an individual’s education level, occupation, and income (Abramowitz & Teixeira, 2009; Anyon, 1981; Hill, 2012); the amount of power a person has in the workplace (Anyon, 1981); ownership of capital (Marx & Engels, 1908); and type and location of residence (Kendall, 2011). These indicators are listed in Table 7 and again in Tables 8-11. The indicators listed in these tables, especially in Tables 8-11, were a framework for identifying instances of social class as well as identifying and labeling class groups. Considering these class indicators, the researcher recorded and coded passages referring to a character’s job (or more often, the job of a character’s parent since most characters were children), residence, mode of transportation (car, public transportation, etc.), and possessions like clothing, toys, or furniture. References to money or income, or lack of it, were also coded.

**Coding process.** Coding occurred as the researcher read the books. Because of the length of the books and the quantity of books in the sample, each title was read one time. As the researcher read the books, data was coded in one of two ways. These are described next.

**Coding by class frame.** First, if a passage about social class matched one of the class frames, the researcher recorded the passage and placed it in a spreadsheet in a section for the appropriate frame (a data spreadsheet was maintained for every title in the sample). The researcher decided whether a passage matched a Kendall (2011) class frame by considering whether the passage supported the
characteristics of the frame as shown in Table 5. For example, this passage was coded as “dependency and deviance” framing:

“It's our tax money,” said Deacon Hurd. “If a single one of you comes onto the pauper rolls, where do you think the money to keep you will come from? It will come from the people of Phippsburg.” (Schmidt, 2004, p. 33)

Dependency and deviance framing depicts poor people as lazy or as welfare recipients. This passage suggests a group of impoverished people may be soon joining the “pauper rolls,” so it is thus an example of dependency and deviance framing.

Sometimes, the researcher found that a passage referred to a particular class group and it matched a class frame that Kendall (2011) identified for a different class group. For instance, sometimes exceptionalism framing was observed with working class characters, though Kendall stated it was a way of framing the poor. In cases like these, the researcher coded the passage according to class frame even if the character’s class status did not match the class group to which the class frame referred in Kendall’s study. This permitted the possibility of expanded meanings and definitions of the frames Kendall identified.

**Coding by class status.** Second, some of the recorded passages were related to social class but did not match one of the class frames. These passages were placed in a separate tab of the data spreadsheet, and they were labeled according to the social class group to which they referred. The researcher determined the social class groups of the characters by: 1) using the indicators shown in Tables 8-11 and 2) considering the characteristics of different class groups described in Table 7.
Though the researcher categorized characters into class groups based on an understanding of class developed through scholarship, it is possible that the researcher's personal experiences with social class also informed the coding and classifying processes though this was not a deliberate or conscious act. For the sake of transparency, the researcher is currently a doctoral student at a public university and was a teacher at a public elementary school prior to beginning doctoral studies. These experiences, as well as the researcher's status as a middle class white woman with a New England upbringing, may have influenced her understanding of class. Additionally, the researcher's extended family includes individuals who might be categorized as working poor, working class, and middle class, and interactions with these groups of people may have also helped the researcher develop an understanding of these class groups.

Sometimes, a passage about social class involved characters of multiple class groups, such as this one from *Dead End in Norvelt*: "'Well, I'd rather everyone have the same basic food on their plate,' Mom said, 'instead of some rich people eating steak and some poor people eating beans'" (Gantos, 2011, p. 56). Instead of coding such a passage by one class group or by both class groups, the researcher coded these as "class differences." Similarly, when a passage was about a relationship between members of different class group, the researcher would code these passages as "class relationships" or "class tensions" if the relationship was a seemingly antagonistic one. As an example, the following passage from *Feathers* was coded as "class tensions":

Me and Maribel never played. We hardly even talked. She had gone to private school and then, in fourth grade, that school closed, and since her
parents didn't want to send her across the highway for private school, she
came to Price. But, to hear her tell it, you'd think she was still in some high
and mighty private school - always finding some kind of way to drop it into a
conversation, always wrinkling her nose at me like she couldn't even believe
we had to share the same air. (Woodson, 2007, pp. 13-14)

Thus, all passages referring to social class were either coded as 1) one of the Kendall
(2011) class frames, 2) a class group (poor, working class, middle class, upper
class), or 3) an illustration of the relationship among people from different classes.

**Book characteristics.** Though the researcher coded by class frame and class
status, she also maintained a different spreadsheet for the purpose of keeping a
record of characters, their class status, and other important details about the titles.
The spreadsheet served as a quick reference guide to help the researcher recall
things such as a character's name or a book's setting. This spreadsheet included
columns for each book's title, genre, temporal setting, geographic setting, main
characters, class membership, race, gender, religion, nationality, and "other
characteristics."

**Analysis: latent content.** As described earlier, latent content consists of
underlying themes or ideas in a text. The underlying themes in the Newbery books
were analyzed through the researcher's practice of keeping memos. After
completing each book, the researcher considered how the themes reflected
Kendall's (2011) class frames and what other themes about class were presented in
the books. This permitted the researcher to understand how a book might fit a
particular frame as a whole even if the book did not have many individual passages
coded for the frame. The researcher also considered how the themes were similar
to/different from themes in other titles in the sample. These reflections were
recorded in a Word document during data collection, and they appear in Appendix B. The protocol for recording memos appears in Appendix D. Questions on this protocol include:

1) In what ways did the class evolve in the book, if at all?
2) What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?
3) Did the books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group?
4) Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group?

**Analysis: manifest content.** The manifest content of each book was recorded in a spreadsheet; as noted previously, this content was either coded by class frame or by the class group referred to or mentioned. To analyze the content, the researcher copied the data from each book’s individual spreadsheet and pasted it into a master spreadsheet containing data for all of the books in the sample. The master spreadsheet was divided into multiple tabs; there was one tab for each class frame, and there was one tab for each class group for data that did not fit a class frame. Placing all of the data into a master spreadsheet helped the researcher analyze the prevalence of different class portrayals. Some class portrayals, or frames, were hardly evident in the books at all, while other portrayals were most prominent.

“Unsorted data.” Not all of the passages about social class matched a particular class frame. Sometimes, these passages were descriptions that helped the researcher identify the class positions of characters, or the passages conveyed a theme about social class that was not captured by one of Kendall’s (2011) frames. This is an example of an unsorted passage from *The Underneath*: 
In front of her sat a shabby frame house with peeling paint, a house that slumped on one side as if it were sinking into the red dirt. The windows were cracked and grimy. There was a rusted pickup truck parked next to it, a dark puddle of thick oil pooled beneath its undercarriage. She sniffed the air. It was wrong, this place. The air was heavy with the scent of old bones, of fish and dried skins, skins that hung from the porch like a ragged curtain. (Appelt, 2008, p. 9)

The researcher labeled this data by class group and organized it into a spreadsheet for each book. The preceding passage, for instance, was labeled as “poor” since it refers to a poor character’s home. Later, this data was copied and pasted into a master spreadsheet for the whole sample. Retaining this “unsorted data” permitted the researcher to analyze it inductively for the purpose of identifying new class frames. According to Downe-Wamboldt (1992), data that is not classified using the coding scheme can be analyzed to revise and update the scheme.

The researcher used the inductive approach to qualitative content analysis to analyze this “unsorted data.” In inductive analysis, themes emerge from the text and are not pre-determined (Berg, 2001). The process of the inductive part of the data analysis is described next. This analysis helped the researcher identify several new class frames that update the work of Kendall (2011) and provide a framework for future scholars interested in studying class portrayals in children’s literature.

Analyzing the “unsorted data.” When the researcher read the books and recorded passages about social class, she labeled data not fitting one of Kendall’s (2011) class frames according to the class group to which the data referred. For example, this passage from *Kira-Kira* was labeled “working class” in the *Kira-Kira* data spreadsheet because it describes an apartment occupied by working class people:
Our apartment building in Chesterfield was one story, shaped like a U around a courtyard. The inside of our apartment consisted of two very small bedrooms, a living room, a kitchen, and a bathroom. The wallpaper in the kitchen was dirty and peeling. Mold grew on the wall in the bathroom. Lynn and I followed our parents from room to room. (Kadohata, 2004, p. 42)

Once all of the books were read and the data collected, the data from each individual title was copied and pasted into a master spreadsheet with a tab for each of Kendall's class frames as well as tabs labeled "class relationships," "poor," "working class," "middle class," and "upper class" for the data that did not fit one of Kendall's frames. The passage about the apartment from Kira-Kira (Kadohata, 2004) was placed into the "working class" tab, while passages labeled as "poor," "middle class" and "upper class" were placed into their respective tabs on the spreadsheet.

Grouping the data in the spreadsheet according to class was a step in preparing it for the inductive analysis.

To begin the inductive part of the analysis - the analysis of the "unsorted data" - the researcher reread the memos that were recorded during and after the reading of the Newbery books (memos appear in Appendix B). The memos were a useful place to begin inductive analysis since the researcher often made note of possible new class frames while writing the memos. For instance, the researcher recorded the following memo:

*Maybe a new frame will be working-class pride and dignity. This is clear in the description of Lavendar's [very trim and very tidy] house in Three Times Lucky, and it also appears in Dead End in Norvelt [when Miss Volker talks about working class heroes]. However, cleanliness appears equated to affluence in Splendors and Glooms. There is also a passage about Claudette Colvin's mother, Mary Ann Colvin, facing a difficult situation with dignity [when Claudette is arrested for violation of a segregation law]*.
Eventually, the idea of "working-class pride and dignity" communicated in this memo became part of a new frame called "working class values." As the researcher reread memos, she kept a list of possible new class frames mentioned in the memos along with examples of characters or events to support the frames. This initial list of possible new class frames, shown in Table 12, informed the way some data was grouped in the coding process described.

Table 12

*Preliminary New Class Frames Identified from Memos*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New Frame</th>
<th>Class Group(s)</th>
<th>Supporting Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dignity and pride</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>Lavendar pays careful attention to his home's appearance in <em>Three Times Lucky</em>, the community is proud and independent in <em>Elijah of Buxton</em>, the refusal of Katie's parents to take handouts in <em>Kira-Kira</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Improvement&quot; through education</td>
<td>Poor and working class</td>
<td>The &quot;rough&quot; Mount Eskel girls in <em>Princess Academy</em> become more knowledgeable, refined, and educated, Miranda's mom in <em>When You Reach Me</em> wants to make a better life by attending law school, the siblings in <em>Inside Out and Back Again</em> seek out educational opportunities so they can have a better life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tight-knit families and communities</td>
<td>Poor and working class</td>
<td>Frannie's family in <em>Feathers</em> is very close, neighbors help neighbors in Elijah's community, Hattie and her homesteading friends help each other, the congregation of the Union Baptist Church helping Marian Anderson in <em>The Voice that Challenged a Nation</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Frame</td>
<td>Class Group(s)</td>
<td>Supporting Examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greed</td>
<td>Poor and working class</td>
<td>Minli’s mother always wants to have a better lot in life in <em>Where the Mountain Meets the Moon</em>, maybe Professor Grisini in <em>Splendors and Gloom</em> because he steals from people (though his greed might be captured by shady framing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precariouslyness/lack of stability</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>Lil and Lester worry about losing their jobs in <em>Savvy</em>, Moose’s dad fears losing his job in <em>Al Capone Does My Shirts</em>, Hattie worries about crop failures and lack of money, Katie’s mother worries about losing her job in <em>Kira-Kira</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingenuity</td>
<td>Poor and working class</td>
<td>Mogg’s mother tricks the lord in <em>Good Masters, Sweet Ladies</em>, Miri in <em>Princess Academy</em> figures out how to communicate without speaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spoiled</td>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>Mention of Bobby Kennedy in <em>The Wednesday Wars</em>, Mr. Lyndon (who inherits his fortune) in <em>Kira-Kira</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robin Hood types</td>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>Al Capone opening soup kitchens, Mr. Jesse donating stolen money to the church in <em>Three Times Lucky</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suspicion/shunning</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Philadelphia’s poor are avoided in <em>An American Plague</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helplessness</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Philadelphia’s poor cannot help themselves in <em>An American Plague</em> when they become ill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snobbery</td>
<td>Middle class and upper class</td>
<td>Maribel in <em>Feathers</em> turns up her nose at Frannie and Frannie’s school, Olana in <em>Princess Academy</em> is condescending to the Mount Eskel girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mistrust of institutions</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>Katie’s family in <em>Kira-Kira</em> refuses to use a bank, Nonny in <em>Penny from Heaven</em> hides money around the house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The passages placed in the "class relationships," "poor," "working class," "middle class," and "upper class" tabs of the spreadsheet (the "unsorted data") were coded in one of two ways. If a passage recorded by the researcher described something providing a clue about a character's class status and it did not convey any other theme or meaning, it was coded as a "class indicator" and then coded by type of indicator, such as housing, possessions, transportation, etc. like those indicators shown in Tables 8-11. The earlier passage from *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004) is an example of a passage coded as a "class indicator" for "housing." The purpose of coding the data in this way was to further develop the framework for analyzing social class in children's literature; this data builds the framework depicted in Tables 8-11.

For passages that did not include class indicators, the researcher largely followed the abstraction process for inductive content analysis outlined by Elo and Kyngäs (2008). The goal of the abstraction process is to generate categories through the grouping of data. In the first phase of this process, open coding, a researcher makes notes about the data while it is being collected. In the second phase, the researcher interprets the data and develops categories based on the notes generated during open coding. Data placed into a category share a common theme or meaning. In the final phase, categories with similar themes or meanings are grouped together into "main categories" (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008, p. 111).

The researcher followed the process described by Elo and Kyngäs (2008) with some variation. Though Elo and Kyngäs said open coding occurs during data collection, the researcher went through the open coding process of identifying
themes for each line of data after data was collected, not during data collection. (However, the researcher did make notes about the data during its collection in the form of the memos.) Further, the researcher approached the creation of initial categories with some preconceived ideas about how data could be grouped. These preconceived ideas were the preliminary new class frames that the researcher identified as she reread the memos recorded during data collection (see Table 12). Qualitative content analysis is meant to be flexible (Elo and Kyngäs, 2008; White & Marsh, 2006) and “there are no systematic rules for analyzing data” (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008, p. 109) in content analysis, so the researcher’s modifications to the abstraction process are permissible. Elo and Kyngäs noted, “One challenge of content analysis is the fact that it is very flexible and there is no simple, ‘right’ way of doing it” (2008, p. 113).

Before beginning open coding, the researcher reread the memos that were recorded during and after the reading of the books in the sample and generated a list of possible new class frames (as shown in Table 12). Then, the researcher began the open coding process, reading every line of the “unsorted data” in the “class relationships,” “poor,” “working class,” “middle class,” and “upper class” tabs in the master spreadsheet and making a note of the main theme, idea, or message evident in each passage or whether the passage was a class indicator, and if so, which type of class indicator (transportation, housing, possessions, money, etc.). Some of the passages during open coding were labeled according to the preliminary new class frames shown in Table 12. Occasionally during the open coding process, the researcher read over a passage and decided it should have been grouped in one of
Kendall's (2011) class frames. For example, it was decided that this passage from *Penny from Heaven*, originally placed in the "upper class" tab of the spreadsheet, was actually admiration framing because it shows the generosity of well-to-do Uncle Nunzio:

"Why don't you come down to the factory, Penny?" Uncle Nunzio says to me. "Pick out your fall coat. The new styles are in."

I get a new coat every year from Uncle Nunzio. I also get a lot of other clothes - muffins and hats and matching skirts and jackets. I never have to shop in stores like regular people. I just tell Uncle Nunzio what I like, and he has one of the ladies sew it up for me. (Holm, 2006, p. 65)

As the researcher went through every passage not fitting one of Kendall's class frames, she recorded memos about potential ways that open codes might be grouped together to form initial categories. These memos appear in Appendix H.

After open coding in the master spreadsheet, the researcher copied the names of the open codes onto colored index cards. Codes in the "class relationships" tab were copied onto yellow index cards, "poor" codes were placed onto purple cards, "working class" codes were copied onto green index cards, "middle class" codes were copied onto pink index cards, and "upper class" codes were copied onto blue index cards. Placing the open codes onto color-coded index cards allowed the researcher to visually group similar codes together to form initial categories, or emerging class frames. Once the index cards were prepared, the researcher physically grouped cards with similar themes and meanings together in order to develop initial categories. For example, the open codes of "oppression," "suspicion of lower class people," and "insignificance of lower class people" were grouped together into the initial category of "disdain for the lower class," which characterized the poor. These open codes were grouped together because they
communicate the idea that poor people are snubbed or disdained by the more affluent. As another example, the open codes of "determination," "ingenuity," "thrifty," and "industrious" were grouped together to form the initial category of "industriousness," which described the working class. These open codes were grouped together because they illustrate that the working class is hard-working and clever. More examples of the grouping of open codes into initial categories are shown in Appendix I. During this process, index cards were categorized within the groupings of "class relationships," "poor," "working class," "middle class," and "upper class" rather than categorized across groups. As with the open coding process, the researcher recorded memos while grouping index cards together into initial categories to keep track of ideas that might eventually help form the main categories (see Appendix H).

After developing initial categories by grouping index cards, the researcher copied and pasted passages belonging to each initial category into a new spreadsheet. For example, all passages fitting the initial category of "class consciousness" (passages coded as "boundaries between classes," "acknowledging class differences," and "not fitting in") were copied and pasted into a tab of a new spreadsheet so the researcher could see how the passages fit together and what the characteristics of the new class frames might be. This step also helped the researcher make decisions about re-categorizing data that did not fit well into the initial categories (emerging class frames). Once all of the passages for the initial categories were copied and pasted into a new spreadsheet and the researcher was satisfied with the groupings of open codes, each initial category was given a label
and description capturing the overall meaning of all of the passages grouped within it. Table 13 shows the initial categories and their descriptions.

Table 13

*Initial Categories and Descriptions*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Initial Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class Relations</td>
<td>Upper Class Power</td>
<td>The upper class is portrayed as having power over people in other class groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Relations</td>
<td>Disdain for the Lower Class</td>
<td>The poor and the working class are treated in a dismissive manner by more privileged people, and they are sometimes viewed with suspicion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Relations</td>
<td>Contempt for the Lower Class</td>
<td>The poor and the working class are portrayed as scorned and shunned by those from more privileged class groups, especially the upper class.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Relations</td>
<td>Contempt for the Upper Class</td>
<td>Members of the upper class are portrayed as objects of anger and jealousy by people in the working class and the poor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Relations</td>
<td>Respect for the Lower Class</td>
<td>The poor and working class are looked upon with respect by those from more privileged class groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Relations</td>
<td>Unity</td>
<td>Members of different class groups are treated equally and sometimes work together toward common interests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Relations</td>
<td>Class Consciousness</td>
<td>Awareness of the differences between social class groups as well as the boundaries between them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Aspirations</td>
<td>The poor are shown cherishing ambitions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td>Initial Category</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Constraint</td>
<td>Poverty limits opportunities; the poor lack agency and may have to bend to the whims of more powerful people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Challenge</td>
<td>Poverty is a challenge that sometimes evokes feelings of worry or despair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Caring and Loyalty</td>
<td>The poor care for their families as well as their communities, sometimes by participating in social action.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Spurning</td>
<td>Poverty is shown as undesirable, and the poor are ignored or neglected.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Crass</td>
<td>The poor are depicted as ignorant and rough-around-the-edges.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Pride</td>
<td>The poor are shown as having pride and a sense of contentment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>Discomfort with New Class</td>
<td>Working class people are uncomfortable with a rise in their economic prospects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>Status Quo Acceptance</td>
<td>The working class align themselves with the rich and do not challenge class inequities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>Suspicion</td>
<td>Working class people are suspicious of other class groups and mistrust institutions like schools and banks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>Lowly</td>
<td>The working class are portrayed as insignificant and not worthy of respect or dignity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>Coarse</td>
<td>Members of the working class are rough-around-the-edges and do not value education or intellect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td>Initial Category</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>Irresponsibility</td>
<td>Members of the working class engage in irresponsible behavior such as being late for work or drinking too much.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>Precariousness</td>
<td>Members of the working class fear losing their jobs and are may feel worried or burned out. They are aware of limited opportunities in the future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>Working Class Values</td>
<td>Members of the working class are committed to their families and communities and work toward social justice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>Aspirations</td>
<td>Members of the working class have dreams for a more prosperous or satisfying future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>Industrious</td>
<td>Members of the working class are hard-working and determined, and they save their money to achieve goals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>Dignity and Pride</td>
<td>Members of the working class are shown as respectable and have a sense of dignity and pride. They are independent and do not accept monetary help from others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>Using Power</td>
<td>Middle class people are aware they have some power over the poor and working class and do not hesitate to wield that power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>Snobbery</td>
<td>Middle class people act like snobs toward the poor and the working class.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>Aspirations</td>
<td>Middle class people aspire to go to college or obtain good jobs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>“Extra Mile”</td>
<td>Middle class people are supportive and sometimes “go the extra mile” to help someone or please someone.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 13
Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Initial Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>Valuing Money</td>
<td>Middle class people value having money.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>Consumer</td>
<td>Middle class people are depicted as consumers who are frequently purchasing new things.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>Expectations</td>
<td>Members of the upper class are expected to behave in ways befitting of their high social position.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>Valuing Money</td>
<td>The upper class values money.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>Power and Opportunity</td>
<td>Members of the upper class are powerful and have opportunities and advantageous social connections.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>Snobbery</td>
<td>Members of the upper class act like snobs toward people in lower classes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>Opportunistic</td>
<td>Members of the upper class look out for their self-interest and take advantage of opportunities to advance their position.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>Tiresome</td>
<td>Members of the upper class are boring or have boring lives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>Dumb</td>
<td>Members of the upper class are not intelligent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Class</td>
<td>Esteem</td>
<td>The upper class demands the esteem and respect of others.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last step of the inductive analysis process was the grouping of initial categories into main categories. The researcher recorded the names and descriptions of the initial categories onto color-coded index cards. She also wrote the names and descriptions of Kendall’s (2011) class frames onto index cards. At
this final phase of the process, the researcher wanted to be able to expand and update Kendall's class frames by grouping them with emerging class frames (initial categories) with similar themes. For instance, the researcher realized that the initial categories of "crass" and "coarse" – meant to describe the poor manners of the poor and working class, respectively – fit in with Kendall's caricature framing. Crass, coarse, or rude behavior by poor and working class characters was similar to the sometimes "trashy" behavior of working class characters in caricature framing. Caricature framing was thus modified from working class people acting as "bigots, rednecks, buffoons, and white trash" to include the element of crudeness, or lack of refinement. Therefore, to accommodate the possibility of modifying Kendall's frames, index cards with Kendall's frames were created during the creation of main categories.

Once the index cards were prepared, the researcher laid them out and physically grouped together index cards with similar themes or meanings to create main categories. During this process, the researcher decided to group index cards across class groupings (i.e., "class relations," "poor," "working class," "middle class," and "upper class" ) instead of only within class groupings. For example, the researcher noticed that aspirations framing spanned three class groupings: the poor, the working class, and the middle class. Index cards labeled "aspirations," though they belonged to three separate class groupings, were placed together (though eventually, the researcher decided to place "aspirations" for the middle class with Kendall's "middle class values" framing). Placing initial categories with similar themes together across class groupings permitted the researcher to see how
some types of class portrayals, like aspirations framing, were represented in multiple class groups. The researcher grouped initial categories and Kendall's (2011) class frames together until she reached what she called "the point of distinction," the point when every new main category was distinct from other main categories (meaning a category had characteristics that made it different from any other category).

Once the initial categories were grouped together and synthesized with Kendall's (2011) class frames when appropriate, the main categories were developed, and the inductive analysis process was complete. Some of Kendall's original class frames (12 of 18 frames) were kept in their original form because new themes identified in the study did not share similar characteristics with the Kendall frames (descriptions are in Table 5). Five of Kendall's class frames were modified because new themes emerging in this research did share similar characteristics to some of Kendall's existing frames, as the example of caricature framing (mentioned previously) illustrated. One of Kendall's frames, squeeze framing (middle class possessions are shown as difficult to attain) was not noted in the books in the sample, so this frame was eliminated. Additionally, the researcher identified 14 new class frames that were distinct from any of Kendall's class frames. Table 14 lists the main categories, including Kendall's class frames that were modified or kept the same. The table in Appendix I illustrates each main category, the corresponding initial categories, and the corresponding open codes to show how groupings occurred at each level of the abstraction process. The table in Appendix J includes sample passages of data from the books and their open codes, initial categories, and
main categories to elucidate the abstraction process used to inductively analyze the data.

Table 14

*Main Categories: New, Modified, and Original, Unmodified Class Frames*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Frame</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Class Group(s)</th>
<th>Type of Frame</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class consciousness</td>
<td>Members of class groups are aware of the differences and boundaries between classes.</td>
<td>All class groups</td>
<td>New frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unity</td>
<td>Members of different classes are treated equally, work toward common interests, and accept the status quo.</td>
<td>All class groups</td>
<td>Modified Kendall (2011) frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exceptionalism</td>
<td>The poor and working class rise above adversity to achieve prosperity or happiness in a higher social class.</td>
<td>Poor, working class</td>
<td>Original Kendall (2011) frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charitable</td>
<td>The poor are in need of help from the more affluent, especially at the holidays and after tragedies and disasters.</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Original Kendall (2011) frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sympathetic</td>
<td>Children, elderly people, and ill people are depicted as deserving of sympathy and represent the larger population of the poor.</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Original Kendall (2011) frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependency and irresponsibility</td>
<td>Members of the poor and working class may be welfare dependent or engage in irresponsible behavior.</td>
<td>Poor, working class</td>
<td>Modified Kendall (2011) frame; modification of dependency and deviance framing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Frame</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Class Group(s)</td>
<td>Type of Frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardship</td>
<td>Poverty is a challenge that limits opportunities and choices.</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>New frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caring</td>
<td>The poor are proud and committed to their families and communities.</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>New frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insignificance and scorn</td>
<td>The poor and working class are portrayed as insignificant and are scorned or neglected by the more privileged classes.</td>
<td>Poor, working class</td>
<td>Modified Kendall (2011) frame; expansion of statistics framing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suspicion</td>
<td>Working class people are suspicious of other class groups and mistrust institutions like schools and banks.</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>New frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precariousness</td>
<td>Working class people fear losing their jobs and may feel worried or burned out. They are aware of limited opportunities for advancement.</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>New frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fading blue collar</td>
<td>Members of this class are unemployed, under-employed, or are unhappy with current jobs.</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>Original Kendall (2011) frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shady</td>
<td>Working class members are characterized as &quot;greedy workers, unions, and organized crime&quot; (Kendall, 2011, p. 27)</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>Original Kendall (2011) frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respectful</td>
<td>The working class is looked upon with respect by other class groups.</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>New frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Frame</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Class Group(s)</td>
<td>Type of Frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heroic</td>
<td>People of the working class take heroic actions but can also be victims.</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>Original Kendall (2011) frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caricature</td>
<td>Working class and poor people are bigots, rednecks, buffoons, and white trash. They are crude and ignorant or anti-intellectual.</td>
<td>Working class, poor</td>
<td>Modified Kendall (2011) frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirations</td>
<td>Members of the working class and poor have dreams for a more prosperous or satisfying future.</td>
<td>Working class, poor</td>
<td>New frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class values</td>
<td>Working class people are hard-working, committed to their families and communities, and have a sense of dignity and pride.</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>New frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class values</td>
<td>These depictions identify middle class values like working hard to get head, the importance of achievement and education, and individualism (personal responsibility).</td>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>Original Kendall (2011) frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victimization</td>
<td>The problems of the middle class come from the corruption or greediness of the upper and lower classes.</td>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>Original Kendall (2011) frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Extra mile”</td>
<td>Middle class people are supportive and sometimes “go the extra mile” to help or please someone.</td>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>New frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Frame</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Class Group(s)</td>
<td>Type of Frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contempt</td>
<td>Members of the upper class are viewed with contempt, anger or jealousy by the poor and working class.</td>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>New frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price tag</td>
<td>The upper class and middle class value money and material goods and are portrayed as consumers.</td>
<td>Upper class, middle class</td>
<td>Modified Kendall (2011) frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snobbery</td>
<td>Members of the upper class (and sometimes the middle class) act like snobs toward poor and working class people.</td>
<td>Upper class, middle class</td>
<td>New frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power and opportunity</td>
<td>Members of the upper class, and occasionally the middle class, are powerful and take advantage of opportunities to advance their positions.</td>
<td>Upper class, middle class</td>
<td>New frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insipid</td>
<td>Members of the upper class are dull or vapid.</td>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>New frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emulation</td>
<td>The wealthy represent the ideals of the American Dream and are models for everyone else.</td>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>Original Kendall (2011) frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admiration</td>
<td>The wealthy are portrayed as caring, benevolent and charitable.</td>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>Original Kendall (2011) frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad apple</td>
<td>The wealthy are corrupt and greedy; they are white collar criminals.</td>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>Original Kendall (2011) frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dysfunctional</td>
<td>Wealthy people are unhappy or emotionally unstable despite their affluence.</td>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>Original Kendall (2011) frame</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 14 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Frame</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Class Group(s)</th>
<th>Type of Frame</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expectations</td>
<td>Members of the upper class are expected to behave in ways befitting of their high social position.</td>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>New frame</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It has been mentioned that some passages were not labeled with an open code indicating a theme or meaning; some passages were descriptive and served as indicators for identifying a character’s class membership. These passages were labeled as “class indicators” and further refined by labeling with the type of indicator, such as housing, transportation, possessions, money, and so forth. These passages were not included in the open coding/initial category/main category process. Instead, they were grouped together within the master spreadsheet so the researcher could expand upon the framework for identifying social class in children’s literature introduced in Tables 8-11. The researcher copied these passages into separate spreadsheets and analyzed the passages, looking for new information about class indicators that could add to (or modify) the class indicator framework. The updated class indicators framework appears in Appendix K, though it is summarized in Chapter 4. Table 15 is a summary of the data collection and analysis procedures used in this study.
Table 15

Data Collection, Coding, and Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>Phase of Study</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>As the researcher read the books and collected data</td>
<td>The researcher identified that a passage was related to social class based on the class framework in Tables 8-11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>As the researcher read the books and collected data</td>
<td>The researcher decided if the passage matched a class frame. If it did, the passage was recorded on a spreadsheet in a space designated for that class frame.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>As the researcher read the books and collected data</td>
<td>If a passage in Step 2 did not conform to a class frame, the researcher determined which class group was referenced in the passage. The passage was labeled with the name of the class group and placed in a separate tab of the spreadsheet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>After reading a book and collecting data from it</td>
<td>The researcher reflected on the book, considering whether or not its major themes reflected the class frames described by Kendall and comparing and contrasting it to other titles. These reflections were recorded as memos. Sometimes memos were made during the reading of a book if the researcher wanted to capture an important idea or insight.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>After reading a book and collecting data from it</td>
<td>The researcher made a spreadsheet identifying characteristics of the book. The list included each main character's class, race, gender, religion, and nationality as well as the book's geographic and temporal settings and genre. The spreadsheet was expanded as new titles were read by the researcher; eventually, it included all of the books in the sample. The spreadsheet served as a quick reference guide for the researcher and was not a source for analysis in the study.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 15
Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>Phase of Study</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>After reading all books in the sample</td>
<td>The researcher inductively analyzed all of the data that was collected that did not match a class frame (see Step 3). This data was either coded as a &quot;class indicator&quot; to update the framework for class shown in Tables 8-11, or it was coded according to the theme or meaning it conveyed. Passages were assigned an open code, then similar open codes were grouped together into initial categories, and then initial categories and Kendall's class frames were grouped together to form main categories. These main categories are frames for portraying social class.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inter-rater Reliability

Inter-rater reliability is "the extent to which independent coders evaluate a characteristic of a message or artifact and reach the same conclusion" (Lombard, Snyder-Duch, & Bracken, 2002, p. 589). Calculating inter-rater reliability adds credibility to the research and reduces the bias that comes from having one researcher code the data (Traudt, 2005). It is usually reported as a coefficient (Traudt, 2005). A coefficient of .80 or higher is usually acceptable (Lombard et al., 2002; Traudt, 2005), though Hays and Singh (2012) indicated .70 is usually adequate. A coefficient of inter-rater reliability should be calculated before the coders reconcile any disagreements.

In this study, the researcher asked a second person to read and code two of the books in the sample in their entirety. The two books were chosen through stratified random sampling; one book was selected from the 2009-2013 sample, and
one book was chosen from the 2004-2008 sample. At this point in the study, the researcher had already read and coded the 2009-2013 Newbery books and had not yet read the 2004-2008 books. A stratified sample was selected in order to ensure that at least one of the books selected had not yet been read by the researcher and to see whether the researcher’s coding of 2009-2013 books was credible.

To begin, the researcher assigned each book in the sample a number (other than Splendors and Glooms, Schlitz, 2012). Books were listed in backward chronological order, so recent books were given smaller numbers while older books were given larger numbers. Then, the researcher went to the website www.random.org, a page designed to generate random numbers based on a specified range. The researcher first entered a minimum of 1 and a maximum of 21 in order to select a book from the 2009-2013 sample. The random number generated was 3, which represented Three Times Lucky (Turnage, 2012). Second, the researcher cleared the page and entered a minimum of 22 and a maximum of 41 in order to select a book from the 2004-2008 sample. The number 32 was generated by the website, which represented Princess Academy (Hale, 2005).

The coder in this study was a member of the researcher’s doctoral cohort. This individual was asked to participate because of her past experience using content analysis in research projects. To initiate the process of calculating inter-rater reliability, the researcher and the coder met for a training session to facilitate the coder’s understanding of the study and the coding scheme. In this session, the researcher explained the coding scheme of Kendall’s (2011) class frames to the coder. The researcher also explained the framework of class indicators (Tables 8-11
as well as Table 7) and how these indicators could be used to identify passages in books related to social class. Then, the researcher showed the coder how to code using data from *Splendors and Gloom* (Schlitz, 2012) as a training exercise; the coder used data collected from this title to practice coding after the researcher’s explanation and examples. *Splendors and Gloom* was selected for training purposes because it yielded a wealth of data about social class. After the researcher and the coder went over how to code using *Splendors and Gloom* and the second coder practiced coding this title, the researcher and the coder discussed the coder’s work and resolved differences between the coder’s labeling and the researcher’s labeling.

Once this mutual understanding was achieved, the researcher gave the coder copies of *Three Times Lucky* (Turnage, 2012) and *Princess Academy* (Hale, 2005) to read and code independently. The coder was given the instructions shown in Appendix E, the protocol for memos in Appendix D, and the framework for social class shown in Tables 8-11. The coder was asked to follow the instructions given and to use the framework for determining instances of social class in the books. Although the researcher had already read and coded *Three Times Lucky* (Turnage, 2012), she independently read and coded *Princess Academy* (Hale, 2005) at the same time as the coder.

When the coder was done coding the data from the two books, the researcher examined the similarities and differences between her own coding and the coder’s work. Then, inter-rater reliability was calculated. The number of agreements between the researcher and the coder was divided by the total number of agreements and disagreements, a formula noted by Hays and Singh (2012). The
resulting inter-rater reliability was 50% for *Princess Academy* (Hale, 2005) and 80% for *Three Times Lucky* (Turnage, 2012). After this calculation was made, the researcher and the coder met to discuss discrepancies between coding.

Though the researcher and the coder always agreed on the class status of characters, there were discrepancies between the ways they coded passages. Disagreements between the researcher and the coder were usually a function of the unit of analysis, which is defined as an instance mentioning or referencing social class. Sometimes the researcher and coder recorded the same passage and labeled it in different ways because each person placed significance on a certain "piece" of the passage. For example, the researcher and coder labeled this passage from *Princess Academy* differently:

> The trader wagons were lined up in the village center, waiting for business to begin, but all eyes were on a painted blue carriage that rolled into the midst. Miri had heard of carriages but never seen one before. Someone important must have come with the traders. (Hale, 2005, p. 19)

These sentences were from the same paragraph in the text. The coder labeled the passage "middle class and upper class due to the special carriage, but the traders are middle class." The coder felt the information about the traders and the special carriage was of significance in this passage, which reflected in the way she coded it. The researcher labeled it "working poor" since she felt the passage demonstrated a working poor character's lack of knowledge about carriages. However, when the researcher and coder met to reconcile disagreements, both agreed the first sentence about trader wagons represented middle class people, the second sentence was about a working poor person, and the third sentence was about an upper class
person (the "someone important" was a messenger from the king, Hale, 2005, p. 19). To resolve this disagreement, the researcher and coder agreed to split the passage into three separate sentences in order to fully capture the presence of three different class groups in this paragraph. Other disagreements between the researcher and coder were often of the same nature for both of the books (see the table in Appendix G for specific examples).

Sometimes, the coder did not label a passage according to one of Kendall's (2011) class frames while the researcher did. For example, the researcher labeled this passage from *Princess Academy* as "heroic framing" while the coder labeled it "working poor feeling oppressed by upper class": "I was trying to stand up for all of us. This is another case of lowlanders treating mountain folk like worn-through boots" (Hale, 2005, p. 56). When the researcher and the coder met to reconcile disagreements, the coder readily agreed this passage was an example of heroic framing since it addresses Miri's willingness to stand up for herself and her friends. The coder said it was difficult to keep Kendall's class frames in mind as she coded because there were many frames to remember (18 total). This is a likely explanation for why the coder did not label some passages with a class frame as she read and coded the books (even when she later agreed to label these same passages with a class frame). Though there were some disagreements, the researcher and coder ultimately reconciled all of them when they met after reading and coding the books independently.

There were a few explanations as to why the inter-rater reliability for *Princess Academy* (Hale, 2005) was lower than it was for *Three Times Lucky*
(Turnage, 2012). The coder read *Princess Academy* before she read *Three Times Lucky*. Since *Princess Academy* was the first book, the coder was still getting used to the coding scheme and Kendall’s (2011) class frames. By the time she read *Three Times Lucky*, the coding scheme and class frames would have been more familiar to her. Additionally, *Princess Academy* often featured interactions between members of different class groups while *Three Times Lucky* did not, which made *Princess Academy* more difficult to code. As the previous example about trader wagons illustrated, sometimes the researcher and coder emphasized different “pieces” in their coding of the same passage.

Although omissions were not included in the formula for inter-rater reliability, there was often a discrepancy between the passages recorded by the researcher and those recorded by the coder; the researcher recorded more passages for each title than the coder. The coder explained that once she determined the class status of a character, she only coded passages that were explicitly about social class; she did not code passages with implicit references to class such as mentions of clothing, possessions, etc. However, the researcher coded implicit references to social class even after determining the social class of characters. This accounts for the “omissions,” or passages recorded by only one person.

Though there were omissions and several disagreements, the researcher and the coder had no disagreements about the social class status of the characters in the book. Both the researcher and the coder assigned the same class locations to the same characters. This indicates a common understanding about social class and how class groups are defined. Further, there were no disagreements between the
researcher and the coder that they were unable to reconcile. After meeting to
discuss the independent coding, the researcher and the coder reconciled all
disagreements and all omissions to achieve 100% agreement on the codes.

As a result of meeting and discussing the books with the coder, the
researcher decided to be more precise about recording passages during the second
phase of data collection (2004-2008 Newbery Medal and Honor titles). For
example, instead of recording a whole paragraph referencing an instance or event
about social class, the researcher decided to look more carefully at such paragraphs
to see if multiple class groups or frames could be evident. Though a paragraph
might address the same class-related event, individual sentences within that
paragraph could mention different class groups or frames (as illustrated by the
Princess Academy example). This type of incident was where most of the
disagreements with the coder occurred, so the researcher decided to record and
code individual sentences rather than entire paragraphs in the second phase of the
data collection (unless a paragraph did only reference one class group or frame).
Essentially, the researcher realized that just because a paragraph referenced the
same class-related event did not mean it should be coded in only one way; splitting
the paragraph up into multiple passages coded in different ways might be necessary.

Additionally, after meeting with the coder, the researcher decided to code
passages for class tensions. During the first phase of data collection (2009-2013
Newbery books), the researcher coded for class tensions but did not view these
tensions as a form of class framing. The researcher anticipated using passages
coded for class tensions in a future study but not for the present study. However,
the coder said class tensions were often evident (particularly in *Princess Academy*, Hale, 2005), so the researcher decided to continue labeling passages with the code "class tensions" since conflicts and contentious relationships among class groups in certain books are too prevalent to ignore.

The researcher's understanding of social class and how to define it did not change as a result of working with the coder. Rather, this process validated the researcher's understanding of social class since there was complete agreement about how to label characters by social class. Appendix F shows notes recorded by the researcher after the initial training meeting and after the meeting in which the researcher and the coder came to consensus. Appendix G shows the passages recorded from the two books, the initial coding done by the researcher and the coder, and the consensus achieved after discussion between the researcher and the coder.

**Credibility**

"Credibility is the extent to which the design is rigorous, the researchers' positioning clear, the analysis of data transparent and open to cross-examination, and the results accurate and trustworthy," according to McMillan and Wergin (2010, p. 91). Taking steps to achieve credibility permits readers of a research study to have confidence in the findings. The steps taken to achieve credibility in this study are described next.

**Thick description.** Thick description is one way that a qualitative researcher can add credibility to his or her research (Creswell, 2003; Hays & Singh, 2012; Taylor, 2003). When a researcher uses thick description, he or she includes
"representative quotations" (Gruneheim & Lundman, 2004, p. 110) and "authentic citations" (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008, p. 112) to support his or her contentions of the data. In this study, the researcher frequently supported her analyses and inferences about the Newbery books by citing passages from the texts. This permits readers of the study to evaluate whether or not the researcher's ideas are well-founded. Further, Elo and Kyngäs noted that describing data analysis procedures in great detail is another form of thick description. In the preceding sections of this chapter, the researcher took care to describe data collection and analysis procedures in as much detail as possible. Additional details about these procedures are also provided in the appendices.

**Researcher positioning.** The researcher added transparency to the study through discussing her positioning. Researcher positioning refers to the disclosure of the researcher's personal experiences and perspectives as they relate to research (Hays & Singh, 2012). Earlier, the researcher described how her own class position and experiences with social class may have informed her understanding of social class groups. This disclosure is an example of researcher positioning.

**Memos.** Hays and Singh (2012) said recording memos adds credibility to a study. Memos can help illustrate the researcher's thinking process, which permits readers of a research study to see how a researcher constructed his or her understanding of data. In this study, the researcher recorded memos after reading and coding each book in the sample. The researcher made notes about how a text was similar to or different from others in the sample, and she recorded ideas for possible new class frames to add to Kendall's (2011) framework. These memos
assisted the researcher with the analysis of latent content as well as the inductive analysis of data that did not match any of the class frames. These memos are included in Appendix B.

**Meaningful unit of analysis.** Graneheim and Lundman (2004) indicated that a meaningful unit of analysis helps a researcher add credibility to his or her study. A unit too small, like an individual word, may not be meaningful, while a unit too large, like several paragraphs, may include too many meanings (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). Downe-Wamboldt (1992) also said it is difficult to achieve reliability with a large unit of analysis. This study's unit of analysis consisted of passages of texts related to social class. These passages were never shorter than a sentence but were rarely longer than a paragraph. Although whole texts were also considered in the analysis, particularly in the analysis of latent content, the researcher added credibility by using thick description of the data to support her inferences. Thus, the researcher took several measures to achieve credibility in this study.

**Summary**

This chapter has described the methods taken to explore portrayals of social class in books awarded the Newbery Medal or Honor between 2004 and 2013. As explained in this chapter, the researcher employed the methods of qualitative content analysis to answer the research questions. The next chapter, *Findings*, describes how these research questions were answered. Chapter 4 includes a discussion of the different class groups represented in recent Newbery books and how the class frames identified by Kendall (2011) manifested in these titles.
CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

This study's purpose is deconstructing portrayals of social class in award-winning children's literature. It is guided by these questions:

1. In what ways is social class portrayed in titles receiving the Newbery Medal or Honor between 2004 and 2013?
   a. How are characters from different class groups portrayed?
   b. What messages about social class are conveyed in the books?

As Chapter 3 described, these questions were explored using a flexible design to qualitative content analysis that utilized both the deductive and inductive approaches. Data from the sample of 42 award-winning books were analyzed deductively for the presence of the 18 class frames identified by media scholar Kendall (2011), and they were also examined inductively to identify the possibility of new class frames.

As shown in Table 14 of Chapter 3, the researcher found 31 frames portraying different social class groups after analyzing the data collected in this study. Some of these were Kendall's (2011) original class frames (12 frames, or 38.7%), some were modified versions of Kendall's frames (5 frames, or 16.13%), and some were new frames (14 frames, or 45.16%). This chapter discusses each of these frames at length.

In Chapter 3, it was noted that the researcher completed a pilot study before beginning the present study. In this pilot study, the researcher identified indicators marking the social class of characters in a sample of 2009-2013 Newbery Medal and
Honor titles. These indicators, shown in Tables 8-11 in Chapter 3, included items serving as proxies for class status such as residence, mode of transportation, occupation, income, and education. Following this introduction, updates to Tables 8-11 are described to illustrate a more refined and completed framework of indicators for each class group. Tables of these updated class indicators appear in Appendix K and are based on the full sample of books receiving the Newbery Medal or Honor between 2004 and 2013.

After this updated framework of class indicators is addressed, the class membership of protagonists in the books is discussed. A protagonist is the "central character" in a story (Temple et al, 2006, p. 8). A table (Table 16) illustrating the class of protagonists is shown in order to summarize which class groups were represented in the Newbery titles. The class of secondary characters is not presented in this table because between the 42 titles, there were hundreds of characters. However, secondary characters whose actions revealed important themes about social class are discussed in the following section when framings of different class groups are described.

The final part of this chapter discusses the framings of each class group. It begins by identifying two frames depicting the relationships between class groups, and it continues by noting frames of the upper class, the middle class, the working class, and the poor. This section of the chapter addresses the sub-question of "How are characters from different class groups portrayed?" and supports the class frames mentioned with example passages from the Newbery books comprising the sample.
The final part of Chapter 4 also includes analysis of the class frames using the theoretical lens of critical literacy. Specifically, the researcher considers the ideologies about social class conveyed in the books through the critical literacy elements of positioning, power, and perspective (Jones, 2006b, 2008). According to Jones (2006b, 2008), positioning is about a character's or group's placement within a text; it considers who is valued, who is unimportant, who is privileged, and who is marginalized. The critical literacy element of power focuses on issues of domination and oppression, and the researcher considers which class groups have power (and which do not) in the books given the study's focus on portrayals of class. The element of perspective recognizes that texts selectively present some beliefs and values and exclude others, yet it also considers that some readers might accept the perspective in a text and other readers might reject it. Because Jones said the concepts of positioning, power, and perspective are inter-related, they are considered holistically for each class group rather than addressed separately.

The purpose of this critical literacy analysis is two-fold: 1) It relates the findings to a theoretical perspective informing the study, and 2) it answers the sub-question of “What messages about social class are conveyed in the books?” Taken together, the different components of this chapter address the main research question in this study, “In what ways is social class portrayed in titles receiving the Newbery Medal or Honor between 2004 and 2013?”

**Class Indicators: A Framework**

As part of the data collection and analysis in this study, the researcher observed a number of aspects of characters’ lives that revealed their membership in
particular class groups. These aspects are called “class indicators,” and they refer to things such as the type of house a character lived in (residence), the type of transportation a character used, and the amount of money or income a character had. Tables 8-11 in Chapter 3 presented a summary of class indicators based on a pilot study of 2009-2013 Newbery Medal and Honor books. As additional data was collected from the 2004-2008 titles, Tables 8-11 were updated to reflect class indicators shown in the full sample of 2004-2013 Newbery titles (42 books). These tables, which are sizeable, appear in Appendix K. Table K1 updates Table 8 (upper class), Table K2 updates Table 9 (middle class), Table K3 updates Table 10 (working class), and Table K4 updates Table 11 (the poor). In addition to the original indicators of occupation/type of work, income/money, education, residence, possessions, and transportation, the researcher also identified indicators such as community/neighborhood, food, and mannerisms though not all of these indicators were found for all class groups. In this updated framework, the original indicator of “possessions” was expanded to include services since some characters hired servants or laborers to do their work. Otherwise, the characteristics of the indicators shown in Tables 8-11 were modified only slightly. For example, Table 9, which describes the middle class, indicates the following about middle class residences: “Housing is not shabby, but it is not luxurious.” However, in the updated framework, this characteristic was maintained but the component “urban residents may live in apartments” was added. The tables in Appendix K are very similar to Tables 8-11 except they were updated (modified slightly) to include new supporting
data. There were no major changes in the characteristics of indicators for each class group as a result of collecting data from the full sample of books.

Though the creation of this framework was not originally a goal of the present study, developing the class indicators shown in Tables 8-11 was a fundamental step in determining instances of social class and identifying class groups in the Newbery books. The updated framework (Tables K1-K4) is included here because it may be useful to other researchers interested in analyzing depictions of class in children's literature or other forms of media. Portrayals of class in books for youth have not been extensively studied (McLeod, 2008; Sano, 2009), and one reason for this could be the challenges of identifying class. Since class status can be more difficult to determine compared to social identities with more obvious physical markers like gender and race (Ramsey and Dickson, 1991; Temple et al., 2006; Van Galen, 2000), a framework like this one may help other researchers identify the class locations of characters in texts and other media. Thus, the framework in Tables K1, K2, K3, and K4 of Appendix K may encourage further research about social class in curricular materials for youth.

Class Groups of Protagonists

In order to summarize the representations of different class groups in the Newbery titles, the researcher compiled a list of protagonists (main characters) from each book. Only protagonists are included here because there were hundreds of secondary characters in the books (and the researcher was not able to determine the class status of every secondary character, especially ones with brief roles). However, though secondary characters are not discussed in this section, many are
mentioned in the following section about class frames. Table 16 shows the class membership of protagonists. An asterisk denotes a protagonist (or biography subject/historical figure) experiencing a change in class status in the book. Each of these characters with an asterisk moved upward on the class ladder; none of them experienced downward mobility (though downward mobility was observed with two secondary characters; more is said about this in the section titled “Framings of the Poor”). The class noted in the table reflects a protagonist’s (or person’s) class at the beginning of the book.

Table 16

*Class of Protagonist in 2004-2013 Newbery Titles*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protagonist(s) or Subject</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Title &amp; Genre</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ivan (an elephant)</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td><em>The One and Only Ivan</em></td>
<td>2013 Medal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(fantasy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No protagonist</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td><em>Bomb</em></td>
<td>2013 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(nonfiction)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moses LoBeau</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td><em>Three Times Lucky</em></td>
<td>2013 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(contemporary realism)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lizzie Rose Fawr and Parsefall</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td><em>Splendors and Glooms</em></td>
<td>2013 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooke*</td>
<td>(working poor)</td>
<td>(fantasy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jack Gantos</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td><em>Dead End in Norvelt</em></td>
<td>2012 Medal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(historical fiction)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sasha Zaichik</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td><em>Breaking Stalin's Nose</em></td>
<td>2012 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(historical fiction)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kim Hà</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td><em>Inside Out and Back Again</em></td>
<td>2012 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(poetry)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protagonist(s) or Subject</td>
<td>Class</td>
<td>Title &amp; Genre</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abilene Tucker</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td><em>Moon Over Manifest</em></td>
<td>2011 Medal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(historical fiction)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manjiro*</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td><em>Heart of a Samurai</em></td>
<td>2011 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(working poor)</td>
<td>(historical fiction)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turtle*</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td><em>Turtle in Paradise</em></td>
<td>2011 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(historical fiction)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delphine</td>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td><em>One Crazy Summer</em></td>
<td>2011 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(historical fiction)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No protagonist</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td><em>Dark Emperor and Other</em></td>
<td>2011 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Poems of the Night</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(poetry)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miranda</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td><em>When You Reach Me</em></td>
<td>2010 Medal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(fantasy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minli*</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td><em>Where the Mountain Meets the Moon</em></td>
<td>2010 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(fantasy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homer P. Figg*</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td><em>The Mostly True</em></td>
<td>2010 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adventures of Homer P. Figg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(historical fiction)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calpurnia Tate</td>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td><em>The Evolution of Calpurnia Tate</em></td>
<td>2010 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(historical fiction)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claudette Colvin</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td><em>Claudette Colvin: Twice</em></td>
<td>2010 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Toward Justice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(biography)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nobody “Bod” Owens</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td><em>The Graveyard Book</em></td>
<td>2009 Medal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(fantasy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosa</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td><em>The Surrender Tree</em></td>
<td>2009 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(poetry)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mibs Beaumont</td>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td><em>Savvy</em></td>
<td>2009 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(fantasy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protagonist(s) or Subject</td>
<td>Class</td>
<td>Title and Genre</td>
<td>Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrator</td>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td><em>After Tupac and D Foster</em> (contemporary realism)</td>
<td>2009 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranger (a dog); Puck &amp; Sabine (cats)</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td><em>The Underneath</em> (fantasy)</td>
<td>2009 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No protagonist</td>
<td>Not applicable (characters from all class groups)</td>
<td><em>Good Masters! Sweet Ladies!</em> (drama)</td>
<td>2008 Medal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holling Hoodhood</td>
<td>Upper class (upper middle class)</td>
<td><em>The Wednesday Wars</em> (historical fiction)</td>
<td>2008 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elijah Freeman</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td><em>Elijah of Buxton</em> (historical fiction)</td>
<td>2008 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frannie Wright Barnes</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td><em>Feathers</em> (historical fiction)</td>
<td>2008 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucky Trimble</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td><em>The Higher Power of Lucky</em> (contemporary realism)</td>
<td>2007 Medal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catherine</td>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td><em>Rules</em> (contemporary realism)</td>
<td>2007 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penny Falucci</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td><em>Penny from Heaven</em> (historical fiction)</td>
<td>2007 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hattie Inez Brooks</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td><em>Hattie Big Sky</em> (historical fiction)</td>
<td>2007 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debbie Pelbry</td>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td><em>Criss Cross</em> (historical fiction)</td>
<td>2006 Medal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whittington (a cat)</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td><em>Whittington</em> (fantasy)</td>
<td>2006 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miri</td>
<td>Working class (working poor)</td>
<td><em>Princess Academy</em> (fantasy)</td>
<td>2006 Honor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 16 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protagonist(s) or Subject</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Title &amp; Genre</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No protagonist</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Show Way (Nonfiction, picture book)</td>
<td>2006 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No protagonist</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Hitler Youth (nonfiction)</td>
<td>2006 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katie Takeshima</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>Kira-Kira (historical fiction)</td>
<td>2005 Medal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turner Ernest</td>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>Lizzie Bright and the Buckminster Boy (historical fiction)</td>
<td>2005 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckminster III</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moose Flanagan</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>Al Capone Does My Shirts (historical fiction)</td>
<td>2005 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marian Anderson*</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>The Voice that Challenged a Nation (biography)</td>
<td>2005 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Despereaux Tilling (a mouse)</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>The Tale of Despereaux (fantasy)</td>
<td>2004 Medal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No protagonist</td>
<td>Not applicable (people from multiple classes)</td>
<td>An American Plague (nonfiction)</td>
<td>2004 Honor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martha Boyle</td>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>Olive's Ocean (contemporary realism)</td>
<td>2004 Honor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 16, not all books have a class group listed in the column next to the protagonist's name. Out of the 42 books, six did not have a clear central character. Some of these books, like Bomb (Sheinkin, 2012), Hitler Youth (Bartoletti, 2005), and An American Plague (Murphy, 2003), were nonfiction titles centered on historical events, and they did not have a central subject like the biographies The Voice that Challenged a Nation (Freedman, 2004) and Claudette Colvin (Hoose,
2009). *Show Way* (Woodson, 2005) featured the history of a family, and it did not focus on any particular person. Further, some of the fiction titles did not have a protagonist; the drama *Good Masters! Sweet Ladies!* (Schlitz, 2007) had 23 characters given approximately equal attention, while *Dark Emperor and Other Poems of the Night* (Sidman, 2010) was a series of poems with no main character. Another four books out of the 42 titles in the sample featured animal protagonists: *The One and Only Ivan* (Applegate, 2012), *The Underneath* (Appelt, 2008), *Whittington* (Armstrong, 2005), and *The Tale of Despereaux* (DiCamillo, 2003). These animal protagonists were not labeled with a class status because even when some of them had human qualities, not enough information was given for the researcher to determine their class identities. Thus, of the 42 Newbery books included in this study, 32 books had human protagonists who could be labeled with a class group.

Among the 32 books with human protagonists:

- 3 books had upper class protagonists (9.375%)
- 6 books had middle class protagonists (18.75%)
- 17 books had working class protagonists (53.125%)
- 6 books had poor protagonists (18.75%)

A clear majority of the protagonists belonged to the working class. If the percentages just shown are compared against actual United States demographics, it becomes clear that the working class is over-represented as protagonists in recent Newbery books compared to the actual percentage of the American population.
Table 17 compares the Newbery protagonists against actual demographics in the contemporary United States. The percentages in the column titled "Actual Percentage" refer to the real-life American population as noted in the Gilbert-Kahl model (Gilbert, 2008; see Table 2 in Chapter 2).

Table 17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Group</th>
<th>Newbery Percentage</th>
<th>Actual Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper class (including upper middle class)</td>
<td>9.375%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>18.75%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class (including working poor)</td>
<td>53.125%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor (including homeless)</td>
<td>18.75%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 17 indicates, the working class and the poor are slightly over-represented in the Newbery titles if only the protagonists are considered, while the middle class and the upper class (especially the middle class) are somewhat under-represented. This is similar to Rawson's (2011) findings; award-winning young adult books in her sample tended to over-represent the poor.

Examining the class memberships of protagonists according to the temporal settings of the books yields some interesting observations. Most of the time, protagonists from the poor and the working class were shown in historical settings (1980s and earlier), while middle class protagonists were shown in contemporary settings (1990s or later). All of the upper class protagonists were shown in
historical settings. Table 18 summarizes the number of protagonists according to temporal setting.

Table 18

*Protagonists, Class, and Temporal Settings*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Group</th>
<th>Protagonists in Historical Settings</th>
<th>Protagonists in Contemporary Settings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>3 of 3 (100%)</td>
<td>0 of 3 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>2 of 6 (33.33%)</td>
<td>4 of 6 (66.67%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>16 of 17 (94.12%)</td>
<td>1 of 17 (5.88%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>4 of 6 (66.67%)</td>
<td>2 of 6 (33.33%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the presence of poor and working class characters in award-winning children's literature is a welcome presence since the mass media tends to exclude these groups (hooks, 2000), it is troubling that they are usually depicted in historical settings rather than contemporary ones. This finding suggests poor and working class realities are things of the past, and it marginalizes the many poor and working class children who actually live in the United States today. It is especially striking that only one of 17 books with working class protagonists had a contemporary protagonist (Moses LoBeau from *Three Times Lucky*, Turnage, 2012). Though only a small number of books feature middle class protagonists, the prevalence of middle class characters in contemporary settings could contribute to the notion that the present-day United States is a largely middle class society. In fact, the middle class only comprises about 30% of the American population (Gilbert, 2008). This notion is further evidenced by the fact that none of the upper
class protagonists were portrayed in contemporary books. If a child's only image of the contemporary United States came from this set of award-winning books, that child might believe the United States is an overwhelmingly middle class society with no rich people and very few poor and working class people.

Now, the presentation of findings turns to the various ways of portraying class (class frames) identified in this study. It begins with an overview of two frames applicable to all class groups: class consciousness and class unity. This is followed by framings of the upper class, the middle class, the working class and the working poor, and the poor. This part of the findings addresses the research questions of “How are characters from different class groups portrayed?” and “What messages about social class are conveyed in the books?” by examining the different ways class groups are portrayed.

Framing across Class Groups

Two frames emerged in this study that spanned across class groups; one is a new class frame, and the other is a new frame incorporating one of Kendall's (2011) frames. In class consciousness framing, which is a new frame, characters were aware of the differences and boundaries between class groups. In unity framing, characters of different classes were treated equally, worked toward common interests, and accepted the status quo, meaning they did not try to change the existing class structure. Unity framing incorporates Kendall's consensus framing, which portrays members of the upper class acting just like other people. Consensus framing implies there are no differences between the wealthy and members of other class groups; it was thus a good fit with unity framing.
Sometimes in class consciousness framing, characters directly addressed their perceived differences between class groups. In one scene of *Criss Cross* (Perkins, 2005), Rowanne describes how she does not fit in at her summer job. While Rowanne's status as a college student indicates she is likely going to maintain her middle class lifestyle, her coworkers, who are data entry clerks, are members of the working class. Rowanne explains, "I'm sort of a freak [at work] because I don't have a boyfriend and I'm going to college" (Perkins, 2005, p. 321). She continues by noting her coworkers "can't imagine why anyone would read a book of their own free will" (Perkins, 2005, pp. 321-322). Rowanne recognizes her college education and middle class status make her different from her coworkers. Awareness of differences is also evident in *Splendors and Glooms* (Schlitz, 2012) and *Princess Academy* (Hale, 2005). In *Splendors and Glooms*, the wealthy Clara acknowledges that her life is markedly different from the lives of working poor Lizzie Rose and Parsefall. Her awareness of their differences embarrasses her when she chats with Lizzie Rose: "Oh, please -! Won't you call me Clara? I know I seem - ' She waved a hand, indicating the ornate room around them. Her cheeks reddened" (Schlitz, 2012, p. 22). In *Princess Academy*, the working poor girls of Mount Eskel, who attend an academy preparing them for the possibility of becoming a princess, are aware they seem "pretty rustic" to their more affluent tutor, Olana (Hale, 2005, p. 39). Additionally, when wealthy Britta explains to working poor Miri that as a child, she used to pretend to be a starving pauper, she is aware her confession may be offensive to Miri.
Characters were also aware of the boundaries separating members of different class groups. In *Splendors and Gloom* (Schlitz, 2012), Clara (upper class) wants to invite Lizzie Rose and Parsefall (working poor) to her house for tea. Clara admires the two for their talents as puppeteers. Clara's servant tells her inviting Lizzie Rose and Parsefall for tea is a bad idea: "You know that's wrong, miss. Your mother wouldn't like it a bit. And what would your little friends think, having to take tea with common children like those Greaseenies?" (Schlitz, 2012, p. 10). The awareness of boundaries also works the other way; Lizzie Rose and Parsefall both know they must enter Clara's home not through the front door but through the "tradesmen's entrance" (Schlitz, 2012, p. 18), while Lizzie Rose knows it would be inappropriate to invite Clara to her own home in the poor neighborhood of Chelsea. Though class boundaries were most pronounced in *Splendors and Gloom* (Schlitz, 2012), they were also evident in *Where the Mountain Meets the Moon* (Lin, 2009). For instance, when Minli leaves her village and enters the City of Bright Moonlight, she learns anyone may visit the Outer City but the Inner City is reserved for royalty and high-ranking people. It is forbidden to common people like her.

While class consciousness framing highlights the differences and boundaries between class groups, unity framing portrays class groups being treated equally and working together toward common goals. For example, unity framing was shown when disaster struck and members of all classes were affected. The nonfiction title *An American Plague* (Murphy, 2003) relates the story of the yellow fever epidemic that ravaged Philadelphia in 1793. The illness had a devastating impact on many regardless of class: "No one knew that a killer was already moving through their
streets with them, an invisible stalker that would go house to house until it had
touched everyone, rich or poor, in some terrible way" (Murphy, 2003, p. 9).
However, the poor may have suffered more since they could not leave the city while
many of the rich were able to flee before becoming ill. Similarly, in *Hattie Big Sky*
(Larson, 2006), the flu of 1918 kills a number of Montana residents from the
working class to the wealthy. Barbary from *Good Masters! Sweet Ladies!*, a peasant
girl in medieval England, recognizes motherhood and childbirth can be potentially
life-threatening events regardless of one's class:

> It made me think how all women are the same - silk or sackcloth, all the
same. There's always babies to be born and suckled and wiped, and worried
over. Isobel, the lord's daughter, will have to be married, and squat in the
straw, and scream with the pain and pray for her life same as me. (Schlitz,
2007, p. 49)

Finally, in 19th century Cuba as it is portrayed in *The Surrender Tree*, 
"... even the
wealthy wander like beggars, seeking shelter, arm in arm with the poor" when a
hurricane strikes (Engle, 2008, p. 30).

Occasionally, members of different class groups were shown working side-
by-side to achieve common goals. This was true in *The Surrender Tree* (Engle,
2008), a poetry book about the Cuban people's fight for freedom from Spanish rule
in the 1800s. Both former slaves (the poor) and their former owners (the wealthy)
banded together in a decades-long battle for their freedom. Likewise, *An American
Plague* (Murphy, 2003) describes how when the yellow fever struck, a committee of
citizens from both the middle and upper classes worked together to keep the city
operating.
The idea of class equality was notable in *Hitler Youth* (Bartoletti, 2005), a nonfiction book about Adolf Hitler's corps of children and young adults. Children participating in Hitler's programs were sent to camps in order to learn the traits required to be "good" members of the Nazi party:

The Nazis believed that the camps instilled obedience, discipline, and respect for hard physical labor. They also believed camp life fostered a sense of camaraderie among young people of all classes, since rich and poor alike lived side by side, performing the same manual labor and sharing rations. (Bartoletti, 2005, p. 66)

Some of the young people featured in the book are shown admiring Hitler for his disregard of "money and titles" (Bartoletti, 2005, p. 16). Class equality is also a theme in *The Graveyard Book* (Gaiman, 2008), though the equality is temporary. A man explains to Bod, a young boy living in a graveyard, "'When the winter flowers bloom in the graveyard on the hill they are cut and given out to everybody, man or woman, young or old, rich or poor'" (Gaiman, 2008, p. 155). Following the cutting of the flowers, rich and poor and everyone in between (including the dead) gather together for a dance called the Macabray. Though the rich and poor and the living and the dead are on equal footing during the dance, it is just for one night.

Class unity was evident when characters from less privileged classes identified with the wealthy and powerful. In *Hattie Big Sky* (Larson, 2006), Hattie is a teenage girl trying to prove up on a homestead claim she inherits from her uncle. Though Hattie, who is working class, is aware that she is not rich, she seems to align herself with the upper class. She says things like, "'What do you think all the other millionaires are doing today, Plug?"' (Larson, 2006, p. 122) and "'Just like the Vanderbilts!'" (Larson, 2006, p. 41) as she goes about her daily routines. Hattie is
joking to herself, but it is interesting that even in jest, she seems to have a sense of kinship with the rich.

Class unity framing provides a mostly tension-free image of the relationships between members of different class groups. However, the preceding examples of unity framing are among the few occasions when class relationships were shown as harmonious. More often, members of different class groups had tense, sometimes antagonistic relationships. Portrayals like insignificance and scorn framing of the poor and working class, snobbery framing of the upper and middle class, and contempt framing of the upper class underscored the hostile relationships between characters from different classes. Framings of the upper class are described next.

**Framing the Upper Class**

Members of the upper class were framed both negatively and positively in the Newbery Medal and Honor titles in this sample. Negative framings, however, were observed more frequently than positive framings. Table 19 summarizes the frames used to depict members of the upper class; an asterisk indicates a modified or original Kendall (2011 frame). The following paragraphs provide examples of these frames and address their implications through a critical literacy lens.

**Table 19**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contempt</td>
<td>Members of the upper class are viewed with contempt, anger or jealousy by the poor and working class.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snobbery</td>
<td>Members of the upper class act like snobs toward poor and working class people.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 19 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Price Tag*</td>
<td>The upper class values money and material goods and are portrayed as consumers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insipid</td>
<td>Members of the upper class are dull or vapid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power and opportunity</td>
<td>Members of the upper class, and occasionally the middle class, are powerful and take advantage of opportunities to advance their positions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad apple*</td>
<td>The wealthy are corrupt and greedy; they are white collar criminals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dysfunctional*</td>
<td>Wealthy people are unhappy or emotionally unstable despite their affluence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expectations*</td>
<td>Members of the upper class are expected to behave in ways befitting of their high social position.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emulation*</td>
<td>The wealthy represent the ideals of the American Dream and are models for everyone else.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admiration*</td>
<td>The wealthy are portrayed as caring, benevolent and charitable.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Contempt framing.** Contempt framing is a new class frame that emerged in several of the titles in the sample. In contempt framing, members of the upper class are depicted as targets of contempt, jealousy, anger, or antagonism by characters in other classes, particularly working class and poor characters. This framing was depicted through the perspectives, attitudes, and actions of characters that were not in the upper class. None of Kendall’s (2011) original 18 class frames included any themes conveying the contempt and jealousy of the working class and poor toward
the upper class; thus, contempt framing was developed to reflect the theme of antagonism and hatred toward the upper class.

Sometimes, working class and poor characters are shown resenting the privileges and opportunities afforded to the upper class. Jack's mother in *Dead End in Norvelt* finds the privileges that come with having money distasteful: "Cash just means you can be a big shot and cut to the front of the line," she says to Jack (Gantos, 2011, p. 96). Jack's mother's attitude toward people with money is mild, however, compared to the perspectives of other poor and working class characters.

In *Princess Academy* (Hale, 2005), expressing feelings of contempt toward the upper class is a long-standing tradition among the central characters. The main character, Miri, and her friends and family are part of a working poor mining village on Mount Eskel, a territory of the fictional Kingdom of Danland. The people who inhabit Danland's provinces at the base of the mountain are affluent; well-to-do traders, the nobility, and the royal family are "lowlanders," inhabitants of the provinces. The people of Mount Eskel often have exchanges like this one between Miri and her friend Peder:

"Do you know what the trumpeting is about?"

"Traders, I guess. But why the fanfare?"

"You know lowlanders," said Peder. "They're so important."

"Maybe one had some gas, and they trumpeted so the whole world would know the good news." (Hale, 2005, p. 17)

The feelings of contempt Mount Eskel residents have toward the lowlanders may be rooted in the scornful attitudes the lowlanders have toward them. Throughout the
novel, lowlander characters put down the people of Mount Eskel, and these tensions between the privileged lowlanders and the working poor people of Miri’s community are a central part of the book’s plot.

Feelings of contempt are also directed toward Mr. Lyndon, a man who owns many chicken hatcheries and processing plants throughout the state of Georgia in *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004). Mr. Lyndon is well-known among the community, but he is not well-liked. One of his workers describes him in this way: "'Uh-huh, Mr. Lyndon. That idiotic son of a bitch. I hate him and his wife'" (Kadohata, 2004, p. 147).

Contempt for the upper class occasionally escalates into shunning affluent characters or even engaging in aggressive acts toward them. Several incidents in *Good Masters! Sweet Ladies!* (Schlitz, 2007), a story set in medieval England, illustrate this. Otho, the son of a prosperous miller, has been spurned by the village peasants ever since he was small:

> When I was only four years old, still babyish and unsteady, I tried to play with common folk - they hated me already. They knew I was my father’s son - my father serves the lord. One day I’ll show them hating me’s a thing they can’t afford. (Schlitz, 2007, p. 28)

Like with *Princess Academy* (Hale, 2005), Otho plans to perpetuate the contempt expressed toward him by acting out against the peasants, likely in the form of cheating them out of grain like his father does. Isobel, the lord’s daughter in *Good Masters! Sweet Ladies!* is a special target of contempt. In one scene, a frustrated peasant girl lashes out at Isobel by slinging mud and dung at her and ruining her silk gown. Isobel wonders why: "I cannot take the stain from my gown or the thought
from my mind: They hate me. Why? What have I done?” (Schlitz, 2007, p. 43).

Although Otho, and especially Isobel, may be sympathetic characters since they are seemingly undeserving targets of scorn, contempt framing positions characters in the upper class as enemies of poor and working class people and underscores the antagonistic relationships that sometimes occur when members of different class groups interact.

**Snobbery framing.** Another new frame that emerged in the study was snobbery, in which members of the upper class act like snobs toward people in less privileged class groups. None of Kendall’s (2011) existing frames captured the idea of upper class people acting like snobs toward lower class people. Snobbery was not a prominent frame, but it did manifest in several titles. In *An American Plague* (Murphy, 2003), a nonfiction title about the 1793 yellow fever epidemic that swept Philadelphia, the poor are snubbed when the city must hold a reelection because of backlash about the original election’s outcome. The loser of the original election, Benjamin Morgan, insisted the votes of the poor for his opponent, Israel Israel, did not count since the poor had not taken an oath of allegiance before voting, a law that was rarely enforced. Though Morgan’s insistence on a reelection (which he won) was likely motivated out of self-interest, the incidence still illustrates the condescending attitude of an upper class person toward the poor.

In *The Evolution of Calpurnia Tate* (Kelly, 2009), Calpurnia is the daughter of a cotton gin owner, and her family is one of the most affluent in the Fentress, Texas, area. Calpurnia observes, “I’m guessing we had more money than other families in the county” (Kelly, 2009, p. 132). Though Calpurnia’s mother was once poor since
her family was financially ruined by the Civil War, Calpurnia's mother has some very
definite opinions about the social hierarchy in her community:

Ah. Now, there were two churches in Prairie Lea: The Baptist church, which
was acceptable, and the Independent Church of Prairie Lea, which was not.
The local Leapers were considered a low and trashy lot by many people.
These included my parents, who were both robust Methodists . . . And
although Mother had once or twice entertained Leapers in the house, she
tended to lump them all together, fairly or not, with snake handlers, fallers,
foamers, and other fringe examples of the henhouse sects. (Kelly, 2009, p. 75)

While the snobbery of Calpurnia's mother is in part based on her opinions about
religion, the "low and trashy lot" suggests a class-based disdain of the "Leapers."

Like with contempt framing, snobbery framing also shows antagonistic
relationships between class groups. Both of these framings position upper class and
lower class characters in negative ways. With contempt framing, a reader
identifying with the working class or the poor may come to see the upper class with
contempt much like working class and poor characters, while a reader identifying
with the upper class might see working class and poor characters as "in the wrong"
for their contemptuous attitudes toward upper class people. Likewise, with
snobbery framing, working class and poor characters are positioned as objects of
disdain, while upper class characters may be perceived as unlikable for acting like
snobs. The poor, the working class, and the upper class are all painted with an
unfavorable brush when members of the upper class are depicted with contempt or
as snobs.

**Price tag framing.** Price tag framing is one of Kendall's (2011) original class
frames. In this framing, members of the upper class are shown as consumers who
value material goods. This framing of the upper class was prominent in the
Newbery titles. Many upper class characters owned large, expensive homes like mansions. Katie, the young protagonist in *Kira-Kira*, is awed by the size of the mansion owned by Mr. Lyndon, the owner of the chicken plants where her parents work: "When I got out of the car, the house seemed as big as a castle. It was so big and beautiful, it made me gasp. It seemed a thousand people could live in that one house" (Kadohata, 2004, p. 232). Besides Mr. Lyndon, other upper class characters living in mansions or exquisite homes include the WIntermute family and Cassandra Sagredo in *Splendors and Glooms* (Schlitz, 2012), Princess Pea in *The Tale of Despereaux* (DiCamillo, 2003), and Robert Morris, a minor figure in *An American Plague* (Murphy, 2003).

Price tag framing also surfaced in descriptions of characters' clothing. Isobel, the lord's daughter in *Good Masters! Sweet Ladies!* (Schlitz, 2007), wears silk gowns to walk through the village, Clara WIntermute in *Splendors and Glooms* has a "birthday frock . . . made by the finest dressmaker in London" (Schlitz, 2012, p. 6), Princess Pea wears a sequined, glittering gown in *The Tale of Despereaux* (DiCamillo, 2003), while Julia in *When You Reach Me* (Stead, 2009) likes to show off the satin ribbons, velvet dresses, and jewelry she purchases on her vacations across the world. Whittington, the cat who narrates the story of London merchant Dick Whittington, explains "... English people of quality [in the 1300s] liked to flaunt fine silks, brocades and satins, glowing velvets, flashing taffetas" (Armstrong, 2005, p. 65).
Conspicuous consumption was further apparent in the food choices of upper class characters. Turtle, the daughter of a housekeeper in *Turtle in Paradise*, observes,

Mama's always making fancy lunches for the ladies she works for. You wouldn't even know people were standing in breadlines if you walked in and saw what they were eating: iced cantaloupe, shrimp aspic, caviar sandwiches with cream cheese, hearts of lettuce with French dressing, meringue cookies. (Holm, 2010, p. 106)

Similarly, Miri in *Princess Academy* (Hale, 2005) is astonished by the variety of food and many different courses served at academy banquets when the prince is in attendance. The lavish food choices available at these events is a far cry from the meager soups she is used to eating in her working poor village.

Though some upper class characters seem to purchase luxury items for their own pleasure, some are more interested in impressing other people through their consumption. Holling Hoodhood, the seventh grade protagonist of *The Wednesday Wars* (Schmidt, 2007), is the son of an ambitious, prominent architect obsessed with earning the title of “businessman of the year.” Holling describes his family's living room:

I walked past the Perfect Living Room, where no one ever sat because all the seat cushions were covered in stiff, clear plastic. You could walk in there and think that everything was for sale, it was so perfect. The carpet looked like it had never been walked on - which it almost hadn't - and the baby grand by the window looked like it had never been played - which it hadn't, since none of us could. But if anyone had ever walked in and plinked a key or sniffed the artificial tropical flowers or straightened a tie in the gleaming mirror, they sure would have been impressed at the perfect life of an architect from Hoodhood and Associates. (Schmidt, 2007, p. 6)
The "Perfect Living Room" is not used by Holling's family. Instead, it is a showcase designed to inspire a sense of admiration for Hoodhood and Associates, the firm owned by Holling's father. Likewise, in *The Graveyard Book* (Gaiman, 2009), the graveyard where most characters live was donated by Josiah Worthington, a politician and a baronet. Though the land for the graveyard was a gift to the city, Worthington reserved the best and most prominent spot for himself, presumably so his generosity and high status could be remembered long after his death.

Only one upper class character seems to reject the trappings of wealth: Mr. Brewster, the kindly man who adopts Homer in *The Mostly True Adventures of Homer P. Figg* (Philbrick, 2009), a Civil War-era tale of an orphan's search to find his brother. Mr. Brewster is the owner of a tourmaline mine and is quite wealthy; he is also an ardent abolitionist who harbors runaway slaves. He explains to Homer that the wealth his mine has brought him is less important than his religious and abolitionist convictions: "'Tourmaline brought me great wealth,' he says. 'It did not bring me wisdom or show me the path. It was God who provided wisdom, and Frederick Douglass who showed me the path'" (Philbrick, 2009, p. 53). However, the description of the kitchen used by Mr. Brewster's cook, Mrs. Bean, is incongruous with Mr. Brewster's apparent lack of interest in money:

> Mouth shut, I take the time to survey Mrs. Bean's magnificent kitchen. The room is bigger than [my uncle's] whole house, with a fry stove and a bake stove and a full fireplace with a Dutch oven. Pantry has more canned goods than the general store in Pine Swamp, and there are three different slate sinks, one for washing dishes and one for rinsing vegetables, and one just for the heck of it, I guess. Loads of cupboards with glass fronts, copper pots of every size, rock-maple countertops, a butter urn Mrs. Bean says belongs in a museum. And drawers. There are big drawers and little drawers and bread drawers and knife drawers, and linen drawers, and drawers for extra things left over. (Philbrick, 2009, p. 48)
While Mr. Brewster may care more about the anti-slavery cause than money, the size of his kitchen suggests that he is a conspicuous consumer like many other characters of his social class.

**Insipid framing.** In insipid framing, an upper class character is depicted as a dull or vapid person. Insipid framing is a new class frame emerging from this study, although it is not a particularly robust frame as it was observed in only three titles. None of Kendall’s (2011) frames included wealthy people acting unintelligent or superficial, so the creation of a new frame was necessary. In *The Tale of Despereaux* (DiCamillo, 2003), the king is portrayed as a man who is not particularly smart, beating his chest with his crown when he is upset and making ridiculous, impossible-to-enforce laws when a situation makes him unhappy. Meanwhile, in *Princess Academy*, Bena argues a queen’s duties are dull and meaningless: “‘It’ll be boring work, long days talking to people you don’t care about, and married to a dull boy with a fancy title’” (Hale, 2005, pp. 285-286). Not only is the work of a queen boring, but so is the future king himself. In *The Evolution of Calpurnia Tate* (Kelly, 2009), Calpurnia despises the drippy girl her brother Harry falls for and introduces to the Tate family, complaining she talks of little else besides fashion and petty gossip. Although there are multiple framings in this sample of texts that negatively portray wealthy people, these examples of insipid framing are the only ones showing upper class characters as stupid, dull, or vacuous. As will be explained in the upcoming analysis of these class frames, the scarcity of incompetent upper class
characters (and the abundance of incompetent working class characters) may reinforce dominant ideologies that justify power relationships.

**Power and opportunity framing.** Power and opportunity framing shows wealthy characters in positions of power, and these characters often take advantage of opportunities to maintain or advance this power. The power of upper class characters manifests in many ways. In *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004), wealthy Mr. Lyndon has power as the owner of most of the chicken hatcheries and processing plants in Georgia. When one of Mr. Lyndon’s workers admits to bashing his Cadillac, Mr. Lyndon promptly fires the worker, exercising power over the worker’s ability to earn an income and the worker’s opportunities for securing another job in the chicken processing field. Mr. Lyndon also exercises his power through his draconian workplace policies: Employees in his chicken plants may not disrupt their work to take bathroom breaks, so they must wear diapers to relieve themselves. Mr. Lyndon’s workers also receive limited time off for childbirth and bereavement; Katie’s parents, who both work for Mr. Lyndon, return to work just a day or two after the untimely death of Katie’s sister. All of Mr. Lyndon’s employees are expected to prioritize their work in the chicken plant over their own personal and family needs.

Arthur Devlin, the wealthy owner of a mine in *Moon Over Manifest* (Vanderpool, 2010) exercises a similar kind of power over his employees. Devlin does not compensate his employees with money; rather, he gives them vouchers to his company store. Thus, the wages from Devlin’s mine flow directly back into Devlin’s pockets. Ned, a teenage mine worker, is disgusted by this:
"Devlin doesn’t care who sees him, because he doesn’t have to answer to anybody. They all answer to him. Around here, whoever owns the mine pretty much owns the town. Everybody has to come crawling to him, his mine, his company store. And believe me, with his wages and his prices, he makes sure you stay on your knees." (Vanderpool, 2010, p. 63)

Since employment opportunities in the book’s setting of rural Manifest, Kansas are limited, the mine workers are kept on their knees, as Ned puts it, and Devlin maintains his control and power over both the mine and the town.

Upper class characters also exercise their power through the influence they have over the behavior and actions of other characters. In *Lizzie Bright and the Buckminster Boy* (Schmidt, 2004), the wealthy Mr. Stonecrop wants to build hotels in order to attract tourists to his town of Phippsburg, Maine. As Phippsburg’s shipyards fold, Mr. Stonecrop views tourism as a way to sustain the town’s economy. However, an island off Phippsburg’s coast stands in Mr. Stonecrop’s way. Mr. Stonecrop is certain the island, dotted with "hovels" owned by poor black people who are shunned by Phippsburg’s residents, would dissuade tourists from visiting the town. Mr. Stonecrop makes plans to rid the island of its residents and demolish the homes there in order to clear up Phippsburg’s scenery for the hotels he plans to build, and he convinces many other prominent men in town to go along with his plan, including Deacon Hurd and Reverend Buckminster, the father of Turner, the titular Buckminster Boy and the book’s protagonist. The residents of Phippsburg, even Turner, who is new in town, understand the influence Mr. Stonecrop has over the community:

The only awkwardness the moment lacked was the omnipotent presence of Mr. Stonecrop, who soon remedied the absence. He knocked and opened the parsonage door at the same time, understanding that his importance in the
town, his importance in the church, and the importance of his mission gave him the right to step in on the minister whom he paid every Sunday morning from his tithes and offerings. (Schmidt, 2004, p. 87)

As Turner's observation shows, Mr. Stonecrop himself is well-aware of his own power and importance in Phippsburg, and Mr. Stonecrop's ability to recruit others in joining his cruel plan to displace the island's residents is a demonstration of his power.

Additionally, power is conveyed through the esteem and deference paid to upper class characters by less privileged characters. In *The Tale of Despereaux* (DiCamillo, 2003), servants must bow or curtsy when they encounter or speak to a member of the royal family. Princess Pea feels vexed when she feels her inferiors overstep their bounds and fail to treat her with the respect to which she is accustomed: "'You can't threaten me. I'm a princess'" (DiCamillo, 2003, p. 190). Bowing or kneeling on the ground is also expected of peasants when they encounter samurai, who are considered nobility, in *Heart of a Samurai* (Preus, 2010). In *The Evolution of Calpurnia Tate*, Calpurnia explains the local postmaster is always "kowtow[ing]" to her wealthy and influential parents, making "a great show of waiting on the Tates" (Kelly, 2009, p. 185). The postmaster even pretends to like Calpurnia and her brothers, although Calpurnia believes his interest in her family is insincere. The way the postmaster treats Calpurnia's family reveals his perception of their power and influence in the community.

In several titles, upper class characters are shown clambering for opportunities to gain even more power. In *Whittington* (Armstrong, 2005), a book set alternately in the present day United States and in 14th century London, the
wealthy Sir Louis provides his granddaughter with a dowry in order to marry her off into an even wealthier family. Whittington, the feline narrator, explains this practice was common in the 1300s:

"It was the custom then for people of Sir Louis's class to buy their daughters or granddaughters a socially advantageous marriage by settling a valuable gift on the husband. Fathers bargained their children for marriage like they were buying and selling properties." (Armstrong, 2005, pp. 175-176)

Opportunistic attitudes about acquiring wealth and power were also present in *The Evolution of Calpurnia Tate* (Kelly, 2009). Calpurnia notes her older brother Harry is named "after a bachelor great-uncle with lots of money and no heirs" (Kelly, 2009, p. 27), presumably so Harry can be a contender for inheriting the uncle's great wealth.

Meanwhile, Calpurnia is convinced her friend Lula's mother appreciates Lula's friendship with Calpurnia, a member of the wealthy and prominent Tate family:

... I believe that [Lula's] mother might have promoted the friendship. She might have thought it a social plum for Lula to have a friend in the Tate family. And did her mother also harbor hopes that Lula might one day snag one of the Tate boys as a husband? It's possible. (Kelly, 2009, p. 132)

The friendship with Calpurnia not only reflects well on Lula's family, which is less prosperous than the Tate family, but it also provides Lula with the prospect of one day marrying one of Calpurnia's brothers and enhancing her social and economic standing in the community.

An underlying theme within power and opportunity framing is greed. Mr. Lyndon in *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004) can increase productivity (and increase profits) by refusing to allow his employees bathroom breaks and denying them childbirth or bereavement leave. Arthur Devlin (*Moon Over Manifest*, Vanderpool,
2010) ensures his income by paying his workers in vouchers for his company store instead of providing them with money they can spend anywhere. Further, the desire for greater wealth and social advancement displayed by some of the wealthy characters in *Whittington* (Armstrong, 2005) and *The Evolution of Calpurnia Tate* (Kelly, 2009) also demonstrates greed since the characters in these stories have their basic needs for food and shelter met, and their standard of living already far exceeds those of less privileged characters. Bad apple framing shares this theme of greed with power and opportunity framing. However, power and opportunity framing is different from bad apple framing since within power and opportunity framing, characters may be greedy or opportunistic but not necessarily corrupt or criminal. Although the framings are different in this respect, some of the characters demonstrating power and opportunity framing are also bad apples.

**Bad apple framing.** Bad apple framing is one of Kendall’s (2011) original class frames. In this framing, upper class characters are depicted as corrupt and greedy, and they are sometimes shown as white-collar criminals. Bad apple framing was one of the most prominent themes about upper class characters in the sample of Newbery texts; multiple books included bad apple characters.

Bad apple framing sometimes manifested in the way upper class characters treated members of less privileged classes. Employers, or owners of capital, are particularly greedy and corrupt. Mr. Lyndon in *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004) has little respect for his working class employees as demonstrated by his unjust workplace policies, and his policies are likely motivated by his own greed and desire to increase profits. His refusal to allow his workers bathroom breaks may even
constitute a violation of the law, though it is unclear from the book whether this is actually a legal breach or not. Arthur Devlin, the mine owner in *Moon Over Manifest* (Vanderpool, 2010), is similarly greedy. He pays his workers in vouchers for his company store, forces them to work long shifts (sometimes double shifts) in his coal mine, and treats them like "pack mules" (Vanderpool, 2010, p. 94). Mr. Stonecrop, the wealthy man in *Lizzie Bright and the Buckminster Boy* (Schmidt, 2004) who wants to dislocate the poor to build hotels, is likewise greedy and corrupt. Mr. Stonecrop owns one of the shipyards that some of the residents of Phippsburg depend on for their living, and when it fails, Mr. Stonecrops makes haste to leave town:

In May, Mr. Stonecrop's shipyard failed. He abandoned the house on Quality Ridge and lit out for parts unknown, taking with him what remained of the investments of half the town. All of Phippsburg raged. Quality indeed! What hope was there for a hotel on the New Meadows now? Here were all the workers in the shipyard unpaid for the last month. (Schmidt, 2004, pp. 208-209)

Not only does Mr. Stonecrop want to drive the poor off their island in order to pursue a business opportunity, but he neglects to pay his workers when his shipyard fails, and he leaves many Phippsburg residents who had invested in his business schemes in financial ruin.

Upper class characters with political power were sometimes depicted as bad apples as well. In *Good Masters! Sweet Ladies!* (Schlitz, 2007), the lord of the manor is supposed to offer protection to the manor's residents, but that obligation does not prevent him from taking advantage of them. Though the farming land in the manor is divided among the manor's residents and the lord, the lord takes the best land for
his own use even though the poor and the peasants in the manor could probably benefit from it more than he could. The lord is also entitled to take the best farm animal owned by a peasant family when the head of the household dies, and the lord is shown taking advantage of this entitlement despite the family’s desperate need for the animal. Further, the lord is a bad employer, sometimes paying his workers in useless currency. Will, the plowboy, explains the plight of his father, one of the lord’s workers: “Every day he’d bring home three herrings and a loaf of bread - but sometimes the herrings had been dead so long we couldn’t eat ‘em” (Schlitz, 2007, p. 10). Magistrate Tiger in *Where the Mountain Meets the Moon* (Lin, 2009) is another political bad apple. Being a local official is not enough for Magistrate Tiger; he longs for membership in the royal family and “his every decision was crafted for that purpose” (Lin, 2009, p. 19). He demands unfair taxes from the people he is tasked with protecting, and he treats his people cruelly:

> Whenever he made a trip out of the city, no matter what time of day or night, people were to leave their homes, get on their knees, and make deep bows as he passed, or else face the brutal punishment of his soldiers. (Lin, 2009, p. 18)

Though the lord and Magistrate Tiger may not engage in criminal activity, they are undoubtedly corrupt and very greedy characters.

Sometimes, upper class people who were not employers or political leaders were portrayed as bad apples. In *An American Plague* (Murphy, 2003), a yellow fever epidemic sweeps colonial-era Philadelphia, and the devastating effects of the illness leave many people unable to work and earn income to pay their rent. To alleviate the problem, a committee of citizens allocates money to help people
struggling to pay rent and purchase food. However, sometimes the landlords of these people took advantage of the situation:

In a few instances the charity only lined the pockets of the greedy. One landlord told the committee that her tenants needed immediate financial help in order to survive and was granted the money requested. After pocketing the money herself, she seized her tenants' clothing and put everyone out on the street anyway. (Murphy, 2003, p. 84)

What is most unfortunate about this particular depiction is the fact that the greedy acts by the landlords actually occurred since An American Plague is a nonfiction title. However, bad apple framing on the part of "ordinary" upper class characters also occurred in fictional titles. In Good Masters! Sweet Ladies! (Schlitz, 2007), the manor's miller cheats the peasants, often replacing the flour they have ordered with chalk. The miller passes these unfair practices onto his son, Otho, his apprentice: "I know the family business - it's been drummed into my head: how to cheat the hungry customer and earn my daily bread" (Schlitz, 2007, p. 27). The Mostly True Adventures of Homer P. Figg (Philbrick, 2009) also features a bad apple. Homer explains that J.T. Marston, the town magistrate and a minor character, refuses to legalize land transactions unless he is paid to do so: "Anything you want done in the law, or outside it, old J.T. will see to it so long as he gets his share of the proceeds" (Philbrick, 2009, p. 15). Mr. Marston also approves an illegal transaction in which Homer's uncle sells Homer's brother, Harold, as a replacement for the son of a rich man drafted to fight in the Civil War; however, Harold is under 18 and is not legally permitted to serve in the war. As these examples of bad apple framing show, upper class characters are sometimes portrayed as greedy and corrupt, and even as
criminals, and their actions can have a detrimental impact on the poor and working class people they rake over the coals.

**Dysfunctional framing.** Dysfunctional framing, one of Kendall's (2011) original frames, depicts upper class characters as emotionally unstable or unhappy. Dysfunctional framing was not a major theme in the books in the sample, though it was evident in four titles: *Princess Academy* (Hale, 2005), *Splendors and Glooms* (Schlitz, 2012), *The Tale of Despereaux* (DiCamillo, 2003) and *The Wednesday Wars* (Schmidt, 2007). In *Princess Academy*, Miri and her friend Britta have a mock conversation as part of their academy coursework in social customs. Miri pretends she is a lower class person and Britta is her “better”:

“Yes, Miss Miri?” Britta mimicked the same affect.  

"I do hope all your lords and ladies are fat and happy, Lady Britta."

"All fat, none happy, Miss Miri." (Hale, 2005, p. 94)

Although the conversation is “for pretend,” it is later revealed that Britta, who is posing as a working poor village girl, is actually the daughter of a nobleman. Britta’s remark about unhappy lords and ladies might reflect her own family: Britta believes her parents do not love her and are only using her as a means to link them to the royal family, hoping that Britta will one day marry Prince Steffan. Though little is revealed about Britta’s family life, Britta is glad when she leaves her family to live on Mount Eskel, indicating her unhappiness with her home life.

The Wintermute family in *Splendors and Glooms* (Schlitz, 2012) is particularly dysfunctional. When the story opens, the Wintermute family consists of Clara, a young girl, and her mother and father, Mrs. and Dr. Wintermute. However,
prior to the story’s beginning, Clara had four other siblings who all died of cholera. The deaths of four children were a blow to the Wintermute family, and a few years later, they are still in mourning, especially Clara’s mother. Every year on Clara’s birthday, her mother forces her to visit Kensal Green, the cemetery where Clara’s siblings are buried. Clara’s mother chastises her for laughing and expects a sense of sadness and decorum to prevail in the Wintermute home, as underscored by the plaster death masks of the children on display in the family’s parlor. Although the family is wealthy and they live in the posh London neighborhood of Chester Square, they are unhappy, and Clara’s mother even seems mentally unhinged. Another character from Splendors and Glooms, Cassandra Sagredo, is unhappy like the Wintermutes. Despite her vast wealth and expansive estate, Cassandra is lonely and has many regrets about her past.

A death in the family also results in unhappiness for Princess Pea and the king in The Tale of Despereaux (DiCamillo, 2003). Princess Pea’s mother, the queen, dies suddenly when a rat, Roscuro, unexpectedly falls into her bowl of soup and shocks her to death. After the queen dies, both Princess Pea and King Phillip are bereaved, and so are other members of the household like the cook. The king is so upset that he decides to ban soup and all of its accoutrements, like bowls and spoons, from his kingdom.

Seventh grader Holling Hoodhood’s family becomes increasingly dysfunctional in The Wednesday Wars (Schmidt, 2007). On the surface, Holling’s family seems perfect: His father is an award-winning, successful architect who owns his firm, and the family lives in a “Perfect House” with “perfectly white” cement
squares on the sidewalk in front of it and "perfectly matching azalea blooms" on the walkway (Schmidt, 2007, p. 5). However, as the story progresses, tensions grow between Holling's sister, Heather, and his father. The two clash over politics, and when Heather runs away, Holling's father refuses to allow her to come back. Meanwhile, Holling's mother starts smoking cigarettes and tries to hide the fact from her husband. Holling describes his family's gradual slide into dysfunction:

In the real world, people fall out of love little by little, not all at once. They stop looking at each other. They stop talking. They stop serving lima beans. After Walter Cronkite is finished, one of them goes for a ride in a Ford Mustang, the other goes upstairs to the bedroom. And there is a lot of quiet in the house. And late at night, the sounds of sadness creep underneath the bedroom doors and along the dark halls. (Schmidt, 2007, p. 240)

Though upper class people appear to "have it all," dysfunctional framing shows they can be sad or unhappy despite their economically advantageous positions.

**Expectations framing.** Expectations framing is a new frame for portraying the upper class. In expectations framing, members of the upper class are shown conforming to a set of social rules designed to promote esteem of the wealthy. This new frame was necessary since none of Kendall's (2011) frames included upper class people adhering to social norms in order to secure respect.

Expectations framing was evident in a few titles. As wealthy young Clara's birthday party approaches in *Splendors and Glooms* (Schlitz, 2012), she worries about walking the fine line between happiness and poor taste: "It was ill-bred to show too much excitement, but if she wasn't grateful enough, she ran the risk of hurting her mother's feelings" (Schlitz, 2012, p. 3). Later on, when Clara laughs at a funny skit in a puppet show in front of her friends, her mother is mortified and Clara
is punished. In *The Tale of Despereaux* (DiCamillo, 2003), King Phillip explains the expectations of royalty to his daughter, Princess Pea: "'Royalty,' the king said, 'has many responsibilities. And one of them is not becoming involved personally with even the distant relatives of one's enemies'" (DiCamillo, 2003, p. 39). At one point in *The Evolution of Calpurnia Tate* (Kelly, 2009), wealthy young Calpurnia decides she wants to know what it is like to chop cotton, so she takes a hoe to her family's fields and begins to chop. The family's cook, Viola, catches her and delivers a stern lecture, asking Calpurnia if she has lost her senses. From this incident, it is clear that chopping cotton is inappropriate behavior for a member of the prosperous and prominent Tate family. Despite the freedom their economic circumstances provide them, many of the actions of upper class characters are constrained and regulated by social expectations.

**Emulation framing.** Emulation framing was observed in a number of the Newbery titles. Emulation framing, one of the original Kendall (2011) frames, involves wealthy people being held up as models for everyone else. In the Newbery books, emulation framing often took the form of lower class characters idealizing or glorifying the rich. Over and over again, poor and working class characters (and sometimes middle class characters) express their desires for becoming wealthy:

- "Me and Neeka and D had all turned twelve by then, but we still believed stuff - like that we'd grow up and marry beautiful rapper guys who'd buy us huge houses out in the country" (*After Tupac and D Foster*, Woodson, 2008, p. 10).

- "[Lynn] said we would be rich someday and buy our parents seven houses" (*Kira-Kira*, Kadohata, 2004, p. 6).
• "I’m thinking, I’d give anything to live in a house like that, and be rich and happy and never have to worry about anything" (The Mostly True Adventures of Homer P. Figg, Philbrick, 2009, p. 42).

• "I want to be a princess,’ said Mig. ‘I want to wear a crown’" (The Tale of Despereaux, DiCamillo, 2003, p. 137).

• "That night Dick had a dream. He dreamed he went to London and became the [rich] stout stranger…” (Whittington, Armstrong, 2005, p. 42).

• “I guess I’d like to be an orphan and live with a very rich family in a huge mansion” (Olive’s Ocean, Henkes, 2003, p. 68).

Other characters dream of becoming wealthy, too: troublemaker Frankie in Penny from Heaven (Holm, 2006) aspires to be like his well-to-do Uncle Nunzio; the working poor girls of Princess Academy (Hale, 2005) long to marry Prince Steffan; and Manjiro from Heart of a Samurai (Preus, 2010) wishes to become a samurai, a nearly impossible dream since becoming a samurai means being born into a noble family. In Turtle in Paradise (Holm, 2010), Turtle and her mother’s boyfriend Archie want to live on “Easy Street,” and Mrs. Soldano buys lottery tickets every week hoping to win the jackpot (p. 6).

What is striking about emulation framing is the idea that some characters do not merely wish to become wealthy - they expect it. Katie and Lynn, the two sisters in Kira-Kira (Kadohata, 2004) often talk of what they will buy and what they will do not if they become rich, but when they become rich. This is also the case in After
*Tupac and D Foster* (Woodson, 2008) as this conversation between Jayjones, an aspiring basketball player, and his younger sister, Neeka, demonstrates:

"When I go pro, I'm gonna buy [Mama and Pops] -"

"If you go pro," Neeka said.

"When I go pro," Jayjones continued, speaking over her. "I'm buying them a huge house like all the ballplayers be buying their mamas." (Woodson, 2008, pp. 30-31)

Only a few characters seem to realize the unlikelihood of actually attaining wealth and moving from a lower class into the legions of the rich. In *Criss Cross* (Perkins, 2005), Debbie momentarily wishes she could be like a character in Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, wearing fancy clothing and speaking in a refined manner. Yet she recognizes such a lifestyle "would depend, of course, on whether you were born in the mansion or in the hovel" (Perkins, 2005, pp. 202-204). Miri from *Princess Academy* (Hale, 2005) recognizes that although the academy she and the other girls from her village are attending is designed to prepare them for possible marriage to the prince, "no lowlander would let a crown sit on a mountain girl's head" (Hale, 2005, pp. 57-58). Further, Manjiro in *Heart of a Samurai* (Preus, 2010) recognizes the dark side of wanting to be rich, realizing it makes people greedy and compels them to engage in morally wrong behavior such as owning slaves.

In the sample of Newbery titles, few wealthy characters were ever positioned as models of behavior for other people (the exception being the few portrayed according to admiration framing, which is described next). As the descriptions of other class framings like snobbery, contempt, bad apple, and dysfunctional framing have demonstrated, wealthy characters are frequently shown in very negative ways,
taking advantage of less privileged people and acting more important than members of the poor and working class. Despite the bad behavior of the rich and the pitfalls that come with wealth, poor, working class, and middle class characters longed to become rich anyway as shown in emulation framing.

**Admiration framing.** Admiration framing is another original Kendall (2011) frame, and it involves upper class characters being portrayed as caring, charitable, or benevolent. In several titles, upper class characters take on the role of crusaders for the poor and the less fortunate. In *An American Plague* (Murphy, 2003), several upper class figures help the poor people who are left behind as fever strikes Philadelphia and most of the wealthy leave town: Israel Israel, who secured shelter for homeless orphans and distributed necessities to the poor; Stephen Girard, who operated the city in the absence of officials who had fled; Benjamin Rush, the doctor who tended to many fever patients despite contracting the sickness twice himself; and Mayor Matthew Clarkson, who chose to stay in the city to see the fever through instead of running away from it. In the author's notes of *Al Capone Does My Shirts* (Choldenko, 2005), the author explains the real Al Capone was among the first people to open soup kitchens when the stock market crashed in 1929 and the Great Depression began. Another example from history is the real Dick Whittington, who gave much of his fortune to charity, opened an almshouse, a college, and a library, and made available a clean source of water for the poor (author's notes, *Whittington*, Armstrong, 2005). The fictionalized Dick Whittington (the hero of the story narrated by the cat Whittington) also engages in these actions to help the poor. As Whittington the cat explains, "[Dick Whittington] is not
remembered because he died rich. He is remembered because he gave away everything” (Armstrong, 2005, p. 179).

Although real historical figures were portrayed as admirable, so were fictional characters in some of the Newbery titles. In The Tale of Despereaux (DiCamillo, 2003), Princess Pea despises the rat, Roscuro, since he initiated the chain of events leading to her mother’s death. However, at the story’s end, Pea still dislikes Roscuro but allows him to visit the upstairs of the castle, which was previously forbidden to him, and she offers him some soup, a peace offering since her mother died eating a bowl of soup. Pea is also able to empathize with Miggery Sow, the servant girl who helps Roscuro kidnap Pea and points a knife at her back. The narrator notes,

Reader, I am pleased to tell you that the Pea was a kind person, and perhaps more important, she was empathetic. Do you know what it means to be empathetic?

I will tell you: It means that when you are being forcibly taken to a dungeon, when you have a large knife pointed at your back, when you are trying to be brave, you are able, still, to think for a moment of the person who is holding that knife. (DiCamillo, 2003, p. 198)

Another admirable fictitious character is Jebediah Brewster from The Mostly True Adventures of Homer P. Figg (Philbrick, 2009). Mr. Brewster feeds Homer and gives him a place to sleep after Homer is kidnapped by smugglers, and eventually, he adopts Homer and his brother Harold and gives the two orphans a permanent home. Mr. Brewster is also an abolitionist who harbors runaway slaves making their way to freedom in Canada.
While some wealthy characters are charitable or benevolent on multiple occasions, for others, charity is an occasional act. In *The Evolution of Calpurnia Tate* (Kelly, 2009), charity occurs at holidays. At Thanksgiving, for instance, Calpurnia's family slaughters a turkey to give to "the poor at the other end of town" (Kelly, 2009, p. 262). Likewise, the slaves on the plantation in *The Surrender Tree* (Engle, 2008) receive "small gifts of food" from their owners on Three Kings Day, which is the 12th day of Christmas (p. 12). Isobel, the lord's daughter in *Good Masters! Sweet Ladies!* (Schlitz, 2012), gives out bread to on Lammas Day, a holiday celebrating the harvesting of wheat. Benevolence is not an enduring quality of these wealthy characters; instead, being charitable is a role they play during holidays.

Other characters with money appear to be benevolent and admirable, but their kindness has bad, rather than charitable, intentions. For example, in *Splendors and Glooms* (Schlitz, 2012), the wealthy Cassandra Sagredo writes to Professor Grisini, the guardian of protagonists Lizzie Rose and Parsefall, and informs him that she is ailing and would like to leave her fortune to the two orphans. However, the letter is actually a ploy to lure Lizzie Rose and Parsefall to Cassandra's estate so she can give them a cursed, magical jewel that she no longer wants since wearing it makes her ill. In *Three Times Lucky* (Turnage, 2012), Mo learns her seemingly stingy neighbor, Mr. Jesse, was secretly leaving money at the local church late at night when no one could see him. Over the course of 11 years of his midnight "deposits," Mr. Jesse gave over $57,000 to the church. Mr. Jesse's actions, though, were likely motivated by his desire to assuage his guilty conscience: The money Mr. Jesse was donating had been stolen as part of a heist. Though some wealthy characters appear
to be charitable out of altruism, others like Cassandra and Mr. Jesse are motivated out of their own self-interest, much like the greedy characters in bad apple framing.

The framings of the upper class described here reveal mixed depictions of this class group. On one hand, the wealthy are kind and benevolent (admiration framing). On the other hand, they are disagreeable (contempt framing, snobbery framing), unhappy (dysfunctional framing) and greedy (power and opportunity framing, bad apple framing). Even with these shortcomings, members of the poor and the working and middle classes still idealize the wealthy and long to be rich (emulation framing).

Interestingly, the wealthy were portrayed dichotomously in the Newbery texts. With few exceptions (e.g., Calpurnia Tate, Clara Winternute, and Turner Buckminster), upper class characters were either evil or good, not complex characters with a balance of unfavorable and positive qualities. These depictions may provoke strong positive or negative feelings and perceptions toward the upper class characters in these books: Readers may admire them or despise them depending on the perspective they assume while reading the books.

**A critical literacy analysis of the upper class.** At first glance, upper class characters seem to be marginalized in the Newbery titles. Of the 32 human protagonists in the sample, only three of them are upper class - Calpurnia Tate (Kelly, 2009), Holling Hoodhood (Schmidt, 2007) and Turner Buckminster (Schmidt, 2004) - which suggests the affluent are not very well-represented, at least in terms of protagonists. Further, the upper class is maligned in the books: They are framed as objects of contempt, as snobs, as power-hungry opportunists, as bad apples, and
as dysfunctional, unhappy people. Many of the most memorable and vividly portrayed antagonists from the sample are upper class, namely Mr. Lyndon from *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004), Mr. Stonecrop from *Lizzie Bright and the Buckminster Boy* (Schmidt, 2004), Magistrate Tiger in *Where the Mountain Meets the Moon* (Lin, 2009), and Arthur Devlin from *Moon Over Manifest* (Vanderpool, 2010).

It is possible that so many upper class characters are positioned in negative frames because children's book authors assume there are more poor, working class, and middle class children reading their books; together, these groups comprise about 85% of the American population according to Gilbert's (2008) model (see Table 2). If authors are going to pick a class group to malign as villains, the upper class might appear to be an appropriate choice since wealthy people are a minority of the population. Further, they have their class privilege to "buffer" them against negative portrayals: The rich are glorified elsewhere, like in mass media (Perks, 2007). In contrast, framing a poor person as a villain might further malign a group of people that has been marginalized and vilified in the United States for decades (hooks, 2000).

Of course, whether or not a reader accepts the negative messages about the upper class in the texts depends on his or her perspective. An upper class reader (or a reader who wishes to be upper class) might be sympathetic to some of the framings of the wealthy presented in these books even when these framings seem negative. For instance, though the upper class is portrayed in an adverse way in contempt framing, a reader might feel sorry for an upper class character if that character's contemptuous treatment by a lower class person seems unjustified.
Isobel in *Good Masters! Sweet Ladies!* (Schlitz, 2007) might be one such sympathetic wealthy character; though Isobel seems kind, she is hated by the peasants, perhaps out of jealousy. Perspective might also influence how readers see snobbery framing. Since working class and poor people are sometimes portrayed as crude and trashy (caricature framing), readers might feel upper class characters justifiably turn up their noses at them.

Though some upper class characters are portrayed as villains, like in bad apple framing, being rich is rarely shown as an undesirable class position through the eyes of the characters. This becomes evident when one considers that although some poor and working class characters are contemptuous of the rich, none of these characters believe having a great deal of money is a bad thing. In other words, poor and working class characters malign rich *people*, not the idea of having an abundance of money. The idea of being wealthy, then, is not a negative one: This positions the upper class favorably.

Dysfunctional framing is the only portrayal of the upper class that shows unhappy wealthy characters. However, the only character who is unhappy as a *function* of his drive for success is Holling Hoodhood’s father; other characters exhibiting dysfunction are unhappy for other reasons, such as a death in the family. Though some wealthy characters are portrayed as bad people, the upper class as a class group is not usually depicted in an unfavorable position on the class hierarchy.

Despite negative portrayals like contempt framing, snobbery framing, dysfunctional framing, bad apple framing, and power and opportunity framing, the wealthy are still heralded in some of the Newbery books. This idea is crystallized in
emulation framing, which positions wealth as an ideal through the perspectives of poor, working class, and middle class characters who long to be rich. Numerous characters - Neeka and the narrator (Woodson, 2008), Homer Figg (Philbrick, 2009), Lynn and Katie (Kadohata, 2004), Dick Whittington (Armstrong, 2005) and Turtle (Holm, 2006), among others - desire membership in the upper class. Miggery Sow in The Tale of Despereaux (DiCamillo, 2003) is not satisfied with merely becoming rich: She wants to become a princess, as she tells anyone who will listen. Emulation framing therefore places the upper class in a favorable light because it shows wealth as an ideal, something to which members of other classes should aspire and something that is desirable. As Kendall (2011) stated, emulation framing also positions the wealthy as models for other people because they have already achieved what everyone else wants: financial success.

The wealthy are also shown favorably when they are contrasted against members of the poor and the working class. Insipid framing, which frames the upper class as dull and vacuous, was a new frame observed in this study, yet it was a very limited frame since only three titles included it. The poor and the working class, on the other hand, are portrayed as incompetent, slovenly, and trashy multiple times through caricature framing; at least 10 different titles included caricature framing of the poor and the working class. (Caricature framing is presented in forthcoming sections of this chapter.) Insipid framing and caricature framing share the common quality of an apparent lack of intelligence. With the small number of titles depicting the wealthy as incompetent, and the fairly sizeable number of titles depicting the poor and the working class as incompetent, one might conclude the
Newbery books perpetuate the perspective that the upper class is largely intelligent and competent while the poor and working class are not.

Further, admiration framing of the wealthy, one of the few positive frames for this class group, also positions upper class characters in a favorable way. Admiration framing involves the rich showing kindness, benevolence, and charity to the less fortunate. In this framing, upper class characters get to play the role of "saviors" to the poor. Although admiration framing makes upper class characters look good, it is also a demonstration of the power they wield over the poor since they are in positions to change the lives of those who have little to nothing. Though some upper class characters in admiration framing make small acts of charity, like Isobel handing out bread on a holiday in *Good Masters! Sweet Ladies* (Schlitz, 2007), some wealthy characters display their generosity in large ways. For instance, Mr. Brewster in *The Mostly True Adventures of Homer P. Figg* (Philbrick, 2009) risks his safety when he harbors runaway slaves, while the fictionalized (and the real) Dick Whittington gives away his fortune to help the poor, making clean water available and building libraries (Armstrong, 2005). Admiration framing illustrates the privilege and power of the upper class by showing how their actions are capable of "fixing" the problems of the poor.

The upper class may also be perceived as desirable in the Newbery texts on account of the power many rich characters wield. Rich people have the ability to fire their workers and limit their opportunities for additional employment, as in *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004); make ridiculous laws that everyone has to obey, as in *The Tale of Despereaux* (DiCamillo, 2003); and force people to leave their homes, as
in *Lizzie Bright and the Buckminster Boy* (Schmidt, 2004). While those specific actions may not be appealing ways of wielding power, the choices and freedoms that come with power could be viewed as desirable attributes.

The wealthy also expect to be treated with esteem, respect, and deference, as illustrated in *The Tale of Despereaux* (DiCamillo, 2003) and *The Evolution of Calpurnia Tate* (Kelly, 2009). In contrast, the poor and the working class are treated with disrespect and are even made to feel invisible. They also lack power over their lives; precariousness framing of the working class and hardship framing of the poor (discussed in upcoming sections) both show how challenging and unstable life at the bottom of the class ladder can be. Since power and stability may be more appealing to some than powerlessness and instability, the rich are further cast favorably since some of the circumstances facing the working class and the poor are undesirable.

Additionally, the negative framings of the wealthy could be irrelevant for readers who identify with the upper class protagonists rather than with the upper class secondary characters. When the upper class characters in the Newbery books are considered, it is always the secondary characters that are negatively framed, never the protagonists. Upper class protagonists are invariably framed in positive ways. Holling Hoodhood from *The Wednesday Wars* (Schmidt, 2007), with his suspicion of his seventh grade teacher and his penchant for getting into ridiculous scrapes, could be perceived as amusing by readers. Meanwhile, Calpurnia Tate (Kelly, 2009), a young girl growing up in 1899 with a greater interest in science than in domestic affairs, might be viewed as a trailblazer. Turner Buckminster of *Lizzie Bright and the Buckminster Boy* (Schmidt, 2004) would likely be perceived by some
readers as sympathetic and heroic for befriending and helping Lizzie Bright after everyone else has turned their backs on her and the poor people of Malaga Island. Negative framings of the upper class may thus be countered through the positive depictions of upper class protagonists as well as through framings that idealize or celebrate the wealthy, such as emulation framing and admiration framing. Though the rich may initially appear to be marginalized in the Newbery texts since they are not well-represented among the protagonists and they are maligned with many negative framings, wealth is privileged and held up as an ideal through emulation framing, admiration framing, and power and opportunity framing.

Framing the Middle Class

Despite the widespread belief that the United States is a middle class society, middle class protagonists were observed in less than 20% of the 32 titles with human protagonists (see Table 16). Like the upper class, characters in the middle were framed both in unflattering as well as positive ways, although fewer framings were observed for the middle class compared to the upper class, the working class, and the poor. Further, some framings of the middle class were the same as framings of the upper class, namely price tag, snobbery, and power and opportunity framing. However, the middle class also had some of its own unique framings that were not used to portray members of other class groups. These framings include victimization, "extra mile," and middle class values framing. Table 20 shows the framings used to portray middle class members in the Newbery Medal and Honor titles comprising the sample. An asterisk indicates an original or modified Kendall (2011) frame.
Table 20

Frames of the Middle Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Price Tag*</td>
<td>The middle class values money and material goods and are portrayed as consumers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snobbery</td>
<td>Members of the middle class act like snobs toward poor and working class people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power and opportunity</td>
<td>Members of the middle class are powerful and take advantage of opportunities to advance their positions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victimization*</td>
<td>The problems of the middle class come from the corruption or greediness of the upper and lower classes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Extra mile&quot;</td>
<td>Middle class people are supportive and sometimes &quot;go the extra mile&quot; to help or please someone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class values*</td>
<td>These depictions identify middle class values like working hard to get ahead, the importance of achievement and education, and individualism (personal responsibility).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Price tag framing.** Price tag framing is one of the original frames identified by Kendall (2011). Kendall found price tag framing was used to portray people in the upper class. However, in this study, price tag framing was also used to depict middle class people. Like members of the upper class, members of the middle class value money and are shown as conspicuous consumers.

While upper class characters in price tag framing buy expensive things like mansions and wear luxurious clothing, middle class characters are shown as consumers on a less extravagant scale. In some books, middle class characters (especially females) are frequent visitors to the mall. When Debbie in *Criss Cross* (Perkins, 2005) wants a new pair of jeans, she recalls "it [isn't] hard . . . to get her
mother to go shopping” (p. 45). In Olive’s Ocean (Henkes, 2003), Martha and her friend have a phone conversation about going shopping, a leisure activity they both enjoy (although Martha is not shown actually going shopping in the book). Martha’s father is shown as a carefree consumer, heading off to purchase new toys and books for his children in anticipation of an upcoming trip. Not only does Martha’s family spend money on the vacation, but they spend money to keep their children occupied while in transit. Catherine in Rules (Lord, 2006) is also shown casually dropping by the mall when she wants new colored pencils and other art supplies.

Penny’s uncles in Penny from Heaven (Holm, 2006) are particularly conspicuous consumers. Penny lives with her mother and her mother’s parents; her father died under unusual circumstances. Penny’s uncles (the brothers of her father) spoil her in an effort to compensate for the absence of her father. Not only is Penny showered with gifts (sometimes expensive ones) on her birthday and when she is hospitalized, but she is given these gifts on a regular basis:

> All my uncles give me presents. Uncle Nunzio gives me fur muffs, and Uncle Ralphie gives me candy, and Uncle Paulie brings me fancy perfumes, and Uncle Sally gives me horseshoes. It’s like Christmas all the time. (Holm, 2006, p. 5)

Penny’s uncles likely ascribe to the belief that spending money on someone can “buy happiness,” as the saying goes. The linking of having/spending money and happiness is also apparent in Olive’s Ocean (Henkes, 2003). Martha’s father has quit his job as a lawyer in order to write a novel and raise the family’s youngest child. However, he decides to give up the novel and go back to work. He tells his mother of his decision: “The extra money won’t hurt. I’ll be much happier. That’ll make
everyone else happier” (Henkes, 2003, p. 48). Money is also prized by the lowlander traders in *Princess Academy* (Hale, 2005), who cheat the working poor miners of Mount Eskel by purchasing linder (the stone they mine) at less than its actual value. When the Mount Eskel girls learn the true value of linder at the princess academy and realize the traders have cheated them for years, the traders rue the girls’ newfound knowledge: “Enrik moaned, running a hand through is greasy hair. ‘I told you there was a risk all that learning at the academy might smarten them up, and now it’s come to this’” (Hale, 2005, p. 166).

Unlike the upper class characters in price tag framing, middle class characters do not spend their money lavishly on items like fancy silk gowns or mansions. This finding is unsurprising since a middle class income may not support the purchase of such luxury goods. Although the more modest purchases of middle class characters make them appear less greedy than their upper class counterparts, the casual and frequent consumption of middle class characters positions spending money as a natural and normal act, something that everybody does.

**Snobbery framing.** Snobbery framing, a new class frame, was more prominent in depictions of upper class characters, though a few middle class characters were portrayed as snobs as well. In *Feathers* (Woodson, 2007), the protagonist, Frannie, and most of her friends are working class. Frannie attends a school where “everybody . . . got lunch for free except Maribel Tanks” (Woodson, 2007, p. 14). Maribel, the sole middle class character in the book, is always critiquing the public school she attends and laments the closing of the Casey School, a private institution she once attended:
"I can't believe this nasty lunch costs money," Maribel was saying. She took a loud sip of milk, then stirred it around with her straw like it was some kind of special drink. "When I was at the Casey School, we could bring our own lunch or eat the lunch the school made. And that lunch was always delicious."
(Woodson, 2007, p. 14)

Maribel's attitude is upsetting to Frannie, who eschews talking or playing with her whenever she can help it. Maribel has apparently acquired her snobbery from her family: Frannie's mother says the whole family "puts on airs." According to Frannie, "Mama said one day the Tanks were gonna go put on so many airs they'd just up and float away" (Woodson, 2007, p. 14).

A couple of other middle class characters also acted like snobs. The lowlander traders in Princess Academy (Hale, 2005) who come to trade their goods at the village of Mount Eskel are condescending and patronizing toward the villagers. So is Olana, the princess academy tutor who is constantly reminding the Mount Eskel girls of their coarse ways and their other shortcomings. Anna Celeste and her mother in Three Times Lucky (Turnage, 2012) are also rude to the largely working class people of Tupelo Landing, North Carolina. While Moe, the story's protagonist, speaks of her simple creek front home in glowing terms, Anna Celeste "calls [it] the Taj Ma-Gall, because she says you have got to have gall to talk about a five-room house the way we do" (Turnage, 2012, p. 39). Anna Celeste's mother also teaches her to stay away from Mo, as Mo recalls when she thinks back to her first days of school:

As I waited for the bell that would spell my doom, I spied a princess-like girl across the muddy playground. A new friend! I started toward her. Her pinch-faced mother grabbed her arm. "No, honey," she said in a pretend whisper. "It's that girl from the cafe. She's not one of us." (Turnage, 2012, pp. 35-36)
Though only a handful of middle class characters were depicted as snobs, these characters assume attitudes that parallel those of several upper class characters with condescending, superior attitudes toward members of the working class and the poor.

**Power and opportunity framing.** Power and opportunity framing, a new class frame, was primarily a way of depicting members of the upper class. However, in *Princess Academy* (Hale, 2005) the lowlander traders, who are middle class, exercise power over the working poor people of Mount Eskel. The people of Mount Eskel live at the top of a mountain and mine linder, a type of stone, for a living. Since little grows on the mountaintop, they depend on visits from the lowlander traders to replenish their food supply. When the Mount Eskel miners learn they have been selling their linder to the traders for far less than its market value, they demand a higher price. The traders are outraged: “This is outrageous!’ One of the traders was saying. ‘We won’t buy your linder at such prices. Then what will you do? Starve, that’s what’” (Hale, 2005, p. 164). Ultimately, though, the traders and miners negotiate an agreeable price for the linder. This example from *Princess Academy* was the only example of middle class characters explicitly wielding power over the working class or the poor.

**Victimization framing.** In victimization framing, middle class characters experience problems caused by the greed or corruption of working class or upper class characters. It is one of Kendall’s (2011) original class frames. This framing was evident in only two Newbery titles: *After Tupac and D Foster* (Woodson, 2008)
and *Penny from Heaven* (Holm, 2006), and it was not a prominent theme in either title. In *After Tupac and D Foster*, Neeka and her family visit Neeka’s older brother in prison. He blames the financial struggles of some black families on the greediness of lawyers:

> “You know how many more rich Negroes there’d be if we wasn’t all the time trying to pay off some lawyer or bailing a brother out. That’s one thing I’m truly guilty of - giving hard-earned money to the man.” (Woodson, 2008, p. 71)

While Neeka’s brother blames financial struggles on the upper class, Aunt Fulvia in *Penny from Heaven* blames them on the lower class. In one scene of the story, she chastises her husband, the owner of a butcher shop, for giving a customer several items on credit. “We’ll be in the poorhouse at this rate,” she tells him (Holm, 2006, p. 19). The customer, who is struggling financially, typically buys goods on credit and does not pay what she owes in a timely fashion.

One reason why victimization framing may not be prominent in the Newbery titles is the fact that few middle class characters were shown having (or discussing) financial problems, and concern over finances is a necessary condition for victimization framing. Occasionally, a middle class character would recognize the constraints of his or her family’s resources. For example, Catherine in *Rules* (Lord, 2006) cannot call her friend in California often since long distance calls are expensive. Other than occasional references like this, middle class characters were not shown worrying about money. This is in sharp contrast to the experiences of working class characters as the forthcoming discussion of precariousness framing illustrates.
"Extra mile" framing. "Extra mile" framing is a new type of class portrayal that emerged in this study, although it was not a particularly prominent frame. In "extra mile" framing, middle class characters are shown "going the extra mile" to help or support other people. Kendall's (2011) frames of the middle class did not represent the idea of the middle class people being helpful or supportive; thus, a new frame was needed to capture this idea.

"Extra mile" framing was evident in An American Plague (Murphy, 2003) when a committee comprised of mostly middle class people takes over the operation of Philadelphia as citizens succumb to yellow fever. In addition to donating their time, committee members put their financial well-being at risk:

All told, the committee would spend $37,647.19 to combat the sickness that infested their city. This is a great deal of money even today, but in 1793 it was a fortune. What is more, the members of the committee could be held personally responsible for all of this money because they had no legal authority to borrow or spend it.

The magnitude of this responsibility and the courage of the committee members become clear when we learn that the majority of them were not wealthy. (Murphy, 2003, p. 68)

While many of Philadelphia's elected leaders and members of the upper class fled when the yellow fever epidemic struck, many middle income people chose to stay and took over the responsibility of running the city.

"Extra mile" framing was observed a few other times. Claudette Colvin: Twice Toward Justice (Hoose, 2009) is about Claudette Colvin's role in the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955-1956. Though Rosa Parks is given credit as the catalyst for this event, Claudette Colvin is actually the first known person to be arrested for refusing to give up her seat to a white person on a segregated bus. When Claudette is
arrested, the “average people” who employ Claudette’s aunt support her by driving her home from work instead of compelling her to take the bus (Hoose, 2009, p. 68). Additionally, in Whittington (Armstrong, 2005), the merchant Fitzwarren goes the “extra mile” to be fair and even generous: “If a customer ordered a pound, he got seventeen ounces; if she ordered a yard, she got three and one-third feet” (p. 124). Much like admiration framing of the wealthy, “extra mile” framing depicts the middle class as benevolent. However, the two framings are different since admiration framing involves helping the poor, while “extra mile” framing does not specify which class groups are on the receiving end of the middle class’s kindness. Middle class people can “go the extra mile” for anyone, not just the poor. “Extra mile” framing also does not assume anyone is in need of help or kindness; in contrast, admiration framing assumes the poor are needy.

**Middle class values framing.** Middle class values framing is one of Kendall’s (2011) frames. This framing depicts middle class people adhering to values such as working hard to get ahead, prizing education and achievement, and accepting responsibility for life’s outcomes. Of the different framings of the middle class, this was one of the most prominent.

Middle class characters place value on education, particularly the attainment of a college education. Neeka in *After Tupac and D Foster* (Woodson, 2008) tells her brother he needs to “stay [his] behind in school and figure out a way to get a job where [he] can wear a suit everyday” (p. 38). Patty also recognizes the importance of education when she wonders whether her lack of interest in science “would relegate her to a job pouring coffee at a diner in The Future” in *Criss Cross* (Perkins,
Value is placed on education to the degree that when a character does not succeed in school, it is a cause for shame. Whittington the cat tells his barnyard friends about the dyslexic boy he lived with before coming to the farm:

"Then [the boy's parents] sent him away because he read things backwards. They were ashamed. They'd both been to college and graduate school and here they had a child who couldn't read. They sent him to a special school out west. They said it was the best thing. He was going to take me along but they said no." (Whittington, Armstrong, 2005, p. 4)

In addition to obtaining an education, middle class characters are concerned with obtaining good jobs. Neeka tells her best friend, the unnamed narrator of After Tupac and D Foster (Woodson, 2008), that her wish is to one day teach as a college professor. In The Higher Power of Lucky (Patron, 2006), Lincoln's mother insists he will one day be President of the United States, and although he is a child, he must "worry about [becoming President] every day, starting now" (p. 23). Education and good jobs are important goals for middle class characters.

Middle class characters also value hard work. In Good Masters! Sweet Ladies! (Schlitz, 2007), Piers, the glass-blower's apprentice, wins his master's favor not only because he "has the lungs" necessary for the job, but "he's hard-working, too" (p. 69). Meanwhile, Lowdy, the child of the varlet, admires her father for his fastidiousness in caring for the lord's dogs, his ability to feed the family, and the care he puts into maintaining the family's home.

Maintaining a sense of propriety is another concern of middle class characters. In Savvy (Law, 2008), Mibbs learns her friend Will's mother is actually his grandmother. When Will's father, Bill, had him at a young age, Will's grandmother stepped forward in and assumed guardianship: "It occurred to me that
Bill must have been mighty young when Will was born. I could just picture Miss Rosemary, with her need to make all things spick-and-span and apple-pie, taking over the raising of her own grandson” (Law, 2008, p. 291). Although it is not said explicitly, it is implied that Miss Rosemary raises Will since it may have seemed improper for Bill, presumably an unwed teenager, to have a child. Propriety is also a concern for Lizzie Rose’s family in Splendors and Glooms (Schlitz, 2012). In the story, Lizzie Rose is a working class orphan, though she remembers better days when her parents were still alive. The family experienced occasional tight times, but “her mother had always managed it so that [Lizzie Rose] didn’t look shabby,” and “her parents had taught her to carry herself well and to speak clearly” (Schlitz, 2012, p. 17). The need to appear classy and proper indicates the importance middle class characters place on being regarded with respect and maintaining a sense of pride.

Though nearly 20% of the books had middle class protagonists, there were few framings of middle class characters in the Newbery titles comprising the sample. Only six framings were identified for the middle class compared to 10 for the upper class, 12 for the working class, and nine for the poor. One reason for this could be that books with middle class characters did not have explicit themes about social class like books about characters from other classes. Books with middle class protagonists focused on themes like love and abandonment (One Crazy Summer, Williams-Garcia, 2010), dealing with death (Olive’s Ocean, Henkes, 2003) coming of age (Savvy, Law, 2008; After Tupac and D Foster, Woodson, 2008; Criss Cross, Perkins, 2005) and accepting differences (Rules, Lord, 2006). In contrast, many books with poor and working class characters included themes directly related to
social class, like struggling to get by or to make a better life (*Splendors and Glooms*, Schlitz, 2012; *Hattie Big Sky*, Larson, 2006; *Kira-Kira*, Kadohata, 2004), fighting for justice in the workplace (*Moon Over Manifest*, Vanderpool, 2010), and combating oppression (*The Surrender Tree*, Engle, 2008; *Princess Academy*, Hale, 2005).

However, another reason for the small number of middle class framings could have been the researcher's own bias. Though the researcher attempted to code and analyze the books objectively, her own perspective as a middle class person could have blinded her from seeing themes about the middle class. This may have also been the case in Kendall's (2011) study since only a few themes about middle class people were identified in her work.

**A critical literacy analysis of the middle class.** The middle class protagonists received better representation in the Newbery books than upper class protagonists; six protagonists were middle class compared to only three upper class protagonists. Also, the Newbery titles had the same number of middle class protagonists as poor protagonists. This is an interesting finding since some scholars have posited that children’s literature tends to have a middle class orientation (e.g., Labadie et al., 2013; Kohl, 2007). While it may be true that children’s literature as a whole represents the middle class more than any other class group, it is not true for this set of award-winning books.

Middle class characters were positioned in complimentary ways for the most part, though a handful of middle class characters were portrayed unfavorably. Anna Celeste and her mother (*Three Times Lucky*, Turnage, 2012), Tutor Olana (*Princess Academy*, Hale, 2005), and Maribel (*Feathers*, Woodson, 2007) are cast as snooty
snobbery framing. Meanwhile, the lowlander traders in *Princess Academy* (Hale, 2005) are depicted as greedy in power and opportunity framing. Though price tag framing of the upper class positions the wealthy as conspicuous (and perhaps greedy) consumers, price tag framing of the middle class is much more modest. Rather than purchase lavish mansions or expensive cars, middle class characters tended to buy things like new colored pencils or new pairs of jeans. The middle class version of price tag framing seems to have a smaller element of greediness to it than the upper class version.

However, these contentions depend on the perspective of the reader. For example, to an upper class person accustomed to lavish spending, the consumption of middle class characters in price tag framing might seem meager, even pitiful. Yet to a person living in poverty, the consumption of middle class characters might seem extravagant or even greedy: Colored pencils are not a necessity, and jeans can be purchased at a thrift shop rather than a mall. As another example, snobbery framing of middle class characters might not be viewed negatively by some readers if snobbishness is perceived as justified. Again, the negative portrayals of the poor and working class in portrayals like caricature framing might make the snobby behavior of the middle class (and upper class) seem defensible.

The middle class is also positioned favorably in the Newbery books on account of their financial stability. The only framing that suggests the middle class might face financial hardships is Kendall's (2011) victimization framing, in which middle class characters blame their woes on people from other classes. Victimization framing was only observed in two titles; it was not a significant way of
framing the middle class. Further, Kendall’s squeeze framing, which portrays middle class people struggling to keep up with a middle class lifestyle, was not observed in the Newbery books at all. The absence of middle class financial struggles suggests the middle class is a stable, well-to-do class group. In contrast, members of the working class and the poor do not have stability. The stability of the working class is tenuous as shown in precariousness framing, while the poor frequently face financial challenges as shown in hardship framing. With precariousness and hardship come fear, worry, and frustration. Since feelings like fear and worry are not desirable for many people, the stability of the middle class may be perceived as appealing. Readers of Newbery texts might take away the impression that middle class lives are more pleasant and covetable than working class and poor lives since they are characterized by stability and a lack of worry.

The middle class is further positioned favorably since middle class characters were not embroiled in class conflicts as often as poor, working class, and upper class characters. As shown in contempt framing, relationships between the poor and working class and the upper class are contentious, even antagonistic. Middle class characters were not involved in maligning the wealthy in contempt framing; it was always poor and working class characters who indicated their contempt. However, middle class characters did malign the poor and the working class in insignificance and scorn framing, which is described in the sections about the working class and the poor. This suggests that middle class characters may have had feelings of solidarity with the upper class, identifying with the wealthy more than the working class and the poor. It also suggests that middle class characters could be less
antagonistic than characters from other class groups. This positions the middle class in a favorable way since it makes middle class characters appear less combative than poor, working, and upper class characters.

Middle class characters also appear to be less hostile and antagonistic compared to other class groups because often, middle class characters were situated in contexts with other middle class characters. There were, of course, some exceptions to this, such as middle class traders and working poor miners in *Princess Academy* (Hale, 2005), middle class Maribel and working class Frannie in *Feathers* (Woodson, 2007), middle class Neeka and narrator and poor D in *After Tupac and D Foster* (Woodson, 2008), middle class Anna-Celeste and working class Mo in *Three Times Lucky* (Turnage, 2012), and middle class Annemarie and working class Miranda and upper class Julia in *When You Reach Me* (Stead, 2009). However, several of the middle class protagonists in the books were in settings with limited class diversity, meaning middle class protagonists were usually shown interacting with other middle class characters. This was the case with Delphine in *One Crazy Summer* (Williams-Garcia, 2008), Martha in *Olive’s Ocean* (Henkes, 2003), Catherine in *Rules* (Lord, 2006), Mibs Beaumont in *Savvy* (Law, 2008), and Debbie Pelbry in *Criss Cross* (Perkins, 2005). These protagonists had very limited interactions with characters from other class groups, and therefore, there were few opportunities to portray antagonistic relationships between the middle class and other class groups. The limited extent of victimization framing, in which middle class characters blame their problems on the poor or the rich, also highlights how middle class characters tended to be less caught up in class conflicts compared to other class groups.
Additionally, the middle class is positioned favorably in the Newbery books through framings like "extra mile" and middle class values. "Extra mile" framing is a new frame, and though it is a limited one, it shows middle class people as helpful and supportive. Middle class values framing, on the other hand, was one of Kendall’s (2011) original frames and was a robust way of portraying middle class characters in this study. Middle class values framing ascribes positive attributes to middle class characters: They value education and hard work, desire “good” jobs, and have a sense of propriety and decency. While not all readers might accept these attributes as positive, it is likely that many readers would. As Jones and Vagle (2013) have argued, middle class values and norms like these ones are often promoted in schools, though not always consciously. Thus, many children in K-12 settings are likely exposed to values like these and may even internalize them.

Unlike the upper class, the middle class is neither shown as powerful nor powerless. Middle class characters held power over poor and working class characters very infrequently in the Newbery books, but they were not shown as powerless, either. For instance, they were not shown bending to the whims of powerful upper class characters like some poor and working class characters. Depending on the perspective of the reader, this could further position middle class characters in a positive light. Readers who view power-seeking behaviors as signs of greed or selfishness might identify with middle class characters, who rarely wielded power over members of other class groups and rarely exhibited overt greediness (the exception being the traders in Princess Academy, Hale, 2005).

Meanwhile, middle class characters do not come across as “weak” like poor and
working class characters might seem in precariousness framing and hardship framing. The lack of both great power and powerlessness in the middle class positions them in a somewhat neutral territory in terms of power; they are neither greedy or corrupt because of power nor weak and helpless because of powerlessness.

Although middle class protagonists do not comprise a majority of protagonists in the Newbery titles, they are still often shown in privileged, rather than marginalized, positions. Middle class characters are rarely maligned by members of other class groups, which is in contrast to the treatment of upper class, working class, and poor characters. Further, middle class characters are embroiled in class conflicts to a lesser extent than characters in other class groups, which positions them favorably by making the middle class characters seem less hostile. Besides this, negative framings of the middle class were usually limited, while middle class values framing, a positive way of depicting the middle class, was the most prominent way of portraying this class group. Thus, middle class characters assumed a favorable positioning in the Newbery titles.

Though framings of the middle class were few, this was not the case for the working class, which is described next. Working class characters were very prominent in the Newbery titles: More than half of the books in the sample with human protagonists had a working class main character. Further, more framings were identified for working class characters than for any other class group.
Framing the Working Class

Depictions of the working class were very common in the Newbery books in this sample. Of the 32 titles with human protagonists, more than half included a working class protagonist. Much like portrayals of the upper and middle classes, representations of the working class were mixed, with negative, stereotypical images of working class people coupled with positive, respectful images. Twelve framings were used to portray working class characters in the Newbery titles, and these are shown in Table 21. An asterisk indicates an original or modified Kendall (2011) frame.

Table 21
Frames of the Working Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Insignificance and scorn*</td>
<td>The working class is portrayed as insignificant and is scorned or neglected by the more privileged classes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependency* and irresponsibility</td>
<td>Members of the working class may engage in irresponsible behavior.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suspicion</td>
<td>Working class people are suspicious of other class groups and mistrust institutions like schools and banks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shady*</td>
<td>Working class members are characterized as “greedy workers, unions, and organized crime” (Kendall, 2011, p. 27).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caricature*</td>
<td>Working class people are bigots, rednecks, buffoons, and white trash. They are crude and ignorant or anti-intellectual.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fading blue collar*</td>
<td>Members of the working class are unemployed, under-employed, or are unhappy with current jobs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 21 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Precariousness</td>
<td>Working class people fear losing their jobs and may feel worried or burned out. They are aware of limited opportunities for advancement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heroic*</td>
<td>People of the working class take heroic actions but can also be victims.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respectful</td>
<td>The working class is looked upon with respect by other class groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exceptionalism*</td>
<td>Working class people rise above adversity to achieve prosperity or happiness in a higher social class.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirations</td>
<td>Members of the working class have dreams for a more prosperous or satisfying future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class values</td>
<td>Working class people are hard-working, committed to their families and communities, and have a sense of dignity and pride.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Insignificance and scorn framing. Insignificance and scorn framing emerged as a modified, expanded version of one of Kendall’s (2011) frames. This framing incorporates Kendall’s statistics framing, in which members of the poor are shown as anonymous, faceless statistics rather than as complex, dynamic human beings. Insignificance and scorn framing expands Kendall’s statistics framing since it portrays poor and working class characters as people who matter little. Their low status and lack of importance is further conveyed when they are treated with scorn by members of more privileged classes.

Working class characters are made to feel insignificant in several titles. In *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004), Katie’s father visits wealthy Mr. Lyndon’s mansion to apologize for destroying Mr. Lyndon’s car. Katie’s father works in one of Mr.
Lyndon's chicken hatcheries, and has worked there for years, but Mr. Lyndon does not know Katie's father's name and is not even certain of his role: "'Are you one of my sexers, Mr. . . . ?'" Mr. Lyndon asks (Kadohata, 2004, p. 234). While this annoys Katie's father, other working class characters view themselves as insignificant.

Lester in *Savvy* introduces himself as "'nothing but a deliveryman'" (Law, 2008, p. 55), indicating his low opinion of himself and his work.

The girls in *Princess Academy* (Hale, 2005) are made to feel insignificant by members of the middle and upper classes on several occasions. The girls are from Mount Eskel, a territory of the Kingdom of Danland that depends on the mining of linder, a type of stone, for its livelihood. The girls are disappointed to learn linder is "a tiny fraction of the Danlander economy, less than the sale of pig ears or cloth flowers for ladies' hats" (Hale, 2005, p. 161). Further, they find out "the entire population of Mount Eskel [is] smaller than the number of palace stable hands" (Hale, 2005, p. 161), adding to their feeling of insignificance. The girls are also told they "'would be considered less than a servant in any Danlander city'" (Hale, 2005, p. 93) because they live in a territory, not a province, and their tutor, Olana, informs them "'there are few in the kingdom who would be considered of lower rank than any of you'" (Hale, 2005, p. 93). Esa, one of the academy girls, laments, "'It's hard to feel like I matter at all'" (Hale, 2005, p. 161).

Feelings of scorn also characterize perceptions of the working class. In *Feathers* (Woodson, 2007), working class Frannie is treated with disdain by middle class Maribel. According to Frannie, Maribel is "'always wrinkling her nose at me like she couldn't even believe we had to share the same air'" (Woodson, 2007, pp. 13-
Katie and her family in *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004) experience scorn often. Katie’s mother and father work in a chicken processing plant and hatchery, respectively, and Katie mentions that although “poultry was one of the biggest industries supporting the economy of Georgia . . . that didn’t stop many people who did not work with poultry from looking down on those who did” (Kadohata, 2004, p. 88). Katie also indicates she is ignored by other girls at school, which shows she is treated with scorn and is made to feel insignificant at the same time. Similarly, Claudette Colvin (Hoose, 2009) recalls that in her high school, “middle class black girls would always try to separate themselves from dark-skinned girls like me and emulate white girls” (Hoose, 2009, p. 22). While some of this scorn was directed toward Claudette because of her skin color, Claudette was also working class, and her mention of “middle class” girls reveals that attitudes toward her were class-based.

Scorn also manifested in *Claudette Colvin: Twice Toward Justice* (Hoose, 2009), when Claudette and another teen, Mary Louise Smith, faced down segregation laws after refusing to give up their bus seats to white people. Although Claudette and Mary Louise acted out against Jim Crow laws before Rosa Parks did, both were “branded ‘unfit’ to serve as the public face of a mass bus protest” by Montgomery’s civil rights leaders, who were largely well-educated professionals (Hoose, 2009, p. 54). Mary Louise was spurned because her father was perceived as a drunk (although he was not) and she lived in a working class neighborhood, and Claudette also lived in the “wrong” neighborhood and attended the “wrong” church:

The Colvins lived in King Hill, a neighborhood that meant "poor" or "inferior" to most who didn’t live there. And the Hutchinson Street Baptist Church,
which Claudette faithfully attended, was a church for the working poor. (Hoose, 2009, p. 48)

Instead of Mary Louise or Claudette, Rosa Parks was selected as the face of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, and her name is preserved in history texts while Mary Louise's and Claudette's names have been largely forgotten. The motivation for selecting Rosa Parks over Mary Louise and Claudette may have been the classist attitudes of Montgomery's black leaders. Rosa Parks, a seamstress, was "respected by both the black professional class and ordinary workers" and "she bridged classes," while Mary Louise and Claudette were dismissed on account of their working class origins (Hoose, 2009, p. 59).

Scorn sometimes erupts into violent and aggressive acts toward working class people. In *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004), workers at Mr. Lyndon's chicken processing plants and hatcheries make plans to unionize to advocate for better working conditions. Silly, Katie's friend, tells her that one of the pro-union workers is beaten up, and Silly points out that Mr. Lyndon keeps a "thug" around his plants and hatcheries to prevent the workers from unionizing (Kadohata, 2004, p. 94). In *Turtle in Paradise* (Holm, 2010), Turtle is the daughter of a housekeeper. Turtle and her mother typically reside with her mother's employer, and when the employer has children in the house, Turtle says "they're never nice to the housekeeper's daughter" (Holm, 2010, p. 8). Turtle recalls the children of her mother's employers have accused her of stealing a doll, spread rumors at school that she cleans toilets, and lit her cat's tail on fire.
As mentioned in the discussion of upper and middle class framings, snobbery framing and power and opportunity framing depict characters of privileged classes turning their noses up at less privileged classes and wielding power over them. Insignificance and scorn framing is the “flip side” of snobbery framing and power and opportunity framing. Snobbery framing and power and opportunity framing reveal that the rich are condescending and powerful, but they also reveal that the working class and poor are objects of disdain lacking in power. Likewise, insignificance and scorn framing shows the working class and poor are unimportant and powerless, but it also illustrates that the upper and middle classes are more important and powerful than the working class and the poor. Insignificance and scorn framing, snobbery framing, and power and opportunity framing also underscore the tensions and antagonisms characterizing relationships between the classes, and they are opposite, yet intertwined, aspects of the same phenomenon.

Dependency and irresponsibility. Dependency and irresponsibility framing is a modified Kendall (2011) frame. It is a slightly altered version of Kendall’s dependency and deviance frame. In dependency and deviance framing, the poor are shown as welfare recipients and as deviants who are irresponsible and have bad parenting skills. According to Kendall, this framing perpetuates common stereotypes about the poor like depending on welfare and behaving in ways that can lead to unfortunate consequences. Dependency and irresponsibility framing updates dependency and deviance framing by including the working class. It also has a different name because “deviance” means a lack of conformity to an accepted social norm. But whose norm is held up as the standard? The term “deviance”
seems to compare the behavior of lower class people against the norm of a dominant group (i.e., the upper class or the middle class). Comparing one group's behavior against another group's norm is a classist assumption that the researcher wishes to avoid. Additionally, since this study employs a critical literacy lens and critical literacy interrogates what is “normal,” using the term “deviance,” which implies comparison to a norm, seemed incompatible with the study's theoretical underpinnings. Replacing "deviance" with "irresponsibility" deemphasizes the idea of a "norm" to which characters are expected to adhere. Further, "irresponsibility" was a better descriptor for the actions of characters in this sample. Despite whose "norm" is privileged in the term "deviance," characters did not often act in ways that would be considered unusual or unnatural to most. Their actions were more likely to incur unfortunate consequences, which made the term "irresponsibility" more appropriate than "deviance."

Dependency and irresponsibility framing was used more often to portray poor characters than working class characters, though it did appear a few times in working class depictions. Dependency and irresponsibility framing took two forms for working class characters: They were shown as unable to keep a job or they were portrayed as drunks. In *Savvy* (Law, 2008), Lill is a waitress at a truck stop diner who befriends the protagonist, Mibbs, and her friends. Though Lill's manager tells her she is a "decent waitress," Lill is fired from her job because of her habitual lateness (Law, 2008, p. 171). Likewise, in *Penny from Heaven*, Penny's Uncle Angelo is "always losing his job" (Holm, 2006, p. 94).
Uncle Angelo also illustrates drunkenness, the other form of irresponsibility. Penny believes Uncle Angelo's inability to keep a job is related to the fact that "he likes to drink whiskey a lot" (Holm, 2006, p. 94). Similarly, in Hattie Big Sky (Larson, 2006), Perilee's former husband, Lemuel, is portrayed as a drunk. Perilee describes him as a "sorry man" who "drunk [her family] broke" (Larson, 2006, p. 145).

Though Uncle Angelo and Lemuel are only mentioned in the books and are not full-fledged characters who partake in the action, their inclusion still evokes a negative image of working class people.

The "dependence" part of dependency and irresponsibility framing was not evident in depictions of the working class. In fact, this framing was not a prominent one for the working class; the previous examples were the only ones observed for working class characters. However, as the forthcoming discussion of portrayals of the poor will illustrate, dependency and irresponsibility framing was a fairly robust theme for depicting poor characters.

**Suspicion framing.** Suspicion framing is a new frame in which working class characters were shown mistrusting members of other class groups as well as institutions like banks and schools. Since only a few titles included this frame, it is an emerging frame rather than a prominent one; however, it is classified as a new frame because none of Kendall's (2011) frames included the theme of mistrustful working class people. Sometimes, working class characters were shown feeling suspicious about both upper and lower class people. In Princess Academy (Hale, 2005), Miri wonders whether the middle and upper class people demanding that the Mount Eskel girls attend the academy are trying to trick her, while Katie's
mother in *Kira-Kira* is suspicious of the "floozies" who hang around town smoking cigarettes (Kadohata, 2004, p. 25). Katie’s mother is also suspicious of college and does not want her daughters to attend since they might “get strange ideas” (Kadohata, 2004, p. 17). She and Katie’s father are mistrustful of banks and prefer to save their money in an envelope under the refrigerator. Similarly, in *Penny from Heaven*, Penny’s grandmother stuffs money under chair cushions and “pins bills in the hems of drapes,” and Penny’s grandfather hides a small fortune in his basement (Holm, 2006, p. 114). Although suspicion framing only appears in a few titles, it still positions working class characters as outside “normal” institutions like colleges and banks.

**Shady framing.** Shady framing is one of Kendall’s (2011) frames, and it involves the portrayal of working class characters as greedy union members or workers. It may also include the depiction of working class characters as members of criminal organizations (e.g., the mafia), though this was not observed in the Newbery books other than a brief reference to gangs in *Hitler Youth* (Bartoletti, 2005). Shady framing was common among depictions of the working class, though working class characters were not necessarily workers or union members when they behaved in “shady” ways. Usually, their shady behavior consisted of activities like trickery or illegal activities like theft. Interestingly, characters portrayed as shady were all men.

Stealing was a common shady behavior in the books. In *Penny from Heaven* (Holm, 2006), Uncle Angelo is not only shiftless and a drunk, but he is a thief, having once robbed a five-and-dime store. His son, Frankie, adopts criminal behavior when
he steals money from the church collection. Eventually, though, Frankie stops viewing his father as a role model and begins to emulate his well-to-do Uncle Nunzio, a businessman. Professor Grisini in *Splendors and Glooms* (Schlitz, 2012) is also a thief. Even though Grisini is the guardian of Lizzie Rose and Parsefall, two orphaned children, Grisini steals earrings left to Lizzie Rose by her deceased mother and pawns them. He has been known to pawn jewelry that he steals from other people as well. Parsefall emulates his behavior when he steals an item from the wealthy Wintermute family. Other working class characters who are thieves include Mr. Jesse from *Three Times Lucky* (Turnage, 2012), who was involved with a bank robbery, and the Preacher in *Elijah of Buxton* (Curtis, 2007), who steals money from a free black man intending to buy his wife and children from slavery.

Aside from stealing, working class characters engaged in other illegal activities. In *Elijah of Buxton* (Curtis, 2007), Elijah learns that a young performer he meets at a traveling carnival show is actually a slave. Although the book is set prior to the Civil War and purchasing a slave is legal (though morally wrong), the boy's owner is cruel, subjecting him to the physical abuse of other performers and forcing him to do dirty jobs such as cleaning animal cages. However, in *The Tale of Despereaux* (DiCamillo, 2003), Miggery Sow's father sells her to a stranger who makes Miggery call him "Uncle" and forces her to do his household chores. "Uncle" is shady since slavery is illegal in the kingdom. Moreover, he hits Miggery so often that her ears swell up permanently and her hearing is damaged.

In *Moon Over Manifest* (Vanderpool, 2010), Abilene goes to live with her father's friend Shady while he spends the summer working for the Sante Fe
Railroad. Shady is an apt name for Abilene's new guardian: He bootlegs liquor and operates a clandestine saloon. Other illegal activities portrayed in the books have more severe consequences than Shady's liquor sales. In *The One and Only Ivan* (Applegate, 2012), Mack is the owner of a small zoo within a shopping mall. Mack is cheap and consequently neglects the animals, turning the heat off at night, cutting back on their food, and refusing to call a veterinarian when they are sick. His neglect causes Stella the elephant to die when an infection she develops goes untreated. In *Bomb* (Sheinkin, 2012), a nonfiction title about the development of the atomic bomb, a working class figure, Harry Gold, becomes a spy and passes American secrets on to the Russians. Though the Americans were the first to develop the atomic bomb, it is interesting to speculate how history may have been different had there been more people like Harry Gold in the United States during World War II.

Sometimes working class characters duped other characters into getting something they desired. In *Good Masters! Sweet Ladies!* (Schlitz, 2007), Giles is a boy who pretends he is a hurt beggar. A street merchant selling water blessed by a saint sees Giles and "cures" him by dowsing him in the water; passersby then rush to purchase the water. Though Giles and the merchant act as if they have never met, the merchant is Giles's father, and Giles is neither hurt nor a beggar. Duping also occurs in *Elijah of Buxton* (Curtis, 2007) when the Preacher, the same one who stole money, tricks Elijah and takes the fish he caught from the pond. Though Elijah is naïve, he also recalls the Preacher "telling confusing tales to new-free folks," though the Preacher's motives for doing so are unclear (Curtis, 2007, p. 234).
Shady framing is similar to the bad apple framing. While shady framing depicts the greediness or criminal activity of the working class, bad apple framing depicts the greediness, corrupt behavior, and illegal activity of the upper class. The two frames portray two different, disparate class groups in the same way, though a difference with bad apple framing is that many upper class characters take advantage of their power in order to get what they want.

**Caricature framing.** Caricature framing, one of Kendall’s (2011) original frames, portrays working class characters as rednecks, trash, or buffoons. In this study, caricature framing was expanded to include characters who were coarse, or rough-around-the-edges, as well as those who were ignorant or stupid. Caricature framing was a fairly prominent frame that appeared in several different titles.

A handful of characters in the books were depicted as coarse. This was the case in *Princess Academy* (Hale, 2005). Although the working poor girls do not seem rude or improper, they are perceived this way by more affluent characters like their academy tutor, Olana. Olana frequently reminds the girls of how much work she must do in order to turn them into her image of suitable young ladies. She is also disgusted by them initially:

> "I have a separate bedchamber just down the corridor, and if I hear noises at night, I..." Olana paused, an expression of disgust crawling over her face.
> "What a stench! Do you people live with goats?" They did, of course, live with goats. No one had the time to build a separate house for the goats, and having them indoors helped both the goats and the people keep warm in the winter. (Hale, 2005, p. 41)

Likewise, Parsefall in *Splendors and Glooms* is also depicted as rough-around-the-edges: “Except for his industry, he had few good qualities. He was selfish and rude,
and his personal habits were disgusting" (Schlitz, 2012, p. 16). Parsefall is smelly and dirty, and his manners are nonexistent.

Sometimes working class characters were shown as ignorant or stupid. Besides referring to Miri and the other Mount Eskel girls in *Princess Academy* as "dusty goat girls," Olana also perceives them as dumb (Hale, 2005, p. 43). Olana’s expectations for them are low:

"Be warned that you will not easily meet my expectations," said Olana. "I have very real doubts that mountain girls are capable of measuring up to other Danlanders. Your brains are naturally smaller, I’ve heard. Perhaps due to the thin mountain air?" (p. 61)

Fortunately, Olana's attitude toward the girls changes as the book progresses, though she does maintain her negative opinions throughout most of the story.

Lester, who drives a bus in *Savvy* (Law, 2008), is also perceived as stupid by his mother, Rhonda, and his ex-wife, Carlene. Rhonda refers to Lester as a "half-baked idiot" (Law, 2008, p. 113) while Carlene says he’s “got no brains” (Law, 2008, p. 254). However, though Lester is meek, he does not actually engage in any stupid behavior in the book; stupidity is the perception other people have of him.

Miggery Sow from *The Tale of Despereaux* (DiCamillo, 2003) is another character lacking in intelligence. Though Miggery works as a slave to her “Uncle” at the beginning of the book, she eventually becomes a servant in the castle where Princess Pea and King Phillip live. Miggery bumbles through her work and exasperates the other servants. Part of the reason is Miggery’s poor hearing. Another reason is that Miggery is simply not intelligent: “... she was not the sharpest knife in the drawer. That is, she as a bit slow-witted" (DiCamillo, 2003, p.
In addition to being “slow-witted,” Miggery’s appearance is comical. Miggery’s ears look like “pieces of cauliflower stuck to either side of her head” (DiCamillo, 2003, p. 129) and she has a plump body with a small head. Her appearance is a sharp contrast to the appearance of the elegant Princess Pea.

Besides coarseness and stupidity, caricature framing also included trashy characters. Carlene, Lester’s ex-wife in Savvy (Law, 2008), is a prime example:

Carlene turned out to be a big woman in a little woman’s body. She had big hair, big teeth, big long fingernails, and big fuzzy slippers, but the rest of her was hollow and shrunken and bony. She looked like a witch dressed up for Halloween as a movie star. When Lester pulled the big pink Bible bus into the Tuttle Terrace Trailer Park, Carlene was sitting outside in a lawn chair. She was reading the Sunday paper and wearing nothing much more than a shiny satin robe and bright pink lipstick that bled into the wrinkles radiating from her lips, making them look ragged-jagged. Her feet were out of her slippers and I could see that her long, thick toenails were painted to match her lipstick. (Law, 2008, pp. 258-259)

The inside of Carlene’s trailer is just as garish as her appearance. It smells like mothballs, and every available space is filled with “tchotchkes and gewgaws and other tacky trinkets” (Law, 2008, p. 262) like “animal figurines all made from jumbles of dry macaroni” (Law, 2008, p. 263) and leaky snow globes.

Mrs. Pinchbeck, the landlady of Lizzie Rose and Parsefall in Splendors and Glooms (Schlitz, 2012), is also portrayed as trashy. Like Parsefall, she is dirty, and she does not dress in a way appropriate for her age:

The first time [Dr. Winternute] had seen the woman, she had received him in a soiled wrapper and curl papers. Now she had taken pains with her appearance, and the effect was electrifying. She wore a pansy-yellow gown, suitable for a girl of sixteen, and a short jacket that would not button over her bosom. Both garments were much ornamented with cheap trimming. Dr. Winternute beheld Mrs. Pinchbeck befeathered, beribboned, crinolined, corseted, frizzled, and festooned, though not washed. (Schlitz, 2012, p. 342)
Other characters are perceived as trashy by more affluent characters even when they do not appear or behave in a garish manner like Carlene and Mrs. Pinchbeck. In *Three Times Lucky*, Dale, a young boy, is called a "no-good son of a white trash drunk" (Turnage, 2012, p. 151) and is told to shut his "redneck mouth" (Turnage, 2012, p. 260). Though Dale's father is indeed a drunk, Dale himself is not coarse, ignorant, or vulgar. When working class characters are portrayed according to caricature framing, they are negatively stereotyped and positioned as objects of disgust by more affluent characters.

**Fading blue collar.** Fading blue collar framing is one of Kendall’s (2011) original frames, and it depicts working class characters as unhappy with their jobs or under-employed. In the Newbery titles, fading blue collar framing usually took the form of characters feeling dissatisfied or tired with their work. Fading blue collar framing appeared in several titles.

The blue collar jobs of some working class characters sometimes elicited feelings of displeasure and unhappiness. This passage from *Criss Cross* is a good example of fading blue collar framing:

A mother and her little girl wanted to whisper something. Her mother leaned over and listened, then said to the cashier, "She's excited because she has a new toy cash register at home. She says, maybe when she grows up, she can run a real one."

The cashier laughed. She said, "I used to play with a toy cash register when I was little, too. And see? My dream came true."

She was entirely pleasant and cheerful saying this and yet, there was some other kind of knowledge in it, too. A knowledge that it sure as hell wasn't her dream come true, but, oh well, here she was. (Perkins, 2005, pp. 144-145)
Though the cashier is never mentioned again in *Criss Cross*, this passage illustrates what it looks like when a character feels his or her blue collar job has not lived up to his or her dreams and expectations. It underscores the wistfulness of dreams not achieved. The cashier in *Criss Cross* is not alone: Also unhappy with their jobs are Kim Hà’s mother and brothers in *Inside Out and Back Again* (Lai, 2011) and Miranda’s mother, a receptionist and paralegal in *When You Reach Me* (Stead, 2009).

Feelings of fatigue also characterize fading blue collar framing. In *Kira-Kira*, Katie observes that her father and his colleagues appear “tired all the time” as a result of the long hours they put in at the chicken hatchery (Kadohata, 2004, p. 160). Working the night shift as a janitor at the mall also tires out George in *The One and Only Ivan*: “Humans leave their fingerprints behind, sticky with candy, slick with sweat. Each night a weary man comes to wipe them away” (Applegate, 2012, p. 14). Additionally, Lizzie Rose grows exhausted in *Splendors and Glooms* (Schlitz, 2012) when her guardian, Professor Grisini, disappears and she must do work for her landlady, Mrs. Pinchbeck, in exchange for lodging. Although fading blue collar framing does not position working class characters negatively, it does depict blue collar jobs as difficult and unrewarding.

**Precariousness framing.** A new frame identified in this study is precariousness framing. In this framing, working class characters feel apprehensive about their ability to make ends meet. Characters fear losing their jobs and homes and worry about not having enough food to eat. They also recognize the constraints of their class positions and believe their opportunities for advancement are limited. This framing was quite prominent in the books; it is surprising that precariousness
framing is not one of Kendall's (2011) frames. Perhaps award-winning children's literature does a better job of portraying the nuances and complexities of working class life compared to broadcast media, though this is only speculation.

The fear of losing a job plagued many working class characters. Moose Flanagan is the seventh grade protagonist in *Al Capone Does My Shirts* (Choldenko, 2004). His father is a prison guard and electrician on Alcatraz Island during the Great Depression. The prison's warden insists on order and decorum not only for the Alcatraz inmates but for the island's residents; Moose must be on his best behavior or else his father could be fired. When Moose is pulled into a scheme that incites the warden's fury, Moose's father is fearful: "'I don't want you to be a snitch? This isn't some schoolyard game. I almost lost my job here, Moose. Do you know what that means to us?'" (Choldenko, 2004, p. 120). Moose's father has special reason to worry since jobs were few and far between in the story's Depression-era setting.

Moose's father is not alone in his fears. In *Penny from Heaven* (Holm, 2006), Frankie worries about his father's ability to secure an income; Frankie's father is Uncle Angelo, who is perpetually losing his job. *Savvy* (Law, 2008) characters Lill and Lester are beleaguered by the constant fear of being fired; Lill's habit of being late for work turns her fear into reality, while Lester is often mentioning that his boss may fire him if he messes up in his job as a deliveryman. Katie's mother in *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004) appears secure in her job until the other workers begin to unionize. Katie's mother feels any association with the pro-union workers will put her own job at stake. Precariousness is also demonstrated in *The One and Only*
Ivan (Applegate, 2012) when George loses his job as a janitor and he is uncertain about whether he will be able to find another position.

In addition to worrying about losing jobs, working class characters fretted over losing their homes and lacking money. Again in Kira-Kira (Kadohata, 2004), Katie’s family fears losing the house they worked so hard to purchase; the medical bills the family must pay to support Katie’s dying sister make it difficult for them to pay their mortgage despite the long shifts and overtime hours that Katie’s mother and father assume. When Professor Grisini disappears in Splendors and Glooms (Schlitz, 2012), he leaves Lizzie Rose and Parsefall behind to fend for themselves. Though she is a child, Lizzie Rose assumes responsibility for herself and Parsefall and does work for her landlady, Mrs. Pinchbeck, in exchange for lodging and food. Lizzie Rose recognizes what could happen if she falls out of Mrs. Pinchbeck’s good graces, as she explains to Parsefall:

“If Mrs. Pinchbeck were to throw us out, you’d have to go back to the workhouse and I’d have to live on the street. There’s girls younger than me on the street and it’s a bad, bad life. So you see” - her voice shook – “we must be grateful to Mrs. Pinchbeck and do everything we can to help with the housework - and the dogs - and everything.” (Schlitz, 2012, p. 116)

Hattie in Hattie Big Sky (Larson, 2006) is very fearful of losing her home as well as her livelihood. Hattie is a teen girl who inherits a land claim in rural Montana; in order to assume ownership of the claim, Hattie must meet particular requirements such as fencing a certain number of acres, harvesting crops, and so forth. Hattie’s situation is very tenuous since her ability to assume ownership of the claim is dependent on her crops. She has little income and mounting expenses, and her
savings are soon gone. Unfortunately, a freak storm damages her crops shortly before the harvest, and Hattie loses her land, her home, and her livelihood.

Furthermore, working class characters feel food-insecure at times. When Manjiro, a teenage fisherman and the breadwinner of his family, is shipwrecked in *Heart of a Samurai*, he fears his family will not have enough to eat: “What would happen to his family without him bringing home fish, a little rice - even the mushrooms and ferns he used to gather in the forests that had helped keep them alive? Would they starve?” (Preus, 2010, p. 31). Lizzie Rose and Parsefall from *Splendors and Glooms* (Schlitz, 2012) also worry about getting enough to eat even before their guardian, Professor Grisini, disappears. In *Inside Out and Back Again* (Lai, 2011), Kim Hà feels compelled to preserve every scrap of food she can:

I help Mother peel sweet potatoes to stretch the rice. I start to chop off a potato’s end as wide as a thumbnail, then decide to slice off only a sliver. I am proud of my ability to save until I see tears in Mother’s deep eyes.

You deserve to grow up where you don’t have to worry about saving half a bite of sweet potato. (Lai, 2008, pp. 98-99)

While food-insecurity is a problem that some might associate with poverty, in these books it was a problem impacting the working poor, characters who had jobs and income.

Sometimes the worries about losing jobs, losing homes, and lacking food seemed inescapable to the working class characters. Often, working class characters recognized the constraints and limitations of their positions on the class hierarchy. In *The Voice that Challenged a Nation* (Freedman, 2004), a biography of singer Marian Anderson, Marian is unable to attend high school because her family cannot
afford to send her. Marian’s time is instead spent working and earning money for the family. When Marian needs voice lessons to hone her singing ability, her family is again unable to help her though voice lessons could improve her prospects for earning money as a singer. Luckily, in Marian’s case, her community pitches in to help her and she is able to complete high school and obtain voice lessons. However, without her community’s help, Marian’s opportunities for getting an education and becoming a singer would have been severely limited.

Marian Anderson was not the only working class individual to experience constraints; fictional characters did as well. Manjiro in Heart of a Samurai (Preus, 2010) recognizes he may never achieve his wish for becoming a samurai because class positions in 19th century Japan are a matter of birthright. Likewise, Parsefall in Splendors and Glooms is a talented puppeteer, but he will never gain employment in a puppeteer troupe as Lizzie Rose explains to him: “You know how it is with puppet workers. It’s almost always a family company, and they pass down their skills from father to son. They wouldn’t want you” (Schlitz, 2012, p. 149). In Kira-Kira (Kadohata, 2004), Katie’s father is not able to provide his children with the opportunities he would like to give them. Katie observes:

Sometimes it seemed that one way or another, no matter what my father was saying, he was talking about us. He was talking about all the things he could do for us - and, more often, all the things he could not. (Kadohata, 2004, p. 157)

However, it is unclear what opportunities Katie’s father would like to give her and her siblings.
Precariousness framing underscores the fragile positions of characters in the working class. They persistently have much to worry about: losing their jobs (and income), losing their homes, and not having enough to eat. Precariousness framing also shows the working class in positions of powerlessness; though working class characters may be hard workers, they have little control over what happens to them, and their opportunities for advancement may be limited. This is in stark contrast to upper class characters, who are shown as powerful and in-control. Both power and opportunity framing of the upper class and precariousness framing of the working class illustrate the power of the upper class and the powerlessness of the working class.

**Heroic framing.** In heroic framing, members of the working class are portrayed as heroes, but they can also be victims despite their valiant actions. This framing is one of Kendall’s (2011) original frames, and it was not modified or expanded in this study. Though present in the Newbery books, heroic framing was not prevalent since it surfaced in only a few titles.

In *Dead End in Norvelt* (Gantos, 2011), Miss Volker is an elderly woman who admires and heralds Norvelt’s working class history. Miss Volker perceives laborers as heroes and is angry when they are not celebrated: “...schools don’t teach the history of social reformers who were real American heroes and fought for workers’ rights and justice,” she said angrily” (Gantos, 2011, p. 227). She teaches Jack, her young friend and the book’s protagonist, to take pride in the working class, and she reads him stories about laborers who fought for a better life, like Wat Taylor, a peasant who lived hundreds of years ago. Miss Volker tells Jack that Wat Taylor’s
story is his heritage since "working people always share the same history of being kicked around by the rich" (Gantos, 2011, p. 34). Despite her high opinion of the working class, Miss Volker recognizes they can also be victims when she tells Jack that many of Norvelt’s men, who worked as miners, died of lung disease, a hazard of their work.

One of the most heroic working class figures in the Newbery titles is Miri, the protagonist of Princess Academy (Hale, 2005). Though Miri is initially reticent to attend the princess academy, she works hard, learns to read, and soon devours books. In her readings, Miri learns the true value of linder, the stone that is mined by the people of her village; Miri’s community depends on trading their linder for other goods because the harsh climate of their village does not permit them to farm. Miri realizes the miners have been ripped off in the linder trade: Her community has been paid less for their linder than its actual value. Miri takes her findings to the village leaders, and soon the miners are demanding a fair price for their linder when the traders visit. As a result, Miri’s community is better off, and the villagers worry less about going hungry. Miri also stands up to more affluent characters when they insult her and the other Mount Eskel girls at the academy. Miri demands that the academy girls should be allowed to visit home occasionally and insists on better treatment. She tells Olana, the academy’s teacher:

“...if you live by these terms and treat us as you would treat nobleman’s daughters, whichever one of us chosen as the princess will commend your teaching and see you get comfortable work tutoring in Asland.” (Hale, 2005, p. 155)
Other than Miri, only a few other working class characters were shown as heroes. These include a “brave servant girl” who helps dispose of a decomposing, maggot-ridden body in *An American Plague* (Murphy, 2003, p. 40) and the mine workers who advocate for (and win) better treatment from the greedy boss Arthur Devlin in *Moon Over Manifest* (Vanderpool, 2010).

**Respectful framing.** Respectful framing is a new class frame. Though it positively portrays the working class by showing them being respected by people from other classes, it was a very limited framing in the books in this sample. It appeared in only two titles. It was added as a new frame because none of Kendall’s (2011) frames showed positive images of working class people other than heroic framing, so a new frame was necessary to capture the theme of respect for the working class. In *Princess Academy* (Hale, 2005), the working poor people of Mount Eskel are at odds with the more affluent “lowlanders” who live at the base of the mountain. However, the relationship between the classes evolves from one of antagonism into one of mutual respect, and the lowlanders become “awed by the view and curious about life” on the mountain (Hale, 2005, p. 216). Characters in *Splendors and Glooms* (Schlitz, 2012) held romanticized views of the working class. The wealthy Clara is impressed how Lizzie Rose and Parsefall earn their money by performing in a puppet show. Despite the class differences between them, Clara longs to become friends with the two orphans, whom she views as “clever” and resourceful (Schlitz, 2012, p. 11). Likewise, Clara’s father, Dr. Wintermute becomes taken with Lizzie Rose: “All at once Dr. Wintermute caught hold of the idea that had eluded him. Why, this girl was Cinderella, with her sooty dress and wistful eyes. He
half smiled at the fancy" (Schlitz, 2012, p. 177). Eventually, the Winternutes' admiration for Lizzie Rose and Parsefall leads them to adopt the two at the end of the story. Unfortunately, respectful framing is limited to these instances. Working class characters are esteemed and admired far less often than the upper class characters in emulation and power and opportunity framing.

**Exceptionalism framing.** Exceptionalism is one of Kendall's (2011) original class frames. Though Kendall identified it as a way of framing the poor, in this study, it was also observed as a way of framing the working class. In exceptionalism framing, working class characters were shown experiencing upward mobility and landing in a higher social class. Characters accomplished this mobility in several ways: through adoption, receiving a cash windfall (a sudden influx of money), or possessing great talent.

At the beginning of *Heart of a Samurai* (Preus, 2010), Manjiro is a working poor, teenage fisherman in 19th century Japan. When he and his friends are shipwrecked, they are rescued by an American whaling boat. While Manjiro's friends go their separate ways after being rescued, Manjiro chooses to stay aboard the ship, and eventually, he is adopted by the ship's commander, Captain Whitfield. Manjiro's life in the United States with Captain Whitfield is markedly different from his life in his home country of Japan:

> He would never live so privileged a life again, he didn't suppose. Not in Japan. He would never live in such a grand house, or have so much land to roam, or his own horse to ride. His life here had been a fairy tale - the story of a poor fisherboy being swept off to an enchanted world, a life he could not have imagined in his wildest dreams. (Preus, 2010, p. 183)
Though Manjiro goes from the working poor to the upper middle class when he moves in with Captain Whitfield, that is not the end of his upward mobility. At the story's conclusion, Manjiro leaves the United States and goes back to live with his family in Japan. Shortly thereafter, Manjiro is made into a samurai, a rank that is traditionally achieved through birthright:

Suddenly, Manjiro, with his unique firsthand knowledge of America, was needed in Edo, by order of the shogun. He was appointed as a samurai to the shogun, allowed to carry swords and to take a second name. It was unprecedented for a person not born of a samurai family and of such low rank to be elevated to such status. (Preus, 2010, p. 259)

Adoption by Captain Whitfield sets Manjiro on the path to upward mobility, while Manjiro's insider view of the United States elevates him further. Like Manjiro, Lizzie Rose and Parsefall from *Splendors and Glooms* (Schlitz, 2012) also rise in class status as a result of being adopted. Throughout most of the story, they are working poor orphans who struggle to make ends meet. However, at the conclusion, they have rescued their friend Clara Wintermute from the clutches of the evil Professor Grisini and are subsequently adopted by the wealthy Wintermute family.

Sometimes characters became wealthy by receiving a cash windfall, an unanticipated sum of money. Though Lizzie Rose and Parsefall are adopted by the Wintermutes at the end of *Splendors and Glooms* (Schlitz, 2012), they also become wealthy when they inherit the vast fortune of Cassandra Sagredo, a witch who practices black magic. While Cassandra originally lures Lizzie Rose and Parsefall to her estate in order to give them a cursed gemstone, she learns to care for them and makes them her heirs.
In *Turtle in Paradise* (Holm, 2010), Turtle is the daughter of a housekeeper who goes to live with her aunt, uncle, and cousins on Key West. When Turtle finds what appears to be a treasure map stuck in her grandmother's piano, she convinces her cousins to look for the hidden gold. They steal a boat from a neighbor and head out to a nearby island to dig for the treasure. They find it, and Turtle views it as a realization of her dreams: "Maybe Mama is right after all. Maybe life is like a Hollywood picture, with happy endings around every corner. The boy gets the girl. The millionaire adopts the orphan. The poor kid finds the pirate treasure" (Holm, 2010, p. 139). Turtle compares her good fortune to the story of Annie, a popular comic strip character in the 1930s: "This is how Little Orphan Annie must have felt after Daddy Warbucks took her in: she's never going to have to worry about anything ever again!" (Holm, 2010, p. 139). Though Turtle's portion of the treasure is stolen by her mother's slippery boyfriend, Archie, Turtle and her mother settle down in Key West with Turtle's cousins and grandmother, who still have their cut of the fortune.

Other working class characters received more modest cash windfalls that improved their financial standing. In *Kira-Kira* Uncle Katsuhisa receives a $2,000 inheritance from an army buddy. Though he "wasn't rich," he is "better off than most" of the other Japanese living in rural Georgia (Kadohata, 2004, p. 37). Uncle Katsuhisa owns a house unlike the other Japanese, yet he cannot afford to stop working at his job at the chicken hatchery. In *When You Reach Me* (Stead, 2009), Miranda is the daughter of a paralegal and receptionist. When Miranda's mother is selected to be a contestant on a game show, she spends hours practicing so she can
win the cash prize. At the story’s end, Miranda’s mother wins $10,000. Though she intends to buy various items she and Miranda need and want, Miranda and her mother’s boyfriend, Richard, give her applications to law schools and encourage her to apply. Miranda’s mother also gives an apartment key to Richard, which symbolizes an advance in their relationship. While Miranda and her mother are not shown attaining a higher class status, they are shown gaining a great deal of money. They also have two realistic prospects for achieving upward mobility: Miranda’s mom could complete law school and become a lawyer, and she might also marry Richard, a lawyer and a member of the upper middle class.

Sometimes exceptionalism took the form of achieving a higher class status through talent or hard work. In *The Voice that Challenged a Nation* (Freedman, 2004), Marian Anderson, the biography’s subject, grows up in a working class neighborhood. Her father is no longer alive, and she and her mother and sisters move in with Marian’s grandparents in order to survive. Her mother works as a cleaning woman in a local department store. However, Marian is a talented singer, and she capitalizes on her abilities, earning money for her family through singing engagements. Eventually, Marian becomes an internationally acclaimed performer and commands a handsome sum when she sings.

A few working class characters have a strong belief in the American dream: the notion that anyone who works hard can succeed and join a higher social class. Interestingly, several of these characters were immigrants rather than natural born citizens of the United States. In *Heart of a Samurai*, Manjiro explains to a fellow Japanese, “There is no distinction between classes. Even a man of low rank may
become an official. Birth and family are of little consequence; individuals earn positions according to their abilities” (Preus, 2010, p. 243). Manjiro’s remarks convey the traditional American belief that ability and merit are more important than where, and to whom, one is born, and class status can be achieved through hard work. The characters in *Inside Out and Back Again* (Lai, 2011) also buy into the American promise of a better future. Immigrants from Vietnam in the 1970s, Kim Hà’s mother and brothers believe they can make a better life for themselves in the United States by obtaining an education and securing a good job. In *Hattie Big Sky*, Hattie also believes that hard work will help her achieve her goal of owning her homestead: “Here, under this big sky, someone like me - Hattie Here-and-There - could work hard and get a place of her own. A place to belong. Wasn’t that my deepest wish?” (Larson, 2006, p. 91).

Exceptionalism framing portrays working class (and poor) characters moving into a higher social class. This framing is closely related to the traditional American dream narrative, which posits that anyone who works hard enough can become financially successful. However, exceptionalism framing as it is depicted in the Newbery books is usually not contingent upon a character’s hard work; only Marian Anderson in *The Voice that Challenged a Nation* (Freedman, 2004) achieved a higher class status through her own efforts. More often, characters moved into a higher class by being adopted, or “saved,” by an upper class person, or getting lucky and receiving a cash windfall. Exceptionalism framing is a somewhat troubling framing since it depicts upward mobility as an act that is easily accomplished, and it positions working class and poor lives as less desirable than upper class lives.
Aspirations framing. Aspirations framing is a new frame that emerged in this study, and it was a fairly prominent way of portraying the working class. In aspirations framing, working class characters were shown having dreams and goals and aspiring to a more satisfying future. It is similar to emulation framing of the upper class; emulation framing typically shows lower class characters desiring to be like the wealthy. Though both framings share the desire to achieve something "better," aspirations framing is distinct since it portrays working class people having goals, but they do not necessarily aspire to become rich. They may want to have "better" material goods than what they already own, or they may want to have a less demanding life. Aspirations framing is also reminiscent of the belief in the American dream conveyed by some characters in the discussion of exceptionalism framing. However, aspirations framing is different because characters investing in the American dream believe that hard work can result in upward mobility, while aspirations framing involves wishing for a better life without necessarily working hard to achieve it. Further, aspirations framing does not always take the form of moving into a higher social class; instead, it might involve owning a nicer house or simply having a bigger box of crayons.

Obtaining a college education and securing a good job were typical aspirations of working class characters. As the year of school and training winds to a close in Princess Academy, the Mount Eskel girls want to continue their education: “Miri wanted to learn more about Mathematics to help with trading, Liana’s interests tended toward etiquette at court, and Esa was curious about the social classes beyond the mountain” (Hale, 2005, p. 284). Katie and her older sister, Lynn,
also want to attend college in *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004); Lynn is particularly interested in attending graduate school.

Getting a satisfying job was also important. Lynn tells Katie she wants to be a "rocket scientist" or a "famous writer" (Kadohata, 2004, p. 25), while Peder in *Princess Academy* hopes he can sell carved stone to the traders who visit Mount Eskel. Jack's father in *Dead End in Norvelt* wants to move to Florida "where a hardworking man could make big money building houses for rich people" (Gantos, 2011, p. 56). Archie, the boyfriend of Turtle's mother in *Turtle in Paradise*, does not express hopes for a better job, but he does desire to live on "Easy Street" someday (Holm, 2010, p. 6).

Working class characters also wanted to have what they considered more or "better" material goods. Throughout *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004), Katie's parents work extra shifts so they can one day purchase a house for the family. However, even after they buy a house, Katie's mother still wants to live in a nicer one. Katie recalls, "I'd heard our mother tell our father that this was just a 'beginner house' and that someday we would own a 'better' house in a 'better' neighborhood, but I could not imagine a better house than this one" (Kadohata, 2004, p. 137). Katie and her sister, Lynn, wish for better material goods "like a box of sixteen crayons instead of eight" (Kadohata, 2004, p. 45). When Miranda's mother in *When You Reach Me* (Stead, 2009) learns she has been selected as a contestant on a game show, she wastes no time making a list of things she and Miranda want to buy if she wins the money. These things include a new television, new carpeting for Miranda's bedroom, and a trip to China.
Though Katie in *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004) wants material goods like more crayons and a college education, she is the only character who aspires to help other people. When her mother finishes her shift at the chicken processing plant and Katie can tell she has used her diaper (since workers are denied bathroom breaks), Katie vows to change things. She says, “I decided that someday when I was rich, I was going to buy the factory and let the workers use the bathroom whenever they wanted” (Kadohata, 2004, p. 97). Katie also hopes to one day have a husband who “would help out people in need” (Kadohata, 2004, p. 154). Besides Katie, no other working class characters had aspirations about helping others; their goals were mostly oriented toward helping themselves.

Aspirations framing of the working class reveals a few beliefs that are predominant in American society. First, aspirations framing, along with middle class values framing, shows the value that is placed on education. Working class characters in aspirations framing aspire to get a college education, while middle class characters in middle class values framing prize the attainment of a college degree. Second, aspirations framing conveys the belief that life can get better since working class characters hope for something more than what they already have, whether that something is a better job, a better house, or a better box of crayons. It is a framing that underscores possibility and opportunity. Third, aspirations framing conveys a very individualistic goal orientation. Characters usually want something better for themselves or for their families. Only Katie from *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004) wants something better for other people.
**Working class values framing.** Working class values framing is a new frame for portraying the working class. In this framing, working class people are depicted as hard-working. They are committed to their families and communities and have a sense of dignity and pride. It was a significant theme in books within the sample. Like precariousness framing, this framing was so prominent that it is rather surprising it was not one of Kendall’s (2011) class frames. Again, this suggests distinguished books for children could include more sensitive and multi-faceted portrayals of working class people than the mass media.

Working class values framing surfaced when characters were shown as hard-working and industrious. Miri from *Princes Academy* is one example; when her teacher, Olana, insults the Mount Eskel girls for their ignorance, Miri responds by pouring herself into her studies, wanting to prove a “mountain girl had as many brains as any lowlander” (Hale, 2005, p. 92). Other characters assume exhausting, even back-breaking work. Katie’s parents in *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004) work double shifts and overtime when it is available in order to save money for a house. In *Show Way*, Soonie, a free black girl, and her family work from dawn to dusk to make a living as sharecroppers: “Hard work making a life - from pink day to blue-black night - but it was a free life just the same” (Woodson, 2005, unpaged). Other industrious working class characters included Marian Anderson in *The Voice that Challenged a Nation* (Freedman, 2004), Hattie and her homesteading friends in *Hattie Big Sky* (Larson, 2006), and Penny’s widowed mother in *Penny from Heaven* (Holm, 2006).
In addition to being hard workers, working class characters were depicted as good savers: When they wanted something, they saved their money for it. In *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004), Katie and her sister Lynn desperately want to help their parents save up money for a house. Instead of spending the nickels they receive from their father each week, they secretly hoard the coins. Eventually, when their parents are ready to buy a house, Katie, Lynn, and their younger brother Sammy present them with $100 saved over a span of several years. Mr. Leroy in *Elijah of Buxton* (Curtis, 2007) also works hard to save his money; he frequently takes on odd jobs and extra work in order to buy his wife and his children out of slavery. In *Hattie Big Sky* (Larson, 2006), Hattie’s friend Perilee refuses to buy a rocking chair she wants because the family is saving for a much-needed tractor. These examples show working class characters making sacrifices and they portray the working class as goal-oriented.

Working class characters were also shown as committed family and community members. The congregation at Marian Anderson’s church shows their support of her singing career aspirations when they take a special collection to help her purchase necessities like evening gowns and voice lessons (Freedman, 2004); their actions communicate their strong support of Marian and her talents. In *Claudette Colvin: Twice Toward Justice*, the working class neighborhood where Claudette resides also has strong community bonds: “Though King Hill had a citywide reputation as a depressed and dangerous neighborhood, the Colvins found it to be an extremely close-knit community where people knew and looked out for one another” (Hoose, 2009, p. 15). Sometimes, commitment to community took the
form of participation in labor unions. In *Moon Over Manifest* (Vanderpool, 2010), the mine workers band together to wrest complete control of the mine away from its bad apple owner, Arthur Devlin. As a result, the workers have more say in the operation of the mine and better working conditions. Since many men in the community work at the mine, the miners' actions have a widespread community impact. The same scenario occurs in *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004) when the chicken processing plant workers band together and advocate for better workplace policies. Again, since the workers comprise a large portion of the community, their actions are of significance to many people.

Some working class characters exhibited a sense of dignity and pride. Miss Volker, Jack's elderly neighbor in *Dead End in Norvelt*, is frequently heralding her pride in Norvelt's working class heritage, calling it "'a town of common people who own our own land'" (Gantos, 2011, p. 33). Pride was also shown when working class characters turned down help from other people, usually by refusing to borrow money. In *Hattie Big Sky* (Larson, 2006), Hattie and her neighbors take pride in their refusal to borrow money to support their homesteads, a sentiment shared by Katie's parents in *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004) when they refuse to borrow money to purchase a house. Pride is apparent in *Three Times Lucky* when Lavender's house is described: "Lavender's house is old, with a patched roof, but his pride shows in the way the porch stays swept and the daylilies never want tending" (Turnage, 2012, pp. 43-44).

In *Elijah of Buxton* (Curtis, 2007), the free black community of Buxton, Canada exemplifies what it means to live a life of dignity. According to the author's
notes about the real-life Buxton settlement, the people of Buxton were very independent:

Economically, Buxton was fiercely and deliberately self-sufficient and eventually had its own sawmill, potash mill, brickyard, post office, hotel, and school. There was even a six-mile-long tram that carried lumber from Buxton down to Lake Erie, where it was loaded on ships to be sold throughout North America. (Curtis, 2007, unpaged)

Dignity was also depicted when individuals faced adversity. In Claudette Colvin: Twice Toward Justice (Hoose, 2009), Claudette’s great-aunt and caretaker, Mary Ann Colvin, fully supports Claudette when she is arrested for failing to give her seat up to a white person on a segregated bus. Mary Ann also demonstrates dignity by supporting Claudette when she becomes a teenage mother; she refuses to let her family feel disgraced. Likewise, Marian Anderson reacts with grace and dignity when the Daughters of the American Revolution deny her access to a performance in Constitution Hall because of her skin color (Freedman, 2004).

Working class values framing shares common themes with middle class values framing, though the two framings deviate from one another in several ways. Both framings include the notion that hard work is something of value. Additionally, the sense of propriety valued by middle class characters is similar to the sense of pride valued by working class characters. However, while the middle class prizes education, the working class values their commitments to their families and communities (though the working class do aspire to obtaining an education in aspirations framing). Further, while the middle class prioritizes taking responsibility for life’s outcomes, the working class views maintaining their dignity as an important quality.
As this discussion has shown, the Newbery titles had mixed portrayals of working class characters. Characters in the working class were shown in some very positive ways: They take heroic actions (heroic framing) and are goal-oriented (aspirations framing). Further, they work hard, care about their communities, and maintain a sense of dignity (working class values framing). Despite these positive depictions, working class characters were shown in some negative, stereotypical ways. They are suspicious of other class groups and social institutions (suspicion framing), they are greedy and participate in illegal activities (shady framing), they are insignificant or objects of contempt (insignificance and scorn framing), they engage in irresponsible behavior like drinking too much (dependency and irresponsibility framing), and they are stupid and trashy (caricature framing).

While the positive depictions of working class people are welcome, the many negative portrayals of the working class underscores the need for reading texts with a critical literacy lens lest the negative perceptions be internalized, rather than challenged, by the reader. Like the working class, the poor were also depicted with a range of positive and negative frames. These nine frames are addressed shortly.

A critical literacy analysis of the working class. Of the 32 human protagonists or historical figures appearing in this set of Newbery titles, more than half were members of the working class. From a critical literacy perspective, this finding indicates that working class lives are privileged in this set of award-winning books. This finding counters the belief of some scholars (e.g., Jones, 2008) who have observed that working class and poor lives are rarely privileged in children's literature. It is also in contrast to the findings of other studies examining class
portrayals in children's literature: Rawson (2011) and Boutte et al. (2008) both found middle class majorities in the books they examined. Newbery books, then, may be rarities in terms of class portrayals because the working class, not the middle class, comprised the majority of protagonists.

In this study, every one of the framings of the working class that Kendall (2011) identified - both good and bad - was observed. Unfortunately, nearly all of Kendall's (2011) framings of the working class were negative except for heroic and exceptionalism framing. Though the researcher identified three new, positive frames of the working class (aspirations, respectful, and working class values framing), she also identified three new unappealing frames of the working class (suspicion, precariousness, and insignificance and scorn framing). Additionally, dependency and irresponsibility framing was identified as a way of portraying the working class; in Kendall's study, this framing was called "dependency and deviance" and was used to portray the poor. Of the 12 working class frames that were observed in this study, seven frames positioned working class characters in unfavorable ways, while five frames positioned them in appealing ways.

Though the working class comprised the majority of protagonists in the Newbery books, it is conceivable that some readers might adopt a negative perspective toward the working class given some of the framings of this class group, like insignificance and scorn and dependency and irresponsibility. For example, a reader with values common to middle class people, such as working hard to achieve goals and taking personal responsibility for successes and failures might view characters framed according to dependency and irresponsibility framing very
A character who is perpetually late for work and is fired from her job, like Lill in *Savvy* (Law, 2008) might not be viewed with sympathy by readers with middle class values. Similarly, a reader with little or no personal knowledge of the working class might assume an unfavorable perspective of this group given the frequent negative depictions of working class characters. It is possible that even working class readers themselves might adopt an unfavorable perspective toward the working class given the many damaging framings of this class group.

Working class characters in the Newbery books may garner less respect from readers than their more affluent counterparts. One particularly negative framing of the working class is caricature framing. Caricature framing positions working class characters as trashy, unintelligent, and crude. Some examples of characters portrayed according to caricature framing include trashy Carlene in *Savvy* (Law, 2008), rude and dirty Parsefall and ridiculously clothed Mrs. Pinchbeck in *Splendors and Glooms* (Schlitz, 2012), and incompetent Miggery Sow in *The Tale of Despereaux* (DiCamillo, 2003). In contrast to these working class characters, no middle class characters were portrayed as incompetent and only three upper class characters were shown as dull or unintelligent (insipid framing). Middle and upper class characters were often portrayed as prim and proper as in middle class values framing and in expectations framing. Though caricature framing presents an unfavorable perspective of the working class, this framing makes them appear even more negative when it is contrasted to framings of the middle and upper class.

Fading blue collar framing also positions the working class in an undesirable way because it makes working class characters seem unhappy. This framing shows
working class characters as dissatisfied with their jobs. Fading blue collar framing implies that the types of jobs working class people have are not fulfilling, which positions them in an unappealing way. In contrast, middle and upper class characters were not observed feeling unhappy with their jobs. In fact, Martha's father in *Olive's Ocean* (Henkes, 2003) misses his job as a lawyer when he quits work to become a stay-at-home father.

Additionally, working class characters are maligned when they are depicted according to shady framing. In shady framing, members of the working class are shown engaging in criminal behavior or participating in dubious schemes, like when Giles the Beggar in *Good Masters! Sweet Ladies!* (Schlitz, 2007) pretends to have his ailments cured by holy water. Framing working class characters as criminals positions the working class in a negative way. Interestingly, the upper class was also portrayed negatively with bad apple framing, in which upper class characters are shown as greedy and corrupt. Bad apple framing is the upper class counterpart to shady framing of the working class. However, the bad apple upper class characters were not usually criminals, while the shady working class characters were: Some were thieves, for example. Unlike the working class and upper class characters, poor and middle class characters were not depicted as criminals in the Newbery titles in this sample.

Exceptionalism framing seems like a positive way of portraying working class people; this framing shows working class and poor characters moving into a higher social class. However, exceptionalism framing really presents a damaging perspective about the working class. Since characters are portrayed as moving
away from the working class into a more affluent class group, this framing actually positions the working class in an unfavorable way. The message with exceptionalism framing is that one can be happier as part of a higher social class; happiness is a byproduct of upward social mobility. This framing also shows that poor and working class lives are not desirable since characters move up and away from these class locations.

In contrast to upper class characters, working class characters were usually not portrayed as having power. In fact, precariousness framing highlights the lack of power that many working class characters faced. Hattie in *Hattie Big Sky* (Larson, 2006) worries about losing her homestead and losing her crops to conditions out of her control, like hail storms. Moose’s father in *Al Capone Does My Shirts* (Choldenko, 2004), Katie’s mother in *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004), Lill and Lester in *Savvy* (Law, 2008) and George in *The One and Only Ivan* (Applegate, 2012) all fear losing their jobs. Some characters, like Manjiro in *Heart of a Samurai* (Preus, 2010) and Kim Hà in *Inside Out and Back Again* (Lai, 2011) worry about not having enough to eat, while Katie’s family in *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004) and Lizzie Rose and Parsefall in *Splendors and Glooms* (Schlitz, 2012) fear losing their homes. All of these worries and fears demonstrate the lack of control that working class characters have over the directions of their lives. Their fates are largely tied to the whims of their employers. In fact, the power the upper class characters exercise over working class and poor characters in power and opportunity framing illustrates how much control the wealthy have over people in lower class groups. Though precariousness framing
might elicit feelings of sympathy for working class characters, some readers might also form the perception that working class characters are weak and unstable.

However, the working class is positioned in a positive way when they are shown wrestling power away from corrupt or greedy upper class people. In a few titles, working class characters are shown banding together and confronting unfair policies and practices propagated by the upper class. In *Princess Academy* (Hale, 2005), when Miri learns the people of her village have not been given fair prices for the stone they mine, she informs her community’s leaders. Miri’s friends and neighbors take a stand against the unfair practices of the traders who have cheated them for years, and ultimately, they are paid fair prices for their products. Similarly, in *Moon Over Manifest* (Vanderpool, 2010), coal mine workers join forces to trick their unscrupulous boss, Arthur Devlin. They force Devlin out of town on a pretense, manufacture and sell “medicine” (which is actually liquor), and raise enough money to buy a piece of land with a coal vein under it, a piece of land coveted by Devlin. The miners’ ownership of the land gives them leverage over Devlin, and as a result, their working conditions improve. In *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004), the chicken processing plant workers form a union against their employer’s wishes, and their strength as a union enables them to successfully advocate for fairer workplace policies. Though working class characters are not depicted having power as individuals, the collective actions of the working class demonstrates their ability to gain and maintain power.

Despite the negative framings of the working class, there are some positive frames of this class group that did not appear in Kendall’s (2011) study of class
portrayals in the mass media. This suggests award-winning children's literature could present more sensitive portrayals of working class lives than mass media like television and newspaper articles. Positive frames of the working class included aspirations framing, in which working class people are shown as goal-oriented; respectful framing, in which working class people are treated with respect by members of more affluent classes; and working class values framing, in which working class people possess values like industriousness, thriftiness, and commitment to family and community. Working class values framing was an especially prominent frame, and it is somewhat surprising that it did not surface as a framing in Kendall's research. These positive frames of the working class might help counter some of the negative images of the working class presented in caricature, insignificance and scorn, and dependency and irresponsibility framing. To a working class reader whose life has not been validated in popular children's literature or in other forms of media, the Newbery books might offer a positive perspective into working class realities. This is important, for as Jones (2008) contended, young readers deserve books which privilege poor and working class lives.

As with framings of other class groups, the view a reader forms about the working class depends on his or her perspective. Readers might agree with the negative images of the working class presented in some of the framings described here depending on their personal knowledge of social class (and their knowledge of the working class based on other forms of media), or they might accept the positive images of the working class, like working class values, heroic, respectful, and
admiration framing. However, identification with the working class protagonists might leave readers with favorable images of working class characters. Like with framings of the upper class and the middle class, the protagonists were rarely depicted according to negative framings; they were shown in a much more positive light. For instance:

- Lizzie Rose and Parsefall rescue their friend Clara in *Splendors and Glooms* (Schlitz, 2012).
- Jack spends his summer vacation assisting his elderly neighbor in *Dead End in Norvelt* (Gantos, 2011).
- Claudette Colvin takes a stand against segregation in *Claudette Colvin: Twice Toward Justice* (Hoose, 2009).
- Hattie helps her friends and neighbors when they are in need in *Hattie Big Sky* (Larson, 2006).
- Moose Flanagan helps his autistic sister make friends in *Al Capone Does My Shirts* (Choldenko, 2004).

These are only some of the positive depictions of working class protagonists. If one goal of literacy instruction in K-12 schools is to provide students with favorable images of different class realities, then many of the Newbery titles are well-suited to this goal.

**Framing the Poor**

Of the 32 Newbery Medal and Honor books with human protagonists, six books included protagonists living in poverty (18.75%). However, there were a
number of other characters who were poor: Lizzie Bright in *Lizzie Bright and the Buckminster Boy* (Schmidt, 2004); Brigitte, Miles, and Short Sammy in the *Higher Power of Lucky* (Patron, 2006); Dick Whittington in *Whittington* (Armstrong, 2005); Mai Thi in *The Wednesday Wars* (Schmidt, 2007); D in *After Tupac and D Foster* (Woodson, 2008); Gar Face in *The Underneath* (Appelt, 2008); Jinx in *Moon Over Manifest* (Vanderpool, 2010); and several characters in *Good Masters! Sweet Ladies!* (Schlitz, 2007). Like with other class groups, the poor were portrayed in both negative and positive ways. Table 22 summarizes the framings of the poor, and the asterisk indicates original or modified Kendall (2011) frames.

Table 22

*Frames of the Poor*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Insignificance and scorn*</td>
<td>The poor are portrayed as insignificant and are scorned or neglected by the more privileged classes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependency* and irresponsibility</td>
<td>Members of the poor may be welfare dependent or engage in irresponsible behavior.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardship</td>
<td>Poverty is a challenge that limits opportunities and choices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caricature*</td>
<td>Poor people are bigots, rednecks, buffoons, and white trash. They are crude and ignorant or anti-intellectual.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sympathetic*</td>
<td>Children, elderly people, and ill people are depicted as deserving of sympathy and represent the larger population of the poor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charitable*</td>
<td>The poor are in need of help from the more affluent, especially at the holidays and after tragedies and disasters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caring</td>
<td>The poor are proud and committed to their families and communities.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 22 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aspirations</td>
<td>The poor have dreams for a more prosperous or satisfying future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exceptionalism*</td>
<td>The poor rise above adversity to achieve prosperity or happiness in a higher social class.</td>
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</table>

**Insignificance and scorn framing.** Insignificance and scorn framing depicts the poor (and the working class) as objects of contempt and scorn by members of more privileged classes, and it also portrays them as insignificant. This framing integrates statistics framing, one of Kendall’s (2011) original frames. In statistics framing, poor characters are shown as anonymous, faceless people. Since statistics framing captures the idea that the poor are insignificant, this framing was absorbed into the broader insignificance and scorn framing.

Characters portrayed according to insignificance and scorn framing were shown as objects of disgust and disdain by members of other class groups. Mogg, a young female in *Good Masters! Sweet Ladies!,* explains the lord of the manor “pinches his nose when he enters our hut” (Schlitz, 2007, p. 25). In *Lizzie Bright and the Buckminster Boy* (Schmidt, 2004), the people of Malaga Island (off the coast of Phippsburg, Maine) are frequently maligned by the affluent residents of Phippsburg, particularly the bad apple Mr. Stonecrop. Malaga Island’s residents are poor and black, and they make ends meet by taking advantage of natural resources like the ocean surrounding them. Mr. Stonecrop explains his views of Malaga Island to Reverend Buckminster, who is new to Phippsburg:
"Reverend Buckminster, behold the cross we bear in Phippsburg: a ragtag collection of hovels and shacks, filled with thieves and lazy sots, eking out a life by eating clams from the ocean mud, heedless of offers of help from either state or church, a blight on the town's aspirations, a hopeless barrier to its future." (Schmidt, 2004, p. 20)

While Mr. Stonecrop's low opinion of Malaga Island may be racially-motivated, word choices like "hovels" and "sots" underscore his classist attitude toward those living in poverty. Later in the book, when Mr. Stonecrop decides that his plan to build hotels in Phippsburg will not be profitable unless the "hovels and shacks" nearby are gone, he convinces other citizens to drive Malaga Island's residents away. Some of them, like Lizzie Bright, perish when they are driven off the island and locked away in an insane asylum. Other books like Where the Mountain Meets the Moon (Lin, 2009) and An American Plague (Murphy, 2003) also portrayed attitudes of disgust toward the poor, though few had attitudes as vitriolic as Mr. Stonecrop's. In Where the Mountain Meets the Moon, a poor beggar is turned away and yelled at by a more affluent merchant, while in An American Plague, the poor were avoided by the upper classes, particularly after they contracted the yellow fever.

Some poor characters were also shown as insignificant. In The Mostly True Adventures of Homer P. Figg (Philbrick, 2009) Homer's brother Harold is forced into being a Civil War soldier although at 17 years old, he is not of age. Homer explains, "According to the law, a rich man can hire a poor one to be his substitute, and die in his place if need be" (Philbrick, 2009, p. 22). The practice of substitution indicates the lives of the poor are far less important than the lives of the rich. The poor were also portrayed as insignificant several times in An American Plague (Murphy, 2003), a nonfiction title. When Philadelphia citizen Benjamin Morgan lost an election, he
insisted the votes of the poor should not count since they did not take an allegiance oath; however, this law was rarely enforced and was cited by Benjamin Morgan as an excuse to hold a reelection. This incident underscores how the political will of poor people was disregarded by the more powerful and affluent. Further, when the yellow fever epidemic ended, the poor were disregarded again despite the hardships they faced as fever victims:

That the poorer areas of Philadelphia - those mean, narrow alleys with their run-down, airless houses - had suffered the worst did not escape attention. However, no municipal works projects - such as putting in a sewer system to eliminate the polluted "sinks" - were initiated to change the wretched conditions. There was no money whatsoever in the city's budget for such costly endeavors, plus no desire to undertake them. (Murphy, 2003, p. 106)

As this passage shows, the needs of the poor did not matter to Philadelphia's leaders; the plight of the poor during the fever did not motivate anyone with political power to help them. Israel Israel, a Philadelphia leader who championed the rights of the poor, was one exception, though he lost his leadership position to Benjamin Morgan in the aforementioned reelection.

Poor characters were occasionally depicted as anonymous and faceless as in Kendall's (2011) statistics framing. When Lester, Lill, and Mibbs and her friends come across a homeless man lying on the ground in Savvy, Mibbs is the only one of the group who pays him any mind: "I took a step toward the lifeless lump of flesh that had once been a walking, talking, hoping, dreaming man - once had been someone's son or friend ... or father" (Law, 2008, p. 151). The others rush past him while Mibbs pauses and thinks of the man as a human being. When Professor Grisini wants to go incognito in Splendors and Glooms (Schlitz, 2012), he realizes he
would be most anonymous dressed up like a beggar. Once he puts on his disguise, Grisini appears to be “a beggar like ten thousand others: a man so cheerless and commonplace that no one would give him a second glance” (Schlitz, 2012, p. 96). Grisini is probably correct in his assumption; Clara Wintermute from Splendors and Glooms (Schlitz, 2012) never looks at the poor, averting her eyes when she encounters them.

Insignificance and scorn framing conveys a few messages about the poor. First, being poor is undesirable since the poor elicit reactions of disgust and scorn from members of higher social classes. Second, this framing communicates that the poor do not matter; they are insignificant, not receiving help when they are in need or being sold off to take a rich man’s place in a war. Sometimes the poor are even shown as less than human: They are faceless masses of people who do not merit attention or good will.

**Dependency and irresponsibility framing.** This framing depicts poor people as welfare dependent or as irresponsible. It is a modified version of Kendall’s (2011) dependency and deviance frame. In a couple of titles, poor characters were shown taking hand-outs from the government. The residents of Phippsburg in Lizzie Bright and the Buckminster are constantly worried about the poor people of Malaga Island moving into their town and joining their “pauper rolls” (Schmidt, 2004, p. 33). They deride the poor, believing “all they know is living off others’” (Schmidt, 2004, p. 69). One of the few characters in this book who views the poor favorably is Turner Buckminster, who befriends Lizzie Bright and her Malaga Island neighbors.
The Higher Power of Lucky featured an entire community of people receiving welfare:

The last Saturday of the month, free Government food got delivered to the town. You only received free Government food if you had quite a small amount of money. If you had too much money, they wouldn't give any food to you. Most people in Hard Pan didn't have regular jobs, and maybe they got a check every month out of having a disability or being old or from fathers who didn't like children, but it wasn't very much. Most everyone in Hard Pan qualified for free food. (Patron, 2006, pp. 35-36)

However, unlike in Lizzie Bright and the Buckminster Boy (Schmidt, 2004), The Higher Power of Lucky (Patron, 2006) did not include negative depictions of welfare dependency. In fact, poverty was normalized and positioned as a "regular" way of life in this title. The Higher Power of Lucky (Patron, 2006) did not include any economically privileged characters who berated the impoverished people of Hard Pan. Though this book has sparked controversy for its use of the word "scrotum" (International Reading Association, 2007), it includes one of the most sensitive portrayals of poverty among the books in the sample.

In addition to being shown as welfare recipients, the poor, like the working class, were sometimes shown as drunks in dependency and irresponsibility framing. Drunkenness is a form of irresponsibility since drinking too much is associated with not having a job in the books, and not having a job could lead to dependency. One Crazy Summer featured mostly middle class characters, though the book's protagonist, Delphine, observes that in "poor and black Oakland," "men stood around" in food lines "because there were no jobs and too much liquor" (Williams-Garcia, 2010, 157). A drunken man leers at Clara in Splendors and Glooms (Schlitz, 2012), and "there isn't a soul on [Malaga Island] who isn't a drunk or a thief" in
Aside from the characters in *The Higher Power of Lucky* (Patron, 2006), dependency and irresponsibility framing paints a very negative picture of the poor.

**Hardship framing.** Hardship framing is a new frame that emerged in this study. In hardship framing, poverty is shown as a challenge that sometimes limits choices and opportunities. None of Kendall's (2011) frames illustrated the idea of poverty as a hardship, so a new frame was created to address this idea.

Some books portrayed poverty as a limiting factor to characters' desires. In *An American Plague*, the poor had no choice but to stay in Philadelphia when the yellow fever epidemic hit the city:

> Most of these stayed because they were poor and had no place to go. They did not own country homes or have relatives or friends outside the city who would be willing to put them up until the fever ended. (Murphy, 2003, p. 23)

Despite the dangers posed by yellow fever, poverty limited many people's ability to leave Philadelphia. Poverty was also a limitation in *Good Masters! Sweet Ladies!* (Schlitz, 2007). One poor character, Pask, is shown wanting to have a skilled job. As the author's note explains, most skilled jobs required serving as an apprentice, and apprentices had to pay their masters. Thus, those wanting to become skilled laborers had to already have money in order to learn a trade, limiting work opportunities for those without money.

In addition to having limited opportunities, the poor were occasionally shown as helpless. In *An American Plague*,

> As well-off citizens closed their businesses and fled the city, they left behind thousands of individuals without any source of income. When these people
became ill, they had no money to pay for food, medicine, a physician, or a nurse. (Murphy, 2003, p. 38)

As this passage conveys, the poor could not help themselves when the fever struck since they had no money to pay for treatment. Some were even kicked out of their homes when they were no longer able to work and earn money to pay rent. Likewise, in Good Masters! Sweet Ladies!, the poor are helpless since their survival depends on "the whims of the weather and the good will of their lord," two conditions out of their control (Schlitz, 2007, p. 65).

Poverty was also about doing what is necessary to survive. The runaway slaves in The Surrender Tree (Engle, 2008) had to hide in mangrove swamps, catching frogs and fish in order to live. In One Crazy Summer (Williams-Garcia, 2010), Delphine’s mother explains that she was homeless as a teenager and had to sleep on park benches and hide out in the public library. She was also helpless, not escaping poverty and homelessness until Delphine’s father took her in and married her.

Poverty was also framed as a hardship when characters experienced downward class mobility. Simon, the son of a knight in Good Masters! Sweet Ladies! (Schlitz, 2012), remembers his family was once prosperous and owned land. After his father returns from the Crusades “half-starved, horseless, on one leg,” the family becomes bankrupt and Simon worries about what will become of his future (Schlitz, 2007, p. 34). Similarly, Deacon Hurd and his family lose their wealth when they invest in Mr. Stonecrop’s failed business schemes in Lizzie Bright and the Buckminster Boy (Schmidt, 2004). The Hurds lose everything, including their home,
but luckily, Turner Buckminster and his mother give them a place to stay. Though hardship framing does not depict the poor in a negative way, the challenges and limitations of poverty make it appear as an undesirable class position.

**Caricature framing.** Caricature framing is one of Kendall’s (2011) class frames. Originally, it was identified as a way of depicting members of the working class; in this framing, working class people are portrayed as buffoonish or trashy. Though caricature framing was much more common among working class characters in the Newbery titles, it surfaced a couple of times in depictions of the poor. For example, in *The Mostly True Adventures of Homer P. Figg*, Homer’s brother Harold, a Civil War soldier, remembers being called “swamp trash” by his sergeant (Philbrick, 2009, p. 199). Additionally, in *Princess Academy*, Olana shudders at the hypothetical prospect of “tutoring ruffians in a swamp” (Hale, 2005, p. 162). Caricature framing was a present, though rather limited, way of portraying the poor.

**Sympathetic framing.** Sympathetic framing is one of Kendall’s (2011) frames; it positions the poor as deserving of sympathy, particularly if they are ill, elderly, or children. Like caricature framing, it was not a significant way of portraying the poor in the Newbery titles. In *Good Masters! Sweet Ladies!*, an author’s note explains how during the Crusades, tens of thousands of children left Europe for Palestine “believing that God would favor their cause because of their faith, love, and poverty” (Schlitz, 2007, p. 37). The children themselves felt they were deserving of sympathy and benevolence not only because of their religious convictions but because they were poor. *An American Plague* (Murphy, 2003) addresses the role of the Free African Society during the 1793 yellow fever
epidemic. According to the author, the society's "purpose was to help members who were destitute and to provide care for widows and fatherless children" (Murphy, 2003, p. 47). While Philadelphia's black population may have been sympathetic toward the poor, the white population was largely not as the discussion of insignificance and scorn framing addressed. Sympathetic framing of the poor was very limited in the sample in sharp contrast to negative framings of the poor like insignificance and scorn and dependency and irresponsibility.

Charitable framing. While sympathetic framing shows the poor as deserving of sympathy, charitable framing, one of Kendall's (2011) frames, shows the poor in need of help from upper class people. Charitable framing is distinct from the dependency part of dependency and irresponsibility framing because the poor do not receive welfare in charitable framing; instead, they receive help from community organizations and benevolent people. Though it is a frame for the poor, charitable framing also highlights the kindness of the middle and upper classes, while dependency framing does not have this element. In fact, charitable framing is the "flip side" of admiration framing of the wealthy. In admiration framing, the wealthy are shown being benevolent and kind toward the less fortunate. Charitable framing depicts the poor on the receiving end of this benevolence.

Several Newbery titles portrayed the poor as needy. Often, food was among the poor's most important needs. The poor flock to Mean Lady Ming's Chinese restaurant for a free egg roll in One Crazy Summer (Williams-Garcia, 2010), and Abilene's homeless father in Moon Over Manifest (Vanderpool, 2010) stops in diners and offers to work in exchange for food. When Jack ruins some corn his mother is
growing to help the poor in *Dead End in Norvelt*, she is furious: "You took food away from hungry people. From poor people. Nothing can be lower and more cruel than that" (Gantos, 2011, p. 71).

Sometimes the poor were also in need of services. In *One Crazy Summer* (Williams-Garcia, 2010), Delphine and her sisters Vonetta and Fern attend a summer camp run by the Black Panthers. Delphine helps spread the word about the Black Panther’s programming and aid for the poor, things like “free sickle cell anemia testing, voter registration, [and] free shoes” (Williams-Garcia, 2010, p. 182). In *When You Reach Me* (Stead, 2009), Miranda learns her school has a dentist’s office to help students in need of oral health care. The dentist explains, “My services don’t cost anything, Miranda. Some families don’t have the money to pay a dentist. Or they could really use the money for something else” (Stead, 2009, p. 46). *An American Plague* (Murphy, 2003) mentions how a committee of citizens who took over the city’s operation during the yellow fever epidemic initiated a program giving rent assistance to the poor, who could not earn money to pay their bills when they became ill. The committee and other leaders in Philadelphia also made sure almshouses assisted the poor. Like hardship framing, charitable framing portrays the poor as helpless since it shows them as unable to take care of their needs.

**Caring framing.** Caring framing is a new frame for the poor that emerged in this study. In caring framing, the poor are depicted as proud, loyal, and caring. Kendall’s (2011) frames did not include any themes like this for the poor, so the creation of a new frame was needed. Though it was not a prominent frame, it is a positive way of depicting the poor. Caring framing also counters some of the
portrayals that show the poor lacking in agency and power, like hardship framing and charitable framing.

Some of the poor had a deep commitment to their families and communities. In *Where the Mountain Meets the Moon* (Lin, 2009), Minli’s mother does not realize the importance of family until the end of the book after Minli has been away on a journey. However, when Minli’s mother makes this realization, she understands that family is more important than any treasure:

> She was at last able to see that her daughter’s laughter and love could not be improved by having the finest clothes or jewels, that joy had been in her home like a gift waiting to be opened. The woman wept tears for which there was no comfort. For all the time that she had been longing for treasures, she had already had the one most precious. (Lin, 2009, p. 254)

Additionally, caring took the form of pride. In *The Higher Power of Lucky* (Patron, 2006), Lucky and her guardian, Brigitte, make the most out of what they have. Though their home would be somewhat unconventional to more affluent people (it is made of three trailers soldered together), Lucky and Brigitte take pride in it, keeping the floors polished with “Mrs. Murphy’s floor wax” and adorning it with a “sprig of wild sage in a little vase over the sink” (Patron, 2006, p. 9). In *Elijah of Buxton* (Curtis, 2007), Elijah explains the sacrifices made by a group of free, black Americans so his town, a Canadian settlement of former slaves, could have its own Liberty Bell:

> It took ’em a whole bunch of years, but they saved up every penny they could and had the Liberty Bell made then sent all the way to Canada. And these poor folks too, but they were so proud of us that they didn’t mind doing without some things so’s we could have the bell. (Curtis, 2007, pp. 170-171)
The Liberty Bell is a gift meant to honor Buxton, an independent and free community that served as a beacon of hope and freedom for many current and former slaves. Caring framing is thus a positive depiction of the poor that shows they are proud and committed to what they value.

**Aspirations framing.** In aspirations framing, characters are shown having dreams for a better future. Though aspirations framing was a significant frame for the working class, it was not a robust one for the poor. It was evident in only a few titles. Gar Face in *The Underneath* is a trapper, and his aspiration is to become the “most revered trapper in the piney woods” by catching an elusive alligator in a nearby swamp (Appelt, 2008, p. 243). Meanwhile, in *The Higher Power of Lucky* (Patron, 2006), Lucky’s aspiration is to remain with Brigitte, who is her guardian but is supposed to be only a temporary one. Lucky is aptly named since she gets her wish: Brigitte initiates the process of adopting her. Finally, in *Hitler Youth*, the German people are shown aspiring to a “great future in a great Germany” (Bartoletti, 2005). Presumably, this means solving the problems of “a weak, unstable government, high unemployment, and widespread poverty” (Bartoletti, 2005, p. 7).

Unlike with aspirations framing of the working class, in which working class characters desired things like college educations and better homes and material goods, there was no real pattern among the aspirations of the poor, perhaps because aspirations framing was so limited with this class group.

**Exceptionalism framing.** Exceptionalism framing is one of Kendall’s (2011) class frames, and Kendall described it as a way of portraying the poor: The poor meet the challenges of poverty and gain entry into a higher social class. Though
Kendall identified exceptionalism as a way of representing poor people, in the Newbery titles, exceptionalism framing was more common among working class characters than poor characters. However, exceptionalism was observed a few times in depictions of the poor.

One of the most prominent examples of exceptionalism framing was the story of Dick Whittington, a boy growing up in poverty in 14th century England (Armstrong, 2005). Dick Whittington's story is narrated by a cat named Whittington, a descendent of the human Whittington's cat. Dick, a young boy, seeks adventure and leaves his rural village for London, where he expects to make his fortune. Though Dick nearly starves to death on the London streets, he is adopted by Fitzwarren, an affluent and respected merchant. Dick becomes Fitzwarren's apprentice and eventually his partner. As Fitzwarren ages and Dick assumes more responsibility for Fitzwarren’s business, Dick begins to grow the fortune he set out to find years before. Eventually, Dick becomes a wealthy man as well as the “lord mayor of London” (Armstrong, 2005, p. 178). Though Dick Whittington was a real person, in actuality he was the son of a nobleman rather than a pauper.

There are a couple of other examples of exceptionalism framing of the poor. In *Where the Mountain Meets the Moon* (Lin, 2009), Minli, her family, and the people of their village are impoverished. The surrounding land is desolate and does not yield enough food or rice for them to eat; there seems little possibility of changing their fate. However, when Minli gives a valuable pearl to a king, he reciprocates by presenting “the entire village with gifts of seeds and farming equipment that brought more prosperity than any reward of jade and gold” (Lin, 2009, p. 273). A
goldfish merchant who visited the village before its prosperity observes, "smooth stone lined the roadway and, instead of the rough board houses he remembered, rich wooden doors - some elaborately carved - lined the street" (Lin, 2009, p. 272). Minli's village changes from very poor to prosperous. Other than Minli and the fictionalized Dick Whittington (Armstrong, 2005), the only other example of exceptionalism is a mention of Tupac Shakur, a rapper who rose from poverty to fame and fortune (After Tupac and D Foster, Woodson, 2008).

What is striking about portrayals of the poor in the Newbery titles is how rarely they are depicted as empowered. Hardship, sympathetic, and charitable framing show the poor as needy and helpless, while insignificance and scorn framing conveys the idea that the poor do not matter. Meanwhile, caricature and dependency and irresponsibility framing strip the poor of their dignity by portraying them as trashy, as welfare recipients, and as drunks. Fortunately, some of these negative images can be countered by the positive depictions of the poor in caring framing, in which the poor are shown having pride, loyalty, and commitment. Although readers of Newbery books may not "buy in" to the negative portrayals of the poor, especially since these portrayals are sometimes presented through the eyes of unlikeable, corrupt characters like the evil of Mr. Stonecrop (Schmidt, 2004), repeated negative portrayals of the poor may contribute to unfortunate stereotypes about this class group.

A critical literacy analysis of the poor. Characters in poverty were visible, and even centered, in some of the Newbery titles. Six of the protagonists were poor in comparison to three upper class protagonists, six middle class protagonists, and
seventeen working class protagonists. The poor were neither the least or best-represented class group in terms of protagonists. The poor were positioned in both positive and negative ways depending on the framing used to portray them, the same as with portrayals of all other class groups.

Often, poor characters were positioned in ways that framed poverty (and poor people) as very undesirable. In insignificance and scorn framing, the poor were viewed with contempt and disdain by members of higher social classes, namely the upper and middle classes. Meanwhile, dependency and irresponsibility framing depicted the poor as in need of government assistance and sometimes, as drunks. Both of these framings have the potential to form negative images about the poor in the minds of young readers who do not have personal experience with poor people to counter these framings (or in young readers who have not been exposed to positive images of the poor elsewhere). These framings marginalize the poor and perpetuate common stereotypes about poor people. For instance, though only a few characters were shown receiving public assistance, the “welfare queen” stereotype has been a common perception of the poor since Ronald Reagan’s presidency (Levin, 2013). Dependency and irresponsibility framing and insignificance and scorn framing are portrayals that vilify the poor; hooks (2000) has suggested vilification of the poor is a common part of discourse in the United States, and these images of the poor perpetuate it.

As mentioned previously in this chapter, insignificance and scorn framing was integrated with Kendall’s (2011) statistics framing, which portrays the poor as anonymous, faceless people. Several of the Newbery titles included poor characters
who were portrayed according to statistics framing, such as the homeless man Mibbs encounters in *Savvy* (Law, 2008) and the nameless beggars in *Splendors and Glooms* (Schlitz, 2012) and *An American Plague* (Murphy, 2003). Although framing the poor as insignificant marginalizes them, statistics framing marginalizes the poor even further since they are positioned as invisible, somehow less than human.

Hardship framing was another way of positioning poverty as an undesirable class location. Hardship framing does not malign the poor, but it calls attention to the many challenges and limitations faced by those living in poverty. In hardship framing, characters felt helpless and despair over the challenges of poverty. Again, perspective of the reader matters here. Some readers might see their own lives reflected in hardship framing and feel validated, while to other readers, poverty might be viewed as something to avoid since being poor is very difficult.

What is notable about some framings of the poor is the way poor characters were stripped of agency. In charitable framing, the poor are depicted as in need of help, or charitable actions, from more affluent people, while in sympathetic framing, the poor are shown as deserving of sympathy, particularly if they are ill or very young or very old. While these framings of the poor are not necessarily negative, they both depict the poor as needy and helpless. They imply the poor cannot help themselves or help each other in times of need: They must be "saved" by people in higher social classes. These framings highlight the poor characters' lack of power, and they also marginalize the poor by positioning them as weak and helpless. Unfortunately, examples of the poor as strong and dignified were limited in the
Newbery books, so readers are not offered a counter-perspective to charitable and sympathetic framing.

Sometimes the negative images of poor characters were countered by perspectives about the poor presented through the viewpoints of central characters. For example, in *Lizzie Bright and the Buckminster Boy* (Schmidt, 2004), the poor community of Malaga Island is frequently lambasted by the residents of Phippsburg, a nearby town. The wealthy are constantly worried the Malaga Islanders will come to the mainland and demand public assistance, and they accuse the islanders of thievery and drunkenness. Though the poor of Malaga Island are berated over and over again, a different perspective of them is offered through the character of Turner Buckminster, the book's upper class protagonist. Though he is forbidden to interact with Malaga Island's residents, Turner befriends them anyway and develops a genuine friendship with Lizzie Bright. While other people in Turner's community view the islanders with malice, Turner views them as warm and caring people. Since Turner is the main character of this book, readers might identify with his views and reject the perspectives presented through other characters. Thus, perspective is important when considering the framings of the poor (and all of the social classes). Though many negative framings of class groups are evident in the Newbery titles, the perspectives that readers bring to them should not be understated.

Framings of the poor were not entirely negative. Caring framing was a new frame that emerged in this study, and it depicted the poor as proud and committed to their families and communities. Although it was not a prominent frame, it still
offers a positive image of the poor which is important given the many negative framings of the poor in this study and in media in general (hooks, 2000).

Positive framings of the poor were also offered through the depictions of poor protagonists. As with other class groups, secondary characters were usually portrayed negatively while protagonists were framed in favorable ways. While Rosa in *The Surrender Tree* (Engle, 2008) is a poor protagonist, her character is not particularly well-developed; however, it is still evident that she is a heroic figure since she has the power to heal and she saves the lives of many people during Cuba’s revolution. Abilene in *Moon Over Manifest* (Vanderpool, 2010) is framed as a girl who has done some hard living as a result of her family’s homelessness during the Great Depression, yet Abilene still has the worries and fears common to many children, fears like starting over at a new school and learning to make new friends. Abilene is also shown favorably through her devotion to her father and the deep respect she has for the town of Manifest’s history. Bod Owens from *The Graveyard Book* (Gaiman, 2008) is a unique and enticing character on account of his graveyard upbringing, while Homer P. Figg (Philbrick, 2009), though given to hyperbolic tendencies, can tell a story better than anyone. Homer, as an orphan with a miserly and mean uncle as a guardian, is also a sympathetic character. Minli in *Where the Mountain Meets the Moon* (Lin, 2009) is framed as a heroine; she sets off on a journey to change her family’s fate and is successful at turning the poverty of her village into prosperity.

A special case in the Newbery titles is *The Higher Power of Lucky* (Patron, 2006). Like other poor protagonists, the character of Lucky Trimble is likeable: She
has a “great job” sweeping the porch after Alcoholics Anonymous meetings, she has a friendly dog named HMS Beagle, and she also has interesting friends like Lincoln, who wants to become President of the United States (Patron, 2006, p. 6). What is striking about The Higher Power of Lucky, however, is the way that the poor are not only normalized, but idealized. Of all the books in the sample, this is the only title that made poverty seem desirable. Through Lucky’s eyes, lifestyles that might seem meager or even primitive to affluent people are made exciting. For instance, Lucky thinks her friend Short Sammy’s house, which is made from an old water tank, is wonderful:

Lucky thought that Short Sammy’s water tank house was even better as a house than regular houses, because inside you didn’t have the normal impression of straightness and squareness and corners, or of different rooms. Instead it was a very convenient one-room house with a bed, a woodstove where Short Sammy did his winter cooking, a round table, three chairs, a crate full of books with a guitar on top, and nails sticking out on the wall where he hung a calendar, his clothes, and three stained white cowboy hats. (Patron, 2006, pp. 55-56)

Further, The Higher Power of Lucky involves many characters receiving welfare in the form of free government food. Unlike in Lizzie Bright and the Buckminster Boy (Schmidt, 2004), receiving assistance was not presented as a shameful act. In The Higher Power of Lucky, nearly every family in Hard Pan receives the free government food - it is not a cause for shame, it is simply normal and part of the regular routine of life for Lucky’s community. The Higher Power of Lucky is a unique title since it privileges the poor by presenting them with dignity and through Lucky’s sense of wonder.
Summary

In Chapter 4, the researcher has discussed the findings and considered them through the critical literacy concepts of power, positioning, and perspective. Much like the socioeconomic hierarchy in real life, upper class characters were shown wielding power, while working class and poor characters were largely powerless unless they participated in collective efforts to enact change. Meanwhile, all four class groups were positioned in both positive and negative ways; favorable and unfavorable depictions were evident in portrayals of every class group. Yet how these depictions are interpreted by readers is largely dependent on the perspective the reader brings to the text.

In the following chapter, the findings are discussed through the perspective of the sociology of school knowledge. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the sociology of school knowledge is a lens for looking at curricular materials like textbooks and children's literature (Taxel, 1981). It is concerned with examining power relationships and the ways the curriculum supports the hegemony of dominant social groups. The discussion addresses the messages about social class conveyed in the sample of Newbery titles and how these messages contribute to dominant discourses and social arrangements.

Additionally, in Chapter 5, the findings are considered in light of other studies which have examined portrayals of social class in children's literature (e.g., Forest et al., in press; Glenn, 2008; and Kelley et al., 2005). Then, the implications and significance of the present study are considered. The chapter concludes by addressing directions for future research.
CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION

The research project described in the preceding pages concludes with this chapter. Following this introduction, an overview of the study is provided. This overview includes a reiteration of the research problem and the research questions, an outline of the methods, and a summary of the key findings. After the overview, the findings noted in Chapter 4 are discussed through the lens of the sociology of school knowledge, one of the theoretical perspectives grounding the study. Next, the findings are compared and contrasted to previous studies examining class in children's literature as well as studies investigating children's perceptions of class. Then, the significance and implications of the study to teachers, teacher educators, librarians, and educational researchers are addressed. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the study's limitations as well as directions for future research.

Overview of the Study

The economic recession of 2007-2009 brought issues of social class to the national forefront. The media covered stories of families losing their homes due to the mortgage crisis, big businesses failed and some were subsequently bailed out by the government, and Occupy Wall Street protesters decried corporate greed and made terms like the "99%" part of everyday language. Issues of class have also received greater attention in education. The American Educational Research Association's 2013 annual meeting spotlighted class with its theme of "Education and Poverty: Theory, Research, Policy, and Praxis." Moreover, Jones and Vagle
(2013) have recently urged educators and scholars to adopt a class-sensitive pedagogy that validates the class identities of all students, not just the middle class.

Although attention has been given to issues of social class in national and educational discourse, it has not been studied extensively in the domain of children’s literature (McLeod, 2008; Sano, 2009). Understanding what messages are communicated to children in curricular materials like books is important because literature has the potential to influence children’s worldviews (Taxel, 1986, 1989a). Children’s literature has long been regarded as a means of passing cultural values onto new generations (Botelho & Rudman, 2009; Kelley et al., 2005; MacLeod, 1985; McCallum & Stephens, 2011). Unless portrayals of class in children’s literature are studied, then educators and librarians may not understand what children learn about class from reading. Analyzing messages about class in children’s literature can highlight 1) the ideologies and stereotypes conveyed to children in books and 2) the assumptions and ideas about class that children might construct through reading.

Given the power of children’s literature to influence the perspectives of young people and the paucity of research examining social class in books for youth, the purpose of this study was to deconstruct portrayals of class in a set of award-winning titles. The study was guided by the following research questions:

1. In what ways is social class portrayed in titles receiving the Newbery Medal or Honor between 2004 and 2013?
   a. How are characters from different class groups portrayed?
   b. What messages about social class are conveyed in the books?
To answer these questions, the researcher utilized qualitative content analysis, a research method designed for the examination of written content (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010). In this study, the 42 titles earning the Newbery Medal or Honor between 2004 and 2013 comprised the sample. This set of books was selected because Newbery titles are: 1) easily accessible to children through their special placement on bookstores and library shelves (Strauss, 2008), 2) recommended as instructional texts in schools (Barry et al., 2013; Kasten et al., 2005; Tompkins, 2013), and 3) influential since they set publishing standards (Horning, 2010; Weitzman et al., 1972). Titles from 2004-2013 were chosen because books reflect the social, political, and economic climate in which they are created (Clark, 2007; Taxel, 1989b, 1997). Because the time frame of 2004-2013 included a period of economic stability (2004-2007), a period of economic turmoil (2007-2009), and a period of economic recovery (2009-2013), books from this decade were thought to offer a wealth of information about social class.

The researcher employed a flexible content analysis design; both the deductive and inductive approaches were utilized. The unit of analysis consisted of instances in the books mentioning or suggesting social class; the researcher used indicators like residence, transportation, education level, occupation, and income to determine whether a passage was about class (see Tables 8-11). As the researcher read and coded the books, she decided whether data about social class fit into one of 18 “frames,” or portrayals of social class, identified by Kendall (2011), a media scholar. If data fit a frame, it was labeled accordingly. This constituted the deductive part of the analysis. If data did not fit one of the class frames, the
researcher labeled it according to the class group it referred to and retained it for further analysis; the researcher called this "unsorted data." When the researcher completed each book, she wrote memos to record her impressions and to make note of class-related themes.

Once all of the books were read and coded, the researcher began the inductive analysis of the "unsorted data." To accomplish this, the researcher followed the abstraction process outlined by Elo and Kyngäs (2008). First, the researcher labeled every passage of "unsorted data" with an open code. Passages were labeled in one of two ways. Passages including a theme or meaning about class were labeled with a descriptive word or phrase to capture the theme or meaning. Passages not including a theme or meaning about class were labeled as "class indicators" (residence, transportation, income, etc.). These indicators were later used to build a framework for analyzing social class in children's literature, updating the framework depicted in Tables 8-11.

Second in the inductive analysis process, the researcher grouped the open codes into initial categories. Open codes conveying similar meanings were grouped together to form these initial categories. In the third and final phase of the inductive analysis process, initial categories and Kendall's (2011) class frames were grouped together to form main categories. Some of these main categories were entirely new, some were Kendall's original class frames, and some were modified versions of Kendall's frames. At the end of this process, the researcher identified 31 main categories, or 31 class frames. Twelve of these frames were original, unmodified Kendall frames, five were modified Kendall frames, and 14 were new frames.
Upon completion of data collection and analysis, the researcher found the following:

- Thirty-two of the books in the sample featured human protagonists. Of these, three were upper class, six were middle class, 17 were working class, and six were poor. Working class protagonists constituted over half of protagonists in the sample. However, poor and working class protagonists were usually depicted in historical rather than contemporary settings as were upper class protagonists. Middle class protagonists appeared in books set in contemporary times.

- Two frames cut across class groups. In class consciousness framing, characters were aware of social class and of the boundaries separating class groups. Class unity framing depicted characters from different class groups as equals, although the equality was sometimes temporary.

- Ten frames were used to depict the upper class; some of these were negative and others were positive. Upper class characters were portrayed as objects of contempt (contempt framing) and snobs (snobbery framing). They were shown as unhappy despite their wealth (dysfunctional framing), and a few upper class characters were dull or vapid (insipid framing), though not many. Some were depicted as powerful and opportunistic (power and opportunity framing) as well as greedy and corrupt (bad apple framing). Wealthy characters were conspicuous consumers (price tag framing), and they were bound by social norms befitting of their high positions (expectations framing). The wealthy were also portrayed positively, such as when they
were idealized by characters in other class groups (emulation framing) and depicted as benevolent and caring (adoration framing).

- Six frames were used in portrayals of the middle class. Like the upper class characters, some middle class characters were conspicuous consumers (price tag framing), snobs (snobbery framing), and power-hungry (power and opportunity framing), though the latter two framings were limited. Sometimes middle class characters were shown as victims of the greed of either the upper or lower classes (victimization framing), though this was rare in the books. The middle class was portrayed favorably in two framings: "extra mile" framing, which depicted middle class characters as helpful and supportive; and middle class values framing, which showed them valuing hard work, education, and a sense of propriety.

- Twelve frames were employed to depict the working class. Working class characters were sometimes treated with disdain by the more affluent (insignificance and scorn framing), a few were shown as greedy and unlawful (shady framing) and several were mistrustful of institutions like schools and banks (suspicion framing). Some working class characters were depicted as incompetent, rough-around-the-edges, or trashy (caricature framing) and a few demonstrated drunkenness and irresponsible behavior (dependency and irresponsibility framing). Working class life was portrayed as a challenge; working class characters were unhappy with their jobs (fading blue collar framing) and feared losing their homes and jobs (precariousness framing). Despite these unfavorable framings, some working class characters were
respected, even romanticized, by members of other class groups (respectful framing). A few working class characters stood up to injustice (heroic framing), and many were shown as hard-working, dignified, and proud (working class values framing). Working class characters dreamed of more satisfying futures (aspirations framing), and several of them were shown achieving class ascendency (exceptionalism framing). As with portrayals of the upper and middle classes, the working class was framed in both negative and positive ways.

Nine frames were used to portray the poor. Characters in poverty were depicted as invisible and as objects of disgust (insignificance and scorn framing), as welfare recipients and drunks (dependency and irresponsibility framing), and as trashy (caricature framing), though this latter depiction was limited. Often, poor characters struggled with the challenges of poverty (hardship framing), yet they were caring and loyal to their families (caring framing) despite these challenges. Sometimes the poor were shown as deserving of sympathy (sympathetic framing) and in need of help from more affluent characters (charitable framing). Like the working class, the poor dreamed of better futures (aspirations framing), and sometimes those better futures were realized when the poor became prosperous (exceptionalism framing).

As the findings indicate, characters in all four class groups were positioned in both positive and negative ways. In the section that follows, these findings are
interpreted through the theoretical lens of the sociology of school knowledge, one of the perspectives that guided this study.

**A Sociology of School Knowledge Analysis**

To review Chapter 2's discussion of the sociology of school knowledge, texts present selective information privileging some people and marginalizing others (Apple & King, 1977; Sleeter & Grant, 2010). In other words, texts “frame” people and groups in particular ways, and dominant social groups are usually privileged (Taxel, 1981) while powerless groups are marginalized. Texts therefore perpetuate the existing social hierarchy since they reflect and reproduce, rather than challenge, the political, social, and economic relationships in a society. The selective perspectives presented in texts are known as the selective tradition. Questions such as “In what ways do texts reflect and reproduce societal arrangements?” and “What ideologies are perpetuated in curricular materials?” are central to studies examining the selective tradition.

What follows is a discussion of the findings that considers how a selective tradition manifests in the Newbery titles. This discussion elaborates on the research sub-question of “What messages about social class are conveyed in the books?” that was addressed in Chapter 4. Further, the following discussion examines the ways in which class frames in Newbery books support prevalent societal structures like the economic system and the social class hierarchy.

**Price tag framing, aspirations framing, and capitalism.** Since its beginnings, the United States has supported a capitalist economic system. A capitalist system is dependent on not only the production of goods, but the
consumption of goods (Anyon, 1981). It follows that in order to facilitate consumption and maintain a capitalist system, manufacturers and corporations must convince the public to act as consumers. Narratives about consumerism are evident in a number of the Newbery titles. The books implicitly support a capitalist economic system through two framings that propagate a consumerism discourse: price tag framing of the upper class and middle class and aspirations framing of the poor and the working class.

Both price tag framing and aspirations framing feature either the actual consumption of goods or the desired consumption of goods. To reiterate what was described in Chapter 4, in price tag framing, wealthy characters spent their money conspicuously and lavishly on items such as silk gowns like Isobel in Good Masters! Sweet Ladies (Schlitz, 2007); new cars like Holling’s father in The Wednesday Wars (Schmidt, 2004); mansions and large estates like Mr. Lyndon in Kira-Kira (Kadohata, 2004), Robert Morris in An American Plague (Murphy, 2003), and Cassandra in Splendors and Glooms (Schlitz, 2012); and fine jewelry like Julia in When You Reach Me (Stead, 2009). Even middle class characters were shown as conspicuous consumers, though their purchases were not as lavish as the upper class’s expenditures: Debbie goes to the mall to buy new jeans in Criss Cross (Perkins, 2005); Catherine buys new art supplies in Rules (Lord, 2006); Penny’s uncles buy her perfume, new clothes and shoes, a bicycle, and fancy dinners in Penny from Heaven (Holm, 2006); and Martha’s father buys toys and books for his children in Olive’s Ocean (Henkes, 2003). Further, many characters aspire to become consumers even if they are not shown actually making purchases as in aspirations
framing. Katie’s parents in *Kira-Kira* want to buy a house, and once they have it, Katie’s mother wishes for a nicer one (Kadohata, 2004). Katie and her sister, Lynn, also dream of owning things such as “a bed with a canopy and a box of sixteen crayons instead of eight” (Kadohata, 2004, p. 45).

When images of consumption appear repeatedly in texts as they are in the Newbery titles, consumption is positioned as a natural, normal act. By positioning consumption as a normal behavior, the message is that making purchases is an everyday part of life, something that all people do. This message lends support to the consumption of goods (and thus, the capitalist system) and does not challenge or question whether frequent, conspicuous consumer is actually damaging. In reality, consumption can be dangerous both to people and to the environment. The drive to spend money could result in personal debt or even bankruptcy; the economic crisis from 2007-2009 demonstrated the consequences of what can occur when too many people spend beyond their means and purchase things (like houses) they cannot afford. Meanwhile, the constant purchase of new items (and disposal of old items) is damaging from an environmental standpoint.

In fact, the normalcy of consumption is so ingrained in the books (and arguably, in American discourse) that it is difficult to see unless one analyzes the texts carefully and critically. The discourse of consumerism shown through price tag and aspirations framing can be exposed by considering whether any characters are not shown desiring to be consumers. While not all characters in the Newbery books were depicted in contexts that involved consumerism (or rejection of consumerism), never are characters shown rejecting material goods or wishing they
owned fewer goods. Even the working poor girls of *Princess Academy* (Hale, 2005), who are not depicted as conspicuous or aspiring consumers, are glad when their community begins earning more money and they can consequently afford better goods. For example, Miri is shown with a new pair of boots which she is glad to own since her older pair had thin, uncomfortable soles. No character ever rejected consumption and wished to own fewer material goods. Thus, the discourse of consumption and support of the capitalist system were evident in the Newbery titles although these values were not made explicit.

Related to the discourse of consumerism and support for the capitalist economic system was the idea that money could buy happiness. In several titles, spending money (price tag framing) was associated with either happiness or a quest for happiness. In *Penny from Heaven* (Holm, 2006), Penny's uncles are constantly buying her gifts both large and small; as Penny observes, the uncles are trying to "make up for" the death of Penny's father years before and believe that spending money on her is the way to accomplish this goal. The association between happiness and money is made in other titles: Martha's father believes going back to work and earning more money will make his family happier in *Olive's Ocean* (Henkes, 2003), while Holling's father seeks joy when he purchases a shiny new Ford Mustang in *The Wednesday Wars* (Schmidt, 2004). Holling's father does not find the happiness he seeks, however: His family becomes increasingly dysfunctional. When money is equated to happiness, the discourse of consumerism conveyed in price tag framing is promoted and a capitalist economic system is supported because acquiring money (and then spending it) becomes a goal.
Though the message that money can buy happiness (a sub-theme of price tag framing) is evident in the Newbery titles, dysfunctional framing of the wealthy offers an oppositional story. Like Holling’s father in *The Wednesday Wars* (Schmidt, 2004), some characters with money were unhappy regardless of their riches, notably Cassandra and the Wintermute family in *Splendors and Glooms* (Schlitz, 2012) and Princess Pea and King Phillip in *The Tale of Despereaux* (DiCamillo, 2003). However, these characters were not unhappy because of their money but on account of other circumstances like family problems or the death of loved ones. Thus, dysfunctional framing may not entirely discredit the notion that money can buy happiness, particularly if this notion is perpetuated in curricular materials and media other than the Newbery books.

**Emulation framing and capitalism.** Besides price tag and aspirations framing, emulation framing may also lend support to a capitalist economic system. In emulation framing, poor, working class, and middle class characters desire to become rich (Kendall, 2011). Emulation framing was a prominent theme in the Newbery books: As illustrated earlier in this chapter, characters were shown wanting to become rich over and over again.

Emulation framing supports a capitalist economy because it glorifies the rich and upholds the acquisition of wealth as an ideal. When narratives like emulation framing are repeated not only in children’s literature but through other media, individuals in the real world might come to view wealth as desirable and behave as wealthy people do. For instance, lower class people may emulate the rich by purchasing some of the same material goods owned by the wealthy, as hooks (2000)
suggested. The slew of rich celebrities who pitch their goods to potential consumers is just one example of how the poor, working class, and middle class are expected to emulate the rich by purchasing items the rich endorse and reportedly use themselves. It is no coincidence that consumer goods are routinely marketed through endorsements by multimillionaires: Nike products are pitched by golf star Tiger Woods; perfumes are marketed by performers like Brittnay Spears, Jennifer Lopez, and Katy Perry; and clothing lines are branded by stars like Beyoncé Knowles (House of Dereon), Gwen Stefani (L.A.M.B.), and the Kardashian sisters (Sears' Kardashian Kollection). The argument that lower class people behave like upper class people when they admire and idealize the rich has also been made by Freire:

In their alienation, the oppressed want at any cost to resemble the oppressors, to imitate them, to follow them. This phenomenon is especially prevalent in the middle-class oppressed, who yearn to be equal to the "eminent" men and women of the upper class. (Freire, 1970/2000, p. 62)

Though emulation framing of the wealthy in award-winning children's literature may seem innocent enough on the surface, it is part of a larger discourse that idolizes the rich, promotes consumption, and supports a capitalist economic system.

The relationship between emulation framing and support for a capitalist system becomes clearer when one imagines what the opposite of emulation framing would look like. The opposite of emulation framing might involve characters aspiring to live simpler lives with fewer material goods and less money. This opposite version of emulation framing would lead to the devaluation of consumption and ownership of material goods. People might consume less if it was desirable to own little rather than a lot. Without demand for goods, a capitalist system cannot sustain itself. This example illustrates how the emulation and
adoration of the wealthy is linked to support of a capitalist economy though this relationship is not an obvious one. And for the record, though some poor characters in the Newbery books appeared content with their class status (like the people of Hard Pan in *The Higher Power of Lucky*, Patron, 2006), no character ever aspired to own fewer goods or to have less money.

**The American dream and upward mobility.** Dominant narratives like the American dream and the discourse of upward class mobility were evident in some of the framings identified in this study. Exceptionalism, one of Kendall’s (2011) original class frames, depicts the poor moving from poverty into a higher class. In this study, exceptionalism framing was a prominent class portrayal, though it was more common as a way of framing the working class than the poor. The heart of exceptionalism framing is the notion of upward class mobility. Characters from working class and poor origins often moved into the upper class: Working poor orphans Lizzie Rose and Parsefall inherit a fortune and become adopted by a wealthy family in *Splendors and Grooms* (Schlitz, 2012); Marianne Anderson is born into a working class family yet becomes an internationally acclaimed singer (Freedman, 2004); Turtle, a housekeeper’s daughter, finds pirate treasure in *Turtle in Paradise* (Holm, 2010); and Manjiro, a lowly fisherman, is elevated to the rank of samurai in *Heart of a Samurai* (Preus, 2010). These are a handful of the multiple examples of exceptionalism framing.

With its emphasis on upward class mobility, exceptionalism framing is reminiscent of the American dream narrative, a discourse that has been in existence in the United States for generations (Wyatt-Nichol, 2011). According to Hochschild
(2002), the American dream has long been defined as the achievement of success, which is usually equated with the acquisition of wealth. As noted in Chapter 2, Hochschild argued the American dream is a damaging discourse since it ascribes both success and failure to the individual; it does not consider how structural inequalities impact an individual's opportunities for pursuing financial success and upward mobility.

Despite this unsavory side of the American dream, it remains a popular narrative. Wyatt-Nichol (2011) contended the American dream myth will perpetuate as long as there are rags-to-riches stories to tell, and there are plenty: The stories of athletes and American Idol winners, average people with talent who skyrocket to fame and fortune (Smiley & West, 2012), are common and highly visible examples. The Newbery titles add to this discourse by providing additional examples of sudden class ascendency. Of course, the examples of the upward mobility narrative in the Newbery titles often involved fictional characters rather than real people, yet the repetition of this narrative may teach young readers that achieving success is a reasonable expectation, a tenet of the American dream identified by Hochschild (2002). In reality, though, economic success is no longer a guarantee, nor should it be an expectation (Hochschild, 2002; Wyatt-Nichol, 2011), particularly in an era of growing income inequality like the present. Further, Wyatt-Nichol (2011) argued that providing examples of rags-to-riches stories could have an unfortunate consequence: "As long as there is anecdotal evidence of class ascendency the American public is less inclined to challenge the great disparities between children born into wealth compared to children born to working class or
low income parents" (p. 259). Stories of upward mobility like inheriting a great deal of money (*Splendors and Gloom*, Schlitz, 2012), becoming a samurai (*Heart of a Samurai*, Preus, 2010), and finding pirate treasure (*Turtle in Paradise*, Holm, 2010) therefore contribute to discourses that lend implicit support to an inequitable economic system.

Narratives like exceptionalism framing and the American dream also promote acceptance of the prevalent class hierarchy. The American dream narrative elicits support for the current class structure because it encourages people to aspire to financial success instead of question why some people have far more resources than others (Wyatt-Nichol, 2011). Anyon (1981) observed, “... the amount of attention one must pay to ‘getting ahead’ leaves little time or interest for critical attention, but it also actively fosters and strengthens belief in the ideology of upward mobility and success” (p. 34). Besides deflecting critique from socioeconomic arrangements, narratives like the American dream provide hope (Brown, 1974), and hope elicits buy-in to the socioeconomic system because people believe they will one day “make it” and join the upper classes. Exceptionalism framing in award-winning children’s literature also elicits buy-in to the existing class structure by showing that anyone - orphans, housekeeper’s daughters, poor fishermen, and their likes - can achieve financial success, even wealth. These books promote support of current class relations by offering children hope of one day ascending their class origins and gaining membership into the upper class.

Interestingly, books with exceptionalism framing were more common among the most recent set of Newbery titles (2009-2013). Only two titles from the set of
2004-2008 Newbery books included exceptionalism framing (Whittington, Armstrong, 2005; The Voice that Challenged a Nation, Freedman, 2004), while at least six titles from the 2009-2013 Newbery titles included characters achieving class ascendency or sudden financial gain: Splendors and Glooms (Schlitz, 2012), Heart of a Samurai (Preus, 2010), Turtle in Paradise (Holm, 2010), When You Reach Me (Stead, 2009), Where the Mountain Meets the Moon (Lin, 2009), and The Mostly True Adventures of Homer P. Figg (Philbrick, 2009). Although it is unclear when the authors of these titles began writing the books, they were all published in the broader context of the Great Recession of 2007-2009 and its aftermath. Moreover, the books were selected to receive an award in this context, and Newbery committee members may have been influenced by the social, political, and economic climate of this time period when making choices about award winners. Perhaps discourses like exceptionalism are more prevalent when times are difficult and people have a hard time buying into the economic system.

Middle class values framing also reinforces the tenets of the American dream. Hochschild (2002) identified virtue as an American dream tenet, and Beach (2007) described attributes like “hard work” and industriousness as virtues typically associated with the American dream (p. 151). Middle class values framing reinforces the American dream tenet associating success with virtue because it depicts middle class characters as hard-working, goal-oriented people who aspire to (and acquire) things like college educations and secure jobs. They are also concerned with propriety and maintaining respectable appearances. Since middle class characters were shown as virtuous and as economically stable, middle class
values framing in the Newbery books supports the American dream narrative, which is a "major feature of class discourse" in the United States (Wyatt-Nichol, 2011, p. 258). It also supports the prevailing class structure because it justifies the financial success and favorable class positioning of middle class people by showing them as virtuous.

Working class values framing is somewhat of an alternative perspective to the American dream tenet that hard work and economic success are intertwined. In working class values framing, working class characters were shown working hard, yet they were not financially successful. The miners in Miri's community work long hours at a difficult job yet remain working poor (Princess Academy, Hale, 2005). Katie's parents in Kira-Kira (Kadohata, 2004) work overtime and double shifts yet struggle with their mortgage and their daughter's medical bills. Hattie "work[s] like a railroad man" to earn the claim to her homestead in Hattie Big Sky but fails anyway (Larson, 2006, p. 191). Another virtue associated with the American dream narrative is frugality (Beach, 2007). Working class values framing also included frugal characters: Perilee in Hattie Big Sky (Larson, 2006) refuses to buy a rocking chair because she is saving for a tractor, Katie and Lynn in Kira-Kira (Kadohata, 2004) save their allowance to help their parents buy a house, and Mr. Leroy in Elijah of Buxton (Curtis, 2007) works long hours and saves his money to buy his family out of slavery. Although the working class characters in the Newbery titles demonstrated many of the virtues typically associated with the American dream narrative, some of them did not achieve success in spite of their work ethics and frugality. In fact, precariousness framing of the working class demonstrated how
the working class characters were constantly worried about issues like losing their jobs and homes or not having enough to eat. It also illustrated how their opportunities were limited; for instance, Parsefall in Splendors and Glooms (Schlitz, 2012) is a talented puppeteer, yet he cannot join a puppeteer troupe because such troupes are usually family businesses not accepting of outsiders.

Working class values framing not only positions the working class in a positive way, but it counters the dominant discourses propagated by the American dream myth. Working class values framing as it is depicted in the Newbery titles reveals that virtues like hard work and frugality do not always equate to financial success; class positions are precarious and opportunities for advancement are limited even for characters who demonstrate virtues traditionally valued in the American dream narrative. Perhaps exposure to class portrayals like working class values framing could prompt young people to question and critique an economic system that provides few financial rewards for people who work hard.

Admiration framing and the class structure. Like exceptionalism framing and middle class values framing, admiration framing, which positions the rich as benevolent, charitable, and caring, garners support for the existing class system. Many of the Newbery titles depicted wealthy characters as benevolent and admirable: the fictionalized and the real Dick Whittington, who gave his fortune to help the poor (Armstrong, 2005); Princess Pea, who demonstrates mercy to her enemy in The Tale of Despereaux (DiCamillo, 2003); Mr. Brewster, who adopts orphaned brothers and helps runaway slaves in The Mostly True Adventures of Homer P. Figg (Philbrick, 2009); and Isobel (Schlitz, 2007) and Calpurnia (Kelly, 2009).
2009), who help feed the poor at holidays. When the upper class is shown through admiration framing, they appear virtuous. When they appear virtuous, their high position on the class hierarchy is justified because Americans associate success with virtue (Hochschild, 2002). Because the upper class displays positive qualities like charity and kindness, they are perceived as deserving of their privilege and power.

It is especially important to portray the rich as benevolent and kind in order for them to maintain their power and position. If the upper class was always vilified in Newbery titles (like in contempt or bad apple framing) or in other media forms, they might lose the support of people from lower social classes, who might resist the class structure and work toward dismantling the power of the rich. The Occupy Wall Street movement, a reaction to corporate greed (Occupy Wall Street, n.d.), is one example of how vilification of the rich has prompted collective action and resistance of the economic structure. Though Occupy Wall Street has not led to major political or economic changes to date, the movement illustrates how negative framings of the wealthy can lead to resistance and perhaps one day, a more equitable economic system. Thus, providing positive images of the well-to-do such as admiration framing are important to maintaining the class system since negative images can lead to resistance and challenge of power relations.

**Class status and individual responsibility.** Sometimes, portrayals of class groups in the Newbery books contributed to the discourse of individual responsibility for financial success. In dependency and irresponsibility framing, working class characters were depicted as irresponsible because of their failure to keep their jobs and their penchant for drinking too much. Meanwhile, poor
characters were shown as drunks and as welfare-dependent. This way of framing the working class and the poor contributes to the widespread belief that individuals are responsible for their success or their failure to achieve success (Hochschild, 2002). When characters are shown losing their jobs because they are always late for work, like Lill in Savvy (Law, 2008), or because they drink too much, like Uncle Angelo in Penny from Heaven (Holm, 2010), the individual character appears to be at-fault for his or her inability to achieve financial success. Depictions of success and failure as a function of individual merits and shortcomings do not account for larger, structural reasons for success and failure, as Kelley et al. (2005) noted. For example, in Savvy (Law, 2008), Lill is late for work because her car breaks down. Her vehicle is a “rusted-out, dented and dented, sorry excuse for a car” (Law, 2008, p. 137). Perhaps this is the best car Lill can afford on her meager wages as a waitress at a truck stop diner. Perhaps Lill is paid by tips from diner patrons and is not guaranteed a minimum wage. Perhaps if Lill were paid a fair minimum wage, she could purchase a better car and she would not be late for work. Though Lill’s manager blames her for being late and fires her, Lill’s inability to keep her job might be a function of an economic system that does not compensate restaurant servers fairly. When failure is blamed on individuals as in Lill’s case, then individuals are positioned as entirely responsible for their financial successes and failures and attention is deflected away from inequalities in the economic system. It is the individual who is flawed, not the system. Thus, the narrative of blaming the individual as it is shown in dependency and irresponsibility framing provides support for the prevailing economic system.
The inequities of the economic system are not usually blamed for Newbery characters’ “failure” to move into a higher social class. The reasons for their financial struggles are blamed on individuals (as in dependency and irresponsibility framing) or on unfortunate circumstances unrelated to the social, political, and economic arrangements of society (as in precariousness framing). Uncle Angelo in *Penny from Heaven* (Holm, 2006) has no job because he is a drunk. George the janitor in *The One and Only Ivan* (Applegate, 2012) has money problems because his wife is sick and needs medical care, and the zoo where he works is not doing well. Katie’s parents in *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004) worry about money because Katie’s sister Lynn is dying and she needs frequent medical attention. Hattie in *Hattie Big Sky* (Larson, 2006) loses her homesteading claim because a freak storm damages her crops and she is unable to make money from her harvest. Financial hardships of working class characters tend to be blamed based on personal shortcomings or personal misfortunes.

However, some of the Newbery books provide occasional glimpses into other reasons for the “failure” of some class groups to achieve economic success. Sometimes bad apple characters were responsible. For example, wealthy and greedy mine owner Arthur Devlin in *Moon Over Manifest* (Vanderpool, 2010) does not pay his workers in cash. Since the workers are paid in company store vouchers rather than cash, they cannot, for instance, purchase a new home in another community that might have higher-paying jobs. Racism prevents the poor of Malaga Island in *Lizzie Bright and the Buckminster Boy* (Schmidt, 2004) from coming to the mainland to pursue work; because they are encouraged to stay on the island, their
ability to gain employment and make money is restricted. Katie’s parents in *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004) struggle financially because their employer apparently does not compensate them fairly: Both of Katie’s parents work overtime for years in order to make enough money to put down a deposit on a house. In *Good Masters! Sweet Ladies!* (Schlitz, 2007), the villagers cannot pursue prosperity because the lord of the manor takes the best of what they have, like the best of their crops and the best of their animals. These examples show how the greedy, exploitative actions of the upper class, especially of the bad apples, and the racism of upper class people prevent working class and poor people from “getting ahead” financially. To some degree, they counter the discourse that blames individuals for their successes and failures. However, even these examples do not entirely blame the economic system for the financial struggles of the lower classes. For instance, bad apples Arthur Devlin and Mr. Lyndon might be viewed as greedy individuals rather than part of a larger system that permits owners of capital to exploit their workers.

Returning to dependency and irresponsibility framing, the dependency element of this framing also underscores the ideology of individual responsibility for success and failure. When characters are shown receiving public assistance in the form of welfare, they are depicted as dependent and unable (or unwilling) to work to care for themselves and their families. Dependency means they may lack the virtues of hard work and independence that is associated with economic success. According to Beach (2007), qualities like “self-reliance” and “dutiful industry” have long been associated with “success” and “prosperity” (p. 151). Dependency framing of the poor suggests this class group does not possess the
qualities needed to be successful. Therefore, individuals are blamed for their failure, and the low position of the poor is consequently justified.

The class structure is also reproduced and justified through narratives like caricature framing. In caricature framing, members of the working class are shown as rednecks, buffoons, trash, and bigots (Kendall, 2011). Like with dependency and irresponsibility framing, caricature framing assigns negative attributes to individuals which justify their low socioeconomic positions. In this study, Newbery characters portrayed according to caricature framing were trashy (Carlene in *Savvy*, Law, 2008), unrefined (Mrs. Pinchbeck and Parsefall in *Splendors and Glooms*, Schlitz, 2012), coarse (the Mount Eskel girls in *Princess Academy*, Hale, 2005), and unintelligent (Miggery Sow in *The Tale of Despereaux*, DiCamillo, 2003). As media scholars Kendall (2011) and Butsch (1992) have pointed out, negative framings of the working class, like caricature framing, contribute to the belief that working class people deserve their lower positions in the class structure. Their incompetence and lack of refinement does not make them worthy of a higher position. In contrast, members of the upper class are perceived as competent, capable, and even more civilized, as in expectations framing. Though a handful of upper class characters in the Newbery titles were portrayed as dim-witted in insipid framing, incompetence and tawdry behavior were often portrayed as the domain of the working class. Thus, framing working class characters as trashy or buffoonish contributes to the belief that the working class is undeserving of a higher social status. In other words, their relatively low position on the class ladder is justified by their incompetent and "uncivilized" behavior.
Caricature framing is evidently a common narrative. Caricature framing has been identified in studies of situation comedies (Butsch, 1992) and in broadcast and print news stories as well as various television shows (Kendall, 2011). Further, studies of children’s class perceptions in psychology have indicated even very young children view lower class people as less competent than upper class people (Sigelman, 2012; Woods et al., 2005). Though many working class characters in the Newbery titles were portrayed as likeable and dignified as in working class values framing, caricature framing contributes to the belief that working class people are too incompetent to assume a higher positioning in the class structure, and they thereby deserve their lower positions. Unfortunately, some of the Newbery books perpetuate prevalent stereotypes about the working class that are found in mass media. Thus, some framings of class groups in Newbery titles 1) place blame on individual characters for their failure to achieve success by highlighting their shortcomings, and 2) ascribe negative attributes to lower class people, which in turn justifies their low status and lack of financial success.

**Powerlessness and class positioning.** As the critical literacy analysis of the findings in Chapter 4 mentioned, the working class and the poor were positioned as powerless, even helpless, in several framings. Precariousness framing of the working class portrayed the tenuous nature of working class lives; characters like Moose Flanagan’s father in *Al Capone Does My Shirts* (Choldenko, 2004) and Lester Swan in *Savvy* (Law, 2008) were constantly worried about losing their jobs, for instance. The lack of control the working class characters had over their own lives underscored their lack of power. Meanwhile, the poor were shown as powerless in
multiple framings. Hardship framing depicted the challenges of poverty, particularly the ways in which the poor were unable to help themselves. For instance, the poor in *An American Plague* (Murphy, 2003) could not flee Philadelphia when the yellow fever epidemic struck, nor could they afford medical care to restore themselves to health when they came down with the fever. Charitable framing depicted the poor as in need of help from more affluent people; the poor were dependent on upper class "saviors" to help them, again illustrating their lack of power and agency. Finally, insignificance and scorn framing, which depicted the poor as anonymous, faceless people or as objects of disdain, also illustrated the lack of power poor characters had. Insignificance and scorn framing indicated the poor are so powerless, they are nearly invisible.

All of these framings highlight the lack of control working class and poor characters had over their own lives. The powerlessness of the working class and the poor is another way of justifying their low positions in the class structure. If they cannot have power and control over their individual lives, then likely, they would be unable to handle the power and responsibility that comes with a higher class position. Although the working class and poor may be powerless because they are working class and poor, *not* because they are incapable of having or handling power, their lack of power gives the illusion that such characters are weak. As with dependency and irresponsibility and caricature framings, the working class and poor are assigned a negative attribute (in this case, weakness and helplessness) which justifies their low positioning. When their low positions in the class structure are justified, implicit support is given for the status quo, or the existing class
structure. Meanwhile, upper class characters are framed as deserving of their high class positions because they are positioned as powerful (as in power and opportunity framing) and thereby strong.

However, some of the Newbery titles countered portrayals of the working class as weak and powerless, though not the poor. A few times, working class characters in heroic and working class values framing were shown garnering power or enacting social change. Miri in *Princess Academy* (Hale, 2005) convinces her village leaders to demand fair prices for their goods. When the traders come, the villagers take a stand and demand more money, and as a consequence, the working poor villagers are able to receive more in return for their goods and enjoy a better quality of life. No longer are their food stores meager in the long winter months. Miri’s heroic actions helped shift the balance of power between the miners and the traders. Similarly, the mine workers in *Moon Over Manifest* (Vanderpool, 2010) band together to make and sell whiskey; their earnings enable them to purchase a piece of land desired by the mine owner, which gives them leverage when they negotiate for better working conditions. Finally, in *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004), the workers at Mr. Lyndon’s chicken processing plant unionize and advocate for better working conditions and worker-friendly policies.

Depictions of collective action like these examples are important, especially in light of prior studies situated in the sociology of school knowledge. In her research examining school knowledge and social class, Anyon (1981) found working class students were not taught labor history, the history of their own class group. Further, Anyon (2011) observed that social studies textbooks often provided
unfavorable portrayals of labor unions and labor movements and positioned powerful industrialists favorably. Consequently, Anyon (2011) argued working class students were not provided with the information they would need to join forces and challenge inequitable social and working conditions in their adult lives. In other words, the textbooks did not show students how labor unions and other forms of collective action could help workers recognize their common interests and achieve their goals.

Although the Newbery titles included only a few examples of collective action, they apparently provide more information about labor movements and unions than textbooks used in school settings. Moreover, they offer more information about collective action than what is typically provided in other children's media. According to Kohl (2007), “Healthy community life and collective community-wide struggles are absent from children's literature and the stories most children encounter on TV, in film, or at home” (p. 43). The examples of collective action in the Newbery titles, however limited, might supplement the information about labor movements and unionization that is missing from the school curriculum, other children's books, and electronic media.

The United States as a classless society. The belief that the United States is a classless society is a widespread, predominant one (Holtzman, 2000; hooks, 2000; Ostrove & Cole, 2003; Neitzel & Chafel, 2010). At first glance, it appears the Newbery titles disrupted the discourse of the United States as a classless society. Class tensions were a major theme of the titles in this sample, and antagonistic relationships between class groups manifested in framings like snobbery (middle
and upper class), contempt (upper class), and insignificance and scorn (poor and working class). Characters themselves were even aware of the tensions and boundaries between class groups as shown in class consciousness framing. The class tensions depicted in the Newbery titles are in opposition to the belief that everyone in the United States is middle class. These books are more radical than one might expect in terms of how they portray relationships among class groups, especially since class conflicts are not always portrayed in the school curriculum (Anyon, 1978, 1981).

However, a closer look at the Newbery titles reveals the classless society discourse is not disrupted after all: Many of the tensions and conflicts between class groups took place in titles featuring historical settings. As examples:

- The miners are oppressed by their rich boss Arthur Devlin in *Moon Over Manifest* (Vanderpool, 2010), set in 1918.

- Antagonistic relationships exist between the lord and the peasants of the manor in *Good Masters! Sweet Ladies!* (Schlitz, 2007), set in 1255.

- The chicken processing plant and hatchery workers despise their wealthy boss Mr. Lyndon in *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004), set in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

- The wealthy residents of Phippsburg sneer at the poor residents of Malaga Island in *Lizzie Bright and the Buckminster Boy* (Schmidt, 2004), set in 1913.

When class tensions and conflicts are shown in historical settings and not in contemporary ones, it makes problems between class groups appear as an issue of
the past and not a concern in contemporary times. *Three Times Lucky* (Turnage, 2012) and *After Tupac and D Foster* (Woodson, 2008) are the only titles set in contemporary times that depict class tensions, and these tensions were personal conflicts between small groups of people. The message about class conflicts as an historical rather than a contemporary problem reinforces the dominant discourse that the present-day United States is a classless society, and this discourse diverts attention away from critiques of the class structure. If people believe a society is classless, then little or no attention is paid to the inequities existing in the prevailing social, economic, and political arrangements. A rosy image is painted of the contemporary United States when books show children a society with little to no class conflict.

As the opening of this discussion mentioned, the sociology of school knowledge is a perspective concerned with deconstructing ideologies and discourses that reinforce the prevailing social, political, and economic structure, including the class system. This discussion has demonstrated the ways in which award-winning children's literature, which some might view as an innocent or even "neutral," reflect and reproduce a society's structures and arrangements. The capitalist economy is supported when characters are shown consuming and valuing material goods. The powerful, dominant positions of the upper class are justified when the wealthy are shown as benevolent, virtuous, competent, and as objects of emulation, and the relative class privilege of the middle class is shown when middle class characters are depicted as hard-working and industrious. Meanwhile, the lower class positions of the working class and the poor are legitimized when they
are portrayed as incompetent, dependent, and irresponsible. The American dream, a popular and long-held narrative in the United States, is preserved through rags-to-riches stories (like in exceptionalism framing) and the association of success with virtue. Further, the myth of the United States as a classless society - a myth that deflects critique of the socioeconomic system - is upheld when class tensions and conflicts are depicted as problems of the past. Therefore, books receiving the Newbery Medal and Honor in recent years are neither innocent nor neutral. Rather, they include themes and portrayals of class groups that support the prevailing arrangement of American society into unequal class groups.

The Findings and Past Studies of Class Portrayals

Similarities with other studies. Some of the class frames unpacked in this analysis are similar to themes other researchers have identified in studies about class in children's literature and in K-12 textbooks. In Kelley et al.'s (2005) analysis of themes about poverty in realistic fiction picture books, they found the poor were depicted as invisible, alienated, and interdependent. Invisibility means the poor were not noticed by others, while alienation depicts them as "outsiders." Interdependence refers to reliance on "family unity amidst poverty" (Kelley et al., 2005, p. 29). Kelley et al.'s themes parallel some of the ones observed in the current study. Invisibility and alienation resemble insignificance and scorn framing, which portrays the poor as insignificant and as objects of disdain by more affluent people. Interdependence is much like caring framing of the poor, a new theme identified in this study that shows the poor as loyal and deeply committed to their families. The
similarity of these Kelley et al.'s themes to the findings in this study suggests they may be common narratives about the poor.

Kelley et al.'s (2005) other themes about poverty - luck, resourcefulness, resilience, and hope - were occasionally evident in the present study, but they were sometimes captured by other frames. For instance, the theme of luck was evident under exceptionalism framing, in which characters moved from a lower class into a higher class. Luck surfaced when Turtle uncovered pirate treasure (Holm, 2010), when Miranda's mother won money on a game show (Stead, 2009), when Homer met the kindly and wealthy Mr. Brewster (Philbrick, 2009), when Lizzie Rose and Parsefall inherited the fortune of Cassandra (Schlitz, 2012), and when Manjiro was rescued and adopted by Captain Whitfield (Preus, 2010). Though Kelley et al. noted luck as a theme used to portray the poor, here it was more often observed with the working class; of the examples listed, only Homer was poor. A few books also had the term “luck” in their titles, namely Three Times Lucky (Turnage, 2012) and The Higher Power of Lucky (Patron, 2006). In Three Times Lucky, Mo is working class, and her luck is loosely related to her social class; for example, one way in which she is lucky is that as a baby, she washed up in a storm and was taken in by the Colonel and Miss Lana, her guardians. In The Higher Power of Lucky, title character Lucky Trimble is poor, but her luck has little to do with her class positioning. Lucky is lucky because at the end of her story, her wish is granted: Her guardian, Brigitte, decides to adopt her. Brigitte does not have a job or an income, so Lucky’s pending adoption does not translate into a move out of poverty. Though luck did surface as a theme in this study, it was either captured by another frame (namely,
exceptionalism framing) or it was not particularly salient to a character's social class.

Depictions showing poor characters as resilient, resourceful, or hopeful were either very limited or captured by other frames as with the theme of luck. For example, in *Where the Mountain Meets the Moon* (Lin, 2009), Minli might be considered both resourceful and resilient because she sets off on a journey by herself to try to change her family's fortune. However, her family's later prosperity is captured by exceptionalism framing, and Minli's actions are only indirectly responsible for her newfound affluence. Her prosperity results from a gift bestowed to her by a king. Hope was occasionally observed with poor characters, but it was not strongly related to social class. For instance, Abilene in *Moon Over Manifest* (Vanderpool, 2010) hopes her father will return for her at the end of summer, while Lucky in *The Higher Power of Lucky* (Patron, 2006) hopes that Brigitte will one day become her guardian. Hope was evident in some books, but characters in poverty did not hope for things related to class. Thus, hope did not emerge as a class frame in this study.

Additionally, Kelley et al. (2005) noted two of the themes they identified - resourcefulness and resilience - imply the poor “can or should pull themselves up by the bootstraps” (p. 29). Kelley et al. suggested this shows the poor are individually responsible for their successes and failures, and the larger socioeconomic structure is not to blame. In this study, the poor were often shown as individually responsible for their lack of financial success through depictions like dependency and irresponsibility (which portrayed them as drunks) and caricature framing (which
portrayed them as unintelligent). Viewing poverty as a function of personal shortcomings is a common narrative in the United States (Beach, 2007; Heilman, 2004; Holtzman, 2000), and themes in both Kelley et al.'s (2005) study and the present one perpetuate this belief.

Messages about class identified in this study are similar to a few themes noted by Sleeter and Grant (2010) in their analysis of content area textbooks. Sleeter and Grant found language arts textbooks depicted the poor as silly and unintelligent, which was observed in this study with caricature framing of the poor and the working class. Language arts books also depicted the poor as sympathetic, a portrayal observed here with sympathetic framing of the poor. Moreover, social studies textbooks in Sleeter and Grant's analysis usually depicted the poor in historical settings. Likewise, this study found the majority of poor and working class protagonists were located in historical rather than contemporary settings.

One of the four themes Glenn (2008) identified in her critique of young adult novels was also noted in this study. Glenn found upper class characters were depicted as conspicuous consumers, owning high end items like "a Hermès Kelly bag, a Versace pantsuit" as well as "black Gucci boots" and a "Marc Jacobs knee-length skirt" (2008, p. 39). This theme is very similar to price tag framing, in which upper class characters are shown as consumers who value material goods, particularly expensive ones. The portrayal of the upper class as conspicuous consumers appears to be widespread: Kendall (2011) identified it in her study of television shows, news broadcasts, and newspaper articles, and Perks (2007) noted it in her analysis of reality television series. Evidently, there is a strong narrative in
American culture that encourages people to value (and purchase) material goods. As the discussion of the selective tradition addressed, this type of thinking supports a capitalist economy.

**Differences with other studies.** As the previous discussion of similarities indicated, there are some common discourses about certain social class groups being perpetuated in both children’s literature and the K-12 curriculum. However, the findings of this study were sometimes unlike those of other studies examining social class in children’s literature and other materials. For instance, in this study, the researcher found only two examples of characters experiencing downward class mobility. These examples were Simon, the knight’s son in *Good Masters! Sweet Ladies!* (Schlitz, 2007), whose family is noble but becomes bankrupt; and Deacon Hurd in *Lizzie Bright and the Buckminster Boy* (Schmidt, 2004), who loses everything when his investments go awry. In contrast, Forest et al. (in press) found depictions of downward class mobility were common in a set of award-winning international literature. It is possible the discourse of upward mobility is so strong in the United States (as Jones & Vagle, 2013 have suggested) that depictions of downward mobility in American children’s literature are somewhat unthinkable.

Additionally, the present study found more than half of the protagonists of the Newbery titles in the sample were working class characters. This finding is very different from those of past studies examining class. In her study of young adult fiction, Rawson (2011) found 49.5% of the overall books in her sample depicted middle class protagonists, while 28.2% depicted lower class protagonists. Boutte et al. (2008) noted 69% of the frequently read primary level books in their study
featured predominantly middle class characters, and Sano (2009) also found a middle class majority in the 20 Caldecott titles included in her sample. Though children's literature as a whole may be middle class in orientation, as scholars like Jones (2008) and Kohl (2007) have suggested, recent Newbery titles have a prevalence of working class, rather than middle class, protagonists.

Other studies of social class portrayals have found middle class majorities. Butsch's (1992) study of television situation comedies found over 70% of shows depicted middle class families. Sleeter and Grant (2010) observed math and science textbooks used in K-12 settings frequently depicted middle class people, though other class groups were represented in language arts and social studies textbooks. Apparently, the predominance of working class characters in Newbery titles could offer a different view of the American class structure compared to other forms of media like television and the school curriculum which offer a middle class-oriented perspective.

The working class majority of protagonists in the Newbery titles is also remarkable in light of Anyon’s (1978, 1980, 1981, 2011) work. Anyon (1980, 1981) found the working class is absent in the elementary school curriculum, and working class history is ignored even in high school social studies texts (Anyon, 2011). In contrast, more than half of the award-winning children’s books included in this study included a working class protagonist. Further, the Newbery titles in the sample often depicted class conflicts and tensions through framings like contempt, snobbery, and insignificance and scorn. Anyon (1978) found social studies textbooks in elementary schools do not typically address class conflicts. Although
the Newbery titles share some common themes and messages with other children's books and media forms, they also offer a different take on social class through the privileging of working class protagonists.

**Similarities and differences to Kendall's (2011) study.** As mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, the researcher found some of Kendall's (2011) frames in this study, but she also uncovered new ones that were not evident in Kendall's work. Table 14 in Chapter 3 illustrates original, modified, and new class frames. Twelve of Kendall's frames were evident in this study, five were evident but modified, and one (squeeze framing) was eliminated since it was not observed. This suggests that children's literature and mass media both communicate some of the same messages about social class through framings of class groups. However, fourteen new frames were identified in the present study, which suggests children's literature might include more complex portrayals of social class than mass media such as television shows and news stories. Interestingly, at the point in the study when the researcher worked with the coder, the coder remarked that many of Kendall's frames were negative. Fortunately, some of the new framings unpacked in this study portrayed class groups in positive ways. These included caring framing of the poor; respectful, aspirations, and working class values framing of the working class; and "extra mile" framing of the middle class. Presenting young people with positive framings of class groups like the ones just identified might be a way to counter and challenge the negative frames about class propagated through mass media.
Significance and Implications

The findings of this study are significant for several reasons, and they carry implications for both K-12 and higher education practice. To begin, the study adds to the knowledge base about how social class is portrayed in children's literature. Depictions of class have not been widely studied in books for children, (Sano, 2009), and previous research has emphasized the relationship between class and race (Boutte et al., 2008; Taxel, 1981), portrayals of poverty (Kelley et al., 2005; Kelley & Darragh, 2011), portrayals of the wealthy (Glenn, 2008), differences between Caldecott books and books read to English Language Learners (Sano, 2009), representations of class groups in young adult literature (Rawson, 2011), and portrayals of class in international literature (Forest et al., in press). Few of these studies took a broad approach to examining social class; many of them had a narrow scope (e.g., Kelley et al., 2005) or a small sample size (e.g., Glenn, 2008). In contrast, this study looked at portrayals of class across four groups (the upper class, the middle class, the working class, and the poor) and included a sizeable sample of texts (42 books were analyzed). The scope of this study was broader and the sample size was larger than some past studies, and the findings thus provide more information about what beliefs and ideologies about social class are communicated to children through literature. Further, none of the previous studies examined class in Newbery Medal and Honor books, which are highly visible and readily available texts on account of their highlighted placement in libraries and bookstores (Strauss, 2008). Boutte et al. (2008) have said the content of award-winning literature deserves special scholarly attention, and this is true of Newbery books in particular.
because they are visible, accessible, and recommended for K-12 instructional use (Barry et al., 2013; Kasten et al., 2005; Tompkins, 2013). The study is important because it highlights the messages about social class conveyed in a set of books which many children are likely to encounter in both school and library settings.

Additionally, the findings provide insight into some of the prevailing discourses about social class in the contemporary United States. As the discussion of the findings presented earlier in this chapter suggested, many of the class frames identified in the study are related to common narratives about social class in U.S. society and schools. For example, dependency and irresponsibility, caricature, and insignificance and scorn framing of the poor could contribute to the vilification of this class group described by hooks (2000). Exceptionalism framing reinforces the upward mobility discourse so common in K-12 schools (Jones & Vagle, 2013), while middle class values framing and admiration framing of the wealthy bolster the association of financial success with virtue, a long-held tenet of American dream mythology (Hochschild, 2002). Because books have the potential to influence children's worldviews (Taxel, 1986, 1989a) and aspirations (Kohl, 2007), findings of studies like this one illuminate how children might develop their ideas about social class. Understanding what children think about class could be of value to those who work with children, such as educators. For instance, if children have negative views of certain class groups, teachers might counter these views by offering positive framings of class through children's literature.

In fact, some themes in the Newbery titles are consistent with what children think about class. Weinger (2000) found some middle class children have snobby
attitudes toward the poor; in the current study, middle class and upper class
characters were depicted as snobs toward the poor and the working class (snobbery
framing), and the poor were framed as objects of disdain by the more affluent
(insignificance and scorn framing). Sutton (2009) learned children have
stereotypes about the poor and believe they engage in drug and alcohol use, which
aligns with portrayals of drunkenness in dependency and irresponsibility framing of
the poor and working class. Lower class children in Sutton's study did not value
intelligence; poor and working class characters in caricature framing were shown as
incompetent. On the other hand, children in Sutton's research associated
intelligence with wealth, while Sigelman (2012) and Woods et al. (2005) found
children perceive the rich as more competent than the poor. The relatively few
depictions of unintelligent upper class characters in the Newbery books (insipid
framing) illustrate the association between intelligence and competence and
affluence. Sutton's participants viewed wealthy people as conspicuous consumers,
owning things like "very large houses and lots of cars" (2009, p. 282), which is
reminiscent of price tag framing of the upper and middle classes. Weinger found
middle class children did not view wealthy children as desirable friends; in this
study, wealthy characters were often maligned through contempt and bad apple
framing. Finally, both poor and middle class children in Weinger's study expressed
positive feelings about the middle class. The Newbery books often included positive
framings of the middle class, such as middle class values framing. This discussion is
not meant to imply that children in these studies gleaned their impressions of class
from Newbery titles. However, the similarities between children's thinking about
social class and the themes unpacked in this study suggest books and other media could have an important impact on what children think about class. They might form children's beliefs about class and/or reinforce beliefs they already possess. To help students challenge the negative stereotypes and biases in children's literature and other curricular materials, it is imperative to teach young people how to read with a critical, questioning perspective.

**Reading and critical literacy.** In light of the idea that children might be influenced by what they read, the findings suggest a need for both reading and teaching with a critical literacy lens, particularly since some unfortunate framings of particular class groups were identified in these award-winning books (e.g., dependency and irresponsibility, insignificance and scorn, contempt, and bad apple framing, to name a few). When readers are not critical, they may accept and identify with the ideologies and messages appearing in texts (Botelho & Rudman, 2009; McCallum & Stephens, 2011). When the ideologies and messages in texts propagate damaging ideas about particular groups of people (like class groups), these unsavory ideologies and messages may become internalized and manifest in forms like prejudicial behavior and classism. Fortunately, critical literacy offers a lens for adopting a questioning, resistant stance to the assumptions and biases ingrained in children's literature and in other forms of media.

In order for children to become critically literate, they must learn to adopt a perspective that challenges, rather than accepts, the messages communicated in texts. The K-12 curriculum offers many opportunities for engaging students in critical literacy. For instance, critical discussions of children's literature could occur
in language arts classrooms in the form of whole class, grand conversations during literature focus units or in small group discussions during literature circles. Both literature focus units and literature circles are recommended instructional techniques in language arts teaching (Tompkins, 2013). Newbery titles like the ones included in this study could be integrated into either of these teaching practices.

Additionally, Wolk (2003) has suggested critical literacy should be taught in social studies classrooms, particularly since “social studies is about questioning and power” and so is critical literacy (p. 102).

Jones (2006b, 2008) has offered a useful entryway into critical literacy for both teachers and young readers. In her work, she described the three inter-related assumptions of critical literacy - power, positioning, and perspective - and identified specific questions teachers and students can ask of texts. For instance, positioning questions include “What perspectives, practices, and/or people are centered or valued in the text?” and “What readers might be positioned as ‘outsiders’ by this text?” (Jones, 2006b, p. 82). Questions like these can be asked of any texts, including the Newbery titles; in fact, asking such questions in terms of social class might help young readers identify some of the class frames related in this study. Teaching students to ask themselves critical questions as they read and discuss literature (or content area texts) is one way to promote critical literacy.

Jones (2006b) has also recommended teaching children how to reconstruct texts as a way of promoting critical literacy. In her own second grade classroom, Jones taught her students how to reconstruct books in Cynthia Rylant’s *Henry and Mudge* series by encouraging them to “disconnect” with the books. Girls in her class
reimagined Henry as a female, while the students envisioned middle class Henry participating in activities beloved by their working class families such as fishing. Jones said reconstruction could also take the form of "rewriting mainstream texts from multiple perspectives" in order for students to see how texts privilege one perspective and exclude other perspectives (2006b, p. 77). For instance, readers might take the removal of Malaga Island residents in *Lizzie Bright and the Buckminster Boy* (Schmidt, 2004) and reimagine this event from the perspectives of bad apple Mr. Stonecrop, reluctant Reverend Buckminster, and marginalized Lizzie Bright.

In addition to having students rewrite texts from multiple perspectives as Jones (2006b) advised, students might negotiate multiple perspectives provided on the same event or topic, as Wolk (2003) and Spector and Jones (2009) recommended. For example, Wolk said social studies textbooks regularly privilege the history of dominant social groups, and teachers can encourage critical literacy by bringing the voices of marginalized groups into the classroom. Wolk contended "the silenced voices can be brought to life in classrooms through poetry, oral histories, children’s literature, interviews, drama, videos and movies, music, newspapers, magazines, the Internet, field trips, and the local community" (2003, p. 103). Similarly, Spector and Jones encouraged critical literacy in an eighth grade unit about Anne Frank; their instruction included multiple perspectives about Anne’s life, including a play romanticizing her two years in hiding, several versions of her diary, and video clips depicting concentration camps.
To facilitate critical literacy thinking about social class portrayals in Newbery titles, teachers might pair texts with conflicting views of class. For example, *The Higher Power of Lucky* (Patron, 2006) might be paired with *Where the Mountain Meets the Moon* (Lin, 2009), which both portray characters living in poverty. While characters in *The Higher Power of Lucky* are content with their lives, the characters in *Where the Mountain Meets the Moon* actively despair over their poverty and wish to change their circumstances. The normalization of poverty in *The Higher Power of Lucky* could be contrasted to the lamenting of poverty in *Where the Mountain Meets the Moon* to show students how a class positioning (in this case, poverty) can be presented from multiple perspectives. Additionally, students could consider Patron's and Lin's purposes for presenting poverty in their books as they did.

**Teacher education.** In order for teachers to effectively promote a critical literacy stance, teacher educators must incorporate it in their own instruction with pre-service teachers. Critical literacy practices would be a natural fit in a children's literature course. For example, if pre-service teachers participate in literature circles, discussions could be guided by some of the questions Jones (2006b, 2008) has recommended for critically literacy thinking. Pre-service teachers might also privilege social class in these conversations by discussing the class frames identified here and unpacking other themes they notice about class. Additionally, critical literacy could be woven into social studies and language arts methods courses. Social studies teacher educators might take Wolk's (2003) advice and show students how to present historical events from multiple perspectives using a variety of materials (speeches, primary documents, newspaper articles, etc.). Language arts
methods instructors could bring critical literacy discussions into the teaching of "traditional" topics like reading. As an example, the researcher has taught language arts methods to undergraduate students in the past and presented critical literacy as a "special" way of reading, using fairy tales and Jones's (2006b, 2008) critical literacy questions as entryways into facilitating understanding of critical literacy. Because children's literature (including award-winning books like the Newbery titles) have potentially damaging messages and stereotypes about groups of people (including class groups), bringing critical literacy practices to both K-12 and higher education classrooms is imperative.

Some of the Newbery titles in this study could be used to teach critical literacy in teacher education classrooms. Since textbooks used by pre-service teachers recommend the use of Newbery books (e.g., Kasten et al., 2005; Tompkins, 2013), teacher educators might select these titles for novel studies or literature circles in language arts methods or children's literature courses. Although books can be deconstructed through multiple lenses (e.g., gender, race, dis/ability), teacher educators might help pre-service teachers deconstruct the meanings about class conveyed in children's literature. For instance, a book like Splendors and Glooms (Schlitz, 2012) has many themes about class such as: caricature framing of Parsefall and Mrs. Pinchbeck, exceptionalism framing of Parsefall and Lizzie Rose, dysfunctional framing of the Wintermute family, price tag framing of Cassandra, and shady framing of Professor Grisini. Deconstructing books through a "class lens" might help future teachers become more sensitive about issues of class in the school curriculum, especially if they unpack negative framings like some of the ones in the
Newbery titles. Perhaps such instructional practices in teacher education classrooms might lead pre-service teachers to 1) give greater consideration to selecting curricular materials with positive framings of social class groups or 2) recognize the importance of teaching critical literacy to K-12 students.

Using books with explicit class themes (like the ones described here) in teacher education classrooms might encourage future teachers to talk about class with their students. As a key dimension of identity (Jones & McEwen, 2000), class deserves to be the subject of conversations in both teacher education and K-12 classrooms. Perhaps reading and discussing literature like the Newbery titles (and emphasizing discussions of class frames) could be used as a way of “sanctioning . . . class-specific topics in the classroom” in order to “validate and value students' lives, rather than creating a disconnect through the silencing of these experiences” (Jones, 2004, p. 463).

Because class is considered a difficult or impolite topic of conversation in the United States (Holtzman, 2000; Sanders & Mahalingam, 2012; Storck, 2002), it may be difficult for teachers to initiate dialogue about it. Children’s literature might serve as a springboard for discussions of class in both K-12 and university educational settings. For example, books like *Kira-Kira* (Kadohata, 2004) and *Moon Over Manifest* (Vanderpool, 2010) might provoke discussions of how people with money and power (employers in particular) sometimes take advantage of less affluent people (like their workers) as in bad apple framing and power and opportunity framing; they might also elicit conversation about how working class people can join together to gain power, as in working class values framing.
Inclusion of books with class-explicit themes (i.e., class frames) in teacher education classrooms could encourage future teachers to talk about class with their own K-12 students.

Classroom discussions of social class could have some positive outcomes in addition to validating students' class identities. As described in Chapter 2, Labadie et al. (2013) led weekly discussions about books with explicit class themes to a classroom of kindergarten students. The children not only "made deep and meaningful intertextual connections between books," but they had "an ongoing conversation in the classroom that helped to deepen and extend comprehension around critical social issues" (Labadie et al., 2013, p. 334). Perhaps developing awareness of class-related social issues through reading and discussing children's literature (and talking about class frames) could prompt students into social action. For instance, students might discuss the causes of homelessness by reading Moon Over Manifest (Vanderpool, 2010), which features a homeless protagonist and her father. Although Moon Over Manifest is set during the Great Depression, perhaps this book could prompt students to research contemporary causes of homelessness and take actions to ameliorate this injustice. As an example, Picower (2012) described third graders who took a stand against homelessness by joining an organization that advocated for a higher minimum wage. Although class can be a challenging discussion topic for some, children's literature offers an entryway into class-related social issues as Labadie et al. contended. These issues are too important to ignore, particularly given the present social, political, and economic context.
Cultural relevance. The findings are also significant because they can help teachers and librarians identify texts aligning with the class backgrounds of their students and patrons. In other words, the findings may assist teachers and librarians with locating and selecting culturally relevant books so that children can see families like their own depicted in literature. This is particularly important for poor and working class students since these class groups have been marginalized in the school curriculum (Anyon, 1978, 1981, 2011) and in classroom discourse (Jones & Vagle, 2013). Though the Newbery titles should be read critically because some include potentially damaging ideologies about social class, many of the books privilege and validate class groups which have not been celebrated in schools or in the mass media. For instance, the working class has often been marginalized in the school curriculum, yet some Newbery titles like Princess Academy (Hale, 2005) and Dead End In Norvelt (Gantos, 2011) include positive framings of the working class, like heroic and working class values framing.

Additionally, the findings could be used to expand children’s understandings of social class by helping teachers and librarians find books featuring class locations different from those of their students and patrons. For example, respect for the poor might be promoted by reading The Higher Power of Lucky (Patron, 2006), while appreciation of the working class might be fostered with Dead End in Norvelt (Gantos, 2011). While some Newbery titles include unfortunate messages about particular class groups in the form of class frames, when they are read from a critical literacy perspective, they might promote respect and appreciation for the variety of class groups existing in the contemporary United States. Books should
show children characters with lives both similar to and different from their own, and this study identifies titles which might improve the socioeconomic diversity of classroom literature selections and library collections.

**Media literacy.** The findings of this study might also help teachers and librarians introduce students to media literacy. For instance, educators might select some of the class frames and share examples from Newbery titles, other children's books, as well as mass media like television and the internet. Students might then be encouraged to identify the class frames in media they encounter both inside and outside of school. This is important work because access to texts, media and mass communication is becoming more widespread in today's world (Arkar-Vural, 2010), which is unsurprising given the proliferation of smart phone devices, e-readers, tablets, and computers over the past several years. Young people are frequent users of these technologies: Students between third and twelfth grade spend an average of seven hours and 38 minutes with media each day (Rideout, Foehrer, & Roberts, 2010). This demonstrates a need for teaching media literacy in school settings. If students are not taught to evaluate messages and framings communicated in texts and media, they may accept these messages uncritically and are at-risk for “media manipulation” (Arkar-Vural, 2010, p. 742). Although teachers might use social class themes in Newbery books to teach critical literacy, it is important to extend these themes to media contexts as well, especially since researchers like Perks (2007), Kendall (2011), and Butsch (1992) have indicated mass media include unfortunate messages and frames about social class and class groups.
Utility for researchers. The findings have significance and implications for teachers, teacher educators, and librarians, but they are also important for researchers interested in studying social class and/or children's literature. Few studies have investigated portrayals of class in books for youth (McLeod, 2008; Sano, 2009), and one reason for this could be the challenges of defining and identifying the class locations of characters. The present study helps overcome this challenge by offering a framework of class indicators that future researchers can use to help determine the class status of characters (see Tables 8-11 and Tables K1-K4). The framework includes indicators such as residence, transportation, education, and occupation and defines the characteristics of each indicator for every class group. Additionally, the 31 class frames identified in this study - new, modified, and original Kendall (2011) frames –form a framework that may be useful to future researchers. The class frames could be used as a coding scheme for future content analyses of social class in children's literature as well as in other media. They might have utility for educational researchers as well as scholars working in the fields of English, sociology, and mass communication.

Conclusions

Any research project has limitations, and this study is no exception. First, the findings of the study are not generalizable; the set of Newbery titles are not representative of other children's literature. The portrayals of class identified in this study might be vastly different from portrayals of class in other children's literature produced in the United States. Graphic novels, popular series, nonfiction titles, and best-selling books may have very disparate images of social class than the
award-winning titles in this sample. However, this limitation opens a possibility for future research: In what ways do other children’s books depict social class? How do these portrayals compare and contrast with the findings described in this study? Future research should expand understanding of social class portrayals in children’s literature by examining class in other books, and this research can be facilitated using the framework of class indicators (Tables 8-11; Tables K1-K4) and the class frames described here. Additionally, future research might address social class portrayals in media other than children’s literature, such as television shows produced for children, educational apps and games, and internet sites. Researchers should also update the work of Anyon (1978, 1980, 1981, 2011) and Sleeter and Grant (2010) by examining how class is depicted in the K-12 curriculum in content area textbooks, teacher’s guides, and other instructional materials.

Second, the researcher recognizes that others may have a different perspective about social class than the perspective elucidated here. In other words, the life experiences of individuals inform their understandings of class, and readers might bring different understandings of social class and how it is defined to their reading of Newbery texts. There is no “right” way of defining and describing class or the different class groups existing in the contemporary United States. However, the researcher has mediated this limitation by making her positioning clear (discussed in Chapter 3). Additionally, the researcher worked with a coder for part of this study, and the researcher and coder always agreed on the class of the characters in the two books they both read. This agreement validates the researcher’s conceptualization of class in this study.
As a qualitative, interpretive study, the findings represent the researcher's impressions about social class in this set of award-winning books. While she has supported her contentions about class portrayals with many examples from the texts (see Chapter 4), other readers might form different ideas about social class as a result of reading the books. In fact, this is an important consideration for future research. What meanings about social class do children construct from reading books? A study examining this question would reveal how literature can shape children's understandings and perceptions of social class. The findings of such a study might also underscore the importance of teaching young people to read with a critical literacy lens, particularly if children notice negative portrayals of social class groups as the researcher did.

The findings of this study raise several other questions that future research should explore. The similarities between the class portrayals deconstructed in this study and the beliefs children have about class (see Sutton, 2009; and Weinger, 2000) suggest children might gain their knowledge of class through cultural products like books and other print materials as well as television and digital media. Where do children's beliefs about social class come from? How do they learn about class? To what extent do children cite books and curricular materials as sources of knowledge about class? These are important questions that researchers might explore in future work.

Additionally, the findings raise potential research questions in the domain of children's literature. In reviewing scholarly articles for this project, the researcher did not encounter studies exploring who reads the Newbery books. While some
have suggested the Newbery titles are unpopular with children (e.g., Strauss, 2008), research is needed to determine who actually reads these books and if they are, in fact, unpopular with children. Studies investigating this topic might inform teachers and children's librarians as they select instructional materials and develop their collections.

Moreover, the researcher noticed that professional books for both pre-service and in-service teachers (e.g., Kasten et al., 2005; Tompkins, 2013) recommended Newbery titles as instructional texts. However, the researcher did not find studies exploring how teachers use Newbery books and other award-winning titles in their instruction. How do teachers select the books they use with their students? To what extent do they use Newbery titles and other award-winning children's literature? Research exploring these questions would also address the relevancy of award-winning books in K-12 classrooms.

To conclude, the researcher hopes the findings of this study will encourage others to deconstruct the values, ideologies, and messages conveyed in curricular materials like children's literature, whether those deconstructions focus on race, gender, dis/ability, or social class. This is important work because what children read matters. As Apol (2002) said, "... children's literature does indeed have power with readers, young and old . . . [it] creates a world that readers believe and shapes both individual and national memory" (p. 59). Unless researchers do the hard work of analyzing literature and curricular materials to deconstruct their hidden messages, and unless teachers and teacher educators do the hard work of critical literacy teaching, then there is risk that the values and ideologies in books could
marginalize readers. However, with studies like this one, and with the promise of critical literacy, engagement with books (including the Newbery winners) can be a validating and empowering experience for all readers.
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APPENDIX A

CITATIONS AND SUMMARIES OF CHILDREN’S LITERATURE


[Genre: Fantasy. Summary: An evil trapper poses a threat to a family of young kittens and an old hound dog who live underneath his house. Meanwhile, a serpent waits to be freed from the jar where she has been trapped for one thousand years.]


[Genre: Fantasy. Summary: A gorilla on display at a mall uses the power of his art to free his friend Ruby, a young elephant facing the prospect of a lifetime of captivity.]


Bartoletti, S.C. (2005). *Hitler Youth: Growing up in Hitler’s shadow*. New York: Scholastic. [Genre: Nonfiction. Summary: As Hitler rose to power in 1930s Germany, much of his political support came from a group of politically active young people who became the Hitler Youth. Ultimately, members of the Hitler Youth were trained to support Germany’s military efforts during World War II.]
Choldenko, G. (2004). *Al Capone does my shirts.* New York: Scholastic. [Genre: Historical fiction. Summary: Moose doesn’t think his life can get any worse when his father takes a job on Alcatraz Island and Moose becomes responsible for watching his older sister, Natalie, who has autism. Meanwhile, the warden’s daughter, Piper, is a trouble maker who tries to get Moose involved in her schemes. When Natalie is rejected from a school that could potentially help her cope with her autism and the Flanagan family starts to fall apart, Moose appeals to the most powerful man on Alcatraz for help: Al Capone.]

Curtis, C.P. (2007). *Elijah of Buxton.* New York: Scholastic. [Genre: Historical fiction. Summary: Elijah, nearly 12 years old, is the first freeborn child in Buxton, a Canadian settlement for former slaves. Though Elijah is considered “fra-gile” and longs to be considered a grown-up, he has the chance to test his courage when he helps a friend who has been swindled out of money he was planning to use to buy his family out of slavery.]

DiCamillo, K. (2003). *The tale of Despereaux: Being the story of a mouse, a princess, some soup, and a spool of thread.* Somerville, MA: Candlewick Press. [Genre: Fantasy. Summary: Despereaux is different from the other castle mice, and when he falls in love with Princess Pea, the mice council condemns him to the dungeon. Meanwhile, a rat, Roscuro, falls into the queen’s soup bowl, causes her death, and is consequently banished from the upstairs of the castle by the princess. When Roscuro recruits Miggery Sow, a servant girl, to plot his revenge against Princess Pea, it is up to Despereaux to save her.]

Freedman, R. (2004). *The voice that challenged a nation: Marian Anderson and the struggle for equal rights*. New York: Clarion Books. [Genre: Biography. Summary: Marian Anderson became one of the most famous and respected concert singers in the world. She also gained fame as a symbol for the struggle for civil rights after the Daughters of the American Revolution's refused to allow her to perform at Constitution Hall.]


Gantos, J. (2011). *Dead end in Norvelt*. Harrisonburg, VA: RR Donnelley & Sons Company. [Genre: Historical fiction. Summary: Jack’s vacation seems ruined after he is grounded for the summer. However, life takes an interesting turn for Jack when he starts helping his elderly, eccentric neighbor write obituaries of Norvelt’s original citizens, especially after a string of deaths make some residents question whether Norvelt has a murderer on the loose.]

with her older sister and father. One day, the people of Mount Eskel receive word that the prince is fated to marry a girl from their community. All of the girls between 12 and 17 years old are ordered to attend the Princess Academy, where they will train to become a potential queen of their country, Danland. Miri has little interest in marrying the prince but uses the knowledge she gains at the princess academy to help her village; for instance, she learns the value of linder, the substance mined in her community, and she negotiates a fair trading agreement between the people of Mount Eskel and the "lowlander traders. Though Miri wins academy princess, meaning she is the top student at the academy, Britta, a childhood friend of the prince, is selected as his bride.

Henkes, K. (2003). *Olive's ocean*. New York: Harper Trophy. [Genre: Contemporary realism. Summary: After her classmate, Olive, is struck and killed by a car, Martha discovers some parallels between their lives and finds herself wishing she had known more about Olive and had been her friend.]

Holm, J.L. (2006). *Penny from heaven*. New York: Yearling. [Genre: Historical fiction. Summary: Penny's summer is going well: She spends her days with her cousin Frankie, works for Uncle Ralphie's butcher shop, and is spoiled by her large Italian family. However, she wonders why her mother does not get along with her father's side of the family and how her father died many years ago when she was small. When Penny gets in a bad accident and her mother begins dating the milkman, she fears her life will never be the same again.]

[Genre: Historical fiction. Summary: During the Great Depression, Turtle is sent to Key West to stay with her Aunt Minnie, Uncle Vernon, and cousins Beans, Kermit, and Buddy. After years as an only child, getting along with her cousins and their friends in the Diaper Gang, a babysitting service, isn’t easy. Turtle’s life takes even more interesting turns after meeting her long lost grandmother and discovering a pirate’s treasure map.]

Hoose, P. (2009). *Claudette Colvin: Twice toward justice*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux. [Genre: Biography. Summary: Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on a Montgomery, Alabama bus in December 1955 and is lauded as a civil rights leader, but teenager Claudette Colvin did the same thing months earlier and has been overlooked by history. Colvin was a plaintiff in the court ruling that ended segregation on the Montgomery buses, *Browder v. Gayle*. Though Colvin has received little acknowledgement for her bravery, this biography recognizes her important role and recalls her experiences in vivid detail.]

Kadohata, C. (2004). *Kira-kira*. New York: Aladdin Paperbacks. [Genre: Historical fiction. Summary: Katie loves her big sister, Lynn, more than anything. Lynn teaches Katie that life is beautiful, and many things are kira-kira, or glittering, like the sky and the ocean. However, Katie’s family begins to fall apart when Lynn becomes sick from cancer and her parents must work endless hours to pay for Lynn’s medical bills and the mortgage on the house they bought for Lynn.]
Kelly, J. (2009). *The evolution of Calpurnia Tate*. New York: Henry Holt and Company. [Genre: Historical fiction. Summary: It is 1899, and eleven-year-old Calpurnia is expected to learn the domestic arts in preparation for her future role as a wife and mother. However, Calpurnia longs to be a scientist, and she would rather collect specimens by the river with her grandfather than knit socks for her six brothers. Calpurnia’s wish edges closer to reality when she and her grandfather discover a new species of plant.]


Larson, K. (2006). *Hattie big sky*. New York: Delacorte Press. [Genre: Historical fiction. Summary: After learning her Uncle Chester has left her his homestead in eastern Montana, Hattie leaves her aunt and uncle’s house in Arlington, Iowa to finish proving up the claim. Though Hattie is not successful in proving up the claim, she gains a family through the friendship and love offered by her neighbors.]

Law, I. (2008). *Savvy*. New York: Dial Books for Young Readers. [Genre: Fantasy. Summary: In the Beaumont family, children develop a special power called a “savvy” on their 13th birthday. Mibs, on the cusp of turning 13, eagerly awaits to learn of her savvy until her father is critically injured in a car crash just
days before her big day. When Mibs's savvy manifests, she believes it will help her father get well. She and her brothers, Fish and Sampson, along with their friends Will Junior and Bobbi, hitch a ride on a bus they believe is headed for Salina, the city where Poppa is in the hospital. However, the bus heads in the opposite direction, and Mibs worries she will not reach her father in time. Along the way, Mibs and her friends are helped by Lester, the deliveryman driving the bus, and Lill, a waitress they meet along the way.

Lin, G. (2009). *Where the mountain meets the moon*. New York: Little, Brown Books for Young Readers. [Genre: Fantasy. Summary: Minli and her parents are very poor. While Ba, Minli's dad, is content with telling stories, Ma is unhappy and wishes the family's fortunes would change. Sad from seeing her mother discontent, Minli sets off to see the Old Man of the Moon in the hopes that he can help her family find prosperity. On the way, Minli makes many friends, including a dragon who cannot fly, a king, a boy and his buffalo, and a happy family. After a long journey, Minli learns that the greatest fortune comes from love and family.]

Lord, C. (2006). *Rules*. New York: Scholastic. [Genre: Contemporary realism. Summary: Catherine's life is more complicated than it is for many 12-year-olds; her younger brother David's autism makes it difficult to make friends, and she is constantly making up rules to help and protect David. Catherine even has rules for herself. When Catherine befriends Jason, a disabled teenage boy, she must learn to break a few of her rules.]
Murphy, J. (2003). *An American plague: The true and terrifying story of the yellow fever epidemic of 1793.* New York: Clarion Books. [Genre: Nonfiction. Summary: In 1793, a yellow fever epidemic strikes Philadelphia, the capital of the fledgling United States. The epidemic throws the city into chaos, and ultimately, between four and five thousand people are estimated to have died from the fever.]

Patron, S. (2006). *The higher power of Lucky.* New York: Atheneum Books for Young Readers. [Genre: Contemporary realism. Summary: Lucky lives with her guardian, Brigitte, who came to live with Lucky in Hard Tap, California after the death of her mother. As Lucky longs for a Higher Power to help her gain control over her life, she worries that Brigitte plans to leave her and return to her home country of France. Lucky sets out to run away in the hope that Brigitte will realize how much Lucky needs her.]


Philbrick, R. (2009). *The mostly true adventures of Homer P. Figg.* New York: Scholastic. [Genre: Historical fiction. Summary: Homer and his brother Harold live in the barn of a mean uncle who works them hard and feeds them little. When Harold is sold underage into the Union Army, Homer sets off on a long journey to find him, encountering a wealthy mine owner, a lovesick reverend, a traitorous showman, an unwieldy hot air balloon, and scores of
Union and Confederate soldiers. When Homer finally finds Harold, the boys are thrust into the thick of the Battle of Gettysburg.]

Preus, M. (2010). *Heart of a samurai: Based on the true story of Nakahama Manjiro* [iPad version]. New York: Amulet Books. Retrieved from https://itunes.apple.com [Genre: Historical fiction. Summary: Manjiro is a teenage fisherman when he and his companions become shipwrecked off the coast of Japan in 1841. Though the men fear "foreign devils," believing them to be "barbarians," they accept the help of an American crew that finds them. While the others resist becoming friendly with the Americans and soon part ways, Manjiro stays on and becomes the adopted son of the ship's captain. Though Manjiro comes to value his new family and American life, he longs for home in Japan. However, Manjiro becomes an important bridge between the two cultures when Japan's centuries-long isolation comes to a close.]


Schlitz, L.A. (2012). *Splendors and glooms.* Somerville, MA: Candlewick Press. [Genre: Fantasy. Summary: Clara Wintermute is fascinated by Professor Grisini's puppet show and is thrilled when he and his two apprentices, Parsefall and Lizzie Rose, are invited to perform at her birthday party. The morning after the party, Clara disappears and Professor Grisini becomes a suspect. Later, Parsefall and Lizzie Rose make a shocking discovery and become entangled
in an adventure involving a witch, black magic, and a mysterious gemstone with evil powers.]

Schmidt, G.D. (2004). *Lizzie Bright and the Buckminster boy*. New York: Yearling. [Genre: Historical fiction. Summary: Turner Buckminster III, son of Phippsburg, Maine's new minister, becomes unpopular quickly, but he soon makes friends with Lizzie Bright, a girl living on nearby Malaga Island. Though Turner is forbidden from going to Malaga Island to see Lizzie, the two maintain their friendship, and Turner stands by the people of Malaga Island when the townspeople of Phippsburg insist on removing its inhabitants in order to build hotels and attract tourists.]

Schmidt, G.D. (2007). *The Wednesday wars*. New York: Scholastic. [Genre: Historical fiction. Summary: Holling Hoodhood becomes convinced that his seventh grade English teacher, Mrs. Baker, hates him when every student except for him leaves school early on Wednesday afternoons for Hebrew lessons or catechism. Holling must contend with Mrs. Baker's Wednesday afternoon Shakespeare lessons, the humiliation of wearing yellow tights, the perfect behavior expected by his father, and the tensions of his family in this story about finding one's identity.]

Sheinkin, S. (2012). *Bomb: The race to build-and steal-the world's most dangerous weapon*. New York: Roaring Book Press. [Genre: Nonfiction. Summary: A team of scientists work in secret at Los Alamos, New Mexico to build the world's first atom bomb before German researchers can build one for the
Nazi party. Meanwhile, Communist spies attempt to glean their secrets for the USSR.]

Sidman, J. (2010). *Dark emperor & other poems of the night*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Books for Children. [Genre: Poetry, picture book. Summary: This collection of poems tells the stories of animals and plants in the woods at night, including a great horned owl, a primrose moth, and an oak tree. *Note:* No instances of social class noted – there were no human characters in the story.]

Stead, R. (2009). *When you reach me*. New York: Random House Children’s Books. [Genre: Fantasy, historical fiction. Summary: Strange things are happening to Miranda: her spare key goes missing, a shoe is stolen out of her apartment, a crazy man yells at her from the street corner, a naked person runs past her school, her best friend Sal is punched, and she finds several notes with mysterious messages in random places. Though Miranda does not know it until the story’s end, all of these strange events are related to a fantastical effort to save Sal’s life that crosses time and space.]


railroad job, he sends her to live with an old friend in Manifest, Kansas for the summer of 1936. Abilene is disappointed to learn that few people in Manifest remember her father, who spent some of his youth there. However, when Abilene discovers a hidden box, Manifest's forgotten history and her father's role in it begin to unfold.

Williams-Garcia, R. (2010). *One crazy summer*. New York: Amistad. [Genre: Historical fiction. Summary: Delphine and her sisters, Vonetta and Fern, are not sure what to expect when they leave their home in New York City to visit their estranged mother in Oakland, California. When her mother sends the girls to a summer camp run by the Black Panthers, Delphine is hesitant, yet she soon learns there's more to the Panthers than the violence she sees depicted on TV. During her crazy summer of 1968, Delphine learns self-respect, pride, and empowerment.]


Woodson, J. (2007). *Feathers* [iPad version]. New York: Puffin Books. Retrieved from https://itunes.apple.com [Genre: Historical fiction. Summary: When a new, white boy comes to Frannie's all-black school, he becomes the object of curiosity and a target of Trevor, the class bully. The boy looks like Jesus and is called "Jesus Boy" by his classmates, and Frannie's friend Samantha wonders if the boy really is Jesus on account of the way that he peacefully
resists the teasing he endures. Though the Jesus Boy is rejected by many classmates, Frannie comes to befriend him. When a confrontation occurs between the Jesus Boy and Trevor, Samantha becomes disillusioned with her beliefs, yet Frannie comes to believe there is a bit of Jesus, and a bit of hope, in all people.

Woodson, J. (2008). *After Tupac and D Foster* [iPad version]. New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons. Retrieved from https://itunes.apple.com [Genre: Contemporary realism. Summary: The narrator, who remains unnamed, and Neeka have been best friends and neighbors for as long as they can remember. Their life in mid-1990s Queens is sheltered with neither girl allowed to leave the block on her own. When D, a foster child, begins to hang around their neighborhood, Neeka and the narrator develop an emerging awareness of hardship and the sometimes harsh realities of life.]

Yelchin, E. (2011). *Breaking Stalin’s nose*. New York: Henry Holt and Company. [Genre: Historical fiction. Summary: Sasha Zaichik wants nothing more than to become a Pioneer, a youth division of the Communist Party. Sasha’s faith and devotion to Communism begins to waver when his father is arrested and he accidentally damages a plaster bust of Stalin, setting off a chain of events that exposes the tyranny of the Soviet Union.]
APPENDIX B
MEMOS ABOUT THE BOOKS

Initial Memos (from coding 2009-2013 Newbery titles)

- Maybe a new frame will be working-class pride and dignity. This is clear in the description of Lavendar’s house in Three Times Lucky, and it also appears in Dead End in Norvelt. However, cleanliness appears equated to affluence in Splendors and Glooms. There is also a passage about Claudette Colvin’s mother, Mary Ann Colvin, facing a difficult situation with dignity.

- Poor children might have happy endings relating to advancing their social class status (exceptionalism framing). In Splendors and Glooms, Lizzie Rose and Parsefall inherit the fortune and estate of Cassandra the witch. In Turtle in Paradise, Turtle finds pirate treasure, but her share is stolen by her mother’s new husband, Archie (though Turtle’s cousins, whom she presumably lives with after Archie takes off, still have their share of the treasure). Minli and the people of her barren, impoverished village become prosperous and happy when the king of the City of Bright Moonlight gives them seeds and farming equipment after Minli gives him a dragon pearl (Where the Mountain Meets the Moon). In When You Reach Me, Miranda’s mother wins $10,000 on a game show, and Miranda and her mothers’ boyfriend hope that she will attend law school using her prize money, which hints at an opportunity for a better life (Miranda’s mother is a paralegal and she and Miranda live in a shabby apartment). Homer and his brother Harold live with a wealthy mine owner at the end of The Mostly True Adventures of
Homer P. Figg, a life far removed from their earlier existence of living in their mean uncle’s barn and never having enough to eat. Manjiro, a poor fisherman, enjoys an unprecedented rise in class status after he is made a samurai, a status which one must be born to in 1840s Japan (Heart of a Samurai).

- The American dream is a theme in several of the stories. In Turtle in Paradise, Turtle and her mother and her mother’s boyfriend, Archie, dream about buying a nice home kit from the Sears catalog; they want to live on Easy Street. In Dead End in Norvelt, Jack’s father also believes in the American dream, but it has to happen outside of Norvelt. He wants to move to Florida where his hard work will help him get ahead.

- Greed is a sin in Where the Mountain Meets the Moon. The magistrate, who appears in several of the stories, craves power and wants his son to marry into the royal family. Eventually, the magistrate, called Magistrate Tiger, is renounced by his son, who marries the king’s adopted daughter. The magistrate turns into a Green Tiger and torments people who he thinks offended him when he was a man. Eventually, he is tricked into jumping into a well. This greedy character meets a bad end. Wu Kang is also an example of greed. He lives with the Old Man of the Moon, but before this, he was a regular man who was never content with either his house, family, or job. He often says “I want more” and “It is not enough” even when it seems like things are going well for him. The Old Man of the Moon makes Wu Kang cut down the same tree many times over until he learns how to be patient and
content. Minli’s mother is also greedy in a way since she is not content with what the family has; Minli and her mother and father work very hard to grow rice to feed themselves and live in a small house. The mother always wishes to change the family’s fortune and envies those who have more than she does. However, she comes to realize that love (the love of her daughter and husband) is more important than any treasure. Though she makes this realization, all of the people in the village become prosperous when Minli’s friend, the dragon, gives her his dragon pearl.

- Most of the royal characters or wealthy characters in Where the Mountain Meets the Moon are shown as bad people. The exception is the king who gives Minli his borrowed line and a silk traveling pouch (the same king who Minli gives the dragon pearl to late in the story).

- After Tupac and D Foster: Neeka and the narrator seem to be part of the same class since they live in the same neighborhood, but there’s little to indicate whether they are working class or middle class. The only sure thing is that D is positioned as being in a lower class and having less than Neeka and the narrator.

- It seems like a lot of kids in the Newbery books are missing a parent or both of them: Miranda only has a mom (When You Reach Me); Sasha only has a father (Breaking Stalin’s Nose); Homer doesn’t have either of his parents (The Mostly True Adventures of Homer P. Figg); the narrator of After Tupac and D Foster has a single mom and doesn’t know her father; Lizzie Rose and Parsefall are orphans (Splendors and Glooms); Mo is an orphan, though she
has two adoptive parents (Three Times Lucky); Turtle does not have a father (Turtle in Paradise); Kim Hà’s father is dead or missing in the Vietnam War (Inside Out and Back Again); Abilene only has a father (Moon Over Manifest); Delphine has both parents, but she lives with her father and is estranged from her mother (One Crazy Summer); both of Bod’s parents were killed and he is raised by ghosts in a graveyard (The Graveyard Book).

- The descriptions of the girls’ bedrooms indicate their class positions in When You Reach Me.

- Class mobility should be a code; it is like the prosperity framing of the poor but could happen to anyone from a class below wealthy. The frame about the poor rising to a higher class and emulating the wealthy might be recategorized as class mobility since they both get at the idea that wealth is ideal and attaining a higher class is desirable. Maybe the exceptionalism framing of the poor could be more inclusive to include the working class or middle class.

- possible code: rigidity of class

- Poor children and working class children in the books might be mistrusted: Homer in The Mostly True Adventures of Homer P. Figg; Parsefall and Lizzie Rose in Splendors and Glooms; Claudette in Claudette Colvin: Twice Toward Justice. This might be an expansion of the shady frame for working class/working poor.

- Some characters position themselves as poor when they really seem to live decently. For instance, a café customer talks about vintage cars being one of
"poverty's little perks" (Three Times Lucky, p. 24), while Jack in Dead End in Norvelt talks about being poor. Both of these characters seem to be working class, not poor.

- Lill and Lester are both working class characters in Savvy. They are both worried about losing their jobs and getting in trouble with their bosses.
  
  Lester works as a delivery driver for Heartland Bible Company and drives a pink bus and delivers pink Bibles. Lill is a waitress in a truck-stop diner who is perpetually late for work.

Second Phase Memos (from coding 2004-2008 Newbery titles)

Al Capone Does My Shirts

1. In what ways did the class of a character evolve in the book, if at all?

   Not applicable.

2. What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?

   Issues of social class are not main themes in this book. There is a little bit of price tag framing and admiration framing with Al Capone, who is not really a character in the book but is a background figure of sorts.

   Piper has power over the other children on Alcatraz. Her father is the warden and is the boss of the other children's fathers, who are guards, and she lives in mansion while the other kids live in an apartment. Her power may not be a function of a higher socioeconomic position, though – she has a bossy personality and seems to be popular. However, maybe her bossiness comes from having a father in a powerful position.
Moose and his family appear to be working class. Moose’s mother teaches piano lessons to pay for Natalie’s lessons with Carrie Kelly, and Moose’s father works as an electrician and prison guard on Alcatraz. Sometimes it’s revealed that the family cannot afford things such as a refrigerator, and Moose’s father worries about losing his job if Moose gets in trouble with the warden. This reminds me of *Savvy* when the bus driver worries about losing his job. Working class people seem to sense the precariousness of their positions whether it is real or perceived.

3. Did books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed positively?

Although Al Capone is a criminal, he is shown favorably in this book. Piper wants to meet him, and the kids at Moose’s school are always asking about him. At the end of the story, he does a favor for Moose.

Moose’s family is depicted as a typical family. Moose’s dad seems to be the most empathetic family member, and Moose’s mom does not seem to understand how much Moose helps (and loves) Natalie, which causes friction between her and Moose. Moose is shown as a kind, responsible person.

4. Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed negatively?

Piper is depicted as a conniving nuisance at times, and she is also not nice to Natalie, but she and Moose develop a friendship as the story progresses. Piper also befriends Natalie. Piper’s father, the warden, seems like a gruff, no-nonsense type whose soft spot is his daughter. Piper is a “daddy’s girl” and her father would do just about anything for her.
5. What other reactions or insights result from reading this book?

Though Piper and her father, Warden Williams, live in a “fancy mansion,” a type of residence typical of the upper class, I coded them as middle class. The mansion is government property and not a residence belonging to Piper’s family. Whomever is the warden gets to live in the mansion.

*An American Plague: The True and Terrifying Story of the Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1793*

1. In what ways did the class of a character evolve in the book, if at all?

   Not applicable

2. What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?

   Antagonisms, or tensions, between class groups are evident near the end of the book. Israel Israel won an election for the Pennsylvania state legislature; the election was held during a yellow fever epidemic in 1797, a time when many wealthy voters were not around to vote. Israel’s opponent, Benjamin Morgan, contested the election results. He said the poor had not taken an oath of allegiance before voting, a law that was rarely enforced. During the election, Israel’s supporters framed him as a champion of the common man, while Morgan’s supporters claimed the poor were clambering to take away what the rich had rightfully earned. Morgan won the reelection largely because of the votes of wealthy Quakers. Essentially, Morgan and his wealthy backers used their power to remove a man who supported the interests of the poor from public office.

3. Did books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group?

   What characters and what class groups were portrayed positively?
Several wealthy people are shown positively, like Israel Israel, who helped orphans during the plague, among other tasks, and Stephen Girard, who helped make Bush Hill, a makeshift hospital, run more efficiently. Benjamin Rush is also shown positively since he worked tirelessly to tend to the medical needs of fever victims, even while enduring yellow fever twice himself. Their actions are examples of admiration framing. Further, the wealthy people who did not leave the city, like Stephen Girard and Matthew Clarkson, are praised for their choice not to leave when they had the means to get out of the city (many well-to-do people did leave).

The middle class is also shown positively. Ordinary people are shown taking responsibility for the city through the formation of a committee. While the committee did include some prominent, wealthy members, many of them were average people like barrel-maker Peter Helm who chose to shoulder the burdens of the epidemic.

4. Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed negatively?

The poor are viewed as a burden by Philadelphia's citizens; even the Guardians, people responsible for caring for the poor, fled the city.

The poor are also not held in high esteem even when the plague ends. The author mentions that the fever struck the poorest parts of the city, but Philadelphians did not spend money on public works projects that could prevent future outbreaks of disease. The author calls attention to a social justice issue here.

While some people did stand up to help the poor, like Israel Israel, the poor are generally depicted as a group that is maligned by others. However, the author's
emphasis on Israel and Israel might indicate his own sympathetic feelings toward
the poor during the time of the yellow fever epidemic.

5. What other reactions or insights result from reading this book?

Most of the figures mentioned in the book were prominent people. The
numerous poor people who succumbed to the fever are nameless and faceless
(statistics framing). This could be a function of the lack of historical records about
these people rather than the author's decision to marginalize their stories. It seems
reasonable that records of prominent people, like Benjamin Rush, would be
available to today's readers, but the diaries, letters, etc. of everyday people may not
have been preserved.

I wonder if helplessness is a new frame for the poor. My impression from
this book is that the poor could do nothing about the yellow fever; they could not
pay for doctors and nurses, they could not flee the city, and some of the very poorest
people could not even find shelter and they wandered the streets. Charitable
framing shows the poor need help, but helplessness seems like a frame highlighting
the idea that the poor are incapable of helping themselves.

"Suspicion" framing might be another frame of the poor. Many Philadelphia
residents shunned and were fearful of the fever-ridden poor people in the streets
during the plague. Meanwhile, Benjamin Morgan raised suspicions that the poor had
not taken an oath of allegiance when he lost an election to Israel Israel.

Criss Cross

1. In what ways did the class of a character evolve in the book, if at all?

Not applicable in this book.
2. What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?

A couple of times, characters reveal their dissatisfaction with working-class jobs, like cashier Hector meets at the store and Patty when she wonders whether her lack of interest in science will force her to be a diner waitress when she grows up.

Rowanne describes how she doesn’t fit in at her summer job doing data entry; Rowanne’s co-workers feel sorry for her because she has no boyfriend and is in college. I wouldn’t call this class tensions exactly, but there seems to be some dissonance between Rowanne and her co-workers.

The lives of the characters in this book seem very “normal” and “natural” so that class seems irrelevant to the book – it is set in typical small town America. However, according to my theoretical perspectives, what seems “natural” and “normal” is actually ideological, and the middle class and the middle class lifestyle are made to seem like the norm in this book. It’s normal for one to go shopping with one’s mother for clothes at the mall (Debbie), and it’s normal to have a crappy summer job that you know you can leave when August comes and you go back to school (Rowanne). These experiences might be normal for middle class people but are not normal for everyone.

3. Did books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed positively?

The middle class characters of the book seem like friendly, nice kids. Debbie helps her elderly, arthritic neighbor clean up her house, Hector takes guitar lessons and tries to win a girl’s heart, Lenny teaches Debbie how to drive a stick shift,
Rowanne goes to coffee houses to listen to music and attends college. The setting of small town America seems idyllic, a place where nothing bad happens and the worst event is the onset of the anxieties that come with growing up and wondering about the person that you will become. The middle class is naturalized and normalized.

4. Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed negatively? See #2 – working class jobs are not valued and are something to be avoided.

5. What other reactions or insights result from reading this book?

Debbie seems like she is middle class. Her mom takes her shopping at the mall and is willing to buy her clothes, and she owns items that are not necessities, like decals to put on toenails. Debbi’s mom went to college. Hector and Rowanne (brother and sister) also seem middle class since Rowanne is in college and Hector always seems to have some pocket money.

Lenny could be either middle or working class. He helps sweep up at a garage for a few hours every week. Since he’s a teenager, he could be doing this for pocket money, but he could also be helping out his family. His father works the third shift, which seems to suggest working class, but not necessarily. Lenny’s family seems to have a lot of stuff; they have a basement full of miscellaneous items, they live in their own house, and Lenny has his own dirt bike. This might suggest a middle class lifestyle. Lenny seems like he is heading for a working class life because his school placed him on a vocational track, while Debbie and their friend Phil are placed on the college prep track.
Nearly all of the characters in this book could be “upper” working class or “lower” middle class. I think either way of labeling them is justifiable, but I am labeling them as middle class since all of the kids live in their own homes and their families do not seem to be short of money or items that are not necessities. The kids are also likely of the same class since they all live in the same neighborhood. The author does not reveal what kinds of livelihoods the parents of the kids have, and I think this makes the class of the characters in this book somewhat ambiguous.

This book reminded me a lot of my own childhood. Making friends with your neighbors, both boys and girls, and having a neighborhood block party were part of my childhood.

_Elijah of Buxton_

1. In what ways did the class of a character evolve in the book, if at all?

   Not applicable to this story.

2. What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?

   I feel like shady framing was present, although I am not certain whether or not the characters who were framed in this way were working class. Sir Charles, the carnival owner, is shady since he owns a slave and tries to hide the fact. The Preacher is also shady since he steals money from Mr. Leroy and gambles it away. Throughout the book, the Preacher is a swindler, tricking Elijah into giving up his fish, for example. The Preacher doesn’t work much and lives outside the settlement.

   I would consider many of the characters, like Elijah and his family, working class. Although they seem fairly comfortable financially, the men in the settlement are farmers and lumber jacks (see data from author’s notes), which I consider
working class roles. Mr. Travis, the interim preacher and the school teacher, might be considered middle class, by contrast. The characters in Buxton seem to be framed according to middle class values framing; they are hard-working, respectable people who care about their neighbors. Some of them value education; Elijah, for instance, worries that Mr. Travis will tell his parents that he is doing poorly in certain subjects. Even though the characters have working class jobs, they have some traits and values that would be considered typically middle class.

3. Did books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed positively?

The people in Buxton were framed positively – people like Elijah and his parents, Cooter and his mother, Mrs. Bixby, Mrs. Holton, and Mr. Leroy. They seem to all get along and help one another like neighbors. They work hard and share with one another, and they seem like a proud, respectable community.

4. Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed negatively?

See #2 – shady framing is evident with two characters, but it is difficult to determine what their class is. They are probably not rich and probably not poor.

5. What other reactions or insights result from reading this book?

Class was not a major theme in this book; it did not drive the action in the story as with some other books.

*Feathers*

1. In what ways did the class of a character evolve in the book, if at all?

Not applicable in this title
2. What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?

Maribel is snotty and seems better off than her classmates; it is mentioned that she is the only person at the school not on free lunch. I would classify her as middle class while the rest of the students at the Price school are probably working class or working poor. I have not noticed any other snooty middle class characters in books other than Anna Celeste and her mother in *Three Times Lucky*.

Class tensions are evident. Frannie and her mother, who are working class, dislike Maribel and the Tanks family. Frannie’s mom complains that the Tanks family’s grocery store is more expensive than the others and that the Tanks family puts on airs.

Charity is something that occurs only once in awhile, like at holidays. Maribel mentions the good deed she does once a year (collecting coats for the poor). This reminds me of *The Evolution of Calpurnia Tate*; Calpurnia’s family gives a turkey to the poor at Thanksgiving and that is their good deed.

3. Did books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed positively?

The working class characters are generally shown to be nice, family-oriented people. Frannie’s family (the Wright Barnes family) seems tight-knit and loving, as does Samantha’s family. The Jesus Boy is also portrayed positively; he is a character who seems to generate empathy since he is the outcast at school for a time being, and Frannie mentions that he often looks sad.

Maybe close family relationships are a new theme for the working class. This would be a foil to the dysfunctional framing of the wealthy.
4. Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group?
What characters and what class groups were portrayed negatively?

   I think Maribel’s family is negatively portrayed in a way. Samantha likes
Maribel, but Frannie does not, and Frannie’s mother thinks the Tanks family
(Maribel’s family) puts on airs and acts better than other people. Maribel is a
secondary character in the book.

5. What other reactions or insights result from reading this book?

   I categorized Frannie’s family as working class since the father works as a
truck driver for a moving company. I believe Samantha is also working class since
her family sometimes does not have money for food like chicken, and her father has
his own church between a diner and a Laundromat. This implies the church might
be small and not well-established, kind of like the church Opal’s father preaches at
in Because of Winn-Dixie (which is not part of the sample). I would say Maribel’s
family is middle class since they own a grocery store and could afford to send
Maribel to private school before it closed down.

   Good Masters, Sweet Ladies: Voices from a Medieval Village

1. In what ways did the class of a character evolve in the book, if at all?

   Simon’s family seems to experience a shift in class status. It sounds like they
were upper class since Simon’s father is a knight, but according to Edgar, Simon’s
family is now bankrupt because going the equipment and horse needed to be a
knight is expensive. I coded Simon as “poor” because Simon says his family has no
money.

2. What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?
There is animosity and tension between the classes. The story of Otho, the miller’s son, highlights this, as does the story of Isobel, the lord’s daughter. It seems like the lower classes resent and despise the upper class people.

3. Did books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed positively?

  Mogg’s mother seems bright. So the lord doesn’t take their prized cow, she borrows a neighbor’s scrawny cow when they lord comes to take one of their animals away. Mogg is very poor; her father was a villein, a person who is owned by a lord (not free). Maybe Mogg’s mother exemplifies ingenuity, a new class frame.

  Isobel and Hugo are upper class characters who seem like they are portrayed in positive ways. This is not true of the lord, who is Isobel’s father and Simon’s uncle.

4. Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed negatively?

  The miller and his son were portrayed negatively; they steal from the peasants by replacing flour with chalk. The lord is shown as being greedy over and over again (bad apple). Simon, the knight’s son, is portrayed as immature and pampered according to Edgar, the falconer’s son. Simon sounds like he was once upper class but his family is bankrupt now.

5. What other reactions or insights result from reading this book?

  It seems like there are three classes of people living in the manor: the peasants, the people who work for the lord (like the doctor and the miller) and the lord. The people who work for the lord seem like they are middle class or upper middle class, perhaps. I thought the miller would be working class, but the story
makes it clear that the miller is above the peasants in class. I changed my coding from “shady framing” to “bad apple” framing after I realized that the miller should be differentiated from the peasants (the lower class).

The lord was coded as “upper class.” When characters were workers who were in poverty, I coded them as “working poor.” I coded characters as “middle class” when they were free (not villeins) and had fairly skilled jobs, like the miller, the blacksmith, the glassblower, etc.

A lot of characters are greedy and steal from people – Pask, the runaway, Otho and his father, and the lord (although the lord’s way of stealing is accepted since he offers protection to the people in exchange for their labor or their goods). Stealing and trickery might be a way of life for medieval times rather than a function of class.

_Hattie Big Sky_

1. In what ways did the class of a character evolve in the book, if at all?

   Hattie’s class did not seem to evolve. She is an orphan raised by various relatives, but her last place of residence was at her Uncle Holt’s house. Uncle Holt is a shopkeeper who seems middle class.

   Hattie strikes out on her own when she learns she has inherited a homestead claim from her Uncle Chester. The work involved with farming seems representative of a working class life, and so does Hattie’s choice to become a chambermaid at the end of the story. I think it is justifiable to categorize Hattie as working class since she does manual labor and is often worried about money.

2. What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?
The theme of rugged individualism, which is part of middle class values framing, is evident. To avoid working in a boarding house, Hattie packs up and moves to Montana alone in order to prove a claim left to her by her Uncle Chester. She tries to meet the requirements of proving up the claim, such as fencing a certain amount of property and harvesting at least 40 acres of crops. Ultimately, Hattie fails to prove up her claim, but she works hard and wants to own her claim. However, it does not seem that she wants to own her claim in order to make money from it – it seems like she just wants to have a home to herself since she was an orphan shuffled from relative to relative as a child.

Though we often associate hard work with upward mobility in American culture, the end of the story does not suggest that Hattie is moving on to a better life. At the end of the book, Hattie is on a train headed toward Great Falls, Montana to work as a chambermaid in a boarding house. In the author’s note, the author mentions that the book is based on the life of her great-grandmother, who actually did prove up her claim by herself as a teenager. The author mentions that she did not want the fictional Hattie to succeed because so many people really did fail at proving up the claim. Maybe the author was trying to give readers a dose of reality with this book – hard work does not always equal to success.

Hattie’s income is very tenuous since it depends on her wheat crop and her flax crop. After months of work, much of her crops are ruined by a hail storm. She is constantly watching her money and worrying about not going into debt.

Working class dignity and pride is an evident theme in the story. Hattie very much wants to do things on her own and does not want to be indebted to anyone
(she does not want to owe people money or take out loans). Perilee, Hattie's friend and neighbor, is also unwilling to purchase goods on credit even though times are hard. Hattie is independent, though she accepts help from her neighbors in exchange for helping them in return. The help she accepts is in the form of help with farm chores and tasks rather than monetary help.

3. Did books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group?
What characters and what class groups were portrayed positively?

I think the portrayals of the working class families in this book were positive. Neighbors are shown helping one another and genuinely caring for one another like family. Even though Hattie fails to prove her claim at the end of the book, she feels like she has formed a family with her Montana neighbors. The working class families are shown as hardworking, independent, and upright people.

4. Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group?
What characters and what class groups were portrayed negatively?

People who have money are not portrayed so favorably in this book. A disagreeable character is Traft Martin, a handsome young man who runs his family's large cattle ranch. Though Traft seems to like Hattie, he is a local political leader, and he and his companions bully people they dislike, such as Karl Mueller, Hattie's friend and neighbor. Traft targets people of German descent for his bullying (the story is set during World War I). He pushes down Mr. Ebhart after accusing him of not being patriotic, and he has a confrontation with Karl at one point. Traft's family seems to be doing well. His sister, Sarah, has a doll made of china, his mother wears
a silk dress to church every other Sunday, and he is able to loan Hattie $800 if she is willing to sell her land to him.

Aunt Ivy is another disagreeable character. She only appears in a few scenes at the beginning; she does not seem like a loving aunt and wants to send Hattie to go to work in a boardinghouse. Uncle Holt, on the other hand, is kind to Hattie.

5. What other reactions or insights result from reading this book?

*Hitler Youth: Growing Up in Hitler's Shadow*

1. In what ways did the class of a character evolve in the book, if at all?

The book did not focus on any particular “characters.” As a nonfiction book, it related the personal stories of a few people who lived during the time of Nazi Germany.

2. What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?

The German people’s acceptance of Hitler and his promises for a great Germany seem like a function of the widespread poverty in Germany and elsewhere during the 1930s. In several places, poverty is blamed as the reason why the German people wanted to make a change and turned to Hitler for answers for their problems. It also seems like some of Hitler’s followers were poor people.

3. Did books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed positively?

Not applicable; the book does not focus on one person. The stories of several young people who grew up in Nazi Germany are woven throughout the book, but not enough details are given about their class status except for Herbert Norkus.
4. Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed negatively?

I think the book definitely blames poverty as a reason for Germany's acceptance of a man like Hitler, but it does not cast poor people in a bad light for the most part. However, the author does make it a point to mention that Hebert Norkus, a Hitler Youth who was killed in a fight and then made into a martyr, was poor. I wonder if the author was trying to say a lot of German people were like Norkus (poor as a result of the Great Depression) or if she was implying that poor people tended to be the ones who followed Hitler. If the latter is the case, this vilifies the poor since it aligns them with Hitler. It might be the case since the author does not make it a point to describe any other individual's class status in any detail.

5. What other reactions or insights result from reading this book?

Class was not much of a theme in this book. Poverty is mentioned a few times, mostly in speaking about Germany as a whole. It is also mentioned that Hitler tried to wipe out class tensions by saying that wealth and titles are not important. This was probably so he could gain the support of poor people, and I bet that during the Great Depression, poor people comprised a large part of the German population.

*Kira-Kira*

1. In what ways did the class of a character evolve in the book, if at all?

The family seems to come across hard times in the book, but their class doesn't really change. For example, they own a small business in Iowa but must move to a small apartment in Georgia to work at a chicken hatchery when the business fails.
2. What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?

Katie’s parents seem invested in the American Dream; they live in a rented house and long to buy a home of their own.

Katie’s parents seem to have a mistrust of institutions. For instance, they refuse to put their savings into a bank.

Working class dignity and pride is another theme. It’s mentioned that the family doesn’t take hand-outs or borrow money, and they make do with what they have. The mother seems proud and maybe even snobbish since there are women she calls “floozies.” The father maintains his dignity when he apologizes to Mr. Lyndon for purposefully damaging his car and is consequently fired.

Katie and Lynn wish for a better life. They want to live in a nice house and not a small apartment. They often talk about going to college and living in a home by the sea in California. Their mother wants a better life, too – she talks about one day moving into a better home in a better neighborhood. It seems like longing for better things is a theme in this family; this is emulation framing since the family “looks up” to wealthier people as a model of what they would like to become.

3. Did books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed positively?

Katie’s working class family is portrayed positively. The people in Katie’s family have their warts and eccentricities, but they seem like a loving, hardworking family willing to make sacrifices. Though Katie’s father works very hard, he does so without complaint, as does her mother.
4. Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group?
What characters and what class groups were portrayed negatively?

Mr. Lyndon is a wealthy character, and he seems like a bad apple. He is mean: he does not allow his workers to take bathroom breaks, he tries to prevent them from unionizing, and he sets animal traps in his fields (Katie’s brother Sammy gets his leg caught in one).

5. What other reactions or insights result from reading this book?

Katie’s mother seems to be afraid of losing her job at the chicken processing plant. This reminds me of Moon over Manifest when the mine workers are terrified of their boss, Arthur Devlin. Mr. Lyndon is a mean boss a lot like Arthur Devlin.

Lynn mentions that Mr. Lyndon inherited everything he had, which is similar to a comment by Holling Hoodhood’s father about Bobby Kennedy being a spoiled rich person who never had to work. I wonder if envy of the rich for inheriting what they have is a new frame.

Lizzie Bright and the Buckminster Boy

1. In what ways did the class of a character evolve in the book, if at all?

Mr. Sharecrop starts out as the town’s wealthiest man, but his shipyard folds and he skips town.

Deacon Hurd had take out loans to invest in Mr. Sharecrop’s plans, but when Mr. Sharecrop leaves town, Deacon Hurd is left with nothing. His family has to sell off everything they own to survive. They get back on their feet by living with Turner and his mother, and Deacon Hurd gets a job as a clerk for Mr. Newtown.

2. What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?
There is some very obvious class warfare in this book. The people of Phippsburg, particularly Mr. Sharecrop, the sheriff, and Deacon Hurd, want the people of Malaga Island removed so hotels can be built and tourism can thrive. Mr. Sharecrop and the others believe that Malaga Island's inhabitants will keep tourists away from Phippsburg since they live in "hovels" and they are considered deviants. The townspeople believe they have the right to drive away the people of Malaga since none of them have a deed to land on the island. The tensions between the townspeople and the Malaga people are class-based but also race-based.

Mr. Sharecrop is depicted as a bad apple, and so is Deacon Hurd sometimes. Deacon Hurd commits his mother to an insane asylum so he can sell her house and invest in the new hotels that Mr. Sharecrop plans to build. Mr. Sharecrop is the driving force behind removing the people Malaga Island, and he expects all of the townspeople, including Reverend Buckminster, to cater to his interests.

In this book, the "bad guys" get their just desserts. Mr. Sharecrop loses his shipyard and has to leave town, and Deacon Hurd loses all of his money and is forced to live with Turner's family. Deacon Hurd was one of the church leaders who worked to get Turner's father removed from the ministry position in Phippsburg. Turner's father dies, however, so Deacon Hurd's plan to remove Reverend Buckminster is a moot point.

However, not much good is brought to the "good guys." Turner's father, Reverend Buckminster, initially goes along with Mr. Sharecrop's plans for Malaga Island, but he eventually comes to see that removing the people who live there is wrong. He stands by Turner's side when Turner insists on helping the people of
Malaga, including his friend Lizzie Bright. Reverend Buckminster gets in a fight with the sheriff over this conflict, and the sheriff pushes him over a cliff. He dies from his injuries days later. Lizzie Bright, Turner’s good friend, is sent to the insane asylum when the people of Malaga Island are driven off. She dies there after just 10 days. The only somewhat happy ending is for Turner. Even though his father and his good friend die, he inherits Mrs. Cobb’s house, where he lives with his mother, and he becomes friends with Willis Hurd even though they are enemies at the book’s beginning.

3. Did books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed positively?

The poor people of Malaga Island are depicted in a positive way. Although they are poor, they are a warm community and they welcome Turner even though they are aware that the townspeople want them gone.

Turner is also portrayed positively, and Reverend Buckminster is too at the end of the book when he stands up for what is right. Mrs. Buckminster is also shown as a charitable woman who believes in Turner’s ideas, but she is not a prominent figure in the story. The Buckminster family is wealthy.

4. Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed negatively?

Mr. Sharecrop, the town’s wealthiest man, is a “scoundrel,” as many of the townspeople find out at the end of the book when his shipyard fails and he flees. Deacon Hurd is also portrayed negatively when he supports Mr. Sharecrop, commits
his mother to an insane asylum, and demands that Turner’s father be removed from the ministry of Phippsburg.

5. What other reactions or insights result from reading this book?

Mr. Stonecrop believes it is a waste of time and money to educate and “better” the people of Malaga Island; he says it has been tried and it didn’t work. See pp. 68-69.

I was surprised that I didn’t realize Turner’s family was wealthy until the end of the book when Mr. Sharecrop mentions it. There aren’t a lot of clues about the class of Turner’s family other than the fact that they own a lot of books and they live in the parsonage, which is a large house (but they don’t own it – the church does).

Before the end of the book, I thought the Buckminster family was middle class.

Olive’s Ocean

1. In what ways did the class of a character evolve in the book, if at all?

Not applicable

2. What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?

Themes about social class were not prevalent in this story. Martha and her family seem to be middle class; the father used to be a lawyer but is now a stay-at-home dad, while the mother hosts a radio show for a public radio station. They seem to be comfortable but not rich. For example, they vacation at the home of Martha’s grandmother, Godbee, instead of staying in their own vacation home or at a hotel. The family seems to have some expendable income, like money for plane tickets to go to Godbee’s, money to eat in restaurants, and money for Martha to go shopping.
Martha’s father seems unhappy being a stay-at-home dad. He is cranky throughout much of the story until he makes the decision to quit trying to write a novel and go back to work. I wonder if he realizes he has failed as a novelist or if it’s important to him to work and make money.

Godbee’s neighbors, the Mannings, might be wealthy. It is mentioned that the oldest son, Jimmy, has a trust fund from one of his grandfathers. Godbee herself might have some money since she lives in a cottage on Cape Cod, which is an expensive area. Godbee either has money or maybe bought/inherited her property a long time ago when houses on the Cape were less expensive.

Olive is not a character in the book since she is dead, but Martha, her classmate, thinks of her often. Olive might be working class since she lives in a duplex and her mother rides an old bicycle.

3. Did books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed positively?

The Boyle family seems like a nice and normal family if middle class is what is considered “normal.” Martha’s family has some privileges, like the ability for the father to take time off work to write a novel and care for Lucy (Martha’s baby sister), and the ability to take a two week vacation and fly the whole family from Wisconsin to Cape Cod. These privileges are not normal for all families, but they are routine for the Boyles.

The Boyle family seems typical of many families relationship-wise. Vince and Martha get along and they also fight, and Martha loves Lucy but is also annoyed by her tantrums.
Martha herself seems like an empathetic, sensitive adolescent. She finds herself wishing that she had befriended Olive instead of ignoring her at school. In contrast, her friend Holly thinks Olive was weird even though she is dead now.

4. Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed negatively?

Jimmy Manning, who may be wealthy, comes across as a jerk because he uses Martha to help make his video. His brother Tate is nice, though.

5. What other reactions or insights result from reading this book?

This book did not have any particularly rich messages or ideas about class.

Penny from Heaven

1. In what ways did the class of a character evolve in the book, if at all?

The class did not evolve in the story, but the end of the book suggests that it might. Penny’s mother, currently a secretary, decides she may want to join a doctor’s practice as a nurse (she used to be a hospital nurse), and Penny’s mother marries Mr. Mulligan, a milkman. The two incomes will likely put Penny’s family in a better position, especially since Penny’s mother makes “slave wages” as a secretary.

It seems like the class of Penny’s Italian family has evolved over time. Nonny and her husband were immigrants from Italian, and Nonny’s husband worked in construction. Now the children from their marriage have middle class jobs – Uncle Ralphie owns a butcher shop and the building next to it, Aunt Rosa is married to successful businessman Uncle Nunzio, and Uncle Paulie seems to do well though it’s unclear what his job is. The family moved from the working class to the middle class, a typical immigrant/American narrative.
2. What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?

Penny's uncles are always spending a lot of money on her to "compensate" for the death of her father when she was small. She's always receiving gifts of some variety. This seems to suggest that consumption is a way of healing pain or sorrow.

Shady framing is evident in the story. Aunt Fulvia pockets half the money from Uncle Ralphie's butcher shop so the government can't get it, while Frankie tries to steal money from church to help his family. Uncle Angelo, Frankie's father, is a ne'er-do-well sort who is often drunk and out of work, and Penny's family believes Frankie is headed for trouble one day since he is always getting into scrapes.

Though Penny's dead father, Alfredo, is adored by the family, he was looked upon with suspicion by outsiders around the time of his death. Technically a citizen of Italy, not the US, during World War II, he owned an illegal shortwave radio given to him as a gift and was treated as an enemy by the US government. He was thrown into an internment camp and died from illness while there.

3. Did books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group?
What characters and what class groups were portrayed positively?

Penny's uncles, who are middle class and upper class/wealthy, are depicted as loving, caring, and generous. They are always buying Penny gifts. They are somewhat one-dimensional characters - always friendly, always nice to Penny. The only exception is Uncle Dominic, who is a more complex character. He is Penny's favorite uncle, but he has eccentricities: He wears bedroom slippers everywhere and he lives in a car although he has a bedroom at his disposal in his mother's house. Uncle Dominic works in Uncle Ralphie's butcher shop and seems to be the only
uncle who does things with Penny rather than just buy her gifts. For example, he takes her to the beach one day and to a Dodgers game for her birthday.

Penny's Me-me and Pop-pop also seem to be loving, but they are also caricatures to some extent. Pop-pop is a bit crazy; he listens to the static on the radio and believes it is his dead nephew communicating with him, and he is going deaf and constantly burps out loud. Me-me is a notoriously terrible cook.

Mr. Mulligan, the milkman who becomes Penny's stepfather at the end of the book, is depicted as a nice guy. When Penny is in the hospital, he visits her daily and reads a newspaper to her. He also brings her butter pecan ice cream.

4. Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed negatively?

There is shady framing involving some of the working class characters. Uncle Angelo, always out of work, is depicted as a bum, and Frankie, Uncle Angelo's son, is headed for trouble and does become a small-time criminal at one point in the story (he steals money from the church collection). With the exception of Aunt Fulvia pocketing money to hide it from the government, the middle class characters are not depicted with shady framing or in a negative way.

Penny's mother seems to be a no-nonsense, strict parent. She forbids Penny from going to the pool or the movies because she worries Penny will catch polio. She refuses to talk about Penny's father and how he died, and she does not seem to be very loving toward Penny. She softens up at the end of the book, though, and starts talking to Penny about her father.

5. What other reactions or insights result from reading this book?
The way that Nonny (Penny’s grandmother) hides money around the house reminds me of Katie’s parents in *Kira-Kira*. Katie’s parents refuse to put their money in a bank because they mistrust banks. I wonder if Nonny is the same way. I wonder if this mistrust of banks is a class thing or an immigrant thing (Nonny is from Italy, and Katie’s parents are Japanese, though they were born in the United States).

Labeling the class of characters in this book is difficult. Nonny, for instance, is a widow and her husband once worked in construction. I would say that Nonny was probably working class in the past, but her children are successful and she lives with them, so she is probably better characterized as middle class at this point in her life.

Most of Penny’s uncles seem like they are best labeled as “middle class.” Uncle Ralphie owns a butcher shop and is the owner of the building next to it, and Uncle Dominic works with Uncle Ralphie. Uncle Nunzio owns a clothing factory and sells luxury coats. Uncle Nunzio might be upper class since he has many employees working for him and he can afford to give away nice coats and clothes to Penny.

Readers are told that Penny’s uncles are always spoiling her with nice gifts. It seems like there is a good amount of disposable income in this family.

Penny’s mother was probably middle class at one time. When her father was alive, he was a college-educated journalist, and Penny’s mother was a trained and educated nurse. Now, however, Penny’s mother is a secretary at a truck company, and she hardly makes any money at all. I coded Penny, her mother, Me-me and Pop-pop as working class since they all seem to be supported by Penny’s mother’s “slave wages.” Maybe Pop-pop has a pension, but it is not mentioned. The family also seems to eat relatively cheap food like hamburger loaf, chicken, and liver.
There are two books by Jennifer Holm in this sample, and both books include characters that plan to dig up buried money. In *Turtle in Paradise*, Turtle and her cousins dig up buried treasure, while in this book, Frankie and Penny hear about how their grandfather may have buried money in the backyard (they actually find it hidden in the basement). It's interesting that being "saved" by finding hidden money is a theme in two books by the same person. This finding seems to highlight the idea that authors do bring their beliefs and values to their writing. In *Penny from Heaven*, the money is used to pay for Penny's hospital bill, but in *Turtle in Paradise*, Turtle's share of the money is stolen.

**Rules**

1. In what ways did the class of a character evolve in the book, if at all?
   
   Not applicable to this story.

2. What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?
   
   This book did not have many class-related themes.

   Catherine seems to freely ask her parents for new things, like colored pencils, as well as money. A lack of disposable income is not an issue for her family. However, Catherine's family sometimes gives her conditions – she might have to babysit to get a new thing she wants, for instance. It seems like her family is trying to teach her the value of earning what she wants. Sometimes, though Catherine gets what she asks for without having to do work to earn it.

   Catherine seems aware of the limitations of her family's budget. She knows her father cannot take her to Disneyland, and she also knows it is too expensive to call her friend Melissa in California.
3. Did books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed positively?

All of the characters were middle class as far as I can tell. Some characters were portrayed positively, like Catherine and Jason, while others, like Ryan, were not.

4. Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed negatively?

See above. Ryan is portrayed negatively because he teases David, but he appears so few times in the story that I am not aware of his class.

5. What other reactions or insights result from reading this book?

As in *When You Reach Me* and *Splendors and Glooms*, both Catherine's and Kristi's bedrooms are described, and these descriptions helped me determine the class of characters. Descriptions of a child character's bedroom seem like a good indicator of class.

*Show Way*

1. In what ways did the class of a character evolve in the book, if at all?

The book didn't emphasize on a single character or a small group of characters. Instead, it tells the story of women in Jacqueline Woodson's family. The class of the family certainly evolves through the book. The first woman and her daughter, Mathis May, were born into slavery. In the next two generations, the women were part of sharecropping families. Then, in a following generation, a woman named Georgiana (the author's grandmother) became a teacher, which represents a middle class role. Georgiana's daughter, Ann (the author's mother)
wrote poetry, while the author herself grew up to become a well-known writer of
children's books. So instead of seeing a character's class evolve, we see a family's
class evolve through generations.

2. What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?

   There are no prominent themes other than the improvement of the family's
   class status generation by generation. Class is present in the book but is not a major
   focus.

3. Did books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group?
   What characters and what class groups were portrayed positively?

   Not applicable

4. Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group?
   What characters and what class groups were portrayed negatively?

   Not applicable

5. What other reactions or insights result from reading this book?

   This book does not provide much information about how social class is
   portrayed.

*The Higher Power of Lucky*

1. In what ways did the class of a character evolve in the book, if at all?

   Not applicable to this title.

2. What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?

   Themes about social class did not drive the story as they did in *Princess*
   Academy. Many events in the story could have occurred regardless of Lucky's social
   class. The setting - the rural, poor community of Hard Pan - made the story
interesting, but poverty and social class did not prompt particular actions from the characters. Brigitte's decision to open a café at the end of the book could have been to generate more income to support herself and Lucky, but readers are also told she is bored and wants a job.

I wonder if the author made Lucky come from a poor community so that readers would empathize with her more. The story might have had a different feel if Lucky was running away from a very wealthy household; it might be more difficult to see her as a sympathetic character.

Sometimes the characters complain about the free government food they receive or the meager amount of money they have (as in Brigitte's case when she opens checks from Lucky's father). However, none of them seem really dissatisfied with their lives, and no one talks about moving away from Hard Pan to make more money.

3. Did books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed positively?

Lincoln's family could be middle class since his father has a pension and his mother works part-time as a librarian, but other than him, everyone else in the book is poor: Brigitte and Lucky, Short Sammy, and Miles. Nearly everyone in Hard Pan receives free government food, and some receive checks from the government for disability, child care, etc. All of the characters live in Hard Pan. I think poverty is positioned as normal in this book – characters accept it and don't seem to think much of it. Probably to a middle class person, Short Sammy's house, which is made out of an old water tank and has an outhouse, would be an unthinkable place to live,
but Sammy seems to like it, and Lucky thinks it is even better than "regular" houses. Although the community of Hard Pan might seem like a stereotype of poverty with people receiving welfare and driving junky cars, I do not get the feeling the author is trying to shame or make fun of poor people in this book. Lucky and Brigitte receive welfare, but so does everyone else – so what? Maybe the author is trying to validate the lives of children who live in trailers like Lucky or people who drive old cars like Sammy.

4. Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed negatively?

This book did not have a variety of class groups present. Other than perhaps Lincoln, everyone in Hard Pan is poor.

5. What other reactions or insights result from reading this book?

I am not sure why the author spent so much time mentioning the government-issued food. Maybe she wanted to be certain that readers understood that Lucky is poor, but I am not sure why unless she wanted to show that living in poverty and receiving welfare is "normal" or not something of which to be ashamed.

I liked the story, but I feel the characters weren't very well-developed. For example, I am not sure why Lucky is motivated to throw her mother's ashes to the wind at the end of the story. Perhaps she realizes she has a community who loves her, and she feels safe enough to stop clinging to her mother's ashes, but she also does not know yet that Brigitte is adopting her.

The Tale of Despereaux

1. In what ways did the class of a character evolve in the book, if at all?
Not applicable in this story.

2. What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?

This book had a number of class frames; caricature, emulation, admiration, and price tag framing were all fairly prominent.

There seem to be rules and expectations that govern the behavior of people of different social classes. For example, Mig is told that she must curtsy when she goes before the princess, and the people of the Kingdom of Dor must comply with King Phillip's laws no matter how ridiculous (and capriciously made) they are. As royalty, King Phillip and Princess Pea are accustomed to being treated in a particular way. As an example, Princess Pea does not like being told what to do because she is not used to it.

3. Did books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed positively?

For the most part, the wealthy are framed positively in this story. The wealthy are shown to be in a desirable social position through emulation framing: Mig says over and over again that she wants nothing more to be a princess. Admiration framing is also evident; Princess Pea is kind and empathetic, and she even allows Roscuro, her enemy, to eat soup in the banquet hall (although her mother, the queen, died when Roscuro fell into her bowl of soup).

Miggery Sow is a sympathetic character, though I wouldn't say the way she is framed is positive. Readers might feel sorry for her since she is sold by her father, boxed on the ears by her new guardian (whom she calls Uncle), and is unloved. A repeated refrain in the book is that no one cares what Mig wants.
Despereaux, the hero of the story, is framed as outwardly courageous and brave even though he has fears on the inside. However, as a mouse, Despereaux does not belong to any particular class group.

4. Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed negatively?

Caricature framing is evident with the character of Miggery Sow. She is dim-witted, fat, and her ears look like cauliflower. I think the author meant for her to be comic relief in the story, but it's interesting that the working class servant girl is framed as a buffoon while the princess, who is the same age as Mig, is shown as beautiful and glowing. Interestingly, the author mentions that the king is not very smart (he beats himself in the chest with his crown after Princess Pea disappears).

Price tag framing also appears in few places in the story. It is mentioned that the royal family has luxurious possessions like ornate chandeliers and glittering tapestries in the castle. The royals do not seem overly engrossed in their possessions, but I do think the price tag framing in this book reinforces the association between high social/political/economic status and ownership of markers of wealth.

5. What other reactions or insights result from reading this book?

I wonder if the division between the mice and the rats constitutes a class division. The mice live upstairs in the light, while the rats are condemned to live downstairs in the dungeon. This division could be a function of preference, however, since it's mentioned that no rats except for Roscuro enjoy light.
The Voice that Challenged a Nation: Marian Anderson and the Struggle for Equal Rights

1. In what ways did the class of a character evolve in the book, if at all?

Marian Anderson grew up in a poor neighborhood; her parents had jobs representative of the working class. Money raised by her church helped Marian receive the vocal training she needed to eventually become one of the world's most famous and respected singers. Descriptions of Marian's clothes highlight her evolution in class status. When she first started out in Philadelphia, she wore a homemade white gown because she and her mother did not want to spend money on a store-bought dress. In contrast, when she sang at the Lincoln Memorial in 1939, she wore a mink coat. It is also mentioned that she needed 20 bags to hold all of the clothes and gowns she needed when she traveled on tour.

2. What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?

Exceptionalism framing is apparent in this book although there are not many specific passages indicating it. Marian Anderson began her life in a poor Philadelphia neighborhood, and her incredible talent helped her become a world-renowned concert singer. She was described as having an exceptional, beautiful voice. Her story is a rags-to-riches tale.

3. Did books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed positively?
Marian Anderson is portrayed very positively. She is framed as a regal, dignified woman who inspired many people not only because of her beautiful voice, but because of her stand on civil rights.

4. Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed negatively?

The Daughters of the American Revolution, who refused to let Marian Anderson perform in Constitution Hall in the 1930s, are portrayed negatively for their racism. Presumably, the DAR included a number of wealthy people. Eleanor Roosevelt, for instance, was a member before resigning.

5. What other reactions or insights result from reading this book?

I think this book also shows the new theme of working class dignity and pride. The Union Baptist Church wanted Marian to succeed, and many times they raised money to send her to voice lessons and to school. This indicates their pride in her and their willingness to help her. Marian also seemed to be highly regarded throughout her career; the book does not mention any personal scandals like those we hear about with the celebrities of today.

The Wednesday Wars

1. In what ways did the class of a character evolve in the book, if at all?

Not applicable to this story.

2. What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?

There are a few themes about social class in the book. Holling's father, for example, is very motivated to see his architectural firm, Hoodhood and Associates, do well, and sometimes this comes at the expense of his family and their feelings. It
seems like Holling's father is on top of his game as an architect and is overly concerned with making sure that he stays on top. He tries to make his home and his family seem perfect, and his thoughts and actions are centered on preserving the sterling reputation of Hoodhood and Associates. He sees working hard and supporting one's family as signs of manhood.

Holling's father seems to think outward markers of success are important. His house is perfect, the sidewalk in front of his house has no cracks, he has a baby grand piano that no one ever uses, and he buys himself a brand new Ford Mustang. I consider this a form of price tag framing; it seems like Holling's father thinks that the acquisition of nice things means he is successful, plus this helps him project a "perfect" image to potential clients of Hoodhood and Associates.

Further, Holling's family seems to be dysfunctional. The mother smokes cigarettes and tries to hide the fact from her husband. The father refuses to help Heather when she decides to take off for California and wants to come back, and after she leaves but before she comes back, he buys a brand new Ford Mustang (perhaps to give himself a distraction or help him to cope, or maybe to make his family seem like it's perfect and successful even when it's not since he cares so much about outward signs of success). It's clear Holling's family is unhappy; the father and Holling's sister, Heather, are often at odds.

3. Did books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed positively?
Holling and his friends, like Danny and Meryl Lee, seem to be upper middle class (or upper class, according to the class framework I'm using). They are portrayed positively, like normal kids who do things that normal seventh graders do.

4. Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed negatively?

Holling's father comes across as a bad guy since he is obsessed with his work and locking down important contracts. He doesn't talk about making money explicitly, but why else would he care so much about the firm? He seems greedy and more concerned about his firm than his own family. He assumes that Holling will take over the family business and does not ask Holling what he wants out of his future.

5. What other reactions or insights result from reading this book?

None.

Whittington

1. In what ways did the class of a character evolve in the book, if at all?

The character of Dick Whittington evolved a great deal. Dick started off as a poor boy in a country village, and the story ended with him giving away his riches to help the poor. He was able to become wealthy by first being taken in by a well-to-do merchant, Fitzwarren, then meeting his cat, who was an excellent ratter. On one of Dick's trading voyages, a king with a rat problem traded Dick a fortune in exchange for the cat. This was the catalyst for Dick's acquisition of wealth, though Dick earned more money as he continued working with Fitzwarren and Sir Louis, an investor.
2. What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?

   Exceptionalism, or the rags-to-riches story, was very prominent (see above).

   The wealthy people who are foreigners seem greedy, like the hypothetical sultans and the king who traded for Dick's cat. They seem like bad apples. However, the British men who are well-to-do are charitable: Fitzwarren cares for his cook and Dick eventually gives away the fortune that he acquires. This is admiration framing.

   A few times, wealthy people are shown to value material items like silks, velvets, etc. This is price tag framing.

3. Did books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed positively?

   As noted above, the rich were portrayed as both greedy and as kind. However, the kindly portrayals were of more prominent characters, while the greedy portrayals were associated with minor characters.

   Bernie and Marion, the grandparents of Abby and Ben, are portrayed as kindly people. I would say they are middle class since they own a gas station and have enough money to care for the various animals in the barn, including two horses. Marion was the bookkeeper for Bernie's gas station, though she started working as a teacher's aide when Abby began to have trouble in school.

   Many other prominent characters are animals.

4. Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed negatively?
The greediness of the wealthy foreigners is an example of a negative portrayal.

5. What other reactions or insights result from reading this book?

This book has some rich examples of class framing, much like *Splendors and Glooms* did. It is interesting that books with settings in England seem to have the richest examples of social class.

**Memos Written by the Coder**

*Princess Academy*

1. In what ways did the class of a character evolve in the book, if at all?

At the beginning there was a clear distrust and cynicism between the classes. I identified three distinct classes the quarry villagers represent the working poor, the traders represent the middle class, and the lowlanders represent the upper class. As the book evolves the academy girls begin to realize why the lowlanders would think of them as uneducated. Miri even begins to see herself as a princess and considers the "nice" life she would have away from the hard work of the quarry. I kind of feel like the lowlanders being to respect the villagers as well as is demonstrated with the tutor goes to live with the families and then when the King agrees to give the mountain people a delegate.

2. What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?

Lowlanders see the mountain people as uneducated, dirty, poor, and beneath them because they lack poise and polish. The mountain people see the lowlanders as greedy and will do anything for money including lie, cheat, etc. Yet, there is a definite change of perspective as the book continues. I think the point of how
education helps the village learn to trade more efficiently, helps the girls negotiate their needs and wants, and leads to an overall "better" life is a theme worth mentioning.

3. Did books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed positively?

I think the book shows how negative assumed stereotypes can evolve when you take the time to really get to know someone. Brita was seen as a prideful, aloof, snob because of her lowlander heritage, but by the end the girls were friends. The prince is seen as an uninteresting, stuffy, aristocrat, but his characterization changes as the everyone understands his situation better.

4. Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed negatively?

I think I've mentioned some of these in terms of how characters evolved over time. Everyone portrayed each other negatively at first.

5. What other reactions or insights result from reading this book? I'm excited to see the negative stereotypes melt away as the characters learn more about each other.

I'm also excited to see education play such a crucial part in how the villagers are able to stand up for themselves to be treated more fairly, but not necessarily change their whole livelihood.

*Three Times Lucky*

1. In what ways did the class of a character evolve in the book, if at all?

So I really so strong examples of class in the previous book, but in this story I struggled to find examples. I didn't see the class of the character evolve, but we did
see the Colonel figure out who he is. We find out at the end that he is a lawyer, which represents a class, but he doesn't conduct himself with mannerisms associated with being a professional in fact in most of the story he despises lawyers, but we don't know why. Mo's conflict with Anna is hard to associate just with class considering that the issue seems to be Mo's motherlessness.

2. What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?

We see a small working class town with "normal" jobs such as preacher, waitress, mechanic who work hard for the little money that they have and live as a tight nit small town community.

3. Did books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed positively?

I think the book portrayed a small town working class community as hard working and with a sense of strong family ties with community members.

4. Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed negatively?

Anna, who I'm guessing represents the middle class, is portrayed as being annoying to Mo. But we also see her struggling with trying to live up to her mother's expectations, so it is hard to really see her negatively because of class. I see her more as just a normal kid.

5. What other reactions or insights result from reading this book?

The examples of class were so prominent in the Princess Academy and created a focal point for the conflict in the story on multiple levels, but in Three Times Lucky it seemed to have less class conflict and focus on the identity of one
particular family Mo, Miss Lana, and Colonel. I felt like the issue of class was less of an issue.
APPENDIX C

EMAIL COMUNICATION

RE: Questions about Framing Class
Kendall, Diana [Diana_Kendall@baylor.edu]

To: Forest, Danielle E.
Monday, November 11, 2013 4:53 PM

Hello Danielle,

It’s nice to hear from you and learn about your research. I am traveling so my answers will be brief:

Discussion of the upper-middle-class was placed in Chapter 6, about the middle class (see pp. 165-166 in the 2nd edition). I do not provide many examples of the upper-middle-class in my discussion of framing because the mainstream media sources I examined did not use the term, and I was looking for prevailing trends in class representations and especially wanted to highlight the sharp contrasts between how the wealthy and poor were portrayed.

The working poor were grouped with the working class because the “working poor” do have jobs, often similar to those in the “working class,” but their wages are so low and their benefits typically are nonexistent, thus qualifying them for the poverty category. Many in the working class fall into the working poor category if they lose a slightly-better paying job and take one or more temporary jobs at minimum wage or less.

In sum, when writing about class, I have found that you have to make judgment calls based on what others have written and on your own data because the dividing lines are not clear cut in some categories.

Good luck with your dissertation!

Dr. Kendall

From: Forest, Danielle E. [mailto:dforest@odu.edu]
Sent: Friday, November 08, 2013 6:05 PM
To: Kendall, Diana
Subject: Questions about Framing Class

Good evening Dr. Kendall,

I'm a doctoral student at Old Dominion University in Virginia, and I've read your book, Framing Class, since it relates to the topic of my dissertation study,
portrayals of social class in children's literature. In the book, you use the six-level Gilbert-Kahl model to conceptualize class. I am wondering about a couple of things:

- Were portrayals of the upper middle class grouped with portrayals of the upper class (the top 1%) or the middle class?
- What was your rationale for grouping the working poor with the working class in chapter 5 (Tarnished Metal Frames)?

Any insight you are willing to offer would be much appreciated! In my literature review, I'd like to talk about how other researchers who have studied class in media have conceptualized and analyzed class groups, so that is why I ask.

Thank you very much!

Danielle E. Forest

Graduate Teaching Assistant
Dept. of Teaching & Learning
Darden College of Education
Old Dominion University
APPENDIX D

PROTOCOL FOR RECORDING MEMOS

1. In what ways did the class of a character evolve in the book, if at all?

2. What themes about social class are evident in the book, if any?

3. Did books include positive portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed positively?

4. Did books include negative portrayals of members of a particular class group? What characters and what class groups were portrayed negatively?

5. What other reactions or insights result from reading this book?
APPENDIX E

PROTOCOL FOR READING AND CODING BOOKS

Reading and coding occur at the same time.

1. Read the book. While reading, look for mentions of things such as occupation or work, income and money, education, residence (housing), possessions (clothing, toys, etc.), and transportation. These things may be indicators of social class. Direct references to social class should also be noted.

2. If a passage in the book mentions one of the indicators listed above or directly references social class, the passage should be recorded in the spreadsheet provided. A passage may be a single sentence or several sentences or paragraphs.

   a. Decide whether a passage fits one of the 18 “class frames.” If it does, record it in the appropriate section of the spreadsheet.

   b. If a passage does not fit one of the class frames, decide which class group is referred to in the passage. Use the rubrics provided to determine the class group being referenced. Then, record the passage in the “other notes” tab of the spreadsheet.

3. Repeat this process of reading and coding until the book is completed.

4. When the book is completed, fill out the provided memo protocol sheet for the book.
APPENDIX F

NOTES FROM MEETING WITH THE CODER

Initial meeting for explaining study and to train the coder
December 11, 2013, 3:45 p.m. to 5:30 p.m.

- First, I explained the general purpose of the study. Wendy has heard it before since I presented it in the dissertation seminar course.
- Second, I explained how to identify passages about social class by using the indicators on the framework constructed from the 2009-2013 Newbery books. I showed Wendy a hard copy of this framework; she was not surprised by the indicators that were in the framework and concurred that the indicators seemed appropriate.
- Then, I described the method of coding. Once Wendy has identified that a passage is about social class (based on the framework), she should decide if the passage fits a class frame (she was given a hard copy of the class frame table). If the passage does not fit a class frame, she should code it according to the class group that is referred to in the text.
- Following this, I showed Wendy how to enter data into the coding template, which is a spreadsheet. Passages relating to class frames go on one tab, and passages that do not fit a class frame are labeled by class group and recorded on another tab.
- I told Wendy that as she reads, she might see indicators of social class that are not in the framework. I told her she can code any passage that might refer to social class.
- I told Wendy that the class of the person who is the subject of the passage should be coded. For example, if a wealthy character is describing a poor character, the passage would be labeled "poor" if it did not fit a class frame. We agreed that sometimes, a passage might need to be labeled for two class groups because sometimes a passage might include information about members of two different class groups.
- Wendy was given a spreadsheet with passages from Splendors and Glooms to use as a training exercise. I had an "answer key." Wendy read and coded the first page of the passages independently, and then we went over them together. She then continued to code, and we continued to discuss, each subsequent passage one-by-one.
  - Wendy thought the class groups were fairly obvious; her idea of class was very similar to mine. She did ask how I differentiated "working poor" from "poor." I told her that generally, I labeled a character as
"working poor" if he/she was working or had parents who were working and generating income.

- At first, Wendy felt like she had to "fit" data into frames. Sometimes she labeled a passage by class frame, but after discussing it, she no longer agreed with her original label. After we talked through her first page of coding, she felt more comfortable with labeling by class group and not by class frame. (She felt somewhat obligated to find class frames and realized she did not have to because sometimes they just aren't present in a passage.)

- Wendy felt like the class frames were difficult to interpret. I felt like this is because she was less familiar with them than I am. I read a whole book (Diana Kendall's *Framing Class*) about how class is framed in mass media, and the class frames were brand-new to Wendy. I told Wendy I would create a spreadsheet showing examples of the class frames in other books that I’ve read so she could get a better idea of what they might look like in the books she is reading.

- Our coding was not in agreement much at first, but we began to agree more and more as we progressed through coding and discussing the coding. We both thought the problem was that Wendy did not have the full context of the book that I have, and this would be less problematic when Wendy reads and codes *Three Times Lucky* and *Splendors and Glooms*.

- Originally, when I started the pilot study, I planned to look at class differences and class tensions, but this is no longer one of my research questions. I realized I had some data labeled as class differences and class tensions, but I made note of the class groups referenced in the passages for the purpose of coding with Wendy. This made me realize that I should retain the class tensions data and put it in a separate spreadsheet, but I should also re-label it according to class group (or class frame, if applicable) so I can incorporate it into my data.

- I told Wendy that I used the terms "wealthy" when coding to refer to the upper class group.

- Wendy thought many of the class frames about the poor were negative. She said family loyalty and interdependence might be a new theme to look for when looking at portrayals of lower class characters.

- Based on Wendy's suggestions, I recoded three passages because she said they fit a class frame and I did not realize it at first. Wendy found an example of bad apple framing and sympathetic framing that I had originally coded by class group and not by class frame. I agreed with her and changed my coding for these two passages. I also changed my
mind about a passage I had coded as "dysfunctional" after discussing it with Wendy.

• We coded and discussed 40 pages in total. We did not code every passage because of time constraints.

• Questions that Wendy had:
  o Should historical context be considered? (I said "yes," but the two books that Wendy is reading are not historical fiction, so she might not have to consider this. *Three Times Lucky* is set in North Carolina in contemporary times, and *Princess Academy* is a fantasy, and authors of fantasies often "spell out" the social and cultural context of fantasies because readers have no frame of reference for fantasy settings.)
  
  o What should be done when a passage matches a class frame, but the class in the passage does not match the class of the frame? (I said this might happen, but in my past experience with reading and coding, I didn’t see a wealthy character framed in the same way as a poor character, for instance, but I might see a working class character framed in the same way as a poor character. I told Wendy that the class frame should be labeled anyway even if the class in the passage does not match the class in the frame. Wendy asked specifically if victimization framing, as an example, could apply to the poor, not just to the middle class. I said that it might be a possibility.)

Table F shows how Wendy and I agreed and disagreed on the passages that she coded from *Splendors and Glooms*. Wendy’s ideas are in bold. Though 41 passages were coded during the training, only the first 10 passages are shown here.
Table F

Agreement/Disagreement for Training Exercise with Code: Sample Passages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;After we've served her all these years, you'd think she might do something for us. But no, not she! She'd rather take in a pair of dirty little beggar children and leave her money to them.&quot; (p. 209)</td>
<td><strong>Wealthy</strong></td>
<td>Disagreed, but we reconciled and said this might be labeled for two class groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We agreed that passages like this might need to be labeled with two class groups. Wendy thought “wealthy” because someone in this passage has servants, but I labeled “working poor” because I knew the “dirty little beggar children” were Lizzie Rose and Parsefall, characters with which Wendy is unfamiliar.)</td>
<td><strong>Working Poor</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ah, sir, you insult me! Don't think I come in search of sovereigns! No! If I knew where your daughter was, I would tell you and never take a shilling! Nor even a farthing! Not if I was starving! I may be a poor woman, sir, but I am not without heart!&quot; (p. 343) (Mrs. Pinchbeck speaking)</td>
<td><strong>Poor</strong></td>
<td>Disagreed somewhat; reconciled (I have more background knowledge about Mrs. Pinchbeck's character than Wendy has available.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;All the same, Mrs. Fettle, it is hard - respectable people having to wait on children like them. It isn't as if they were any kin to her. What do you think she wants them for? (p. 210)</td>
<td><strong>Skipped (not enough context)</strong></td>
<td>Reconciled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Working Poor</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Some codes have been italicized for emphasis.
Table F Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Did either of you invite her to come here?&quot; Lizzie Rose shook her head. &quot;No, sir.&quot; She raised one hand, indicating the room around her. &quot;She was a young lady, sir. It wouldn't have done; it wouldn't, indeed.&quot; (p. 56)</td>
<td><strong>Skipped (not enough context)</strong> Class Tensions (Working Poor/Wealthy)</td>
<td>Reconciled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I want to talk to them - just them - with no one else about; no grown-ups. They’re so clever - they must know so many things I don’t. Think of it, Agnes. They earn their own living!&quot; Agnes’s mouth twisted. At Clara’s age, Agnes had been a scullery maid. She saw no romance in earning a living. &quot;You know that’s wrong, miss. Your mother wouldn’t like it a bit. And what would your little friends think, having to take tea with common children like those Greaseenies?&quot; Clara shook her head. &quot;Oh, I don’t mean that! Of course it (p. 10) wouldn’t do to have them with the other children But we could have tea before the party, if you’ll help.&quot; (p. 11)</td>
<td><strong>Exceptionalism</strong> Class Tensions (Working Poor/Wealthy)</td>
<td>Disagreed, but we reconciled when I explained that this was not an example of exceptionalism since at this point in the story, Lizzie Rose and Parsefall only made a meager living even though they were working. Exceptionalism represents a dramatic change of fortune.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;It isn’t right to steal a poor boy’s puppet,&quot; said an elderly woman. &quot;That’s his living.&quot; (p. 168)</td>
<td><strong>Sympathetic</strong> Working Poor</td>
<td>Disagreed but reconciled; I agreed with Wendy’s coding.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"No. I remember it. It was winter, and there was snow. We woz in Leeds, but we couldn't do the shows, 'cos it woz too cold and we woz 'ard up. Then that girl went missin'. She was a rich man's daughter. The coppers came and questioned Grisini. There was talk of locking 'im up. But then the little girl come 'ome safe and sound. After that, Grisini 'ad money again, so we come to London and lived with Mrs. Pinchbeck." (p. 72)

"She said you should wear the blue cashmere and your sealskins. It'll be cold at Kensal Green." (p. 9)

"Very rich people have gatehouses," explained Lizzie Rose, "at the entrance to their estates. I suppose Mrs. Sagredo is very rich." (p. 200)

<table>
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<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Working Poor</td>
<td>Disagreed but reconciled. Wendy recognized the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but we couldn't do the shows, 'cos it woz too cold and we woz 'ard up.</td>
<td>Wealthy</td>
<td>speaker was working poor, but I said the subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Then that girl went missin'. She was a rich man's daughter. The coppers</td>
<td></td>
<td>of the passage is an upper class person (&quot;a rich</td>
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<tr>
<td>came and questioned Grisini. There was talk of locking 'im up. But then</td>
<td></td>
<td>man's daughter&quot;).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the little girl come 'ome safe and sound. After that, Grisini 'ad money</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>again, so we come to London and lived with Mrs. Pinchbeck.&quot; (p. 72)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;She said you should wear the blue cashmere and your sealskins. It'll</td>
<td>Wealthy</td>
<td>Agreed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be cold at Kensal Green.&quot; (p. 9)</td>
<td>Wealthy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Very rich people have gatehouses,&quot; explained Lizzie Rose, &quot;at the</td>
<td>Wealthy</td>
<td>Agreed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entrance to their estates. I suppose Mrs. Sagredo is very rich.&quot; (p.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Meeting after independent reading and coding  
Sunday, January 05, 2014, 1:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.

- We started by going over disagreements and reconciling those. Then, we moved on to the omissions. If I omitted a passage that Wendy had, I read it and stated what I thought, then we discussed if I disagreed with her thinking. If Wendy omitted a passage that I had, she read it, stated what she thought, and then we reconciled if she disagreed with my thinking. Through this process, we eventually came to 100% agreement on all of the passages we both coded.
- Wendy said she tried to ignore implicit mentions of class and only coded explicit mentions of class. That probably explains why I coded more passages than she did; I looked at implicit mentions of class because I thought they could be important for explaining why a character was labeled/coded in a certain way.
Wendy said the two books, *Three Times Lucky* and *Princess Academy*, made it easy to see the difference between the working class and the working poor even though the books were set in two different time periods.

Wendy thought coding was somewhat difficult since there were a lot of moving pieces (the 18 class frames were a lot to remember). She also felt like the issue of whose perspective was being presented in a passage mattered because some passages could be coded in more than one way.

Wendy said she wanted to code passages with "class tensions" more often than she actually did. When we met for training a month ago, I told her that I wasn't looking for instances of class tensions since this wasn't one of my research questions. However, I coded for class tensions in the set of books I read initially, and Wendy and I labeled a few passages with "class tensions" when we met today. It sounds like "contentious relationships" is a class frame that I need to include in my study even though my study is about class portrayals rather than class conflicts.

We thought differing expectations between members of different class groups is a form of class tensions. For example, the working poor girls in *Princess Academy* do not think they are "rustic," while the middle class tutor is always berating them for being "rustic" or country bumpkins.

Wendy thought that it was hard to decide how much to code since the unit of analysis was loosely defined rather than strictly defined. She also felt like the whole context of a book was important in making decisions about class frames and labeling social class.

Coding the class status of some characters in *Three Times Lucky* was difficult. For example, Mr. Jesse has a lot of money, a fact that is not revealed until the book is ending. However, he gained his money through a crime so he did not earn or inherit his money. We agreed that even though he had a lot of money, he might best be described as working class since he lives simply and we don't know until the end that he has money. The Colonel could also be called middle or upper class since he was once a lawyer, but this information is not revealed until the book's end. Further, the Colonel doesn't practice law in the book; he owns a café.

Wendy felt like the Kendall class frames were usually pretty negative and she lamented the lack of more positive frames for the working class.

Wendy felt that it was interesting that working class characters in *Three Times Lucky* did not worry about their lack of money or did not make a big deal out of being working class. Being working class was simply part of life.

Stinginess might be a new class frame. Mr. Jesse is a stingy character.

Wendy thought working class values could be a new class frame. I mentioned that when I first read *Three Times Lucky*, I thought working class dignity and pride could be a class frame.

Class equality could also be a new frame. This passage made Wendy feel like the working poor and the upper class were being treated as equals: "And she, Miri of Mount Eskel, was sitting next to the prince heir of Danland as casual as anything." (*Princess Academy*, p. 222)
- Wendy felt like ingenuity could be another new class frame. The way that Miri used her knowledge to get a fair trading agreement for her village is an example of her ingenuity.
### APPENDIX G

**AGREEMENTS, DISAGREEMENTS, OMISSIONS, AND RECONCILIATIONS**

The columns titled: *WS Had; DF Had; WS Code; DF Code;* and *Agree/Disagree* refer to how each passage was coded by the coders working independently. The column titled *Outcome* refers to how the coders decided to label a passage after meeting to discuss the codes. Passages that were omitted by one of the researchers are not included in Tables G1 and G2.

Table G1

*Agreement/Disagreement for Three Times Lucky (Turnage, 2012)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>WS Had</th>
<th>DF Had</th>
<th>WS Code</th>
<th>DF Code</th>
<th>Agree/Disagree</th>
<th>Outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>As I waited for the bell that would spell my doom, I spied a princess-like girls across the muddy playground. A new friend! I started toward her. Her pinch-faced mother (p. 35) grabbed her arm. &quot;No, honey,&quot; she said in a pretend whisper. &quot;It's that girl from the cafe. She's not one of us.&quot; (p. 36)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Middle class referencing working class</td>
<td>Working class and middle class; class tensions</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Agreed initially</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table G1 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>WS Had</th>
<th>DF Had</th>
<th>WS Code</th>
<th>DF Code</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Our fancy house surprises people used to the café's plain, cinderblock face. The colonel built the café and our house together, in one building. The café faces the street. Our home faces the creek. Anna Celeste calls our place the Taj Ma-Gall, because she says you have got to have gall to talk about a five-room house the way we do. Miss Lana calls her room a suite, and the Colonel's room his quarters. Last year, the Colo- (p. 38) nel and Miss Lana gave me my own apartment. Anna Celeste says it's just a closed-in side porch with a bathroom stuck on the side. I say I'm the only kid in Tupelo Landing with her own flat. (p. 39)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>Working class and middle class; class tensions</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Agreed initially</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;It's a wonder you walked away from that crash,&quot; Doc said. &quot;You could use some stitches in this arm. You got insurance?&quot; Lavender winced. &quot;Are you kidding? Just tape it up, Doc.&quot; (p. 60)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Agreed initially</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sal is what's known as a Poor Relation of Anna's, meaning she gets invited to Attila's parties, but not to riding lessons. Sal's daddy stock shelves at the Piggy Wiggly and her mother stays home with Sal's little brother, a confirmed biter. They ain't Money, but some- (p. 109) how Sal still manages to dress like a fashion plate out of JCPenney. (p. 110)

Sure enough, a white Cadillac purred up the narrow road toward us and oozed to a stop. The window whirred (p. 62) down. Pinch-faced Mrs. Betsy Simpson - mother of my archenemy Anna Celeste - squinted in the dark. "Hey, Mrs. Simpson," I said. "It's Mo. How are you?" "Mo," she said, her eyes following the GMC's lines. "In a jalopy. Not my taste, exactly, but how nice for you." (p. 63)
After independent coding: 4 agreements, 1 disagreement, 18 omissions

Agreements/(agreements + disagreements) = 80%

Wendy agrees the people of Tupelo Landing are largely working class, with the exception of Anna Celeste (middle class).

Table G2

Agreement/Disagreement for Princess Academy (Hale, 2005)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>WS Had</th>
<th>DF Had</th>
<th>WS Code</th>
<th>DF Code</th>
<th>Agree/Disagree</th>
<th>Outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Oh, Lady Britta?&quot; said Miri with a nasal tone she imagined rich people must use. &quot;Yes, Miss Miri?&quot; Brita mimicked the same affect.&quot; &quot;I do hope all your lords and ladies are fat and happy, Lady Britta.&quot; All fat, none happy, Miss Miri.&quot; (p. 94)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Dysfunctional</td>
<td>Wealthy</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Agree to split the passage; the first sentence is to be coded as wealthy and the second part is to be coded as dysfunctional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The trader wagons were lined up in the village center, waiting for business to begin, but all eyes were on a painted blue carriage that rolled into the midst. Miri had heard of carriages but never seen one before. Someone important must have come with the traders. (p. 19)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Middle class and upper class due to the special carriage, but the traders are middle class</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>Disagree on code but agree on class of people</td>
<td>Agreed to split this passage; the first sentence is middle class, the second sentence is working poor, and the third sentence is upper class</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table G2 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>WS Had</th>
<th>DF Had</th>
<th>WS Code</th>
<th>DF Code</th>
<th>Agree/Disagree</th>
<th>Outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;All lowlanders think they're above us,&quot; said Frid. &quot;We're the ones on the mountain,&quot; said Miri, &quot;aren't we the ones above them.&quot;</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Class conflict between the working poor and the upper class</td>
<td>Working poor and middle class</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Agreed initially</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the dining hall, the girls ate fried herring stuffed with barley porridge, onions, and unfamiliar flavors. Miri suspected it was a fancy meal and meant to mark a special occasion, but the strange spices made it feel foreign and unkind, a reminder that they had been taken away from home. (p .47)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Working poor/class conflict in terms of what the poor and upper class eat</td>
<td>Working poor</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Agreed initially</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I was trying to stand up for all of us. This is another case of lowlanders treating mountain folk like worn-through boots.&quot; (p. 56).</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Working poor feeling oppressed by upper class</td>
<td>Heroic framing</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Agreed to heroic framing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table G2 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>WS Had</th>
<th>DF Had</th>
<th>WS Code</th>
<th>DF Code</th>
<th>Agree/Disagree</th>
<th>Outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miri glowered. Even if Olana's promises were true, Miri would not want to marry a lowlander, a person who despised her and the mountain. Prince or no, he would be like Olana, like Enrik and the traders, like the chief delegate frowning at the sight of the mountain folk and all too eager to get back into his carriage and drive away. (p. 61)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Working poor stereotype of upper (lowlander) and middle class (traders)</td>
<td>Working poor and middle class</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Agreed to working poor and middle class (class tensions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They ate fresh roast with bread and vinegar pudding, pickled beet root, lamb's head and boar's head, fresh fish breaded in wheat flour and fried with yellow squash, and heaps of soft, steamy bread. While feasting, Miri thought that she might be quite happy married to any lowlander in the kingdom if she could enjoy dinners such as this. (p. 216)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>Working poor</td>
<td>Disagree (I was thinking of this from Miri's perspective)</td>
<td>Agreed to upper class (Miri, though working poor, is in the world of the upper class at the time of this event in the story)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to Wendy's memo, she agrees the quarry miners are working poor and the traders are middle class. She mentioned lowlanders are upper class. Some of them are (like Britta's family) but I am not sure if all of them are upper class. I think traders might be considered lowlanders and they are middle class. We did not disagree on the class of the characters.

After independent coding: 4 disagreements, 4 agreements, 70 omissions

\[
\text{Agreements/(agreements + disagreements)} = 50\%
\]
APPENDIX H

MEMOS RECORDED DURING THE INDUCTIVE ANALYSIS

Memos Recorded During Creation of Initial Categories

- Class consciousness: “discomfort with new class” code of working class might go with “class awareness” cards of the class relations category
- The cards grouped with “aspirations” and “industrious” might go together since they all might relate toward working toward a “better” life
- “Isolation” card in “wealthy” group might go to “class boundaries” category of “class relations”
- “Grateful” and “awe” (class relationships) might go with the new grouping of class consciousness
- “Romanticizing” might go with “respect/awe” in class relationships
- “Grateful might actually be a better fit with the framing of the poor (undesirable) since it shows someone being grateful that she is not poor
- The passages showing “contempt” (class relationships) might reveal framing about particular class groups (these might be integrated in other new frames)
- Snobbish behavior appears to be directed toward the lower classes; this might eventually be grouped with the middle class or upper class since privileged people seem to be the ones who are snobs, but snobbery does highlight how lower class people are disrespected
- “Status quo acceptance” might go with “class consciousness”
• "Lowly" framing of the working class might go with "contempt" framing in class relations

• "Precariousness" might represent an expanded version of "fading blue collar" framing

• "Aspirations" framing of the middle class might expand "middle class values" framing

• "Value of money" in upper class: Mr. Brewster is a counter-example of this since he values justice over money

• "Aspirations" framing is not the same as "emulation" framing; in "aspirations" framing, people want something "better," but in "emulation" framing, they want to be rich

• Snobbery of the middle and upper class is the other side of the coin to "contempt/scorn" of the lower classes

• Upper class: "power and opportunity" and "opportunistic" categories might be grouped together; they show the upper class members are powerful and they act to preserve or advance their power

• Some middle class and upper class people value money, but not all of them do, like Debbie Pelbry and Mr. Brewster

• Working class "precariousness" is similar to the squeeze framing of the middle class

• "Extra mile" framing: Catherine from Rules is an example

• "Valuing money" can maybe go with price tag framing
Memos Recorded During Creation of Main Categories

- "Middle class values" and middle class "aspirations" go together because they both are about getting an education and getting a good job.

- "Working class values": Members of the working class are independent and hard-working. They are dignified and have a commitment to their families and communities.

- Expansion of "price tag" framing to include the middle class and their consumption.

- "Insignificance" framing: Members of the poor and working class are shown as insignificant and are neglected or dismissed by higher class people ("statistics," "spurning," "lowly")

- "Unity," "status quo," "consensus" can be called "unity" since they capture the idea that members of different class groups get along and sometimes share common interests.

- "Insignificance" framing: Call it "insignificance" and "contempt". Members of the working class and the poor are shown as insignificant or are treated with scorn by more privileged people. Includes "statistics," "lowly," "spurning," "contempt," and "disdain".

- "Crass/coarse": Ignorance?

- "Challenge/constraint": Call it "hardship" framing. The poor experience challenges and have limited opportunities.

- "Caring" framing: The poor are proud and are committed to their families and communities.
- Make a table showing new frames, modified Kendall frames, and Kendall frames that have stayed the same.
- Combined "caricature" with "crass" and "coarse." "Caricature" framing now includes more of a dimension of ignorance.
- "Squeeze" framing was eliminated since it was not observed in any of the books.
APPENDIX I

MAIN CATEGORIES, INITIAL CATEGORIES, AND OPEN CODES

An asterisk indicates one of Kendall’s (2011) original class frames. A designation of “not applicable” in the “initial categories” and “open codes” columns refers to a Kendall frame that was not modified.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Main Category</th>
<th>Initial Categories</th>
<th>Open Codes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All classes</td>
<td>Class consciousness</td>
<td>Class consciousness</td>
<td>Boundaries between classes, acknowledging class differences, not fitting in, isolation, awareness of privilege</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Class discomfort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor, working</td>
<td>Respectful</td>
<td>Respect for the lower class</td>
<td>Respect for the lower class, curious, awe, grateful, romanticizing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>working class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All classes</td>
<td>Unity</td>
<td>Unity</td>
<td>Common interests, equality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Status quo acceptance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Consensus*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class</td>
<td>Main Category</td>
<td>Initial Categories</td>
<td>Open Codes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor, working class</td>
<td>Exceptionalism*</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Charitable*</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Sympathetic*</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor, working class</td>
<td>Dependency and irresponsibility</td>
<td>Irresponsible</td>
<td>Irresponsible, shortcoming, alcoholism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dependency and deviance*</td>
<td>Dependency and deviance*</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Hardship</td>
<td>Constraint</td>
<td>Survival, helplessness, being forced, limitations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Challenge</td>
<td>Downward mobility, envy, lament, despair, worry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Caring</td>
<td>Caring and loyalty</td>
<td>Strictness, allegiance, social action, value of family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pride</td>
<td>Pride, contentment, spiritual, sacrifice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor, working class</td>
<td>Insignificance and scorn</td>
<td>Contempt for the lower class</td>
<td>Contempt, antagonism, disgust, disdain, snobbery, perception of intelligence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Disdain for lower class</td>
<td>Oppression, suspicion of lower class people, insignificance of the lower class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class</td>
<td>Main Category</td>
<td>Initial Categories</td>
<td>Open Codes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>Insignificance and scorn</td>
<td>Spurn</td>
<td>Undesirable, spurned, grateful (for not being poor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lowly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Indignity, lowly, insignificance, undesirable, spurned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Statistics*</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>Suspicion</td>
<td>Suspicion</td>
<td>Snobbery, suspicion, mistrust of institutions, contempt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>Precariousness</td>
<td>Precariousness</td>
<td>Limitations, lack of power, change, guilt, survival, unhappiness, burning out, sorrow, fear, worry, downward mobility, precariousness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>Fading blue collar*</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>Shady*</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>Heroic*</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class, poor</td>
<td>Caricature*</td>
<td>Crass</td>
<td>Ignorance, ruffians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coarse</td>
<td>Deficient, greed, selfish, rough around the edges, value of work over school, anti-intelligent, low expectations, cheapness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class</td>
<td>Main Category</td>
<td>Initial Categories</td>
<td>Open Codes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class, poor</td>
<td>Aspirations</td>
<td>Aspirations</td>
<td>Upward mobility, opportunity, improvement, American dream, aspirations, ambition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>Working class values</td>
<td>Working class values</td>
<td>Unions, justice, family and community values, value of family and community, kind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Industriousness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dignity and pride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>Middle class values*</td>
<td>Aspirations</td>
<td>Education, upward mobility, aspirations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>Victimization*</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>&quot;Extra mile&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Extra mile&quot;</td>
<td>Sacrifice, heroic, fairness, compassion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>Contempt</td>
<td>Contempt of the upper class</td>
<td>Jealousy, antagonism, contempt, anger, rejection of upper class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper class, middle class</td>
<td>Price tag*</td>
<td>Value of money</td>
<td>Value of money, consumption (upper class)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class</td>
<td>Main Category</td>
<td>Initial Categories</td>
<td>Open Codes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
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<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper class,</td>
<td>Price tag</td>
<td>Valuing money</td>
<td>Value of money, stingy (middle class)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>Snobbery</td>
<td>Consumer</td>
<td>Consumption, shopping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Snobbish</td>
<td>Snobbery, perceived snobbery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Power and opportunity</td>
<td>Upper class power</td>
<td>Power of the wealthy, respect for the wealthy</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Using power</td>
<td>Using power</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Power and opportunity</td>
<td>Opportunity, monopoly, power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Opportunistic</td>
<td>Envy, greed, opportunistic, self-interest</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Esteem</td>
<td>Fortunate, esteem, importance, status, respectable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>Insipid</td>
<td>Dumb</td>
<td>Dumb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tiresome</td>
<td>Vapid, undesirable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>Emulation*</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>Admiration*</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>Bad Apple*</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>Dysfunctional*</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table I Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Main Category</th>
<th>Initial Categories</th>
<th>Open Codes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>Expectations</td>
<td>Expectations</td>
<td>Expectations, concern with manners</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX J

SAMPLE PASSAGES: MAIN CATEGORIES, INITIAL CATEGORIES, AND OPEN CODES

Table J

Sample Passages: Main Categories, Initial Categories, and Open Codes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>Open Code</th>
<th>Initial Category</th>
<th>Main Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He ended up getting a job at one of the few hatcheries in the state that</td>
<td>Monopoly</td>
<td>Power and opportunity</td>
<td>Power and opportunity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wasn't owned by Mr. Lyndon [a wealthy man]. (Kira-Kira, Kadohata, 2004,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 235)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All told, the committee would spend $37,647.19 to combat the sickness</td>
<td>Heroic</td>
<td>“Extra mile”</td>
<td>“Extra mile”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that infested their city. This is a great deal of money even today, but</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in 1793 it was a fortune. What is more, the members of the committee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>could be held personally responsible for all of this money because they</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>had no legal authority to borrow or spend it. /The magnitude of this</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>responsibility and the courage of the committee members become clear</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when we learn that the majority of them were not wealthy. (An American</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plague, Murphy, 2003, p. 68)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table J continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>Open Code</th>
<th>Initial Category</th>
<th>Main Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The girl placed one broken boot behind the other and sank into a curtsy. It was not, Dr. Wintermute observed, the usual servant's bob, but a graceful and elaborate gesture, such as a dancer might make on the stage. (Splendors and Glooms, Schlitz, 2012, p. 175)</td>
<td>Respectability</td>
<td>Dignity and pride</td>
<td>Working class values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes it is true: I am better clad better shod and better fed than those - churles. And what if I am? (Good Masters! Sweet Ladies! Schlitz, 2007, p. 43)</td>
<td>Antagonism</td>
<td>Contempt for the lower class</td>
<td>Insignificance and scorn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX K

UPDATED FRAMEWORK OF CLASS INDICATORS

Table K1

*Indicators Developed from the Full Sample (Upper Class)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>General Characteristics</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occupation &amp; type of work</td>
<td>Owners of capital; highly skilled workers with much autonomy</td>
<td>&quot;'Cause you a Tate girl. Your daddy owns cotton. Your daddy owns the gin'&quot; (Kelly, 2009, p. 191).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Dr. Wintermute was a wealthy and important man&quot; (Schlitz, 2012, p. 75).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;... one of the few hatcheries in the state that wasn't owned by Mr. Lyndon&quot; (Kadohata, 2004, p. 235).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income &amp; money</td>
<td>No lack of money; possession of a trust fund</td>
<td>&quot;I'm guessing we had more money than other families in the county&quot; (Kelly, 2009, p. 132).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I've got a trust fund from one of my grandpas, but I won't get that until I'm eighteen or twenty-one, or something&quot; (Henkes, 2003, p. 124).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Julia needs the money like a fish needs a bicycle&quot; (Stead, 2009, p. 129).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicator</td>
<td>General Characteristics</td>
<td>Examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>University education</td>
<td>&quot;She wanted seventeen-year-old Harry, her oldest, to become a gentleman. She had plans to send him off to the university in Austin fifty miles away when he turned eighteen&quot; (Kelly, 2009, p. 6).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td>Well-kempt, spacious housing; sometimes mansions, estates, and palaces</td>
<td>&quot;Place was a mansion. Looked like something Shirley Temple would live in.&quot; (Holm, 2010, pp. 7-8).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;'Very rich people have gatehouses,' explained Lizzie Rose, at the entrance to their estates”” (Schlitz, 2012, p. 200).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;'Apparently Britta's family already has an estate much grander than the house in this painting”” (Hale, 2005, p. 309).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;She knew what the palace was - a very big house with a lot of room where the king lived” (Hale, 2005, p. 43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessions &amp; services</td>
<td>Ownership of expensive or luxurious items; servants to care for personal or household needs</td>
<td>&quot;'She said you should wear the blue cashmere and your sealskins’” (Schlitz, 2012, p. 9).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;'But why do I have to cook? Viola cooks for us,’ I said” (Kelly, 2009, p. 212).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;'Mother made me a new white broderie-anglaise dress with many layers of stiff, scratchy petticoats . . . I also had a brand-new pair of pale cream kid boots” (Kelly, 2009, p. 65).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table K1 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>General Characteristics</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Possessions &amp; services</td>
<td>Ownership of expensive or luxurious items; servants to care for personal or household needs</td>
<td>“She pulled off one of her gloves - they were these beautiful, fuzzy, pale yellow gloves - and she yanked a ring from her finger. 'I think of it like this,' she said, holding up the ring. It was gold, studded all the way around with - 'Are those diamonds?' I said. 'Diamond chips'” (Stead, 2009, p. 102).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“She wore a mink coat and a bright orange-and-yellow scarf about her neck, and she was bareheaded” (Freedman, 2004, p. 65).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>Travel occurs in attractive vehicles</td>
<td>“... riding in a fine carriage” (Philbrick, 2009, p. 79)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community &amp; neighborhood</td>
<td>Elegant and clean neighborhoods</td>
<td>“First the market gardens, then the smoky outskirts with dumps and stockyards and slaughterhouse, tanneries, fat renderers, rag-and-bone places, smelters - all the dirty work of a city that the nicer sort of people who live there want to keep out of sight and never smell” (Armstrong, 2005, p. 56). [Indicates what is not in a wealthy neighborhood.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“She craned her neck to look up at the houses. They were tall and stately, with columns on either side of the door. The windows were heavily draped, but the rooms beyond them looked warm and bright” (Schlitz, 2012, p. 18).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>Multi-course meals with an ample supply of food</td>
<td>“They ate fresh roast with bread-and-vinegar pudding, pickled beetroot, lamb's head and boar's head, fresh fish breaded in wheat flour and fried with yellow squash, and heaps of soft, steamy bread” (Hale, 2005, p. 216).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Table K1 Continued**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>General Characteristics</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td><em>Elegant and clean neighborhoods</em></td>
<td>“The cat settled in her lap as servants passed cold beef tongue in horseradish sauce, peas in lard, small birds roasted in pastry, a soup of berries, sweet white wine, dishes of shaved ice with red syrup” (Armstrong, 2005, p. 149).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mannerisms</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Oh, Lady Britta?” said Miri with a nasal tone she imagined rich people must use” (Hale, 2005, p. 94).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table K2**

*Indicators Developed from the Full Sample (Middle Class)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator &amp; type of work</th>
<th>General Characteristics</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Skilled workers with some autonomy</em></td>
<td>“‘No,’ Annemarie said, ‘he works from home. He illustrates medical journals’” (Stead, 2009, p. 37).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“The they were, as the mayor himself put it, ‘mostly taken from the middle walks of life.’ One of them as an umbrella maker; another built cabinets; another, chairs. Two carpenters volunteered, as did a teacher, a mechanic, a coach builder, and a playing-card maker” (Murphy, 2003, p. 68).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>General Characteristics</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income &amp; money</td>
<td>Money available to purchase items that are not necessities, but there are some limitations on budget</td>
<td>“Alice Hubbard worked for Wisconsin Public Radio. She produced and hosted a radio talk show that aired every weekday morning” (Henkes, 2003, p. 22). \n“'You know we can't afford something like that.' I don't mean Disneyland. Just something, me and you'” (Lord, 2006, p. 126). \n“A few days later the agent came back with a horse-care book and showed him in the Gazette's classifieds where two retired Arabian races were offered for one hundred dollars. It wasn't a lot of money. Bernie didn't ask Marion, his wife [when he bought the horses]” (Armstrong, 2005, p. 12). \n“I dance because the lessons are paid for and Papa feels all girls should dance ballet and tap” (Williams-Garcia, 2010, p. 130).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Sometimes a university education</td>
<td>“He was the first person in the family to go to college, and he became a newspaper writer” (Holm, 2006, p. 47).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td>Freestanding homes that are not luxurious but not shabby; urban residents may live in apartments</td>
<td>“She has an average house” (Turnage, 2012, p. 55). \n“If Neeka wasn't spending the night, she'd cross to her green house with the dark green shutters” (Woodson, 2008, p. 20).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessions &amp; services</td>
<td>Possessions beyond necessities; possessions are newer and not shabby</td>
<td>“Randall hadn't been rich, but he had a nice house with beautiful rugs, African statues all around and pretty pictures on the wall” (Woodson, 2008, p. 78).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table K2 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>General Characteristics</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Possessions &amp; services</td>
<td><strong>Possessions beyond necessities; possessions are newer and not shabby</strong></td>
<td>&quot;... Neeka sat on her stairs wearing our new jeans and sweaters. Neeka had just gotten Tupac's tape and we were listening to it on her Walkman...&quot; (Woodson, 2008, p. 86).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;It was almost like a game or puzzle to find Lucy - she was curled up against a pillow and nearly hidden by five other pillows, her quilt, a sheet, and dozens of stuffed animals and dolls&quot; (Henkes, 2003, p. 11).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td><strong>Newer cars for adult drivers; teen/college student drivers may drive their own older cars</strong></td>
<td>&quot;Uncle Holt drove me there in his new Ford Town Car&quot; (Larson, 2006, p. 11).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Her uncle's car was pretty nice. It looked like it was only a couple of years old&quot; (Kadohata, 2004, p. 111).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;The back end of Rowanne's old beater was poking out over the sidewalk...&quot; (Perkins, 2005, p. 185). [Rowanne is in college.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community and neighborhood</td>
<td><strong>Quiet, unremarkable neighborhoods</strong></td>
<td>&quot;Our neighborhood was usually quiet even in the summertime. It had always been like that, boring and quiet with some kids and some teenagers and a whole lot of parents up in all of our business&quot; (Woodson, 2008, p. 19).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table K2 Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>General Characteristics</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td><em>Not indicated in the books</em></td>
<td>Not indicated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mannerisms</td>
<td><em>Not indicated in the books</em></td>
<td>Not indicated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table K3

**Indicators Developed from the Full Sample (Working Class and Working Poor)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>General Characteristics</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Occupation & type of work      | *Low-paying occupation; may need multiple jobs to make ends meet; blue collar jobs* | “On weekdays/Mother's a secretary/in a navy office/trusted to count out/salaries in cash/at the end of each month./At night/she stays up late/designing and cutting/baby clothes/to give to seamstresses” (Lai, 2011, pp. 40-41).  

“While her father, George, cleans the mall each night, Julia sits by my domain” (Applegate, 2012, p. 43).

“Sal's daddy stock shelves at the Piggy Wiggly and her mother stays home with Sal's little brother” (Turnage, 2012, p. 109).

“I'm nothing b-but a deliveryman, sir,’ the thin man stammered, his shoulders jerking (Law, 2008, p. 55).
### Table K3 continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>General Characteristics</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income &amp; money</td>
<td>Money is tight</td>
<td>&quot;. . . everything in our house depended entirely on money. Decisions for us were not made on whether we wanted something, or even needed something, but on whether we could afford it or not” (Gantos, 2011, p. 94).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;'If anyone needs the money,&quot; Annemarie said to me coldly, &quot;it's you, not Julia” (Stead, 2009, p. 130).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;'We need the money, Moose. If I get students, I have to take them . . .” (Choldenko, 2004, p. 104).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>May not be well-educated</td>
<td>&quot;'But somebody opened it - and it must've been Lizzie Rose, because it wasn't me, and the boy can't read&quot; (Schlitz, 2012, p. 344).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td>Shabby, plain housing including freestanding homes and apartments</td>
<td>&quot;. . . he had never seen anything like the gaudy squalor of Grisini's chambers. In one corner there was a sort of playhouse built of rubbish, with a spangled curtain for a door. Clotheslines had been strung from one wall to the next, bearing an assortment of string puppets: some missing arms and legs, some naked, all with oversize heads and staring eyes” (Schlitz, 2012, p. 177).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Uncle Katsuhisa's family came out to greet us. He was the only Japanese in town who owned a house. The front yard was composed of gravel with bits of yellow grass, and the paint on the house was chipped. Still, it seemed okay to me. My own family would be living in the same cheap apartment building as the other Japanese who worked at the hatchery” (Kadohata, 2004, p. 36).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicator</td>
<td>General Characteristics</td>
<td>Examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessions &amp; services</td>
<td>Some possessions beyond necessities; possessions tend to be shabby or not new; cannot afford to pay for services like healthcare</td>
<td>&quot;Maybe if you were standing somewhere else and looking over here, you'd think the houses weren't real special. The way some of them could use new windows or some new paint. The way the doors hung off of some and other ones had cardboard sometimes where a window should be&quot; (Woodson, 2007, p. 20).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Brother Quang races home/from class,/throws down his bicycle,/exhausted,/no longer able to afford/gasoline for his moped&quot; (Lai, 2011, p. 58).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessions &amp; services</td>
<td>Some possessions beyond necessities; possessions tend to be shabby or not new; cannot afford to pay for services like healthcare</td>
<td>&quot;I know I'm supposed/to wear everything new./I don't have/anything new/except for the coat,/and a hand-me-down dress/still wrapped in plastic&quot; (Lai, 2011, p. 418).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;She doesn't like Lila Burpee, who teases her because her clothes are old&quot; (Applegate, 2012, p. 44).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;You could use some stitches in this arm. You got insurance?' Lavender winced. 'Are you kidding? Just tape it up, Doc.'&quot; (Turnage, 2012, p. 60).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I examined a chip on our yellow Formica table. Our chairs were green. A neighbor had given us the table, and our uncle had given us the chairs. Nothing in our house matched&quot; (Kadohata, 2004, p. 175).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicator</td>
<td>General Characteristics</td>
<td>Examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Transportation          | Vehicles are in working order but are not new; travel may occur in coach class; may be dependent on public transportation | “Brother Quang drives us back to the sewing factory in his car made of mismatched parts” (Lai, 2011, p. 425).  
“... her rusted-out, dinted and dented, sorry excuse for a car gurgled and gargled and choked on its last drop of gasoline, then died” (Law, 2008, p. 138).  
“... it was clear to him that Lizzie Rose and Parsefall belonged in a third-class carriage” (Schlitz, 2012, p. 190).  
“Montgomery's neighborhoods were spread out, and the maids and 'yard boys' - people like Claudette Colvin's parents who scraped together a few dollars a day by attending to the needs of white families - depended on the buses to reach the homes of their white employers” (Hoose, 2009, p. 7). |
| Community and neighborhood | Plain neighborhoods that may not be well-kempt or updated                             | “Their new home was a small frame house in a tiny hilltop neighborhood sandwiched between two white subdivisions on Montgomery's northeast side. King Hill, as the neighborhood was called, consisted of three unpaved streets lined with red shotgun shacks and frame houses like the Colvins” (Hoose, 2009, p. 15). |
| Food                    | May not be able to purchase foods that are desired                                      | “You remember that time you came to my house and we were having corn bread and greens and you asked where the chicken was?”  
I nodded. Then I said, ‘Yes.’ I'd been so embarrassed when I left Samantha’s house for that day. There wasn’t any chicken because there hadn’t been any money for chicken” (Woodson, 2007, p. 64). |
Table K3 continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>General Characteristics</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
|           |                         | "'Cake,' suggested the soldier, 'with a fork.'
'And wouldn't that be lovely,' said Uncle, 'if we could afford to eat cake'" (DiCamillo, 2003, p. 141). |
|           |                         | "'Are we going out for dinner?' I ask. We don't go to restaurants very often and, believe me, it's a real treat when we do" (Holm, 2006, p. 101). |

Mannerisms | *Not indicated in the books* | Not indicated |

Table K4

*Indicators Developed from the Full Sample (Poor and Homeless)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>General Characteristics</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occupation &amp; type of work</td>
<td><em>No occupation or low-paying occupation</em></td>
<td>&quot;They were barely able to harvest enough rice to feed themselves&quot; (Lin, 2009, p. 3). &quot;Once I'm free, I can start looking for work. Town work, the kind where you get money, instead of old cabbage leaves and the dregs of the beer&quot; (Schlitz, 2012, p. 62).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income &amp; money</td>
<td><em>Minimal amount of money</em></td>
<td>&quot;...the only money in the house was two old copper coins&quot; (Lin, 2009, p. 3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td><em>Not indicated in the books</em></td>
<td>Not indicated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table K4 continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>General Characteristics</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td>Shabby, plain housing or no housing</td>
<td>“Our house is bare” (Lin, 2009, pp. 9-10).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“... barns, abandoned railroad cars, even Hoovervilles” (Vanderpool, 2010, p. 18).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“In front of her sat a shabby frame house with peeling paint, a house that slumped on one side as if it were sinking into the red dirt” (Appelt, 2008, p. 9).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“First was her little shiny aluminum canned-ham trailer, where she and HMS Beagle slept. Next, the long kitchen-dining room-bathroom trailer, and last, Brigitte's Westcraft bedroom trailer. Instead of having wheels and being hooked up to cars to tow them around, the three trailers were mounted on concrete blocks; plus they were anchored to the ground with metal cables to keep from being blown over in windstorms” (Patron, 2006, p. 7).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessions &amp;</td>
<td>Few possessions; possessions tend to be</td>
<td>“There’s mother, so meek, and blind in one eye, her hair falling out,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>services</td>
<td>shabby or not new</td>
<td>her shift full of holes - making a fool of her lordship” (Schlitz, 2007, p. 26).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessions &amp;</td>
<td>Few possessions; possessions tend to be</td>
<td>“There was no lock on the door, because Short Sammy wasn’t worried about anyone stealing anything except his big black cast-iron frying pan, which was the most valuable thing he owned” (Patron, 2006, p. 55).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>services</td>
<td>shabby or not new</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicator</td>
<td>General Characteristics</td>
<td>Examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>Vehicles are in poor shape</td>
<td>“There was a rusted pickup truck parked next to it, a dark puddle of thick oil pooled beneath its undercarriage” (Appelt, 2008, p. 9).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community and neighborhood</td>
<td>Neighborhoods of ill-kempt buildings</td>
<td>“It was a poor section of town, and the narrow houses looked bleak and cheerless” (Schlitz, 2012, p. 173).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“That morning, as Herbert passed the crumbling brick tenement buildings and treeless courtyards, he watched out for Reds” (Bartoletti, 2005, p. 10).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>Food is scarce</td>
<td>“One day I'm feeding the hogs and Squint catches me chawing on a scrap of stale bread he threwed in with the slops” (Philbrick, 2009, p. 10).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“'His family was poor. The soil was thin and ill-tended. There wasn't enough food” (Armstrong, 2005, p. 39).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mannerisms</td>
<td>Not indicated in the books</td>
<td>Not indicated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VITA

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Education

Doctor of Philosophy, 2014 (anticipated), Curriculum and Instruction, Darden College of Education, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, VA

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Graduate Assistant, 2011-2014, Department of Teaching & Learning, Darden College of Education, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, VA

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Selected Publications


The word processor for this dissertation was Danielle Forest.