September 2014

The Portrayal of Immigrants in Children's and Young Adults' American Trade Books During Two Peak United States Immigration Eras (1880-1930 and 1980-2010s)

Rina Roula Bousalis

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The Portrayal of Immigrants in Children’s and Young Adults’ American Trade Books
During Two Peak United States Immigration Eras (1880-1930 and 1980-2010s)

by

Rina Bousalis

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
College of Arts & Sciences and College of Education
University of South Florida

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James A. Duplass, Ph.D.
Philip C. Smith, Ph.D.

Date of Approval:
July 1, 2014

Keywords: immigrant, immigration, trade book, multicultural education, stereotypes, social studies

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DEDICATION

I dedicate my dissertation to my mother and father, Greek immigrants, who, despite having little more than a fifth grade education, were my greatest teachers. My deepest gratitude also goes out to my daughters, Angela and Deanna, who supported my endeavor from beginning to end.
Many individuals have helped me see this paper come to completion. Thanks go out to Dr. Vonzell Agosto for allowing me to visit her Master’s of Education class and recruit her students as readers for a variety of children’s picture books. Without the efforts of the multitude of educators and professionals who took part in reading the books and collecting data, this study would not have been completed. All in all, 46 readers gave their time and effort to read not just one, but sometimes two or more books; they never complained, even when I asked them to read a book they did not like.

Also deserving of my thanks are the members of my committee, Dr. Bárbara C. Cruz, Dr. J. Howard Johnston, Dr. James A. Duplass, and Dr. Philip C. Smith for all their comments and suggestions. However, my deepest gratitude is owed to Dr. Cruz, whose endless guidance and willingness to help has allowed me to realize my goal to attain my degree.
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ABSTRACT

Although immigrants are an integral part of the nation’s founding and history, it is unclear how they have been historically portrayed in children’s and young adults’ American trade books, especially at the turn of the 20th century. This study offers a critical and comparative analysis focusing on the historical evolution, depiction of immigrants, and authors’ perspectives of selected trade books written during two peak United States immigration eras (1880-1930 and 1980-2010s).

Utilizing a discourse analysis approach, this study examined how first-generation immigrants were portrayed in selected trade books and how various themes and representations may have affected students and the social studies curriculum. After studying 98 books, it was determined that in both peak immigration eras, first-generation immigrants were depicted as inferior to native-born Americans. Although the time period and countries of origin changed, the issues that immigrants faced and the problems they experienced were similar; first-generation immigrants were scorned, harshly criticized, and viewed as inferior not only by Americans, but also by fellow immigrants who were members of other cultures. Overall, the books left out the immigration experience, and were mostly tales of assimilation and mistreatment in the United States.

Because children’s ideas and understandings of people and cultural groups are formed by what they learn from others and by the media, it is important that books which portray immigrants and their experience provide accurate and meaningful representations of these individuals. Although many of these books reviewed in this study are considered classics and
offer an immense amount of valuable information about historical events which can benefit the social studies curriculum, teachers should be wary of serious overt and covert criticism of ethnicities before introducing them in the classroom.

There is a need for literature that sends positive messages about accepting those from other countries and that focuses on how first-generation immigrants helped shape America. Teachers should use trade books in the classroom as they can help children read about history. However, new books need to be written about immigrants. Future research should look into effective ways to use the existing body of trade book literature in the classroom, investigate if (and to what degree) trade books were or are used in schools, compare trade books’ portrayal of immigrants to that of textbooks’ portrayal, and examine how immigrants were portrayed during the time periods (1940-1970) not covered in this study.
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

‘By all means let me go to America,’ a young man in Japan begged his parents . . . ‘Any man or woman without a family [would be fools to] not venture and come to this plentiful Country where no man or woman ever hungered’ . . . the cry ‘To America!’ roared like ‘wild-fire’ . . . ‘America was in everybody’s mouth’ (Takaki, 1993, p. 12).

Throughout the history of the United States, immigrants have come from all over the world, often bringing little with them, but leaving impacting legacies. The history of the United States, it can be argued, is one of immigration. For schoolchildren, the story of immigration is one often told and examined in the school curriculum. As these immigrants and their experiences are portrayed through children’s and young adult trade books, it is important to study how first-generation immigrants have been represented through various authors’ and illustrators’ perspectives, especially during peak United States immigration eras.

I, myself, come from a family of immigrants. As a daughter of immigrants, writing this dissertation on the subject of immigrants was, in part, a sort of personal quest to examine what was written about my Greek heritage. However, the project soon evolved into a larger endeavor. Studying the portrayal of immigrants in children’s and young adults’ trade book literature was not my original plan until I, a second-generation citizen, born to foreign-born, or first-generation, immigrants, and raised in the United States (Porters, A. & Rumbaut, R., 2006), realized just how passionate I felt about the topic of immigrants.

As I was an elementary teacher for many years, working in particular with immigrant English language learners, perhaps it was my students’ journal writings that inspired me to consider their stories. My students often wrote about their immigrant “moments” that only an immigrant would know—unique experiences about coming to America, thoughts about what
people were like in this country, and everyday aspects of living in the United States that others would find common, routine, or take for granted—which fascinated me. I wondered quite often just how first-generation immigrants and their experiences, much like those of my own parents and classroom students, were captured in text, particularly in children and young adults’ trade books. When immigrant children see themselves reflected in their school textbooks and in the books they checked out from the library, what do they see? Imagine the stories that could be told and the learning that could be done! How was I to promote and teach multiculturalism, United States history and geography, and American citizenship, if I did not completely understand how immigrants and their experiences are portrayed in instructional materials? How could students truly appreciate the founding and history of America without understanding the immigrant experience? This study sought to address these questions.

Immigration to the United States

Since the creation of the nation, immigrants have shaped the history of the United States of America. As a country founded by immigrants over two centuries ago, over the years, many individuals flocked to the United States escaping religious persecution, seeking political freedom, and looking for economic opportunity. For many, America was, and remains, a land of opportunity. Immigrants in the past, as well as today, have made journeys in search of “The American Dream”—the belief that through hard work, virtually anyone can attain success. Although the reasons for and experiences of immigrating to the United States vary greatly for different people and groups during different time periods in history, immigrants arrived, made the United States their home, and changed the ethnic makeup of this country (Ogbu, 1998).

According to the United States Census Bureau (2010), the last two significant eras of immigration occurred during 1880-1930 and 1980-2010s, during which over 34 million
immigrants entered the country legally or illegally. While the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century mainly saw an influx of immigrants from Europe, the late twentieth to early 21st century immigrants hailed mostly from Asia and Latin America (United States Census Bureau, 2014), a fact that is “characteristic of what is more broadly being referred to, by sociologists and cultural anthropologists, as the ‘new immigration,’” marking a “shift from earlier waves of migration which were of European descent to [migration from] countries in Asia, Latin America, and Africa” (Riofrío, 2008, p. 7). There were many historical factors and restrictions that influenced immigration to America within these important eras, as America both opened and closed its doors to immigrants, causing immigration to rise and decline.

Significant United States Immigration Era: Rise, Peak, and Decline: 1880-1930

Peaking in the year 1907, the 1880 to 1930 “wave” of immigration to the United States established the arrival of European immigrants mainly from Europe, namely, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Portugal, Poland, Britain, Germany, and Austria-Hungary. Nearly two million individuals of Jewish descent alone immigrated to the United States between 1881 and 1918. The era also included a high point for immigrants in 1882 from Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Holland, and Switzerland. Russian immigrants, too, made their way to America during this time period. Factors such as industrial, agricultural, and transportation development were all significant in this European immigrant movement as each of these economic sectors needed workers. The desire of industries in the United States for unskilled labor combined with the profits to be made by importing immigrants as cheap workers fueled the movement of individuals from the aforementioned countries (Kindleberger, 1965).

Of the millions of immigrants who traveled by ship and entered the United States throughout the early 1900s, nearly 75% of them, mostly male and younger than 35 years old,
passed through Ellis Island in New York Harbor. This small island was the main United States immigration hub on the east coast. It processed many of the world’s immigrants during this immigration era, leaving an indelible print on American society (Foner, 2000). However, while immigration surged after World War I (1914-1918), feelings of “nativism” – a strong resistance to foreign-born immigrants – ignited in the United States (Higham, 1955). As Dinnerstein & Reimers (1999) point out, “Immigrants were considered undesirable, unassimilable, and hostile or indifferent to American values” (p. 79), particularly those who were associated with World War I enemy countries. Although this perspective emphasized differences and promoted the notion of American superiority, employers still recruited immigrants as workers, and looked favorably upon the arrival of immigrants in large numbers (Fuchs, 1987).

Nativism induced widespread fear of immigrants as the United States underwent population changes (Jaret, 1999). For many immigrants, this xenophobic attitude limited their ability to assimilate into mainstream society, or even to enter the United States, as Congress began to set immigration quotas. A historic example of the impact of nativism on government policy involved the Chinese immigrants who came to California to work on the Transcontinental Railroad from 1863-1869. As these men were skilled tradesmen, the Chinese were quickly employed to work in railroad construction, causing American laborers to accuse the Chinese of taking jobs away from native-born Americans. As hostility rose towards the Chinese immigrants, legislation to limit immigration began. Yet even with government restrictions such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 which limited immigration of Chinese laborers into the United States and prohibited Chinese immigrants from becoming naturalized citizens (Lee, 2002), and the “The Immigration Act of 1882” which taxed $0.50 to all immigrants entering United States’
ports (White, 2010), “the legislation did not greatly affect the flow of newcomers” (Dinnerstein & Reimers, 1999, p. 81).

The United States government tried again to reduce immigration of specific groups by creating the Immigration Act of 1891, a revised version of the Immigration Act of 1882 (Weil, 2003). However, due to political instability, limited religious freedom, and worsening economic conditions in Europe, a significant wave of immigration continued to the United States from Europe during the 1890s surpassing the previous decades in volume (Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, 2010).

Although more than one million immigrants a year continued to come to the United States from 1905 to 1918, once the United States Border Patrol was established during the end of the World War I, the amount of undocumented as well as documented immigrants into the United States declined sharply (Martin & Midgley, 2002). It appeared as if “the outbreak of World War I and American entry into the war in 1917 [finally] broke the dam holding back the tide of nativism” (Dinnerstein & Reimers, 1999, p. 83).

Shortly after, the government introduced the National Origins Quota Act in 1921, a legislation which created “quotas,” or pre-determined amounts of immigrants allowed entry into the United States. Although the legislation was largely ignored at the time, it was revived with “The Immigration Act of 1924,” which placed further restrictions on Southern and Eastern European immigrants, particularly Jews, Italians, and Slavs who had entered the country in large numbers since the 1890s. This law allowed for the discriminatory practice of an intelligence test to be administered to immigrants in order to secure passage into the United States (Snyderman & Herrnstein, 1983).
Through the continued feelings of nativism and the anxiety of the “Red Scare” (1919-1920) that ensued following the Russian Revolution, an irrational and paranoid-like fear of communism seemed to grip the nation (Schmidt, 2000). Immigrants who originated from or had any relation to a communist country were rejected by mainstream America. “In the heated atmosphere of wartime, patriots insisted upon 100 percent Americanism. Racial opponents of the war . . . became targets of unrestrained hysteria” (Dinnerstein & Reimers, 1999, p. 83). The historic trial of Sacco and Vanzetti in 1921, where two Italian immigrants were executed for a crime that they did not commit, has often been used as an example of American nativist practices and behavior towards Communism and immigrants who simply bore an undesirable ethnicity at the time. “The intense xenophobia in the United States, among both older Americans and more recent arrivals, pointed inevitably in one direction: immigration restriction” (Dinnerstein & Reimers, 1999, p. 81). To add to the anti-communism panic, the Ku Klux Klan gained strength once again during the early 1920s, as they too did not want immigrants to live in, or to continue migrating to, the United States (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2011).

Attributing Factors to the Decline in Immigration

When the United States was hit hard by the Great Depression in 1933, the country experienced a time of very little immigration growth as not many people desired to travel to a country that was experiencing not only a lengthened period of harsh economic conditions (Bankston & Hidalgo, 2006), but also evincing negative feelings towards immigrants who were looked upon as taking jobs away from Americans (Kraut, 1982).

In the two decades that followed, patterns of immigration continued to take a downhill swing. The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 added to this lull in U.S. immigration. It allowed for certain European groups to remain in the United States permanently under new war policies, but
did not stimulate immigration growth enough due to the limited period of time it was in effect (Kraut, 1982). Furthermore, Ellis Island eventually closed its doors in 1954.

Attributing Factors to the Rise in Immigration

Although a major influx of Cuban immigration to the United States occurred due to the 1959 communist revolution, this impromptu political refugee program was mostly an aberration in United States immigration. Immigration was slowly curbed as the United States considered a more formal refugee policy (Florida Department of Children and Families Refugee Programs Administration, 1999). Therefore, United States immigration levels continued to steadily decline (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995).

However, with the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1952 (also known as the McCarran-Walter Act), which was established to abolish race as an overall barrier to immigration by extending naturalized citizenship to non-white immigrants, immigration took on a whole new look and feel. By the time the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendment of 1965 (also known as the Hart-Cellar Act) came about to balance immigration and do away with the system of national-origin restrictions, the path was set for new immigration from non-European nations to occur full-speed ahead (Takaki, 1987).

With this “new immigration” readiness, Congress refined the 1924 National Origins Act into the Immigration Act of 1965, giving priority to families of immigrants who wished to be united in the U.S. (also known as the “family reunification plan”). Not only would prospective immigrants have the opportunity to establish “kinship” ties to family members already citizens or permanent residents of the United States (Jasso & Rosenzweig, 1986), but the government also hoped that the new policy would bring a higher number of skilled laborers to the United States. With this legislation, immigrants would be allowed to enter the United States from countries and
regions previously restricted under earlier law. To help continue this upward spiral in United States immigration, in 1986 President Ronald Reagan signed an immigration reform that gave amnesty, or official pardon, to millions of undocumented immigrants (McManus, 2010). To the dismay of many Americans, but to the relief of others, these new policies offered many undocumented immigrants the opportunity to stay in the United States and allowed immigration to dramatically increase again.

*Significant United States Immigration Era: Rise, Peak, and Decline: 1980-2010s*

President Bush’s Immigration Act of 1990 increased immigration to the United States by raising the immigrant quota by 40 percent. This legislation allowed for an 88% increase in “minority population[s],” whereas “much of it [was] fueled by immigration from Latin America and Asia” (Hobbs & Stoops, cited by Iceland & Scopillitti, 2008, p. 79). For the first time, women accounted for more than half of all legal immigrants—a shift away from the male-dominated immigration eras of the past. Although Chinese Americans represented the largest Asian subgroup, Asian Indians have come in large numbers as well, followed by Vietnamese, Filipinos, and South Koreans. Immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean primarily derive from Mexico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Jamaica, and Guatemala (Roberts, 2009). Refugees, as well, began to arrive in the United States in significant numbers. As laid out by international law, refugees can gain legal status through a process of seeking asylum after entering the United States. These unique immigrants were heavily accounted for in this era as they arrived from Afghanistan, the Dominican Republic, Ethiopia, Haiti, Iraq, Pakistan, Philippines, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2010).
In 2000 transportation costs decreased, resulting in more foreigners journeying to the United States using relatively inexpensive airline travel. Also during this time, over 650,000 jobs opened up for immigrants, particularly for Asian-Indian high-tech individuals who came to take part in the booming internet industry. This was a profitable opportunity that in turn caused even more migration to the United States, as many Asian-Indians began sponsoring their families and bringing them to this country (Passel, 2006).

Yet, even more changes were to follow, as nearly half of the 10 to 12 million immigrants that came into the United States during the new millennium were found to have entered the country “undocumented,” or simply put, illegally. Provisions, such as the controversial California Proposition 187, a 1994 referendum that sought to deny government services to undocumented immigrants, and other various Border Patrol laws set up to protect the Mexico-Arizona border, were designed to take a stand on illegal immigration. Not only were these restrictions seen as measures to control illegal immigration, but as Lennon (1987) puts it, to control foreigners. It was then that the number of undocumented immigrants to the United States began to slowly decline.

According to Passel and Suro (2005), after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, immigration to the United States continued to decline substantially. Following the example of the nativist beliefs of the past, Americans began to now fear that foreign-born immigrants of Middle Eastern origins were connected to terrorism. With this new prejudice came “Islamophobia,” the fear of members of the Islamic religion. Often compared to anti-Semitism, Islamophobia generated public angst and hostility (Schiffer & Wagner, 2011). Many Americans feared that unless the U.S. tightened up lenient immigration laws, the opportunity for illegal immigration and terrorism would continue (Miller, 2001). For this reason,
the 1996 Illegal Immigration and Reform Responsibility Act resurfaced, yet this time with a
tougher approach to United States immigration which now aimed for the deportation of
[the U.S.’] reputation for liberalism, there can be little doubt that, in the past decade or so within
Western countries, there is an increasing awareness of, and a hardening of attitudes towards
people who are ‘different’ and, in particular, towards immigrants” (p. 34).

As the U.S. border patrol grew and the aftermath of 9/11 caused Americans to be more
selective on who could enter the United States, the enactment of the Patriot Act in 2001
bestowed upon the government the power to conduct searches and surveillance of suspected
terrorists, detain foreigners, and prosecute terrorists of crimes without any time restrictions or
limitations (Danzer et al., 2005).

Presently, the United States is facing even more cultural, economic, and social change.
Not only are minority populations becoming more and more the majority (Roberts, 2008), but the
country is experiencing a decrease in employment opportunities. For this reason, an increasing
number of immigrants, particularly undocumented Mexicans, are deporting themselves; in other
words, they are *leaving* the United States, and going back home (Alarcon, 2012).

This history is important to understand because it influences what authors write and why,
and is reflected in events occurring in the trade books. Examining history provides a view of
possible influences on the authors, their views on immigration, and their reasons for writing
these books.

*Statement of the Research Problem*

Although immigrants are an important part of the United States history, it was unclear
how they have been portrayed in children’s and young adults’ American trade books. As these
types of books offered students an outlet to different cultures and experiences, a comprehensive, critical and comparative analysis of selected trade books written during two peak United States immigration eras (1880-1930 and 1980-2010s) can offer a better understanding of the portrayal of first-generation immigrants presented to the young reader. In addition, the study at hand focused on the historical evolution and depiction of immigrants, authors’ perspectives, and illustrations of these trade books.

As much of America’s population today traces its ancestry to other lands, trade books that center on past and contemporary immigration offer present-day students a greater connection to themselves, their immediate families, and previous generations. Trade books can also deepen understanding of United States history and offer a multi-focal perspective of our nation’s past and contemporary society, relating history to young readers’ lives and helping to link readers on a personal level to the important elements of the American experience.

Given trade books’ important role in advancing perspectives on the past and influencing young readers’ perception of self and others, analyzing their portrayal of immigrants and the immigrant experience suggests a worthwhile study that has received little attention. How are immigrants portrayed? What perspectives about immigration are advanced? Are there any significant differences in the books between the two peak immigration periods?

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to analyze children’s and young adults’ trade books authored during the two peak United States immigration eras of 1880-1930 and 1980-2010s in order to determine the portrayal of immigrants, including the cultures portrayed, depictions of the immigrant experience in written text and pictorials, emotional tone, values offered to the reader, historical accuracy, and depictions that have stereotypical or biased underpinnings.
Findings will then be used to consider how: a) future authors of trade books on the immigrant experiences can be better positioned to avoid biases and provide more meaningful narratives in their books, and b) teachers using trade books on the immigrant experience in instruction will be better able to facilitate immigrant and native children’s creation of an accurate understanding of the American immigration experience.

**Rationale**

**Why Trade Books?**

Trade books have become extremely popular. In fact, Milliot (2013) points out that BookStats, a statistical program in connection with the Association of American Publishers and the Book Industry Study Group, reported that trade book sales increased by 6.9% in 2011, and electronic trade books (eBooks) made up 20% of this growth. Although trade books are commonly considered a juvenile form of literature, Rosen (2012) explains that college book stores and libraries are now making shelf-room for youth trade books. With stories such as *The Hunger Games* and *Twilight* having increased the demand for trade books, the Follett Higher Education Group, which manages nearly 850 campus book stores, found that children’s fictional trade book sales increased by 45% in 2011 (Rosen 2012).

Educators and researchers offer further reasons why we should be concerned with trade books: they offer compelling arguments that center on student interest, readers’ emotion, opportunities for discussion, and connections to the past, in addition to trade books’ ability to reflect on society and the popular media. Each of these elements is discussed below.

**Student Interest**

What is a trade book? Besides providing pleasure to children and young teen readers, trade books are defined as non-textbook and non-book-club literature intended for sale to the
general public and “written for the general market . . . [They] include various genres . . . and are appropriate for use in grades K-12” (Kim & Garcia, 1996, p. 1). According to Carol Fuhler (1992), trade books provide children and young adults an outlet to different cultures and experiences. Often featuring less vocabulary and more illustrations, trade books offer simple text, sophisticated characters, and engaging stories. Moss (1991) suggests that children’s trade books are a complement to content-area texts, as they are “a vehicle for helping students learn subjects such as social studies[,] . . . compensate for many of the weaknesses of content area textbooks,” and contain captivating illustrations that emotionally appeal to a wide range of audiences (p. 26).

High-quality trade books have much to offer children and teachers (May, cited by O’Donnell, 1977). Using trade books in the classroom can promote reading, both aloud by the instructor and independently by the student. Billing (in O’Donnell, 1997) also asserts that trade books can offer students more than the uninspiring textbook. Likewise, Tunnell and Jacobs (1989) suggest that in comparison to the basal textbook tradition, trade books can instill learning with not only students of various learning styles, but also with the “disabled and uninterested readers” (p. 470). Lynch-Brown and colleagues (2011) as well agree, since they found that fifth graders tend to retain historical information and enjoy social studies when using historically-themed trade books.

Ralph A. Brown (1964), a self-proclaimed “observer of American schools,” commented that school administrators, librarians, teachers, and publishers have all been clamoring for the application of trade books in the educational sector. Brown claims that there is a call for the arousal of student interest in certain subject areas, simple tools that can better provide students with knowledge, and children-friendly resources that can assist in teacher instruction and student
learning. In support of this notion, Noyce (1979) can vouch that trade books “are providing enriching experiences for children in classroom learning centers and individualized reading programs” (p. 442). Likewise, Moss and Hendershot (2002) suggest that students will become motivated to read when provided non-fiction books, particularly since schools are known to primarily house the “‘holy three’ – fiction, poetry, and drama” (p. 6).

Many teachers regard trade books as a positive “embellishment of the existing curriculum,” or wholeheartedly feel that trade books “become the curriculum” (Kim & Garcia, 1996, p. 1). Yet, a greater portion of educators are unaware of trade books and the benefits of integrating them into the curriculum. For that reason, organizations such as The National Council for the Social Studies, in collaboration with the Children’s Book Council (2011), has emphasized the usage of trade books in the classroom through its Notable Trade Books for Young People, an annual annotated bibliography selected and evaluated by a Book Review Committee since 1972. Written mainly for children in primary to middle school grades, the trade books selected for the bibliography highlight human relations, cultural diversity, and original themes – all important factors that could assist teachers in curriculum planning, inspire students to learn, and bring value to social studies education (NCSS, 2012).

Opportunities for Discussion

Trade books offer the opportunity to engage children in discussion. According to Johnson and Giorgis (2000), regardless of whether or not students have ever personally encountered individuals like those portrayed in the trade books, engaging conversations can occur when story characters display “memorable language, realistic plots, and characters to whom children can relate” (p. 106). Since literature has the ability to affect readers’ emotions, attitudes, and relationships (McCarthy, 2007), by reading trade books, children can overcome their own
problems (Noyce, 1979). As Soublis and Winkler (2004) add, “Literature discussions open a door for students to discuss their personal lives and experiences in such a way that any threat of ridicule is erased” (p. 13).

*Connections to the Past*

Through the reading of immigrant stories, many children, perhaps first or second-generation immigrants themselves may be able to connect to their ancestry or present life. “Sometimes it’s not the words of a story so much as what we bring to the text that determines whether it is interesting or boring . . . The voices of children themselves provide perhaps the most compelling argument” (Fielding & Roller, 1992, p. 684). Therefore, it is important to understand just how immigrant stories are created, not only to build a connection to the past, but to aide in the makeover of the portrayal of cultural groups in the future (Hilton, 1996).

*Portrayals of Immigrants in Society and the Popular Media*

Hilton (1996) expounds upon the notion that today’s popular media have all contributed to the portrayal of culture that children adhere to (Griswold, 1993). Referring to popular media as a “culture factory,” Hilton (1996, p. 2) suggests that educators often forget about non-curriculum resources that could be used in the classroom to alter children’s skewed portrayal of culture. After all, popular media empowers the literature that young readers are drawn to due to their storylines, illustrations, and vocabulary (Hilton, 1996).

For this matter, Sipe (1999), as well as Stake and Kelly (2006), advocate the need for concern over how popular media (e.g. magazines, television, and comic books) influences the sociology of literature. Many fail to realize the power that media has over youths’ interpretation of themselves and others. Olsen (1992) adds that popular media has caused literature to become “morphed into word factories that are in danger of producing groupthink” (p. 172). With this in
mind, perhaps Griswold (1993) stands correct as he suggests that media is like a less structured entity; although it does not stand on solid ground, it nonetheless has the ability to cause children to form fallible impressions of certain ethnicities.

Therefore, one may ask, “What sorts of questions are researchers asking today about children’s interactions with literature and what might they ask in the future” (Sipe, 1999, p. 120)? Stack and Kelly (2006) respond by suggesting that not only has education gone from being a “knowledge society” to a “billboard society,” but that schools may also be on their way to becoming “Microsoft Academ[ies],” or classrooms that focus on 21st century technology skills (p. 6-7).

Theoretical Framework

In his Social Development Theory (1962), Lev S. Vygotsky promotes the notion that children learn in two ways: first, through social interaction, or the exchanging of information about their and other people’s lives, and secondly, through traditional instruction. Individuals learn not only from direct interaction, but also from being exposed to stories, particularly those in print. Through books, students can learn from people who have experienced misfortunes, problems, and dilemmas that students may never before have encountered. People construct and understand the world through stories, which are the means of both learning and teaching.

Similarly, Louise Rosenblatt’s (1968) Reader Response Theory suggests that an individual creates his or her own meaning through text-based stories that feature people’s lives and personal experiences. This notion holds significance, Rosenblatt proposes, as books invite readers into other people’s worlds. Rosenblatt further suggests that reading involves a continuum; at one end is aesthetic reading, where the reader is primarily interested in gaining information. At the other end is pleasure reading, where the reader is looking for enjoyment.
Young children may operate all along this continuum, using books for both pleasure and learning. Therefore, as Soublis and Winkler (2004) add, Rosenblatt’s Reader Response Theory can “run deep” by evoking “emotional responses to the novel’s issues” (p. 12-13). Pearson (2011) also agrees that “meaning is something that resides neither in the head of the reader . . . nor on the printed page . . . instead . . . meaning is created in the transaction between reader and document” (p. 33).

Vygotsky’s (1962) research suggests that educators should consider the social contexts of learning. After all, children are constantly acquiring information, even from strangers simply walking down the road. Since children are like sponges that soak up information quickly and easily, they should not be exposed to misrepresentations of historical events or of the people who lived through them. As mentioned by Levstik and Barton (2001), since “knowing is conceptualized as something one does . . . instead of establishing a priori definition of what it means to ‘think historically,’” it would be beneficial “to establish what people actually do with the past.” Perhaps educators could then begin to understand the types of historical thinking in which children engage (Levstik & Barton, 2001).

The importance of self-reflection in this context is emphasized in Bandura’s (1986) Social Cognitive Theory. As people cannot solely depend upon the results of their own actions to guide them, they must gather new thoughts from vicarious and other affective types of influences. Thus, Bandura’s theory is helpful in understanding that stories, such as immigrant literature, should be told, shared, and above all, preserved. Although Daly and Ballantyne (2009) discuss the various ways that “digitized” technologies have helped keep archives and historical artifacts safeguarded and “lasting forever,” Bandura’s concept of “preservation” differs; his is one where the memory of stories are stored, not merely their physical
manifestation. After all, without stored memory, tales would not provide “lasting significance” (Freeman, et al., 1999, p. 862). This understanding lends further credence to the notion that immigrants’ histories must be included and preserved through literature.

In agreement, Kinsley (1992) believes that if literature leaves out the depiction of ancestors who helped build America, ethnicities will have little “validity,” or preservation, “in America” (p. 1). Ethnicities cannot be viewed as legitimate if they are missing from published work. As Kinsley (1992) suggests, this type of “anti-immigration literature” simply offers a “cheap shot” to future generations (p. 1).

Research Questions

Six central research questions (with the inclusion of sub-questions) guided this inquiry:

Research Question 1: How are immigrants portrayed in children’s and young adults’ American trade books published during the United States peak immigration era of 1880-1930?

Sub-question 1(a): What cultures are portrayed and which ones are omitted?

Sub-question 1(b): How are immigrants depicted in the written text?

Sub-question 1(c): How are immigrants depicted in pictorials?

Research Question 2: How are immigrants portrayed in children’s and young adults’ American trade books published during the United States peak immigration era of 1980-2010s?

Sub-question 2 (a): What cultures are portrayed and which ones are omitted?

Sub-question 2 (b): How are immigrants depicted in the written text?

Sub-question 2 (c): How are immigrants depicted in pictorials?
Research Question 3: What are the similarities and differences in the portrayals of immigrants between the two peak immigration eras?

Sub-question 3 (a): How is the term “immigrant” portrayed in the two immigration eras?

Sub-question 3 (b): How have attitudes changed from one immigration era to the next?

Sub-question 3 (c): How similar or different are the historical events that took place within each immigration era?

Research Question 4: How historically accurate are children’s and young adults’ American trade books published during the two peak immigration eras?

Sub-question 4 (a): Are immigrants stereotypically portrayed in either immigration era?

Sub-question 4 (b): What are the immigrants’ emotional tones during the immigration eras?

Sub-question 4 (c): What values do the stories offer the reader?

Research Question 5: Who are the authors and illustrators of books about immigration for children and young adults?

Research Question 6: Who are the publishers of books about immigration for children and young adults?

Definition of Terms

For the purpose of the study, the term “immigrant” is defined as one who is “admitted to the United States as a lawful permanent resident” (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2011). Although the words “foreigner” and “immigrant” are often used synonymously, the study
focused on immigrants, or people that have moved “from one country to another,” and in this case, to the United States (Deaux, 2006). Furthermore, when the word “immigrant” is used, it refers to either first-generation immigrants or foreign-born individuals who have moved to a new country, and “1.5” immigrants, or “foreign-born children of first-generation immigrants” (Wu, Schimmele, & Hou, 2012, p. 384). The term “immigrant” as it is used in this study does not refer to second-generation immigrants, defined as the children of immigrants born in the new country, or third-generation immigrants, defined as the children of second-generation immigrant. In addition, the term “immigration” is assumed to mean “any movement across a national border” (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Lastly, since the study involved the examination of trade books, all mentions of “literature,” “books,” or “stories,” for children or young adults, refer to trade books.

Limitations/Delimitations

Since there was not an equal amount of trade books available for each time period specified by the study, based on the quality of the books (in accordance with the “criteria checklist” discussed in the “Data Collection” section below), the diversity of publishers, and the availability of trade books (particularly those published between 1880 and 1930), the number of book selections varied across decades.

Significance of the Study

By reading and learning from quality immigrant literature, children can bridge gaps to link families, past and present, understand the contributions of various cultures, and show respect and understanding towards others of different backgrounds (Lee, 1995). Since historical judgment can develop and “stick” at a young age, it is essential that the literature available to students presents positive reflections of immigrants. Furthermore, if children and young adults
are not exposed to stories dealing with immigration at a young age, “simply reading about cultural variations may do little to affect the degree of inequality in our society” (Barta & Grindler, 1996, p. 269). Temple et al. (2002) believe that the way children view other people depends, in part, on the quality of children’s literature and the degree to which the literature speaks honestly about the human experience.

Additionally, trade books are an affordable and accessible alternative to textbooks that students are more likely to willingly read. Trade books can also be ideal supplements to a textbook-based curriculum that teachers can utilize in their daily lessons.

*Researcher’s Perspective*

As one who comes from a family of immigrants, I hoped that my children and their children, and anyone else interested in learning about the immigrant experience, would be able to have a better understanding of how hyphenated-Americans were and are portrayed in books. Therefore, I believe that the study of immigration in United States history is beneficial not only to immigrants themselves, but to all young American readers.
CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

“A person may ask, ‘What is so wonderful about reading?’ The answer, of course, is very subjective. It has everything to do with one’s personal experience” (Cobb & Whitney, 2011, p. 89). With this notion, children can gain meaning from literature and apply it to life (Gay, 2000). They can read stories that resemble their own experiences, feel that “their experiences are worthy of being in a book, [and realize] that other children have felt the way they do” (Baghban, 2007, p. 71). As children grow, literature could offer them the opportunity “to understand more about who they are, where home is, how they are different from those who came before them, and how they are the same” (Baghan, 2007, p. 75).

According to Portes and Zhou (1994), past research primarily focused on the assimilation of immigrants and the demands placed upon them by society, all “while facing the challenge of entry into an unfamiliar and frequently hostile world” (p. 18). The common depiction of immigrants as newcomers trying to cope in a biased America is not only an indication that there is a need for stories that shed light on the overall experience, but that there is a call for more analysis on the portrayal of the immigrants themselves.

Cortes (2000) suggests that the diffusion of mass media plays a major role in societal multicultural education in regards to “race, ethnicity, culture, and foreignness” (p. 1). With the power to control and transmit information, the media often promotes an unbalanced representation of the portrayal of immigrants. Cortes’ (2001) further research contends that schools, influenced by mass media, “constantly disseminate or contribute to student construction
of group generalizations [all] while mitigating the possibility that these generalizations will harden into stereotypes” (2001, p. 4-5).

So then, what is the difference between generalizations and stereotypes? As Cortes (2001) suggests, “Group generalizations exist to be used but also to be modified in the face of compelling new evidence. Group stereotypes, on the other hand, tend to be fixed” (p. 5). As media images commonly depict Italian-Americans as mobsters, or Muslims as terrorists, Cortes (2001) advises that “[s]chools need to face this challenge by helping students learn to understand and use, not abuse, generalizations” (p. 6).

Perhaps for this reason, Takaki (1993) proposes that “what is needed is a fresh angle, a study of the American past from a comparative perspective” (p. 7). As youth search for their identity in this large, diverse country, they often turn to their heritage to find answers to life’s questions. As Takaki (1993) suggests, many young people seek “to know how they fit into America [and therefore] have become good listeners; they are eager to learn about the hardships and humiliations experienced by their parents and grandparents” (p. 15). Takaki (1993) considers this quest “an opportunity to see ourselves reflected in a mirror called history” (p. 12), one that can “guide the living and also help us recognize who we have been and hence are” (p. 16).

Similarly, Cathy Schlund-Vials (2006) mentions in the prologue to her dissertation on immigrant narratives that her “father has a view of history that comes not from historians but from lived experiences,” and consequently, “it is through him that I have been told bits and pieces of my own personal history” (p. xii).

A Connection to Multicultural Literature

As Polster (2000) quoted Oscar Handlin, “Once I thought to write a history of the immigrants in America [t]hen I discovered that the immigrants were American history” (p. 1).
As this study has shown, multiculturalism means little without immigrants. Since the history of the United States is the story of immigrants, and because multiculturalism encompasses culture and history, the immigrant is significant in establishing the country’s state of diversity. Diversity implicates immigrant literature specifically because it is, after all, about the immigrants who joined this country’s population, and who helped lead to the development of today’s multicultural ideology that is “characterized by the ideas of individuality [and] equality” (p. 1). As McBee & Bone (1998) justly state, “nothing tells a story like the story itself” (p. 417). Therefore, to promote multiculturalism, young students need to understand the immigrant and his or her experience through realistic and unbiased stories, in order for them to realize the true meaning of immigrants’ struggles, hopes, and fears.

Even the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS, 1991), mentioned previously, acknowledges that there is a call for literature that can help children rid racial and cultural stereotypes. In addition to their Notable Trade Books for Young People (2012), which primarily focuses on stories concerning human relations and cultural diversity, there is a series of books written by Dorothy and Thomas Hoobler called the American Family Album. This series, published by Oxford University Press during the mid 1990’s, attempts to shed light on individual ethnicities. With titles such as the Chinese American Family Album, Irish American Family Album, German American Family Album, and so on, each book in the series focuses on a specific ethnic group. As McVetty (1995) clarifies, the American Family Album series “tells the often heroic stories of American immigrant groups, largely through their own words and pictures . . ., explain[s] the historical events that caused immigrants to leave their homeland and come to America . . ., [and] explain[s] life in America and the social customs the emigrants brought with them to their new home” (p. 24). Personal accounts of their experience are taken from
immigrants’ oral interviews, diaries, and letters. Quotations are documented in order for researchers to locate primary sources, many of which can be found in library collections. Along with using the books as a resource for this study, the *American Family Album* series is an example of literature that could help rid children of racial and cultural stereotypes.

In Kitagawa’s interview with Sonia Nieto (2000), Nieto comments that “multicultural education is not really a curriculum but a way of looking at the world.” Furthermore, “too many people consider multicultural education only in terms of curriculum . . . [therefore,] “we need to think of it more as values, attitudes, and beliefs that we have about one another” (p. 160-161). In connection to her statement and the findings of this study, immigrant literature has the potential to be used in the multicultural curriculum and to evoke deep meaning about the immigrant experience; however, it is often overlooked.

Although Botelho, et al. (2009) suggest that the “multicultural analysis of children’s literature” has the ability to disclose “how the power relations of class, race, and gender work together in text and image” (p. 2), Nieto & Bode (2008) point out that multicultural education is continued to be thought of by many educators as “instruction for the culturally ‘different’ or the ‘disadvantaged’” (2008, p. 51).

**Accuracy**

As the National Archives and Record Administration and the National Council for the Social Studies (1998) suggest, in order to “weigh the evidence against . . . generalizations,” primary source documents, such as “reports, maps, photographs, letters, diaries, posters, and recordings, created by those who participated in, or witnessed the events of the past” (p. 9), could be used to establish an accurate representation of past events and experiences. For this reason, an examination of history through readily available online archive sources, including such sites as
the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, National Archives by the
Presidential Libraries, and Ellis Island Records, was conducted in order to support the study as it
was carried out (NARA & NCSS, 1998).

The usage of the International Children’s Digital Library (ICDL, 2012), a high-quality archive center, was also used to retrieve books from around the world. It confirmed that the internet had the power to “build cultural bridges” (Durin, et al., 2003, p. 1). Known as “a library for the world’s children,” the ICDL foundation not only offered the study a world of books from which to choose from, but it also furnishes students and researchers with international articles, statistics, sample presentations, and support for research projects.

In light of having access to accurate sources, Chen (2011), who wrote an award-winning essay on the frequent misrepresentations of Chinese culture in children’s and young adults’ literature, points out that if immigrant stories are not told in a culturally and historically accurate fashion, they will distort the image that children have of immigrants, of the immigrant experience, and of history. Similarly, in a study examining how people identify immigrant groups prior to having any contact with their members, Maio, Esses, and Bell (1994) discovered that once given negative or positive information about certain ethnic groups or group members, participants had already formed the same perceptions. Therefore, as Shalala (in Takaki, 1993) suggests, “Every student needs to know much more about the origin and history of the particular cultures which, as Americans, we will encounter during our lives” (p. 4). Only then will students be able to achieve a better understanding of American history, gain an accurate portrayal of immigrants in America, and attempt to reduce prejudice.

In agreement, Durin et al. (2003) assert that if youth are given the opportunity to share personal experiences and stories, aggressive attitudes towards certain groups may change. In a
five-year study done by a research team from the University of Maryland (Durin et al., 2003), children were given access to a collection of online international children’s books. As reported by Durin et al. (2003), the major “lessons learned” from this study were: (a) there was indeed an “interest in children’s books from many cultures and in many languages”; (b) the digital library helped to promote an increase in the number of books read; and (c) the exchange of stories from different places in the world helped offset stereotypes (p. 9).

As Takaki (1993) explains, for one to appreciate immigrants and their multicultural significance, immigrant literature needs “historical context” (p. 5). And to truly understand “the mosaic called America” (Takaki, 1993, p. 6), one must look beyond multicultural literature alone, for it often features just a “fragment [of] American society, studying each group separately, [and] in isolation from other groups and the whole” (p. 6). With this in mind, the study investigated whether or not the selected books exhibited this same fragmentary nature.

**Bias**

Literature has the power to skew historical knowledge of what an immigrant is, where they come from, or why they came to America. According to MacCann (2005), “[M]any children’s books still function as instruments of a colonial mentality,” and since “children are not intellectually autonomous, [they] can be led to embrace prejudice against their own identity” (MacCann, 2005, p. 185). As literature can be a major influence to children’s’ social and cultural perspectives, Toni Morrison argues (in MacCann, 2005) that American “authors, publishers, critics, and educators,” or “outsiders,” have “all had roles on this imperialistic stage.” As they have programmed children into believing what they tell them is true, generally in narratives, it is primarily “non-Westerners who are associated with glaring failures” (p. 186-187).
MacCann (2005) further suggests that stereotypic characterizations in children’s books are being overlooked, and that a “novel’s misrepresentations of history” (p. 188) are not being questioned thoroughly enough. To expect children of any group to be indifferent to distortions in the portrayals of their culture and their immigrant experience “is to deny the children as well as the group, their humanity” (p. 195). For that matter, MacCann asks, “Can lived experience be disregarded?” (p. 199).

As previous researchers have demonstrated, bias is often present in books. Even the United States history textbook, a primary instructional tool that has remained steadfast in social studies education, often fails to address the real story (Hawkins & Buckendorf, 2010). In accordance to Romanowski’s (1995), Harada’s (2000), and Ogawa’s (2004) examination and comparison of text analysis studies (the first analysis was conducted during 1995 to 2004, and the second, using expanded and updated editions, in 2005-2008) on 10 United States history textbooks from popular classroom publishers, Hawkins and Buckendorf (2010) investigated what has been included, overlooked, or added to the most recent United States history textbooks regarding the treatment of Japanese Americans during World War II and their experiences in internment camps. Their study revealed that the recent editions of the textbooks that Romanowski (1995), Harada (2000), and Ogawa (2004) first analyzed, excluded significant “information about the different historic and economic situations faced by Japanese Americans living on the mainland and in Hawaii” (Hawkins & Buckendorf, 2010, p. 35). In the researcher’s quest to answer, “Is this an adequate or inadequate history?” (Hawkins & Buckendorf, 2010, p. 40), they discovered that time and time again United States history textbooks portrayed Japanese Americans as easily assimilating individuals, and failed to fully disclose what actually took place in the internment camps. Researchers also noted that the textbooks often described Japanese
immigrants as having been treated less harshly than the Italians and Germans during WWII, included photographs labeled incorrectly or placed in the wrong chapters, and dedicated a limited number of pages to the Japanese during WWII. Several textbooks’ coverage of the internment was little more than one-half of a page. Furthermore, the textbooks presented very few, if any, opportunities for students to grasp pertinent information necessary “to understand the reasons why discrimination toward Japanese Americans did not end after the war” (Hawkins & Buckendorf, 2010, p. 35).

Although Romanowski (1995), Harada (2000), and Ogawa (2004) point out that recent history textbooks have improved their depiction of the treatment of Japanese Americans and their internment during World War II, Hawkins and Buckendorf (2010) assert that this was due to the inclusion of primary resources such as “first person memoirs from internees” (p. 38). However, according to Hawkins and Buckendorf (2010), Asians continue to be portrayed “as passive, successfully assimilated, and ultimately a model minority” in United States history textbooks today (p. 39).

Likewise, a 2002 study done by Cruz furthered the notion that popular state-adopted history textbooks often presented an incomplete story about immigrants and their history in America. Focusing on the extent to which Latinos and Latin Americans are depicted and portrayed in elementary (fifth grade), middle (eighth grade), and secondary school (eleventh grade) U.S. history textbooks, Cruz (2002) conducted a quantitative analysis “to determine the frequency with which Latinos and Latin Americans are featured in pictorials.” In addition, Cruz’s study included a qualitative analysis aimed at revealing how Latinos and Latin Americans are depicted and represented in both the pictorials and text. Referring to the “hidden curriculum,” Cruz (2002) suggests that textbooks are the foundation that establish the real agenda of schools
and schooling, and have the power to promote “social control in school and in society at large by producing obedient worker-citizens and naturalizing social inequalities” (p. 324). The information children “receive in school about cultures and ethnicities . . . [will likely] have a significant impact on . . . what is depicted as ‘their own’ history” (p. 324).

Cruz (2002) also points out that if it were not for the increased attention on ethnic minorities by doctoral candidates in their dissertations during the mid 1900’s, the drive to study the portrayal of ethnic minorities in literature would be sparse. With the desire for researchers to break free from quantitative research when dealing with “people stories,” Cruz (2002) reports that qualitative studies have now given readers what they have asked for – a real view of what textbooks are saying about history. According to Cruz (2002), thanks to qualitative studies, researchers have determined that ethnic minorities are more than often negatively portrayed in textbooks. Even in her own research experience, Cruz (2002) found that Latinos have been “portrayed in stereotypical ways”: “as lustful Don Juans,” “alternately violent,” or continuously “taking siestas” (p. 325-326). “For the most part,” as Cruz (2004) concludes, “Latinos and Latin Americans are nowhere to be found in the history of the United States” (p. 328).

In addition, Cruz (2002) points out that in the fifth, eighth, and eleventh grade history books she studied, Latinos and Latin Americans were pictorially featured in approximately one to two percent of the books’ pictures, and noted that when featured, these characters were often shown as having “brown faces” or stereotypical names such as “Ramóne” (p. 328). Native Americans and Asian Americans also ranked low in the number of pictorials or illustrations found in the study’s selected history textbooks. Although African Americans were found to have a slightly higher percentage of exposure, whites were featured in an overwhelming 75% or more of the pictorials and illustrations.
Therefore, the history of Latinos in United States textbooks has often been reduced to “sweeping generalizations” (p. 332) and biased notions of Mexican Americans as migrant workers, Puerto Ricans as the largest Hispanic group, and Cuban Americans as only coming to America to escape Communism. Furthermore, Latinos are often portrayed as blue-collar workers seeking equal opportunities and as an ethnic minority with a high birth-rate likely to change the “‘face’ of American society” (Cruz, 2002, p. 335). Compared to European ethnicities, Cruz (2004) suggests that Latinos were often “‘penned’ . . . to dehumanized people, even when they may be trying to evoke a sense of the atrocious conditions they had to endure” (p. 335).

As Cruz (2002) reminded us that only five history textbook companies control the market (p. 427), it is no wonder that what is chosen for students to read “is highly political,” and that “whomever controls the textbook, controls the curriculum” (p. 327). Using Cruz’s study and my own background as inspiration, I was determined to find out whether or not bias has been the same across time in trade books.

In terms of evolution, Portes and Zhou (1994) brought forth the notion that the difference between old immigration and new immigration was a matter of skin color. The old immigration was mostly European, whereas the new immigration consists primarily of individuals from Asia and Latin America. As implied by the authors, immigrants’ “skin color permitted them to skirt a major barrier of entry into the American mainstream” (p. 19).

In addition to skin color, Portes and Zhou (1994) suggest that there are two other factors influencing the assimilation of immigrants into American society: location and availability of mobility ladders. Takaki (1993), as well, expounds on Toni Morrison’s notion that race “has functioned as a ‘metaphor’ necessary to the ‘construction of Americanness’ [and] in the creation of our national identity” (p. 2). In view of this, the study examined how an “American” was
labeled, and whether or not the stories had been twisted or changed to fit our idea of what an American is, what an immigrant is, or what an immigrant should be.

Takaki (1993) considers the discussion on identity by suggesting that race “has been a social construction” all along. After all, race is not “the same as ethnicity” due to the fact that “America does not belong to one race or one group” (Takaki, 1993, p. 17). Instead, culture has created “competing discourses about race and ethnicity through essentialized and stereotypical narratives about American-ness (e.g. the melting-pot discourse)” (Schlund-Vials, 2006, p. 2). Even though stereotypical characterizations can be unfavorable and demeaning, they are hard habits to break. Predetermined notions of culture, race, or religion strip individuals of human qualities and offer no real understanding of culture.

In response to this dilemma, the study thoroughly examined the literature to decipher whether or not there had been “an increasing awareness of and a hardening of attitudes towards people who are ‘different’ and, in particular, towards immigrants” (Borooah & Mangan, 2009, p. 34). In addition, the study investigated whether or not multicultural literature was weakening or showing less immigrants as time passed, and how immigrants in books from the first wave of immigration compared to those published during the second wave. With Borooah’s and Mangan’s (2009) belief that “minority and majority cultures merg[e] to form a new entity” (p. 34) over time, and that at this point, immigrants are depicted as either a “group over the individual,” (p. 39) or an individual (immigrant) over the group, the study examined these notions.

In relation to multiculturalism and the portrayal of ethnicity, Lynch-Brown et al. (2011) suggest that “All children have the right to see themselves within a book [and] to find the truth of their experience, rather than misrepresentations” (p. 223). Yet, Nieto and Bode (2008) reminds
us that “we take in the ideologies and beliefs in our society and we act on them whether we actively believe them or not” (p. 8). Not knowing any better, “many people erroneously assume that a school’s multicultural program automatically takes care of racism” (p. 45). Instead, schools end up “‘sanitizing’ the curriculum . . . [and] bleed the life and spirit completely out” of the true meaning of multicultural education (p. 46).

Culture Within and Among Students

As Lamme et al. (2004) point out, “If children read books about children’s life experiences that may differ from their own, they may develop an understanding of children from other cultures” (p. 124). Since there are many generations of immigrants that come from different places and have varying reasons for embarking on their journeys, these stories can help both immigrant and non-immigrant children understand “what it means to be an immigrant” (p. 128). Likewise, Gregory (1993) proposes that if there are not enough realistic and quality books available, “serious consequences” for children may result, as this lack may produce “a perception of invisibility” within them (p. 29). Since “children tend to accept the printed word . . . they have no adequate defense against the misinformed actions of mainstream authors, publishers, book critics, librarians, and teachers” (p. 29). Therefore, have “books with this kind of depth and cultural authenticity . . . [become] a rarity” (p. 34)?

No doubt representations of gender can also be problematic in children’s books. After all, “power is usually cited as the most important factor when discussing the ways in which men’s identities are constructed . . . the starting point for understanding masculinity lies, not in its contrast with femininity, but in the asymmetric dominance and prestige which accrues to males in this society” (Kiesling, 1997, p. 65). Although gender is a concept that plays a critical role in tradition and culture, and perhaps an “expectation (or requirement) that a man will somehow
embody this power in his identity” (Keisling, 1997, p. 65), the concept of gender was not a subject of analysis in this study. Rather than discuss whether which gender overcame more hardship or exhibited more power, the study noted the gender of the characters portrayed in the selected trade books, however, focused more on the description of the immigrant and his or her experience.

Self-identity

As Keller (1995) offers, “the crucial first issue for the immigrant, even before language acquisition or physical survival, is the survival of the identity” (p. 48). Bishop (1997) adds to this by explaining that the role of literature is to serve as a mirror, in which a child can see his or her own life reflected. If children are not able to see themselves, how can literature have cultural mirrors that confirm identities or expose children to new ones? Keeping this in mind, the study focused on how literature expressed the “‘who-is-a-real-American’” question (Schlund-Vials, 2006, p. 49), a syndrome that has “pervaded immigration policy through the country’s history” (p. 49). The study also examined whether characters portrayed in the books exhibited an identity truer to their country of origin, or to America.

In light of the fact that immigrant literature touches on family, or “themes of parenthood, childhood, [and] rootedness” (Johnson & Giorgis, 2002, p. 600), if literature delivers feelings and emotions in connection to family relations, readers can relate to the characters and form their own identities. As Short et al., (1994) elaborate, “Passing on family stories . . . create[s] a rich heritage and sense of history” (p. 404). Tales that express the different cycles of what family members have experienced can be passed on and perpetuated throughout the generations. Although immigrant tales are often regarded as “once upon a time” stories, this classification trivializes the importance of the immigrant character. “In order for children to identify with the
world around them, to appreciate and value the differences and similarities of other people to themselves, it is important for them to first discover their own identities (Goldenberg, 1995, p. 1). Thus, providing children with immigrant literature is one way for them to achieve this sense of identity.

Voices of Wisdom

Immigrant literature can add “voices of wisdom” that are “often imparted by those who have lived a number of years. The younger generation may choose to listen and learn while becoming aware that stories from the past and present can be inspiring, thoughtful, and filled with insight” (Johnson & Giorgis, 2001, p. 726). The opportunity to “journey through time and across cultures” offers different generations the ability to share secrets and to forge links. As Johnson and Giorgis (2002) suggest, the “deepest connections are those that elicit strong emotions, whether forged by history, memory, or genetics” (p. 607). Accordingly, Block (2000) maintains that as “we become in reading; in our reading we are becoming” (p. 134).

In Sandmann’s (2004) opinion, social studies textbooks often lack these voices of wisdom. As the topic of immigrant literature is not normally encountered in history courses, Sandmann (2004) reports that there is a lack of focus on the theme of the immigrant experience, particularly for elementary-aged students. And when presented, the topic of immigration is shallowly addressed. If immigrant literature is indeed nonexistent in higher grade levels, perhaps as Sandmann (2004) suggests, non-immigrant Americans will never be able to re-imagine history or know what it was like to be an immigrant.

Immigrant Literature: Just Informational?

Trade books portraying immigrants and immigration are often regarded as informational (Lamme et al., 2004). Perhaps it is accurate to suggest that “the dramatic increase in immigration
since the 1960s has signaled the need for a greater information sensitive curriculum” (Lamme et al., p. 123). Immigrant stories often focus on what happens after an immigrant has arrived in a new country, and are often accompanied by “maps [that] tell the disappointments, failures, suffering, and lives lost” through a statistical perspective (Freeman et al., 1998, p. 504). As immigrant literature is often viewed as a supplier of facts and dates, there is a call for books to humanize immigrant stories. Fittingly, Block (2000) questions, when did “reading become occupied by scientists” (p. 132)? For that matter, what and how are children going to learn from these cut and dry books filled with sterile information and impersonal descriptions of immigration as if it were a scientific method (Block, 2000)?

On that note, Steig (1993) suggests that adults generally do not believe that children are able to handle the truth. As Kitagawa (2000) proposes, informational books may be masking the reality of immigrant life and experience. The most “unfortunate thing [about truth] is . . . people walk on eggshells, afraid to talk about diversity, and part of it is that they are afraid it will bring up conflicts” (Kitagawa, 2000, p. 162). For this reason, Kitagawa (2000) insists, “It’s really scary to be multicultural” (p. 163).

However, regardless of harsh realities presented in books, Botelho et. al. (2009) insist that all children have the ability to become powerful multicultural readers when they engage in stories, and actively question the premises upon which the books were based. Rather than create adaptations, or “softened versions,” of ethnic folktales which rob “them of their power, their appeal, and their psychological benefit to children” (Lynch-Brown et al., 2011, p. 116), realistic tales could ultimately offer children “life” lessons and “convey moral values” (Lynch-Brown et al., 2011, p. 149). Lynch-Brown et al. (2011) also advise readers to beware of the “happy family”
syndrome (which peaked in the 1940s) in stories as they often present an illusion to child readers that all families are, well, “happy,” and perfect (p. 151).

**Immigrant versus Foreigner**

Since ethnicities have often been portrayed as owning a culture, such as possessing “Greekness,” “Polishness,” “Hispanicness,” etc., in the scope of children’s literature that deals with the subject of national identity and the comparison of cultural perspectives, Meek (2001) interestingly inquires, “When do British children know that they are British? What is it that makes the Englishness of English children’s books distinct from the Frenchness of books for French children” (p. vii)? On that note, what about when “Germans appear in French or English books” (p. vii)? Is this an indication that stereotyping is any different today than it was fifty years ago, and that it is perhaps universal? “Can we blame the books that children read for the continuation of old prejudices, including racism and nationalism” (Meek, 2001, p. vii)? With these questions in mind, the study answered whether stereotyping was any different today than it was fifty years ago, and whether the selected literature revealed something about the characters’ identities.

As Pefanis (2007) proposes, immigrants are often looked upon as “foreigners” in literature, not “immigrants,” and often described as individuals struggling to assimilate or adjust in the United States, without mentioning the immigration experience at all. Schlund-Vials (2006), too, believes that the foreigner mentality is apparent in the “immigrant experience within the narrative, which becomes inflected by the realities of both the country of origin and the country of settlement” (p. 171). Furthermore, Schlund-Vials (2006) notes that the term “foreigners” was found throughout immigrant literatures’ text, “suggest[ing that] for most of [an immigrant’s] journey . . . [one] is still inflected with an outsider sensibility” (p. 171). Schlund-
Vials’ (2006) examination on immigrant tales also revealed that immigrants were “the product of ‘two worlds,’” or individuals who choose to not lose their immigrant identity, regardless of their assertion of being an American (p. 171). With this in mind, the study determined how immigrants were portrayed as aliens, and if and when they attained ‘non-immigrant’ status.

**Immigrant versus Peasant**

As described, America has not always been “kind to people in poverty” (Lamme et al., 2004, p. 128). Immigrants were often viewed as “the laborer, never the citizen” (Reisler, 1976, p. 231). However, Polster (2000) disputes this image by suggesting that “The movement of the poor has become the most revolutionary force on Earth” (p. 3). Portes and Rumbaut (2004) further this by suggesting that “because the sending countries are generally poor, many believe that the immigrants themselves are uniformly poor and uneducated. Their move is commonly portrayed as a one-way escape from hunger, want, and persecution” (p. 13). Undoubtedly, not all newcomers are accomplished professionals, nor can all of them dodge the challenges of poverty and prejudice and assimilate easily. Yet as Portes and Rumbaut (2004) insist, beneath the surface, contemporary immigration encompasses a variety of backgrounds and ways of adapting to American society.

Similarly, Lamme et al. (2004) suggest that there is actually “a striking variation in poverty levels across immigrant groups” (p. 123). In fact, according to Meltzer (2002), “in the nineteenth century most migrants were not the poorest, not the worst-off people in their countries of origin. The people at the lowest level had neither the money nor the energy to leave, and those at the up were doing fine where they were” (p. 19). Even the “turn-of-the-century inflows” have come from varied socio-economic backgrounds with “vast differences in levels of education, occupation, and income” (Zhou, 1997, p. 66). As De la Cruz (2005) suggests, immigrant
literature often contains a double perspective as immigrants are portrayed as either having just arrived “off the boat” or on a “Boeing 747” (p. 23). As Zhou (1997) well states, characteristics of the “old” immigrants echo those of the “new” immigrants, regardless of being “extraordinarily diverse in national origins, socioeconomic circumstances, and settlement patterns” (p. 65). In a similar vein, this study reflected on how immigrants were economically portrayed, whether trade books emphasized the rags-to-riches mythology (Bowerman, 1979), “working class subjectivity” (Schlund-Vials, 2006, p. 25), or good luck factor (Kelly, 1973), and whether coming by boat or plane really made a socio-economic or prejudicial difference.

It did not help when Hirsch (in Takaki, 1993) labeled immigrants as “disadvantaged children” (p. 3), or McCaffrey (in Takaki, 1993) negatively referring to immigrants as “pioneers of the American urban ghetto” (p. 9). However, according to Keller (1995), during the late 19th and early 20th century, “peasant culture” (p. 48) was a common description of immigrant identity. Borooah & Mangan (2009), as well, explain that the “peasant” labels given to immigrant groups were “not between middle class and working class or males and females but between nationalities” (p. 41). In relation to this, the study explored whether there truly was animosity between nationalities, or if the peasant villager perception was reflected in the literature.

As Portes and Zhou comment (2004), immigrants “adopting the outlook and cultural ways of . . . [Americans] does not necessarily represent the first step towards social and economic mobility . . . [since] many are confined to the ranks of the ‘ethnic’ lower and lower-middle classes” (p. 21). In accordance with the various time periods and events, Portes and Zhou (2004) suggest that “ethnic niches” (p. 25) have allowed for immigrants to either be stuck in a “bottleneck” (p. 21), a condition of impoverishment, or escape the downhill economic path.
With the United States’ insatiable hunger for cheap labor and “the U.S. media, in the form of newspapers, magazines, and television . . . tend[ing] to focus on the arrival of poor, uneducated immigrants” (Riofrío, 2008, p. 125), immigration to the United States was viewed as helping people from poorer countries. However, according to the results of his dissertation, Riofrío (2008) begs to differ. After examining the Latino immigrant identity in American literature, and exploring the various experiences of immigrants from a spectrum of economic statuses, Riofrío (2008) concluded that “popular media had greatly influenced immigration to discourses of poverty and illegality” (p. 3). Instead of America partaking in goodwill measures, as the media so often portrays, Elias and Scotson (1994) point out that immigrants are often clumped together into one group “not because of their qualities as individual people, but because they [a]re members of a group,” or found to be “different and inferior” (p. xx). Thus, as Elias and Scotson (1994) suggest, when outside forces, such as public media, gives “a group a bad name . . . [they are] likely to live up to it” (p. xxviii).

Riofrío (2008) also describes Behdad’s (2005) book A Forgetful Nation: On Immigration and Cultural Identity in the United States as one that sadly “focu[s] on how forgetting” has become the backbone of America’s “national identity” which according to Riofrío (2008), “require[d] a very specific kind of amnesia” (p. 54). In other words, having a lack of historical record on the immigrant experience is a “genocide practiced upon” a culture or ethnicity (Riofrío, 2008, p. 54). When people deny “the reality of immigration to the United States” through the absence of memory or lack of documentation, it is as if the journey never happened (Riofrío, 2008, p. 54).

For books already in publication, Bekkedal (1973) reports that there are noticeable “differences between books published in recent years to those thirty years ago” (p. 109). Quite
the opposite, however, she also quotes Nancy Mack, a journalist from the *Milwaukee Journal*, as saying, “Different world, different children, different books . . . once the death of the main character on the final page no longer surprises; when open-ended endings become commonplace, you come to the inevitable conclusion . . . it’s the same old moralistic pill in a new candy coating” (as cited in Bekkedal, 1973, p. 109). Similarly, Olsen (1992) argues that storylines, illustrations, and photographs have come to reflect what the public wants to see and read, and that therefore, American literature has become “predictable” (p. 172). When we can no longer be taken aback by a book’s ending, and the characters begin to act the same, it is then evident that storylines have become replicas of each other. “Immigrant stories tend to share certain features . . . the balance, however, is of great importance . . . Too much familiarity and one is reading formula fiction; too little, and one loses patience” (Cowart, 2006, p. 6). This study examined whether or not immigrant stories were indeed predictable, and if so, the elements they had in common.

**Immigrant versus Non-immigrant Author**

According to Mendoza and Shankar (2003), it is not always clear whether a writer’s main purpose is to be “prescriptive,” “descriptive,” or to take on the role of historian, storyteller, “policy maker, or journalist” (p. xiv). Therefore, as Polster (2000) suggests, writers often exhibit “reluctance to write about a nation that is not one’s own” (p. 47). Furthermore, Takaki (1993) asserts that authors are not able to understand the souls and lives of immigrants without walking in their shoes, or to understand their hope and sorrow without experiencing it themselves. Thus, in Takaki’s (1993) view, it is not possible to accurately write about history if one was not fully involved in the history. Questioning whether authors had to undergo the experience first-hand in order to create an accurate story, this study examined authors, their
backgrounds, and their connection to the stories, and focused on whether there was indeed a limit
to how “ethnic” a story could be, whether an imagined experience or a second-hand version
sufficed, or whether a non-immigrant had the ability to write about an immigrant’s experience.

   Moreover, it seems that “for the most part, immigrant writers are not represented in most
scholarly collections and studies” (Schlund-Vials, 2006, p. 61). Although “the absence of
immigrant writers . . . represents a significant omission . . . the same can be said for other
traditionally subordinated groups, such as women, African Americans, and Native Americans”
(p. 61). If true, this emphasizes that there are so many untold stories of our nation’s growth and
foundation. In other words, there may be a large quantity of unread or unwritten literature on
immigrants that could be of value to children and young adults.

   “‘Scholars’ and ‘translators,’” suggests Levy (2000), “have been successful at writing
about other cultures that are not of their own, but even the most well-meaning attempt to write
about a culture with which the author is not totally familiar runs the risk of falling into factual
inaccuracy and stereotype” (p. i). Furthermore, “it is undoubtedly safe to assume that when they
write about their own cultures and their own first hand experiences, they know what they’re
talking about” (Levy, 2000, p. ii). Kelly (1973), too, suggests that “the most successful authors,
then, are those that have known, intuitively and sympathetically, the child heart,” and the reality
of the experience (p. 98).

   Given the writer’s ability to do more than just put words on paper, authors have the
capability to transform words into emotions and teach perhaps like no classroom text ever could.
As Hade (1997) points out, readers’ perception about race, class, and gender often determines
how they will interpret the text. Therefore, can literature represent immigrants through a single
voice or a collective one? Furthermore, must immigrant literature only be written by an insider?
Bishop (1997) proposes that to find reality in literature, authors must know their own culture. On a neutral level, however, Yokota (1993) suggests that there is no such thing as bias-free literature. A balanced perspective is as close as one can get. Therefore, one must not assume that all books focusing on the same topic and written by writers of the same heritage will carry the same interpretation.

As discussed by Lamme et al. (2004), an author’s identity is often embedded in the stories that he or she writes. After examining more than 60 picture books on immigrants and categorizing participants’ experiences into three major themes: making the transition, feeling homesick/making connections, and continuing traditions/building a new identity, researchers noted that the essence of culture and experience was missing in the picture books that they examined. Colleagues found that contemporary picture books tended to depict immigration through a more “Americanized” perspective, one that is identified as being “hyphenated” (for example, Asian-Americans, Mexican-Americans, etc.) and less “old-fashioned” (p. 126).

Perhaps, as Berg (2008) suggests in her review of Klapper’s 2007 book entitled Small Strangers, immigrant restrictions of the past, along with “nativism shown by native-born Americans” (2008, p. 1), may have influenced American literature to be written and viewed from a “mainstream perspective” (Medina, 2006, p. 72). “A cult of patriotism in the early twentieth century,” claims Dwyer-Ryan (2011), “was responsible for articulating the language of nationalism” (p. 60). This wave of American partisanship evoked a type of cultural-less feeling toward the family unit and lifestyle. In American ethnic history, many Americans found it difficult “to retain their ethnicity and be accepted as ‘genuine’ Americans” (Dwyer-Ryan, 2011, p. 61). Therefore, as Olsen (1992) suggests, publishers are “playing it safe” by “publishing what they think readers think they want” (p. 172). Olsen maintains that many literary selections lack
connection to the realities of hyphenated American life. Thus, a trade book should not be unduly Americanized; the reader should be able to sense that the book was about someone from another country.

*Representation of Immigrants in Illustrations and Photographs*

“Picture books require a shared responsibility between author and illustrator. Very often the author and illustrator are the same person, yet other times they are different people whose work (both text and art) creates unique” (Johnson & Giorgis, 2002, p. 601) presentations that have the ability to “stimulate a lively series of discussion” (Noyce, 1979, p. 445), as well as be “a source of enrichment for the school’s social studies program” (Noyce, 1979, p. 447).

However, Lee (1995) questions the value of illustrated story books if the illustrator simply draws faces in a crowd, colors them differently, and says they represent people of different ethnicities. With this in mind, this study investigated how ethnicity was portrayed in illustrations and photographs featured in the trade books.

In terms of the portrayal of immigrants in text, Lowery’s (1998) study that examined the representation of immigrants in 17 children’s novels during three peak periods of United States immigration, found that (a) immigrant experiences tend to be “based on individual problems instead of structural ones” (p. iv); (b) immigrants’ historical accounts were realistic interpretations of the world, yet often omitted from history textbooks; and (c) although immigrant literature can be considered a social transcript and uncensored, it should be used to teach the experience of immigrants, not immigrant history. Therefore, according to Mendoza and Shankar (2003), the aim of immigrant literature should be to showcase the emotions of the characters and expose the “subjective experiences” of the immigrants and their children (p. xiv).
It is important that the appropriateness of works as reading material for children “be judged not only on their contribution to the country’s cultural image, but also, and perhaps more importantly, on their usefulness and relevance to the child user” (Yita & Komasi, 2010, p. 10). It is my thought as well that the thorough examination of the portrayal of immigrants in trade books, in light of the above factors, can reveal the “usefulness” and “relevance” of these aforementioned trade books to the lives of children and young adults.
CHAPTER THREE: METHODS

Purpose of the Study

The central mission of the study was to investigate how past and present children’s and young adults’ literature depict various immigrants and their experiences. It was important to discover whether trade books used in the study contained accurate representations of the immigrants, as opposed to stereotypes and degrading portrayals. Since many of today’s students have family who immigrated to the United States during either of the peak immigration eras (or may be immigrants themselves), it was important that all children developed a deep and nuanced understanding of the rich history that immigrants had in the United States.

While the words “foreigner” and “immigrant” were often used synonymously, the study focused on the United States immigrant, or one who moved “from one country to another”, in this case, to the United States (Deaux, 2006). Most importantly, the study aimed to investigate first-generation immigrant tales, examine the immigrant’s portrayals, and expose how these immigrant depictions affected the social studies and multicultural curriculum.

Understanding change is a key tenet of teaching history; within trade books, readers as well as educators were able to find descriptions of social trends and issues more genuine than those in classroom textbooks. Trade books, often regarded as products of the mainstream mass media, offered a reflection of the immigrant experience and the evolution of attitudes towards immigrants. Therefore the purpose of this study was to critically analyze and compare the portrayal of immigrants in children’s and young adults’ trade books during two United States peak immigration eras, 1880-1930 and 1980-2010s.
Research Questions

Based on the idea that trade books are forms of literature that youth find interest and pleasure in reading, and that the factors presented in the literature review were often unexamined topics that needed to be further investigated, I decided to examine how immigrants and their identities and experiences were portrayed in children’s and young adults’ literature, in retrospective as well as in contemporary society. Hence, below are the six central research questions (with the inclusion of sub-questions) which guided this study:

Research Question 1: How are immigrants portrayed in children’s and young adults’ American trade books published during the United States peak immigration era of 1880-1930?

Sub-question 1 (a): What cultures are portrayed and which ones are omitted?
Sub-question 1 (b): How are immigrants depicted in the written text?
Sub-question 1 (c): How are immigrants depicted in pictorials?

Research Question 2: How are immigrants portrayed in children’s and young adults’ American trade books published during the United States peak immigration era of 1980-2010s?

Sub-question 2 (a): What cultures are portrayed and which ones are omitted?
Sub-question 2 (b): How are immigrants depicted in the written text?
Sub-question 2 (c): How are immigrants depicted in pictorials?

Research Question 3: What are the similarities and differences in the portrayals of immigrants between the two peak immigration eras?

Sub-question 3 (a): How is the term “immigrant” portrayed in the two immigration eras?
Sub-question 3 (b): How have attitudes changed from one immigration era to the next?

Sub-question 3 (c): How similar or different are the historical events that took place within each immigration era?

Research Question 4: How historically accurate are children’s and young adults’ American trade books published during the two peak immigration eras?

Sub-question 4 (a): Are immigrants stereotypically portrayed in either immigration era?

Sub-question 4 (b): What are the immigrants’ emotional tones during the immigration eras?

Sub-question 4 (c): What values do the stories offer the reader?

Research Question 5: Who are the authors and illustrators of books about immigration for children and young adults?

Research Question 6: Who are the publishers of books about immigration for children and young adults?

Research Design

The qualitative study used a discourse analysis research method in which text was interpreted and examined to determine the portrayal of immigrants and their experiences in trade book literature. The study also analyzed, evaluated, and compared trade books’ use of language, illustrations, authors, and historical events to help identify the cultural and social forces that affected the evolution of children’s literature. The approach involved identifying “discourses,” or “commonly shared patterns of text that [go] beyond the ‘institutional’ ways of seeing” (Bartesaghi, 2009, p. 153). Discourse analysis is a broad and complex interdisciplinary field that
involves intertwining language and context, and reveals the unspoken meaning of words that are taken for granted in everyday conversations (McGee, 2010). As McGee (2010) further explains, “words can be the same, but they will mean very different things” depending on context (p. 2). Therefore, as researcher, my goal was to identify discourse in immigrant literature text, and then deconstruct the text so that meaning could be better understood.

**Inclusion Criteria**

**Criteria Used to Select the Books for Review**

I initially compiled a bibliography of approximately 200 trade books for possible use in the study (see Appendix P). The criteria that were used to compile this list were as follows:

Books must:

- contain immigrants
- have been written and published during the two significant United States immigration eras: 1880-1930 and 1980-2010s (regardless of the time period in the story)
- be works of fiction
- be a children’s or young adults’ book
- be trade books
- be written in English
- include characters who are immigrants to the United States

Whether the book contained the story of an immigrant and his or her experience was determined by reading the summary on the back of the book, or a summary or review found online. The publisher and copyright date were found on the copyright information page in the book. Books that were only available as online eBooks were also investigated in the same manner. This process yielded a list of approximately 200 trade books that was considered for the study.
A checklist containing seven basic criteria was then filled out for each of the approximately 200 trade books under consideration (see Appendix M). The purpose of asking these seven basic questions for each book was to ensure that none of them were misinterpreted or incorrectly selected (as nonfiction rather than fiction, for example) during the initial investigation.

At this point, several of the books listed in the initial list of approximately 200 were omitted from the study after discovering that they were nonfiction, written by the same author, biographies, informational or textbook-like, adult novels, focused on second or third-generation immigrants, part of a series or trilogy, or that they included characters that migrated to non-U.S. countries. If a book had any of the above factors, they did not fit the criteria of the selection process.

With the narrowed list of possible trade books, each book was then read to determine which ones would serve the study best. The final books chosen for examination were selected by using a Likert-style rating scale (see Appendix N). The scale consisted of several factors such as the degree to which the immigrants and their immigration experience were featured in the stories and the popularity of the author and illustrator. Each book was scored on a scale of “1” to “5,” with “1” being the lowest (e.g. lightly focuses on the immigration experience, less well-known author/illustrator), and “5” being the highest (e.g. heavily focuses on the immigration experience, very popular author/illustrator). The books which scored the highest rating on this scale were chosen for the study. The Likert-style scale was used in order to have a systematic and objective method for picking out the best books for the study. Using a uniform rating scale ensured that I, as researcher, did not subconsciously pick books which corresponded to my own opinions and
perspectives on immigrants and immigration. In addition, the scale would assure that each book was judged using the same method and that the same criteria were used to evaluate each book.

Originally, it was planned that no more than 10 books per decade would be used in the study; however, I quickly discovered that certain decades had an abundance of books written on the subject of immigrants and their experience. After realizing that this overabundance of books in specific decades could be related to a multicultural trend and evolution in education, I decided that any book that fit the criteria and passed all checklist inspections would be used in the study. Therefore, what originally appeared to be a study consisting of no more than 10 books per immigration decade, turned out to be one that included a total of 98 books, but where three decades had more than 10 book selections each.

**Explanation of Criteria**

As mentioned, only fictional and non-biographical works were used in the study since fiction offered greater insight of the perspective of a storyteller. In contrast, biographies and nonfiction offered a limited view of the world, restricting the way a story was told. Furthermore, nonfiction was excluded as it may have turned the study into an oral history project, rather than a discourse analysis.

As previously mentioned, the selected trade books used in the study were non-textbook. Generally speaking, unlike textbooks, trade books are works of literature that people purchase at book stores, find in libraries, and read for pleasure rather than for educational purposes. The study did not include books that were considered “informational,” that is, books that one would use to become educated on a specific topic relating to ethnicity or immigration. Instead, the study targeted on “interest” trade books since this is the type of literature students are reading, and the kind of books that can influence their perceptions of immigrants, themselves, and their families.
Moreover, as well-known titles and authors of books were more likely to be read by students, or influence their perceptions of immigrants and the history that was included in the study, the familiarity/popularity of the authors was added in the rating scale. The same logic was behind the inclusion in the rating scale which questioned whether or not a book had won an award; if a book was award-winning or honored it might be more likely to affect a student’s selection of the book. Depending on what was available, trade books used in the study consisted of both picture books and novels written for primary and elementary students (grades K-5, referred to in this study as “children”) and middle school students (grades 6-8, referred to in this study as “young adults”). In addition to age, the desirability of including a variety of ethnicities per decade was considered when selecting books for the study. However, trade book selections were not limited by the amount of pages they contained; the important factor was the ability to effectively express the portrayal of immigrants in the story.

In order to avoid translational errors, books selected for the study were only those that were written in English (including books that were primarily written in English but contained quotes or brief character dialogues in other languages). Book selections were to also include a variety of authors and publishers in order to ensure that a variety of immigrant portrayals were studied. Books must also have included illustrations and/or photographs if written for primary students (picture books).

For each immigration decade, selections were required to have characters that were either preparing to immigrate or had already immigrated to the United States. Although a description of the life they led in their native country was of significance to the study, their experience as a United States immigrant was to be the central focus of the narrative. The main character of the trade book did not have to be an immigrant; however, there must have been immigrants
discussed in the story. In order to be referred to as an immigrant, a character must have immigrated to the United States. In addition, the type of books that were targeted were ones that reflected the experience of first-generation immigrants since the portrayal of second-generation immigrants would be an entirely different study. Therefore, in the rating scale that was created, books that more heavily focused on the immigration experience scored higher than those that merely mentioned it in passing.

Although it was suggested that the study include the *American Family Album* series as an authentic resource, books within any series were not used. Series were excluded because the entries were often written by the same authors, and therefore would not ensure that the books contained a variety of illustrators’, authors’, and publishers’ perspectives.

Furthermore, poetry was not used in the study, as it tends to use literary devices that can obfuscate the meaning of words. Although this would make an excellent study for a literature major, the focus was more on the explicit portrayals of immigrants, rather than implicit depictions, innuendos, or artistic poetic devices. However, the study did most certainly take into account metaphors and various kinds of discourse analysis, such as text, tone, and other forms of expressions.

A variety of authors, illustrators, and publishers were included in this study to prevent, for example, one author’s views of immigrants being overrepresented. With the possibility of publishers or authors having strong ideologies that were readily apparent in their work, it was necessary to prevent one publisher or author from overshadowing other viewpoints.

*Compilation of the Initial List of Trade Books*

Selected trade books were found by searching the internet, ordering books through the University Interlibrary Loan System, visiting public libraries, and accessing materials at the
University of South Florida’s Special Collections Department. To be exact, trade book selections were obtained through the following means:

- Elementary and middle school libraries
- Public libraries
- International Reading Association
- American Library Association
- NCSS Notable Children’s Books
- Children’s literature special interest reading groups
- Scholastic Books
- Electronic media sources
- “Special collections” online library service

As predicted, one difficulty in locating immigrant trade books was that many of the titles were categorized under the subjects “multicultural,” “ethnic studies,” or lumped together into categories by author or culture such as “Hispanic American literature” or “Asian American literature.” After sifting through hundreds of books with these labels, it was often realized that the works did not actually include immigrants. However, after diligently searching, approximately 200 books were initially found for the study.

Although the trade book selection process began as a random sampling of immigrant literature based on what books were available, the study took on a more purposeful sampling method when attempting to select a variety of authors and publishers for inclusion in the study. The search began by combing through catalogues and book shelves for immigrant trade books in local libraries’ children and teen departments. All books that were listed as non-fiction were immediately eliminated from consideration for the study. After picking up any work that was
labeled as “fiction” or “historical fiction,” the book was then further checked to see if it was a textbook or “informational” book.

To expand the list of potential trade books, an internet search was conducted, primarily using the Google search engine. Various iterations of the keywords “immigrant youth literature” or “immigration in youth literature” were used to find trade books, as well as annotated bibliographies and book lists on immigrants and immigration. In addition, it was verified that the titles of the potential book selections were accessible through a library, bookstore, or the internet.

After a large list of books was compiled, I searched online to find the books’ summaries, or, after acquiring copies of the books, read the synopses found on either the books’ back covers or inside cover flaps in order to ensure that the books met the study’s basic criteria (i.e., that it was a trade book, included immigrants, etc.).

*Data Collection*

The planned method of study began by selecting, reading (for data validation, the books were read by multiple readers), and categorizing the books by decade. The study focused on a total of ten decades (six within the era of 1880-1930, and four within 1980-2010s) within the two peak immigration eras. Appendix P includes a list of approximately 200 trade books from which the study selections were chosen. Many of the book selections came from immigrant literature lists such as *The Immigrant in Fiction and Biography* (Roucek et. al, 1945) and *The Immigrant Experience in Fiction* (Simone, 1995). Trade book titles were acquired in advance in order to confirm that they were accessible, particularly the ones from the earlier immigration eras.

After all the potential books on the list were read and the rating sheets filled out, the highest-scoring books in each immigration decade were selected. At this point, however, the
selections per decade were slightly adjusted if it there were overrepresentations of certain authors, illustrators, publishers, or ethnicities.

Once it was determined which trade books would be used in the study, I began the process of logging in data using the forms entitled “Trade Book Data Collection” (Appendices A-K), to ensure that all aspects of the criteria were examined and not overlooked. To account for any unanticipated observations or findings that may have occurred, an additional data form entitled “Observations” was included in the study (Appendix L). Data was categorized by the major peak immigration historical eras (1880-1930 and 1980-2010s), sub-categorized by various themes (such as illustrations, main characters, lifestyles, authors, historical events, etc.), and further categorized by observable patterns (such as group stereotypes, journey to America, peer relationships, author’s message, multiculturalism and social studies, age-appropriate, etc.). Data collection was followed by critically analyzing, evaluating, and comparing the data. The data collection instruments were a combination of measures taken from a “Criteria Checklist” (Appendix O) on the analysis of multicultural literature from the Council on Interracial Children’s Books entitled “Ten Ways to Analyze Children’s Literature” and Norton’s (2001) “Sequence for Studying Multicultural Literature” (p. 5), in addition to Norton’s (2001) “Chart for Studying Multicultural Literature” (p. 9).

As suggested by the Consulting Office for Research in Education (CORE) at the University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida, to strengthen reliability of the results, each book was read and analyzed by a qualified participant reader, that is, one who had research knowledge and experience (e.g. doctoral students, professors, etc.). The CORE research consultant indicated that if the additional reader was qualified, there was no need for more than two readers per book. However, it was advised that the protocol given to readers be explicit, that is, that the list of
criteria and instructions be detailed, clearly written out, and well-understood by the reader participants.

In the event that there might not be enough qualified readers to enlist, the CORE consultant suggested that two or more readers (such as social studies teachers and curriculum supervisors) read each book, collect data, and later conduct a cross-check between and among findings. This procedure would determine the validity of their patterned discoveries.

As the CORE consultant pointed out that giving too many books to one reader might be overwhelming, it was suggested that qualified readers be given no more than five books, and all other readers fewer. After receiving this advice, a call was sent out to fellow Ph.D. students, Master’s program students, school administrators, teachers, and reading professionals, requesting their reading and data collecting volunteer services.

Although the data collection forms were long and tedious, 46 readers gave their time and effort to read not just one, but sometimes two or more books that were randomly assigned to them. The process involved labeling the books with a number, and as the reader participants volunteered, a random number was chosen through a generating system on Random.org, after which a reader was given the book that matched that number.

Volunteers were provided with supplemental information by the researcher from online resources about the events that occurred during the era in which their assigned books were published so that they could better judge the historical accuracy of the literature.

I also kept a journal during the review process. Before, during, and after each book was read, the journal was used to record observations and thoughts on each book, not only as a note-taking device, but also to specifically use as a third source of data. Thus, the study included a
triangulation data model with important sources of data: researcher’s detailed data collection, second party detailed data collection, and researcher’s journal notes.

Data Analysis

After all the data were collected and compiled, they were then analyzed. The data analysis for this study included a discourse analysis, triangulation, description analysis, coding of patterns and commonalities, and categorization of patterns and themes. Discourse, an approach that involves identifying “discourses,” or “commonly shared patterns of text that [go] beyond the ‘institutional’ ways of seeing” (Bartesaghi, 2009, p. 153), was followed by triangulation of the data, which was accomplished by examining data through three different sources: researcher’s journal notes, researcher’s criteria-based data checklist forms (Appendices A-K), and reader participant data checklist forms (Appendices A-K). Upon completion of the triangulation process, data from each book were first categorized into one of the two major immigration eras, then regrouped by decade, and next divided into topics and subtopics found on the criteria checklist. Finally the data was analyzed and compared to see observable patterns.

Validity

All readers’ data, including the researcher’s, was completed independently, then compiled together to examine, analyze, and compare. To restate, the validity of data was ensured through the process of triangulation, where the data was examined through three different sources: researcher’s journal notes, researcher’s criteria-based data checklist forms (Appendices A-K), and reader participant data checklist forms (Appendices A-K).

In order to properly evaluate each book’s immigrant portrayal, extensive research was conducted on each book’s time period, setting, historical events, and the historical circumstances of the ethnic groups presented.
Reliability

One-on-one sessions with volunteer readers occurred either face-to-face in the readers’ workplace or at the USF campus, or through internet or telephone communication so that participant readers could receive their books, be instructed on how to fill out the data collection forms, and obtain researched information on historical time periods, settings, and events. Sessions were often held again in the same manner after the readers finished collecting data to meet and discuss the readers’ experience.

Ethical Considerations

Although no human subjects were involved in the study, IRB approval was applied for. The IRB confirmed that human subjects’ approval was not required for this study.

Conclusions

As immigration has become a prominently debated topic in media across the United States in recent years, present sentiments are that America no longer needs immigrants. While this debate continues, schools across the nation have sought out various ways to introduce their students to the experience of immigrants in an effort to express the value of immigrants’ contributions, inspire multiculturalism, or in some cases, cease xenophobia. “The fear of losing oneself in America is not unusual,” states Greenberg, (1996, p. 12), and trade books preserving the stories of immigrants can help abate this fear.

As many parents and grandparents may not talk much about the country they left behind (and in many cases are not available for questioning), youth have many questions that go unanswered. Therefore, children’s immigrant literature offers the opportunity to document the successes and challenges of the generations that have come before, and ensure that their stories are passed on.
CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to critically analyze and compare the portrayal of immigrants in children’s and young adults’ trade books during two peak immigration eras, 1880-1930 and 1980-2010s, in United States history. Research was conducted by the researcher and 46 participant readers through the use of an extensive criteria checklist entitled “Trade Book Data Collection” (Appendices A-K), a research instrument created to guide this discourse analysis study.

Findings

Findings are shown as presented per criteria.

First United States Peak Immigration Era (1880-1930)

1880s Trade Book Selections

Trade book selections for the 1880s immigration decade were as follows:

Title: *The Duncans on Land and Sea*
Author: Kate Tannett Woods
Illustrator: Illustrations provided, but no mention of illustrator
Publisher: New York, NY: Cassell & Company
Year of Publication: 1883
Time Period in Storyline: Mid- to late 1800s
Country of Origin: Scotland
Ethnicity: Scottish
Setting in America: Northwest United States

Title: *Eric, the Scandinavian: or, Life with the Norsemen of the West*
Author: Lizzie Bates
Illustrator: No illustrations
Publisher: Philadelphia, PA: American Baptist Publication Society
Year of Publication: 1883
Time Period in Storyline: Mid- 1800s
Country of Origin: Norway
Ethnicity: Norwegian
Setting in America: Western United States

Title: *The Hunter Cats of Connorloa*
Author: Helen H. Jackson
Illustrator: Illustrations provided, but no mention of illustrator
Publisher: Boston, MA: Roberts Brothers
Year of Publication: 1886
Time Period in Storyline: Early 1800s
Country of Origin: Italy
Ethnicity: Italian
Setting in America: California

The number of books written about the immigrant’s various native countries was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of Books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of books written about the immigrants’ various United States destination was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>Number of Books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great Plains</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwest United States</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As apparent, the 1880s collection of trade books reflected an era of Norwegian, Italian, and Scottish immigrants migrating to the United States and settling in the Great Plains, California, or other areas west of the Mississippi River. These ethnic groups were portrayed as the first to settle in the West, and the ones who paved the way for others to follow.
Illustrations of Attire

Being upper class, the Scottish immigrants were shown as sophisticated and well-dressed, even while working out in the woods. Although there were illustrations of the Italians, there were too few to obtain this information. There were no illustrations of the Norwegians.

Illustrations of Subservient Characters

Although Scottish men were featured as rugged individuals, Scottish women sat elegantly, as if expecting to be taken care of. Women were also pictured taking directions from, or being willingly led, by males, and often daydreaming. Although there were illustrations of the Italians, there were too few to obtain this information. There were no illustrations of the Norwegians.

Illustrations of Leaders

Elder Scottish males, including the oldest sons, were typically portrayed as head of the group and/or taking action of some kind (ex: bringing home a deer as food). There were no illustrations of Italian or Norwegian elders to examine.

Illustrations of Identical or Unique Characters

Illustrations of the Scottish family members were fairly uniform as hardworking individuals who carried out daily tasks. Although there were illustrations of the Italians, there were too few to obtain this information. There were no illustrations of the Norwegians.

Socioeconomic Status Portrayed in Illustrations

Based on the way characters dressed, the Scottish and Italian immigrants were portrayed as proper men and women who spent little time “roughing” it up on the Great Plains. As evident in the illustrations, their previous wealth allowed them to have funds available for whatever they needed in America. There were no illustrations of the Norwegians.
Illustrator’s Sensitivity to Culture

Little sensitivity was demonstrated by the illustrator towards the Scottish’s Chinese servants, who bowed in compliance to their master’s requests, and as illustrated and described, wore hats that resembled “great dinner-plate[s] upside down” (Jackson, 1886, p. 29). Furthermore, the Chinese servants had “heads shorn of all hair, except one little lock at the top . . . braided in a tight braid, like a whiplash, and [hung] down their backs . . . The longer this queer little braid . . . the prouder the Chinaman” (p. 64). No illustrations for the Italians were relevant to this category, and no illustrations were featured of the Norwegians.

Main Characters

Main characters included a young religious Norwegian boy in his early twenties who was self-absorbed in educating himself. Described as having a positive influence over others, he altered the restricted life of his young female American cousin, and taught her conventional father that anyone, including women, could become someone special; it took a foreigner to teach an American to do this. Also featured was a young Scottish daughter who, for the sake of excitement, requested that her father move the family to America. After her wealthy Scottish father agreed, the family settled in the West, became friends with Native Americans, and set up a mill that allowed the family to work, sell goods all over the world, and make more money. In addition, a wealthy Italian, having already settled in California, sent for his sister’s two children in Italy after the sister and her husband die. As events between the children and uncle unfolded, the uncle found that the children brought a newfound life to his lavish, yet lonely, existence.

Stereotypes or Derogatory Overtones

The Scottish’s Chinese servants, considered the lowest level of the working class, were shown carrying the wealthy in hand-held carriages, “form[ing] themselves into a line” for supper.
(Jackson, 1886, p. 60), and “bowing and bending” when spoken to (Jackson, 1886, p. 63). Furthermore, “their yellow skins, their funny little black eyes, set so slanting in their heads that you can't tell half the time whether they [we]re looking straight at you or not” (Jackson, 1886, p. 30).

No stereotypical or derogatory overtones were detected for the Scottish, Italians, and Norwegians.

Impressions of America (pre-immigration)

Prior to coming to the United States, immigrants heard that America could offer them endless opportunities: “There is no caste, absolutely no caste. The son of a beggar, provided he has it in him, stands just as good a chance of being the President, as does the lad whose father is a millionaire” (Bates, 1883, p. 20). Furthermore, “You can think and say what you like while you live in America, and nobody will put you in prison for your thoughts or your words, as they might if you lived in Italy” (Jackson, 1886, p. 60-61). In contrast, others were warned that they would face great hardships in America and that the Native Americans, or “savages,” would harm them (Woods, 1883, p. 101).

However, despite the negative consequences, all immigrants believed that they would do fine in America. After all, they thought, why not go to “the land where everything is free and each of the boys could have fine farms like our cousins who went over so long ago” (Woods 1883, p. 16)? Thus, all immigrants assumed that they would make out well in America, even before going.

Why Immigrants Came to America

There was no real mention as to why the Norwegian male came to America. He was joined by other missionary-like fellow countrymen with the same destination in mind and
preceded up the Mississippi River by steamship, to meet his awaiting uncle and cousin in the Great Plains. He insisted on trying out life in America (Bates, 1883).

The wealthy Scottish immigrants came simply because there was so “much to see and so much to learn” (Woods, 1883, p. 19). With no indication of leaving for economic necessity, coming to America was more of an opportunity to do business and seek adventure.

Since the Italian was also wealthy prior to coming, his socioeconomic status allowed him to wander all over the world until realizing that California best suited his health needs (his specific illness was not mentioned) (Jackson, 1886).

*Journey to America*

Although there was no detailed mention of the young Norwegian’s immigration experience, it was, however, noted that his voyage was not kind. In fact, if he had the chance to do it again, he probably would not – he expressly stated, “if it were to be done again, I feel that I would cling to my old home” (Bates, 1883, p. 8).

Although the nearly six-week voyage for the wealthy Scots was described as gay and smooth, seasickness could not be avoided. The Scottish mother, for example, suffered so badly that the “poor woman declared that the sea was the worst enemy she had ever known” (Woods, 1884, p. 43).

*The Arrival*

Upon taking their first steps onto American shore, the Norwegians noted that they were immediately homesick for their native land. However, they attributed this feeling to the “newness of everything” (Bates, 1883, p. 16). Nothing of significance was mentioned regarding the arrivals of the Scottish and Italians.
Open-mindedness or Close-mindedness

While others complained, the Norwegian male was open-minded about life in the new country; he was determined to get something out of it and give something back in return (Bates, 1883.)

The Scottish father and young daughter were open-minded as well since they envisioned great things to come while living in America, and therefore had no regrets about leaving their home in Scotland (Woods, 1883).

The young female Italian was the most open-minded, as she was committed to helping the poor Native Americans she met in America (Jackson, 1886).

Group Stereotypes

The Scottish immigrants were portrayed as religious, proud, and honest. Each character behaved in a polite and ethical way in regard to each other and the few people they met. As delivered by the Scottish father in *The Duncans on Land and Sea* (Woods, 1883):

Every foot of land has been justly paid for, and neither Indian nor white man has been wronged . . . My son, when any of the Duncan name are found guilty of defrauding white man or black, Jew or infidel, out of a penny, they will cast the first disgrace upon our family. We have had poor men bearing the name, but never so far as I can learn, a dishonest or a mean one (p. 259).

The Italians and Norwegians were not associated with any group stereotypes.

Settings

Although there was no real mention as to where the Norwegians settled in America, the reader was informed that they went to an uninhabited land filled with wheat fields northwest of the Mississippi River (Bates, 1883).
The Italian uncle and children lived in southern California near the Sierra Madre mountain range in a town called San Gabriel (Jackson, 1886, p. 55).

The Scottish family settled in the wilderness of the Western United States.

*Education Levels*

Although the young Norwegian came to become educated, there was no mention as to what formal education he had received in Norway.

While the Scot’s educational background was unknown, it was expressed that the young daughter and father had a passion for books and considered them to be prized possessions. The Scottish father went so far as to build a school in the settlement (Woods, 1883).

In Italy, the Italian children were educated by a governess. In America, the wealthy uncle added another wing to his house to use as a school for the children (Jackson, 1886).

*Classism*

Since the Scottish family had been wealthy in Scotland, they had the economic ability to keep the same standard of living in America. To exemplify, the Scottish mother still relied on servants even while living out in the American wilderness (Woods, 1883).

The wealthy Italian uncle as well had servants in America, yet his were not allowed to sleep in the house. Instead, Chinese laborers would stay “in what he called the Chinese quarter,—a long, low wooden building still farther up on the hill” (Jackson, 1883, p. 28).

There was no indication of classism among the Norwegians.

*Lifestyles: Before and After Immigration*

For the most part, all immigrant characters were portrayed as having changed very little since their arrival to America. They were of high economic status and devout Christians in their homelands, and continued to maintain their upscale lifestyle and religious values in America.
The Scottish storyline did, however, make reference to the eldest son’s sudden change after arriving to America. He became jealous of others who made more money than him and turned into a different person, no longer the son the family knew and loved (Woods, 1883).

*Lifestyles: Unrealistic?*

Although the Norwegian character was one who devoted his life to studying and doing good deeds, it was not clear what he would do for a living or how he would survive in America.

The depiction of the Scottish father’s honesty and pride, one who was “of great good sense, and blessed with an abundance of this world’s goods . . . a good family with his own house over his head and his own mills . . . [and] with friends everywhere” suggested that he had a perfect, yet unrealistic, life (Wood, 1883, p.10).

The Scottish and Italian’s experience was oversimplified as the level of hardships in their passage to America seemed to be nonexistent. With the immigrants having few challenges and dangers, the entire immigration experience appeared to be a simple narrative of adventure, or a romanticized version of immigration to a new land.

In addition, with the Scots having a Native American female guide them through the wilderness, this suggested that the story was a remake of a Daniel Boone or Lewis and Clark expedition adventure.

*Peer Relationships*

Immigrants were shown keeping company with family members or homeland natives only. Although conflicts were minimal, when they did occur, they were resolved through the help of their neighbors.

The main dilemma for the immigrants was trying to develop peaceful relations with the Native Americans. Knowing that their survival depended on bonding with the natives,
immigrants were not only overly friendly to them, but also tried to transform the natives into civilized citizens – or at least one’s that would resemble the Norwegian, Scottish, and Italian cultures. The Norwegians, in particular, believed that the Native Americans were chosen by God to serve the white man, and in return, the white man would promote Christianity onto those who were in need of reform (Bates, 1883).

For the Italian orphans, the feeling of anxiety in meeting their uncle for the first time was mild in comparison to the uncomfortable feeling they had when meeting his servant since they had never seen an African American before (Jackson, 1886). Their uncle had to go so far as to assure the children, “Oh, come on . . . Don't be afraid! He is . . . only a different color” (Jackson, 1886, p. 73).

*Family Members*

In general, all immigrant family members were portrayed as kind and loving towards each other. The only mention of conflict was in the Scottish family where the young daughter was envious over her mother’s favoritism towards her brothers (Woods, 1883).

*Power*

For the most part, it was the immigrant children, especially young females, who had the power over adults, since they were eventually granted their wishes.

Dreams had power, too. They became the immigrants’ drive to go to America, encouraged them to take action, and gave them direction.

*Customs and Traditions*

While American food was being enjoyed by the Italian children, the Scottish women were still baking traditional Scottish shortbread – a “girlish triumph” (Woods, 1883, p. 247).
Overall, however, religion and social norms controlled immigrants as they carried their Protestant lifestyle and belief system with them from Europe to America.

Nothing of significance was mentioned regarding the Norwegians’ culture and traditions.

**Males**

As apparent in all stories, males brought honor to one’s family, as well as shame. For example, when the eldest Scottish son in *The Duncans on Land and Sea* (Woods, 1883) left home without telling his family where he was going, the father believed that bad blood in the family line had caused him to do this. With the belief that one who causes suffering onto others would pay for it someday, the father abruptly disowned his son, choose to not go looking for him, and demanded that the family never speak of him again.

Aside from the disgrace immigrant males could bring to their families, they were shown as thoughtful, decisive, and active in work. Since work was considered medicine, males rarely were physically or mentally idle.

Regardless of being active, immigrant males were thought of as weak if seen crying. For example, when the Italian child questioned her servant about whether or not a male she saw was weeping, the servant stated, “No, dear . . . He is not crying . . . men very rarely cry. He is feeling all the worse that he will not let himself cry, but shuts the tears all back” (Jackson, 1886, p. 137).

**Females**

All three storylines featured young female immigrants as the only daughters in male-dominated families. Even though they seemed to be the most mature and intelligent members of the family as evidenced through thought and actions, they played a strictly domestic role. Female immigrants were expected to fulfill their motherly duties. For example, when looking at a mother
cat that nicely stayed with her newborn kittens, the Italian uncle praised the cat by stating, "Good mother . . . [she] stays at home with her family" (Jackson, 1886, p. 125).

Immigrant mothers were shown as believing that books were not a priority for females. Instead, daughters should sew, knit, and study the Bible. Perhaps for that reason, young immigrant females were often dreamy and living in a world of their own.

Compared to males, females were presented as less important members of the family. For instance, when the Scottish father finished building a school for the community, instead of setting up classroom chairs for the girls similar to the ones boys had, the father insisted that “the old stumps . . . will be fine for the girls” (Woods, 1883, p. 236). Females were also never allowed to involve themselves in adult conversations. Furthermore, since daughters were never allowed to leave their homes, they saw very little of the world.

Scottish women were shown as being the most adventurous; they once spent two days and nights on a canoe simply to explore new islands (Woods, 1883). Perhaps due to their economic advantage and available leisure time, Scottish women could afford to have more fun.

*Children*

Children featured in both the Scottish and Italian storylines were portrayed as daring and mischievous, but in need of guidance by their elders. Their upbringing was a reflection of what their immigrant parents wanted them to be: “good” Christians and genetically superior.

However, the Italian children who had “grown up with soldiers” all around, ready “to kill you, if you br[oke] any of the rules” (Jackson, 1886, p. 59), carried themselves as older than they were.

The Norwegian children, in contrast, were portrayed as continuously whining or crying and in need of attention (Bates, 1883).
Teenagers

Teenage immigrants of all ethnicities presented held solid and respectful character traits. When corrected by their elders, they accepted criticism.

Young Adults

Young adult immigrants were portrayed as taking on the role of family provider. They ventured into business, minded the farm, ran long distance errands, cared for their ill parents and siblings, and took part in family decisions.

Mothers

The Norwegian and Italian mother’s primary duty was to keep the home in order.

In contrast, the Scottish mother was more concerned with royalty, her image, and having servants tend to her maternal and house chores (Woods, 1883).

Fathers

Immigrant fathers were gentle, yet overprotective of their daughters. This was related to family honor. For example, a Scottish father told his daughter that he would never allow her to marry one who would attempt to tear his family apart and ruin their good name (Woods, 1883).

Grandmothers and Grandfathers

The only mention of a grandparent was the Scottish grandfather who was a cleric and made his home with the family after the death of his wife. Although he was portrayed as older and wiser, he was a duplicate version of his son: religious and noble.

Brothers

Although most immigrant brothers were portrayed as having unique personalities, they were also shown as headstrong and dutifully obeying their elders in all three cultures represented by the books.
Sisters

With the Scottish and Italian young daughters being the only female siblings, they were both favored by their adult male caregivers. There were no sisters in the Norwegian family.

Aunts and Uncles

All uncles were models of success that traveled to America before the immigrating families. They not only served as a guide to the newcomers, but also accommodated them in their own homes when needed.

Teachers

Teachers were portrayed as females who were sent out to teach the young Scottish immigrants in the wilderness, yet quickly returned home when they could not handle the harsh environment (Bates, 1883).

Although there was no mention of schooling for the Italian children, it was referenced that the uncle was their only teacher, one who taught them how to live in America and adapt to their new home (Jackson, 1886).

There were no teachers mentioned in the Norwegian storyline.

New Home

Many of the immigrants learned tasks in America they never knew before. Scottish neighbors, who had never built a house before, worked together as a team to construct one. The proud Scottish father proclaimed “The spirit of help for others improves ourselves” (Woods, 1883, p. 135).

The Italian children arrived to find that their new home resembled the one they had before in Italy. With the wealthy uncle wanting the children’s new home to be similar, he
remodeled his house akin to the one in Italy by including a stairway, piazza, and lattice-walls that would someday hold grape vines (Jackson, 1886).

The Norwegian moved in with his uncle and cousin upon arrival in America.

*Neighborhood*

The Scots made shrewd comments about their Native American neighbors, such as “Let the natives alone now since we are likely to see all we care of them” (Woods, 1883, p. 71). Later, however, the Scots overlooked their differences and accepted the Native American neighbors for who they were.

The Italian uncle also had Native Americans living among his community as well, but in contrast to the Scots, he was not only a friendly neighbor, but also a person who embraced diversity and learned all he could about their culture.

Similar to the Scots, the Italian children had a hard time adjusting to those different from them. Although fearing the Chinese servants the most, the children slowly became accustomed to their presence, particularly after the uncle explained to them that the men were workmen, not savages (Jackson, 1886).

There was no mention of the Norwegian family’s neighborhood.

*Religion*

The Catholic Church was mentioned when the Italian uncle decided to build one in his community. The church was not only to be a place for worship, but also an institution where Native Americans could be baptized and learn to pray (Jackson, 1886). Religious leaders such as priests and clergymen were portrayed as role models. Religion was a link to the immigrants’ strength and comfort. Most believed that God would guide them and give them courage to overcome obstacles.
Heroes

In all storylines, immigrant children changed the lives of those around them. For example, after the young Italian immigrant girl observed that there were many poor and landless Native Americans in the village, she asked her uncle if he would build them a house. When the uncle agreed, the young immigrant became a hero (Jackson, 1886).

Likewise, the young Scottish daughter became a hero when she requested that her father build the community a new school in order to help Native Americans become well-educated (Woods, 1883).

Norms

Scottish and Italian immigrants were often part of upper class families, so they were often able to find solutions to all their problems by paying their way through them. Surprisingly, some of the immigrant children in the stories did not aspire to become wealthy. Instead, they dreamed of becoming famous for helping others. The young Scottish daughter, for example, hoped that future generations would speak of her as the first white woman who taught Native Americans to read (Woods, 1883). But this was not common across the books. The Italian uncle, for example, did not want anyone to know who his young relatives were. Due to how and why the children came to America, he quickly changed their names to American-sounding ones (Jackson, 1886). This suggests that immigrants not only had the opportunity to start a new life in America, but also to assume a new identity.

Author’s Background: Immigrant or Non-immigrant?

Due to the fact that these books were published during the 19th century, there was little information available on the given authors.
Author’s Assumptions

Authors gave off the impression that success was measured by wealth. For those immigrants who came to America with money, they lived well and achieved whatever they desired. This emphasis on material wealth was apparent in all the books analyzed during this time period.

Author’s Perspective

In all storylines, there was a definite attempt by the authors to link the customs and traditions of the old world with that of the new. This was particularly evident when characters readily accepted the American way of life, and evolved into the good citizens that they once were in their native lands.

In the case of the Norwegians, the author’s perspective was that one must nurture their God-given talents. However, it was not clear whether one was to develop their talents for their own good, or as a contribution to American society.

All authors attributed the virtue of honesty as being the key element that aided immigrants when achieving their goals. By attaining success the “right way,” immigrants seemed more worthy of their fortunes.

Also shown in all storylines, authors delivered the entire immigration experience as light and carefree, and focused very little on the hardships. Assuming that nothing could get the immigrants down, authors portrayed their characters as having God, good neighbors, and a wonderful family on their side.

Author’s Empathy

With storylines promoting the shattering of traditional roles for women, it was evident that authors had empathy for their female characters. Particularly shown in the Norwegian
storyline, females desired fair treatment compared to their male counterparts. As a symbol of equality, the young Scottish girl even vowed to never marry (Woods, 1883).

*Author’s Purpose*

Although stories were written to entertain, it was clear that some were mainly written to promote Christianity. As discussed later, some books were published by religious presses that had a proselytizing mission. Believing that religion would help immigrants overcome struggles in the West, authors also felt that it would encourage Native Americans to change. As confirmed by the Norwegian immigrant who professed that religion did indeed have an impact on his neighboring Native Americans, he stated, “You cannot tell how [religion] has softened their natures” (Bates, 1883, p. 210).

*Author’s Writing: Cultural or Personal?*

Besides traditional foods baked by the women, there was no overt, deliberate mention of culture. Although difficult to ascertain, authors primarily wrote from a personal perspective.

*Author’s Message*

The authors’ overall message was that Americans should be grateful for immigrants, for they helped shape America. After all, immigrants did not have to leave their country, or come to America, but desired to do so.

Jackson (1886) wanted readers to understand the plight of the Native Americans and how the United States government mistreated them.

In all storylines, the authors’ message was that if one had good fortune in America, one must give back to the country. In the case of the Scottish immigrants, their contribution was establishing a settlement in an area of the United States that not even Americans were willing to
Learning English

The Italian children had been taught conversational English prior to coming to America. The Scottish and Norwegians were already proficient in the language.

Publishers

*Eric, the Scandinavian* (Bates, 1883) was published by the American Publication Baptist Society in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, an “organization of committed persons from different backgrounds with varying gifts, interests, and expertise . . . involved in social reform and mission work” (Philadelphia Baptist Association, 2013). Similar to the goals of the publisher, the story appeared to be written much like a religious pamphlet, an indication that the story was promoting 1880s societal issues such as religion, women’s equality, and the assimilation of Native Americans.

*The Duncans on Land and Sea* (Woods, 1883) was published by Cassell and Company in New York, a publishing house that advocated “religious, political, and commercial freedom” (Nowell-Smith, 1958). The story did indeed encourage religious freedom in that the characters went out West to freely practice their own religion; however they also hypocritically set out to impose Christianity on Native Americans despite the fact that they wanted religious freedom for themselves.

The publisher Roberts Brothers in Boston, Massachusetts specialized in poetry, biographies, and books about women. This could explain the author’s quest to shatter Native American stereotypes in *The Hunter Cats of Connorloa* (Jackson, 1886).
Accuracy of Historical Events

Information given on the migration patterns to the Great Plains was historically accurate as the mid-1880s was a time when farmers were encouraged to settle in California. Since railroads were being completed across the United States, settlement and economic development west of the Mississippi flourished (Orsi, 2005).

As depicted in the *The Hunter Cats of Connorloa* (Jackson, 1886), the 1880s was indeed an era in which traveling missionaries promoted Christianity to pioneering immigrants (Maffly-Kipp, 1994). For this reason, many Californian cities today, such as Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco, were named after missionaries, saints, and other holy figures (Jackson, 1886).

All authors suggested that Native Americans had a peaceful existence before immigrants ventured out West. It also became clear that authors blamed the United States government for disrupting Native Americans’ lives. As suggested by Lyons (1977), “Americans take this country’s possession of its territory for granted, even though we all know that a great deal of its land was wrested by force or fraud from those who occupied it before the Europeans came – from Native Americans, who were dispossessed and either massacred or subjugated” (p. 249).

The 1880s was also an era filled with discriminatory views towards immigrants, particularly the Chinese. As violence intensified with the belief that Chinese immigrants were taking jobs away from Americans, the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act was enacted to prohibit immigration from China and the naturalization of Chinese immigrants (Gyory, 1998). While the policy banned the Chinese, it opened jobs for laborers from other countries, particularly Italians who settled in California and “made wine” (Dinnerstein & Reimers, 1999, p. 57).

Women were shattering traditional roles and making their mark especially since Clara Barton became a nurse for the Civil War in 1881 and helped organize the American Red Cross.
“The result of this activity was not only to force women outside of their accustomed roles, but to provide the experience in organization that was to prove valuable for later suffrage and reform movements” (Trecker, 1977, p. 156).

In addition, American society during the late 1890s was indeed composed of wealthy business tycoons such as the “ruthless steel maker” Andrew Carnegie (Nasaw, 2007, p. 657), a man who was perceived as “too aggressive a businessman,” and one who “would quickly take over . . . [an] enterprise” (Nasaw, 2007, p. 86). As Andrew Carnegie was also a Scottish immigrant, perhaps his Scottish background influenced the author to create a Carnegie-type character, one who was a symbol of Scottish power, pride, and wealth.

Multiculturalism and Social Studies

The Scottish and Italian storylines could be used as a resource for the social studies curriculum as they heavily discussed the history of the immigrants’ settings and their life in America. However, in the case of the Norwegian storyline, it fell short of being considered social studies worthy since it promoted religion, not history.

All storylines failed to include multicultural qualities since the characters were from each group’s native land and shared the same culture, and their wealth enabled them to overcome all obstacles in America. Perhaps the only worthy example of multiculturalism was when the Italian uncle requested that his newly-arrived young immigrant relatives overcome their racial prejudices towards his African American servant.

Age-appropriate

Read from a contemporary perspective, the Scottish immigrant book relayed a scene between a father and daughter that may be viewed as inappropriate today. In the storyline, it is apparent that the father was extremely attentive towards his daughter, and when consoling her
about a dilemma she faced, he remarked, “You are a brave good girl, Mary Duncan, and you have borne your trials nobly, so kiss me, daughter, and hereafter we will know each other better” (Woods, 1883, p. 276). A reader today might deem this exchange between father and child as inappropriate, and would not consider the book to be suitable for young children.

_The Hunter Cats of Connorloa_ (Jackson, 1886) may also be inappropriate for young readers as it frequently mentioned the killing of animals. There was no content in _Eric, the Scandinavian_ (Bates, 1883) that would render it inappropriate for any age.

**Appeal for Young Readers**

Although most stories were not appropriate for young children, they would be most suitable for middle school students who may have similar family situations, or are interested in comparing the discrimination and mistreatment of Native Americans then and now.

1890s Trade Book Selections

**Title:** After Bread  
**Author:** Henryk Sienkiewicz  
**Illustrator:** No illustrations  
**Publisher:** New York, NY: Fenno & Company  
**Year of Publication:** 1897  
**Time Period in Storyline:** Late 1800s  
**Country of Origin:** Poland  
**Ethnicity:** Polish  
**Setting in America:** New York, NY and Arkansas

**Title:** Only an Irish Boy: or, Andy Burke’s Fortunes  
**Author:** Horatio Alger, Jr.  
**Illustrator:** No illustrations  
**Publisher:** Chicago, IL: M.A. Donohue & Company  
**Year of Publication:** 1894  
**Time Period in Storyline:** Late 1800s  
**Country of Origin:** Ireland  
**Ethnicity:** Irish  
**Setting in America:** New York, NY
Title: Tenement Tales of New York  
Author: James William Sullivan  
Illustrator: No illustrations  
Publisher: New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company  
Year of Publication: 1895  
Time Period in Storyline: 1880s  
Country of Origin: Ireland, Russia, and Italy  
Ethnicity: Irish, Russian-Jewish, and Italian  
Setting in America: New York, NY

The number of books written about the immigrant’s various native countries was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of Books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian &amp; Italian (combined)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of books written about the immigrants’ various United States destinations was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>Number of Books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York (including one from New York to Arkansas)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Illustrations

There were no illustrations in all three trade books examined during this decade.

Main Characters

Portrayed as victims of society, all storylines featured poor and parentless immigrant children between the ages of eight to eighteen who were dejected, living in deplorable conditions, or running from the law. Sullivan’s (1895) main characters included an Irish teen male immigrant who was dirty, sly, and deceitful, and one who enjoyed stealing from little girls.
His father was an unemployed drunkard who did not work since hurt in a work-related accident (assumedly due to his drunkenness). In addition to often being absent, he showed no concern for his son. Other characters included an orphaned female teen immigrant that was living with her narrow-minded uncle and his family. There was also a Russian teen burdened with taking care of her elderly father since her mother died, and a Jewish-Irish married couple, whose friends and relatives believed they should never have married. Also featured was a hardworking, but poor, Italian fruit stand owner who Americans looked down upon for his low class status and occupation. In addition, there was a lunatic-like Russian father who envisioned futuristic inventions, but lacked the funds to turn them into realities.

Sienkiewicz’s (1897) characters included a widowed Polish father and his teen daughter who immigrated to the United States after losing a lawsuit in Poland, and who found it extremely difficult to survive in America.

Alger’s (1894) storyline featured a poor, yet honest, young fatherless Irish male who was taunted by a rich and spoiled young American that considered him to be a beggar.

Problems or Issues

Sullivan’s (1895) young characters roamed the streets from morning to night, often engaging in criminal activity. In one storyline, after a young Irish boy was trampled over by a horse, he envisioned his deceased mother telling him that she was waiting for him in heaven. Although this event caused the young boy to repent his sins and apologize to all, he still died.

Also depicted in Sullivan’s (1895) story was a young female teen immigrant who went to a factory ball despite her strict uncle’s permission. Upon catching the young girl coming home late at night, the uncle argued with her and ultimately caused her to leave his home. Not knowing where to go, the young niece ran into a man she met the night before at a ball. He rescued her by
proposing marriage so that she could escape her unhappy life. Feeling that this was the only way out of her depressed condition, the young girl married the stranger.

Sullivan’s (1895) other character included a young girl who, despite her beauty and talent, had to work as a “fit” model at a garment factory in order to support her family. As her immigrant status held her down from becoming a successful actress, she succumbed to working at a job where she often had to slap men for making indecent passes at her. Feeling violated after her wealthy Jewish boss put his hands over her body while he was “measuring” her, the young girl escaped her prolonged misery by jumping out of the factory window and killing herself.

In the case of a young Jewish and Irish couple, after being influenced by his Irish family’s dislike for his wife, the husband began to view his wife as a member of a low-class group. Since the husband thought he was superior, he ridiculed his wife and her faith, and went to great lengths to warn others to reconsider marrying someone beneath their social status. Yet, on his death bed, it was his Jewish wife and her mother that took care of him, regardless of his undeserved treatment. Although the husband realized that he was wrong about his wife and her family, in the end it was too late for him to apologize.

Sullivan (1895) also included an Italian fruit vendor who, instead of saving a little girl from being run over by a truck, was killed himself. The story described his death as a “blessing” since it allowed him to finally be free from having a miserable existence in America.

Sienkiewicz’s storyline was just as dismal, if not more. After almost starving to death in New York City, a Polish father and his teen daughter moved to Arkansas where a Polish community was being established. Upon her father’s death, the young girl went back to New York on her own. However, rather than beating the odds in surviving, the young girl was later found dead on the end of a pier.
Alger’s (1894) storyline portrayed a class struggle between a poor Irish immigrant and an arrogant wealthy American. Although the spoiled American thought highly of himself and ridiculed the Irish boy, in the end, the young Irish boy prevailed over his bullying peer. Needless to say, this was the only story presented during this decade that featured a happy ending.

All stories presented during the 1890s exposed a side of life that, for the average reader, could have been extremely difficult to stomach. Sullivan’s (1895) and Sienkiewicz’s (1897) storylines, in particular, were the darkest and gloomiest since they were filled with an abundance of tragic scenes and dreadful endings. With America’s portrayal as a country divided by class and wealth, and with immigrants at the lowest end of the socio-economic totem pole, readers could easily wonder why immigrants came to America in the first place. Was life really worse back home? Was America really that cruel to immigrants as suggested, to the point where many of them desired to end their lives?

Stereotypes or Derogatory Overtones

Poor Irish teen males were portrayed as thieves, liars, and loafers. In addition, Irish adult males were presented as low class, uneducated, drunkards, spousal and child abusers, and argumentative individuals who often found themselves in fights or scuffles (Sullivan, 1895).

Stereotypically named “Cohen” and “Steinberg,” Jewish males were also shown as wealthy factory owners who dressed in polished attire. On the other hand, Jewish women were considered unattractive, unpleasant, and ignorant “common Jew Sheen[ies]” (Sullivan, 1895, p. 92).

Italians were portrayed as peasant-like and raggedy. Typically fruit market venders, Italians were thought to own fly-by-night businesses where another one would pop up every couple of weeks (Sullivan, 1895).
Germans were shown as conniving and cheating individuals who convinced the Polish to come to America and settle in Arkansas (Sienkiewicz, 1897).

Lastly, the Polish were perceived as peasants who lived shabbily and frugally, and were a “strange wild kind of people” (Sienkiewicz, 1897, p. 108).

*Impressions of America (pre-immigration)*

While still in their homelands, several of the immigrants were assured that they would find great fortune in the New World. Since America was purportedly giving away large pieces of land, immigrants thought that they could take part in this event. Strangers, who had fabricated these notions, “tempted the peasant till they secured [the]m” (Sienkiewicz, 1897, p. 16).

*Why Immigrants Came to America*

Immigrants came to America to escape predicaments in their native land, starvation in their future, or to live among ethnic group members already in America.

*How Immigrants Came to America*

All characters in the storylines traveled to America by ship. However, the voyage was not pleasant. Besides being robbed on board, immigrants endured strong storms, seasickness, and deplorable steering quarter conditions.

*The Arrival*

Common to all immigrants, upon docking in America, upper-class passengers were removed from the ship first. When it came time for steerage passengers to disembark, they quickly fled “like bees from a hive” (Sienkiewicz, 1897, p. 47). When finding themselves on the streets of New York, immigrants were immediately disappointed when viewing the crowds of people in tenement housing. They wondered how this could be America (Sienkiewicz, 1897). As if being dismayed already was not enough, dishonest money-changers and agents from local
hotels and boarding houses suddenly came forward to persuade the newcomers into accepting their offers (Sienkiewicz, 1897).

*Open-mindedness or Close-mindedness*

Americans were shown as being the most close-minded and judgmental. They perceived the Irish to be poor, dirty, and thieving, the Polish rowdy and stubborn, and the Jews distasteful. Immigrants, too, were close-minded as they believed that their lives were doomed from the moment they arrived. Immigrants’ hopes and dreams slowly diminished as Americans showed resistance towards them.

*Settings*

All storylines took place in the working-class districts of New York City, except for the Polish who temporarily ventured out to a new Polish community in Arkansas and the Irish immigrants who lived in outer New York. Catering to the immigrant’s demand for liquor, tenement buildings often included saloons on the ground floor with gambling houses in the rear. Each building consisted of approximately twenty or more families with “doors slamming, children wailing, [and] women scolding” (Sullivan, 1895, p. 46). Considering a tenement to be “a poorman’s hive,” it was common for single male immigrants to share a flat with four or more homeland acquaintances (Sullivan, 1895, p. 45). Although the town of Borowina in Arkansas was advertised to the Poles as a new settlement where people could start a fresh life, the immigrants did not realize that there would be no houses, churches, or structures of any kind already there. The only makeup of the settlement was a dense forest (Sienkiewicz, 1897).

*Socioeconomic Status*

Generally speaking, all storylines portrayed immigrants as being poor and having working class statuses.
Education Levels

Although children immigrants had little or no formal education, their parents were mostly illiterate. Believing that education was the key to becoming successful, most immigrants hoped to pursue an education while in America.

Occupations

Russian, Irish, and Italian immigrants that settled in New York City were either factory workers or unemployed. The younger immigrants were generally pickpockets or beggars. Polish women were often hired to work as housekeepers, but later fired when they did not understand orders (Sienkiewicz, 1897).

Factory laborers were described as being bent over sewing machines for ten hours a day and living the life of drudgery. According to a female immigrant in Tenement Tales (Sullivan, 1895), “When one works long hours every day but Sunday, time flies. The hours, the days, may seem wearisome, but the year, seen backward, is a brief span” (p. 49). After the factory whistle blew, immigrants continued working at home in their tenement living rooms. Since paid by the piece, immigrants usually worked day and night to complete as many pieces as they could (Sullivan, 1895).

Similar to the occupations held in their native countries, pioneering Irish and Polish were farmers by trade.

Classism

The division of class was a constant theme in all storylines. Immigrants often separated themselves from people back home simply because they were “here,” and others were “there.” For example, a Polish father who considered him to be superior to those he left behind, told his
daughter to forget about the one she loved back in Poland; now that she was in America, her lover would always be just a stableman, while she would become a lady (Sienkiewicz’s, 1897).

For immigrants that settled in New York City, ethnicities were divided among themselves yet again. For instance, the wealthy lived in Chatham Square, and the poor did not. Due to jealousy, or a belief that it would take years to reach such a high level, poor ethnic group members told other members not to associate with wealthy natives since they did not share the same lifestyle (Sienkiewicz, 1897).

As shown in Tenement Tales (Sullivan, 1895), class was an important issue for an Irish father when arranging his young son’s funeral. Although he was an alcoholic and unloving father while his son was alive, when it came time to bury the young boy, rather than be seen as cheap, he refused to allow his son to go into the grave with a poor man’s burial. Although friends’ donations made it possible for him to have a decent funeral for his son, most of the money went to help pay for the whiskey.

Alger’s (1894) story, Only an Irish Boy, was not just a title, but an accusation made by a wealthy young American to an Irish boy time after time. Based on his upper-class beliefs about money and immigrants the spoiled boy made it known that he was better than the Irish boy.

Lifestyles: Before and After Immigration

Although the reader was not informed as to how the immigrants behaved in their homeland before coming to America, after arriving, Irish males were shown drinking all day. Since the Irish were considered to have brought their drinking habits with them from Ireland, Americans accused them of influencing American society to do the same (Sullivan, 1895).

Regardless of alcohol, immigrants who started off poor continued to be poor in America. According to a Polish male in After Bread (Sienkiewicz, 1897), when down and out in Poland,
someone would have at least offered him a dime and bread; not so in America. For the Russian-Jewish immigrant, “[e]very day passed through humiliations that unnerved him . . . Every day of his life he died; for every day brought its insults, its oppressions, its heartquakings, lest he be deprived of his miserable chance of getting bread, and each day made less a man of him and killed him by just that much” (Sullivan, 1895, p. 180).

As expressed in *Tenement Tales* (Sullivan, 1895), immigrant neighbors, many of whom were of the same ethnicity, did not treat each other kindly in America. For example, after a young Irish boy finally opened his eyes after being run over by a horse, “the neighbors saw they were disappointed of a tragedy. It had turned out to be no more than the everyday matter of a boy getting a hard knock on the head. So they drank off the beer that had been sent for, and in a little while went home” (p. 14).

In addition to the change in lifestyle, it appeared that as time passed many of the immigrants slowly went mad. As shown in *After Bread* (Sienkiewicz, 1897), after a Polish father became immersed in poverty and was delirious from starvation, he began to behave erratically. When his daughter disobeyed him, he beat her, and later even tried to kill her.

*Lifestyles: Unrealistic?*

It was hard to believe that the young Polish girl would still love her father after he attempted to end her life. His simple apology and blame on poverty for his action should not have sufficed, but the reader would conclude this by the story’s ending.

Although possible, it was improbable that a man would say to a woman whom he did not know: “I want a wife; will you marry me?” (Sullivan, 1895, p. 64). The fact that a young female immigrant did marry a marry a man under such desperate circumstances only suggested that
immigrant girls would marry anyone, even strangers, in order to break free from the indigent life they led in America (Sullivan, 1895).

Although scenes from the lives of all the other immigrants were tragic, they were still within the realm of possibility.

*Attire*

In all storylines, immigrant characters were mostly described as wearing old and dirty clothing. Immigrant males often wore soiled undershirts due to the harsh factory heat (Sullivan, 1895). Immigrant women generally wore cotton dresses, shawls, and aprons. They both dressed up only on Sundays.

Although young female immigrants desired to dress like American females, family members often kept the young girls from doing so. For example, when a young Russian girl wanted to wear a pretty dress, her uncle told her that she was being too materialistic and behaving like a rich American, whom he intensely disliked (Sullivan, 1895).

Since many immigrant female factory workers did not have fancy clothing, they often borrowed dresses from each other. This was not only done to exchange favors, but was also a method to ensure that no one missed out on attending a factory ball (Sullivan, 1895).

*Peer Relationships*

Young immigrant street bullies often became involved with peers that were no better than they were. Together, they teased and mistreated street children and passing citizens. Immigrant youth that were in school were often bullied by rude and sarcastic classmates.

*Family Members*

In all of the stories examined, children had either lost one parent, were orphaned, or were left to live out in the streets to fend for themselves. As shown in *Tenement Tales* (Sullivan,
1895), fathers were often abusive drunks, young children had little or no parental guidance, young girls did whatever they needed to do in order to feed their siblings, and orphaned teens had to hand over their wages to their caregivers.

*Power*

Out on the streets, the strongest boys had the power. Therefore, young immigrant bullies living on the streets dominated the weak.

Within the factory setting, bosses had power over young female immigrants’ jobs and wages. If one did not work hard enough, they were fired and replaced. Bosses, often cold-hearted and vulgar-talking, were pictured with a cigar hanging in their mouths or blowing smoke in young female immigrants’ faces while conversing with them. Bosses felt superior towards them, and viewed immigrant women as nothing more than sex objects (Sullivan, 1895).

Policemen were shown as corrupt and having great power over immigrants. As described in *Tenement Tales* (Sullivan, 1895), when a young female immigrant ran to a police officer for help, not only did he avoid her, but also made no effort to assist. Policemen were also referred to as “fat” and having to “puff . . . around the corner” (p. 135).

American landowners had power over immigrant tenants. With no money or legal representation, immigrants were often blackmailed into doing whatever a landowner requested. If immigrants were noncompliant about leaving the premises, the landowner would threaten them with jail time (Alger, 1894).

*Customs and Traditions*

Cultural practices primarily focused on family honor/disgrace and religion. For example, in *Tenement Tales* (Sullivan, 1895), a young female immigrant was in trouble for going to a ball without her uncle’s permission. She was accused by her uncle of ruining his good name.
Along the same lines, a Polish father believed that the only chance for his daughter’s survival was for her to marry. Instead of allowing her to pick her own husband, he did it for her (Sienkiewicz, 1897). This suggested that immigrant marriages often did not include love.

The customs and traditions of the remaining immigrants were not mentioned.

*Males*

Immigrants males were portrayed as working class poor; they were rarely shaven, seldom took off their work clothes, and appeared “work-soiled and shabby” (Sullivan, 1895, p. 71). Immigrant males often gathered to drink when the factory day was over (Sullivan, 1895).

Sullivan’s (1895) adult immigrant males were portrayed as either non-family men or widowers. Between working and drinking, they raised children they did not have time for. Immigrant males were shown as failures: failures in their life, in their children’s lives, and failures at confessing what they had done wrong.

Only the young Irish character in *Only an Irish Boy* (Alger, 1894) was portrayed as respectable and honest. While all the other Irish males around him were indulging in an excess of alcohol, this country Irish boy stood steadfast in his good morals, worked nonstop, tended to his business, and diligently strived to become educated.

*Females*

Young female immigrants were portrayed as innocent and simple. They gave little attention to anyone since they were too busy in their own world – a world that consisted of going “to work at the internal factory and back to the detested tenement house” (Sullivan, 1895, p. 51). Factory co-workers were the only female friends with whom women associated. Attending a ball, borrowing fancy attire, and meeting young men were highlights in their lives.
Women were considered to be either “good girls” or “bad girls.” Returning home late was a disgrace as it was assumed that the girl was partaking in immoral behavior. Taking care of the house was their only call of duty (Sullivan, 1895).

Married or widowed, immigrant women were often landladies of boarding houses. Although bossy and demanding, particularly when collecting rent, the women were portrayed as business-minded and strong-willed, yet as money-hoarding individuals who stored dollars in their bosoms (Sienkiewicz, 1897; Sullivan, 1895).

On a darker note, immigrant women were often abused and mistreated by their husbands and fathers (Sullivan, 1895). Although poverty was blamed for bringing out the worst in men, the general reader could find it hard to sympathize.

Children

Although often left unattended while adults worked, immigrant children were carefree and had no clear understanding of poverty.

Young Adults

Advanced beyond their years due to the experiences they endured, young adult immigrants were shown handling a gun, protecting their family in dire situations, and accustomed to dealing with adult matters.

Mothers

For the most part, immigrant mothers were supportive of their children, particularly their sons. Unable to bear the thought that their children had nothing to eat, mothers would go without food in order for their children to live. However, mothers were also blamed for their children’s poor attitudes and behavior. If children were pampered, it was their mother’s fault that the children were spoiled (Alger, 1894).
Fathers

As immigrant fathers were shown mentally and physically abusive towards their children, they set poor examples as role models. For instance, in the story After Bread (Sienkiewicz, 1897), after a father found out that he and his daughter had been evicted from their tenement, he called his daughter stupid, and inquired why she did not kiss the landlord’s hand and ask for mercy.

Aunts

Since most aunts were related by marriage to the immigrants’ uncles, they often met their new relatives for the first time when the newcomers arrived. Although some were helpful and offered their home gladly and willingly, most aunts considered the immigrants to be nothing more than nuisances.

Uncles

Uncles in America were perceived by the immigrants as leaders. Uncles had the power in the family, particularly since they brought the immigrants over from the old country and housed them. Uncles were also shown as having fallen victim to alcohol, similar to the immigrants that they sponsored (Sullivan, 1895).

Cousins

Cousins were portrayed as insensitive towards their immigrant relatives and annoyed at them for interrupting their daily lives.

Teachers

Teachers treated young immigrants fairly; they encouraged students to display sympathy towards the young immigrants, and reprimanded students that ostracized them (Alger, 1894).
Old Home

In all storylines, characters longed for their old home. Memories of their native land tormented them as they mechanically lived day-to-day.

Neighborhood

Immigrant tenement neighborhoods in America consisted of loud neighbors quarreling and threatening to shoot one another, Catholics arguing with Protestants, and mothers disciplining their children. Tenants grew accustomed to these sounds (Sullivan, 1895).

Even for those immigrants out in Arkansas, the disconnection between neighbors was the same. While the experience was still new, neighbors worked together chopping down trees. Yet, as time passed, no one cut trees for each other anymore, no one shared food, and neighbors became concerned only for themselves. Once fellow settlers began arguing over land divisions, they soon began to leave (Sienkiewicz, 1897).

The Irish immigrants, who settled in outer New York, did not have neighbors that were involved in their lives.

Religion

Priests were depicted as unfair and deceitful. As presented in Only an Irish Boy (Alger, 1894), a priest was one who tried to get out of paying a young Irish boy for work he had done for him.

Young immigrants that memorized scriptures for Sunday mass were considered “good” Christians. Those that did not were viewed as unholy (Sullivan, 1895).

With the many struggles that immigrants faced, many believed that they were being punished for past sins or for having brought their family to America (Sienkiewicz, 1897). Others found religion to be a source of comfort, particularly to those who made it across the hostile seas.
to America (Sienkiewicz, 1897). Religion was also believed to be what saved the young Polish girl from her father when he tried to kill her. After the girl saw the Blessed Mother appear, her father suddenly released her (Sienkiewicz, 1897, p. 106).

Superstition was often connected to religion. For example, the Polish believed that there was a devil in the woods; those who went into the forest never came out (Sienkiewicz, 1897).

**Heroes**

In Sullivan’s (1895) and Sienkiewicz’s (1897) novels, all heroes were women. Due to starvation, the death of the Polish female immigrant in Sienkiewicz’s (1897) novel made her the symbol of immigrant oppression and plight. Although the suicides featured in Sullivan’s novel could be considered an easy way out of suffering, the women did what they felt was necessary in order to find peace. The Jewish wife was a hero; she married an Irish man against her parents’ wishes, stood by him as a good wife, and withstood her husband’s degrading treatment, even while knowing that she was the better spouse. A young Irish girl was a hero as she married a stranger in order to escape from the wrath of her abusive uncle. Although the reader does not know what became of her, or whether she made the right decision, at the moment, it was the courageous thing to do.

In Alger’s (1894) storyline, the young Irish boy was a hero because he was honest, determined, stood by his own beliefs, and was not apt to do what others did. He proved that he was not just an Irish boy.

**Norms**

It was common for young immigrants to try and justify thievery. For example, in *Tenement Tales* (Sullivan, 1895), a young immigrant boasted that he had already been arrested twice, “once for swimming off the wharves, and once for playing baseball on Sunday . . . He felt
he had harmed no one on either occasion; but the law” (p. 149). When stealing a “woman’s pocketbook, he remembered how hungry he had been, and how lightly she treated the loss” (p.150). Thus, the poor immigrant’s belief was that he was not really acting unlawfully since he was hungry.

Author’s Background: Immigrant or Non-immigrant?

Two out of the three authors were immigrants. An immigrant from Poland, Sienkiewicz (1897), author of After Bread was best known for his historical novels that described cultural oppression and injustices (Polish American Cultural Center, 1997).

Also an immigrant, Horatio Alger (1894), author of Only an Irish Boy, often featured characters that resembled newsboys, orphans, or oppressed children that rose from poverty to humble success. An advocate for impoverished children, Alger wrote about the power of honesty, morality, and perseverance (Cawelti, 1973).

Although a non-immigrant, Sullivan’s (1895) journalistic talent, progressive views, and advocacy for reform on topics such as working girls and the urban poor were evident in his writings (Hapke, 1992). Sullivan’s (1895) novel Tenement Tales clearly answered the question “What is poverty?” by insisting that “poverty [wa]s more than an economic status or a social condition” (Moeller, 1995).

Author’s Assumptions

Along with assuming that the American government was at fault for the immigrants’ dilemmas, authors also blamed religion for causing immigrants to cling to their old ways.

Author’s Perspective

In all storylines, the authors’ perspectives were that immigrants were victims of poverty, class, and societal ills. Sullivan (1895) and Sienkiewicz (1897), in particular, suggested that
immigrants just needed a little “bread” in order to make it in America. The authors delivered their views via muckraker style by expressing what they saw and how they felt, regardless of it displeasing the reader.

Sullivan’s (1895) socialistic point of view was evident in Tenement Tales when a Russian immigrant, who eagerly waited to read the newspaper about his homeland, admitted that he was “feeling a thrill of pleasure on learning that the Socialists there were stronger than ever. Not that he was an informed Socialist, but every success of the discontented classes roused in his bosom a vague hope” (p. 173).

Author’s Discrimination

Author’s discrimination was apparent when Sullivan (1895) described Jews as low-class citizens and sleazy business owners who took advantage of poor female immigrants.

Just as demeaning was Sullivan’s insinuation that Irish men’s drinking habits had intensified due to marriage, children, and work. If this being the case, the average reader might wonder why other ethnicities had been able to handle their liquor but the Irish could not.

Discrimination was not evident in the writings of the other two authors.

Author’s Empathy

Authors displayed empathy for their characters by focusing on the immigrants’ sufferings and hardships.

Authors’ Purpose

Although the authors set out to entertain, they also wanted to express that America was not the land of opportunity for all. Although it was sad that the authors killed off many of their characters, during the late 1880s, it was common for writers to reflect the notion of “Social Darwinism,” the idea that only the strongest and fittest could survive. The author’s used this
concept to “justify the exploitation, dominance and subordination of other races labeled as ‘inferior’” (Social Darwinism, p. 2).

Due to the historical time frame, it was also apparent that authors were promoting socialism, and even communism. To exemplify, Sullivan’s (1895) “perfect plan” would be one where “labor would be apportioned off to muscle, or judgment, or deftness . . . women for light tasks, men for heavy. Nature in herself provides fitting work for all ages and capabilities. At this co-operative farm . . . all the workers would work” (p. 187).

To deliver their messages, authors wrote in the form of realism, a writing style that portrayed society in its truest form with in-depth descriptions of characters, social class, and ethical choices. Much like muckraking, realism presented straightforward images of a cruel society in order to promote social change (Campbell, 2010).

Author’s Writing: Cultural or Personal?

As Sullivan (1895) focused on socialist and muckraker views, his message came across as personal, or rather political. Moreover, Sienkiewicz (1897), being Polish-born, could have integrated cultural references to his story, yet did not. Since their aim was to expose social and political injustices that immigrants in America faced, their novels were culturally barren.

Alger’s (1894) storyline was perhaps the only one that could be slightly considered as having been written in a cultural sense. As respect for family, honesty, and religion were prevalent themes, the author brought forth the notion that someone who practiced all three could lift themselves up from poverty.

Author’s Message

Simply put, Sullivan’s (1895) and Sienkiewicz’s (1897) message was that if their characters had not been out of their minds with anguish, they never would have died or killed
themselves. For this reason it could be said that both authors believed it was better to be dead, than to live a life that the immigrants did.

Sienkiewicz (1897) also delivered a message to future immigrants by suggesting that America was not the place for everyone. He discouraged people from coming by insisting that America is good to only those who help themselves. “Peasants should stay home and till the soil, and not go traveling around. When you all leave the country what will become of it? You are not good for anything here; it is easy to come, but difficult to return” (p. 99-100).

In addition, Sienkiewicz (1897) asserted that since the Polish were peasants by nature, they should at least settle in the western wilderness away from cities, where they could take up a plow and axe like they were used to in the old country.

Alger’s (1894) message was that hard work, pride in one’s self, and love for family and respect were the true qualities of a successful person.

Dialect

Although dialects were used to denote ethnic languages, it was often difficult to understand what characters were saying. For example, in Tenement Tales (Sullivan, 1895), the Irish “mebbe” was the English “maybe,” “mudder” meant “mother,” and “o” was used in place of “of.” The Jewish pronunciations included accents and fragmented grammar. Italians spoke in a stereotypical dialect that added an “a” at the end of nouns such as “centa” instead of “cents.” The Polish dialect was a mixture of Polish and American slang. Although all examples were ethnic-sounding, this added to the portrayal of immigrants being uneducated.

Learning English

As English was considered the key to success, immigrant characters desired to learn English. For an Italian who had dreamed of opening a grocery store, he believed that “if he could
but learn to speak fluently to the Americans . . . he might some day become a man of influence himself” (Sullivan, 1895, p. 124).

Publishers


Although no longer in existence, publishers R. F. Fenno and Company (1885-1929), and Donahue and Company, were once publishers of fictional children’s stories (Huttner, 2011; Huttner, 2013).

Accuracy of Historical Events

As the 1890s were a time when the United States became an industrial giant, to fill the labor force, immigrants primarily came from Russia, Italy, Greece, and Ireland. Although each ethnic group faced the same difficulties, conflicts grew as they became divided by ethnic, religious, and class differences (Dublin, 2013). With this came the voracious need for inexpensive labor “as industrial production surged after the terrible depression of the 1890s” (Green, 1998, p. 4). For this reason female immigrants worked long hours in the factories, causing them to become not only compliant to their bosses demands, but also slaves to the system (Dublin, 2013).

As non-stop working parents became strangers to their children, churches and schools stepped in to help Americanize young immigrants (Dublin, 2013). According to Gerstle and Mollenkopf (2001), “The public schools were a major arena for [the] training of future citizens . . . . In the period from 1885 to 1925, as city schools became more bureaucratized and centralized in control, educators became absorbed with the task of assimilating immigrants” (p. 331-332).
Also politically supported were the police, generally portrayed as Irishmen, who were corrupt and dishonest. As described by Kigel (2012), crooked politicians placed Irish immigrants in “a wide variety of civil service jobs . . . In fact, by 1855, more than one third of New York’s significant police force was not native born.” More surprising was that “out of 1,149 officers, 431 were immigrants, 305 of whom were Irish” (p. 2).

The 1890s was a time when anarchists and socialist organizations grew and set out to gather supporters (Dublin, 2013). It was also a time in history when the Red Scare existed and was directly connected to anarchists’ political ideology (Hong, 1992, p. 110).

Although city immigrants had their share of difficulties, pioneering immigrants that ventured out West had different kinds of struggles. Aside from having less technology to complete tasks, immigrants had to deal with railroad company surveyors who argued over which plots were the settler’s and which were not. Since ownership of land was not formally documented, immigrants found out later that they had paid more or less for their land than their neighbors, or that their plots had overlapped. Due to language barriers and limited education, immigrants did not have the experience or knowledge to take care of such legal matters (Potter & Wynell, 1997).

The 1890s was also a time when journalists, novelists, and photographers exposed the miserable living conditions of people in New York City. According to Filler (1993), “Muckraking came suddenly, unexpectedly, upon the American scene.” In their desire to attract readers, muckrakers set out to gain interest by “savagely expos[ing] grafting politicians, criminal police, [and] tenement eyesores. They openly attacked the Church. They defended labor disputes which in no way concerned them personally, decried child exploitation, wrote pro-suffragist articles, and described great businesses as soulless and anti-social” (p. 9).


Multiculturalism and Social Studies

Stories presented during this decade should not be used to express a multicultural society since they included a large amount of stereotypes, ethnic name calling, and negative portrayals of certain groups. Furthermore, the cultures of the characters were not developed since they were overshadowed by class. However, the stories could benefit the social studies curriculum. With the mention of Sandy Hook in New York, an immigrant disease quarantine station built in 1892 (Bachand, 2005), the story could fit well into a history course when discussing immigration processing stations such as Angel Island in San Francisco, California and Ellis Island in New York, New York. Likewise, the topic of Polish colonies in Arkansas, where railroad companies lured Polish immigrants to settle by offering to pay their transportation costs and assist them in building new homes, could also be discussed in a history classroom (Department of Arkansas Heritage, 2003). In addition, themes such as the gruesome steering compartments, the duping of naive emigrants by steamship agents, and the hideous tenement and factory conditions, could all be used to enhance history textbook reading.

Age-appropriate

Since the stories featured young characters dying or killing themselves, Sullivan’s (1895) and Sienkiewicz’s (1897) novels would not be suitable for young children. However, Alger’s (1894) storyline, with its happy ending and “feel-good” message, could well be considered elementary-age appropriate.

Appeal for Young Readers

Since all stories were classic novels mentioned in history textbooks today, the books could be marketable for readers who enjoy history, or who are curious to discover what these classic novels are all about and why they once caused such a stir.
1900’s Trade Book Selections

Trade book selections for the 1900s immigration decade were as follows:

**Title:** The Jungle  
Author: Upton Sinclair  
Illustrator: No illustrations  
Year of Publication: 1906  
Time Period in Storyline: 1880s  
Country of Origin: Lithuania  
Ethnicity: Lithuanian  
Setting in America: Chicago, IL

**Title:** With the Best Intention: A Midsummer Episode  
Author: Marion Harland  
Illustrator: No illustrations  
Publisher: New York, NY: Charles Scribner’s Sons  
Year of Publication: 1901  
Time Period in Storyline: Late 1800s  
Country of Origin: Bohemia  
Ethnicity: Bohemian  
Setting in America: Chicago, IL

The number of books written about the immigrant’s various native countries was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of Books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bohemia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of books written about the immigrants’ various United States destination was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>Number of Books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As apparent, the 1900s collection of trade books reflected an era of Bohemians and Lithuanians migrating to the United States, and both settling in Chicago.
Illustrations

With the editions selected, there were no illustrations in the trade books during the 1900s time period.

Main Characters

_The Jungle_ (Sinclair, 1906) included a Lithuanian immigrant whose answer to all of life’s problems was that they would pass if only he worked harder. Although kind and caring, the Lithuanian had a temper that he did not want to acknowledge. When times were rough, he behaved without thinking, and often found himself in jail.

Often able to calm the Lithuanian’s anger was his young loving wife. She did not think about their struggles or the future; she was content with her life as a new mother and worker at a canning factory.

In contrast, a newly married couple in _With the Best Intention: A Midsummer Episode_ (Harland, 1901) found that their marriage was off to a rocky start. The husband, a chauvinist and class-conscious male, believed that his Bohemian immigrant wife was not capable of carrying on an intellectual conversation with his old college chums.

Problems or Issues

After the Lithuanian husband became unemployed and his family struggled to survive, he began to drink and abuse his family. Upon losing his two children to accidents and his wife from factory overwork, the Lithuanian began to speak out about the injustices workers faced in the meatpacking industry. With a newfound interest, the Lithuanian went on to promote the notion that Socialism was the only real cure for societal ills (Sinclair, 1906). Immigrant women, as well, were shown as advocates for change as they tried breaking the tradition of being perceived as low class, less intelligent, or nothing more than their husband’s shadow. As an example, the
female Bohemian’s wealthy American husband and his college associates doubted her intelligence because of her immigrant and female status (Harland, 1901).

**Stereotypes or Derogatory Overtones**

Lithuanian women were portrayed as pushy and loud. Often giving their opinion regardless of being asked, they were shown ready to pick a fight (Sinclair, 1906).

Immigrant males were harshly criticized. Lithuanian males were depicted as toothless (literally) and heavily perspiring (Sinclair, 1906) while Bohemian males as obnoxious drunkards (Harland, 1901).

Both male and female immigrants were presented as incompetent, uneducated, and compliant of their boss’s demands. Described as adhering to the “immigrant philosophy,” where one should be happy just to have a job, immigrants did not complain, for that would only bring about more problems (Sinclair, 1906).

Policemen, too, were negatively portrayed. Not only were they fat, dishonest, and ignorant, but were considered to be anti-immigrant (Sinclair, 1906).

**Impressions of America (pre-immigration)**

Attested to by those who had already migrated and supposedly struck it rich, America was a free country that offered opportunities.

**Why Immigrants Came to America**

Although there was no real mention as to why or how the Bohemian came to America, it was stated that the Lithuanians came for better health and more wealth (Sinclair, 1906).

**How Immigrants Came to America**

Twelve immediate and extended Lithuanian family members traveled together to America by steamship (Sinclair, 1906). Yet, it is unknown how the Bohemian came to America.
Journey to America

With few details given of the ship voyage, the Lithuanian’s trip to America was described as a vexing experience (Sinclair, 1906).

The Arrival

Upon arrival and seeing the stockyards, the Lithuanian immigrants immediately realized that America was not what they had expected (Sinclair, 1906). No mention of the Bohemian’s arrival was made.

Acceptance or Resistance

In both storylines, Americans displayed resistance towards the immigrants. For example, in the storyline The Jungle (Sinclair, 1906), a deceitful realtor pressured the Lithuanian family into buying a home which the immigrants later found out that they had only rented. In another example, when the young Lithuanian wife was near death in delivering her baby, since the family could not afford a doctor, her husband requested assistance from a Dutch midwife who he found drunk in a neighborhood saloon. She agreed to assist in the delivery under the condition that she was paid in advance. This implied that money and liquor were more important to the Dutch midwife than a dying mother and unborn child (Sinclair, 1906).

Open-mindedness

Shown as being traditional about not having his wife work, the Lithuanian husband later became open-minded about this after realizing that the additional money would help supplement the family’s income (Sinclair, 1906).

On a different note, the female Bohemian was open-minded because she felt that she, as a female, was highly intellectual and could carry on a conversation with her educated husband and his college associates (Harland 1901).
Close-mindedness

Lithuanians were depicted as close-minded about education. To exemplify, the Lithuanian in *The Jungle* (Sinclair, 1906) mentioned that his father would often beat him when he tried to read. Consequently, like his father, the Lithuanian believed that work came first.

There was no mention of the Bohemian’s close-mindedness.

Group Stereotypes

The Irish were portrayed as drunkards who beat their wives and stole from the packinghouse. Lithuanians, as well, were viewed as drunkards who enjoyed a good fight, especially at ‘Whiskey Point” where a multitude of saloons were located (Sinclair, 1906, p. 344).

There were no specific group stereotypes associated with the Bohemian, other than the fact that all immigrants in general were considered uneducated.

Settings

As featured in *The Jungle* (Sinclair, 1906), the Lithuanians lived in Packingtown, a section of Chicago where stockyards, ports, railroads, and factories were located, and where pungent smells of animals spilled throughout the area. Tenement buildings, referred to as “boarding house[s] for the occupancy of foreigners,” were described as being dirty and dark, and with garbage and flies all around (Sinclair, 1906, p. 27). In contrast, the Bohemian’s story takes place on a boat – her honeymoon cruise – with no mention of where she permanently resided (Harland 1901).

Socioeconomic Status

The Lithuanians were depicted as being so poor in America that they ate onions and cheese with lard (Sinclair, 1906). However, while others around were starving, the Bohemians were wealthy enough to take a honeymoon on an extravagant cruise ship (Harland, 1901).
**Education Levels**

Although schools in America were free, education was still not a priority for the Lithuanians; children went to work instead of school. Only when the Lithuanian male became interested in socialism did he learn how to read. Believing that a new type of government could help bring about change for all immigrants, he enthusiastically read socialist pamphlets and newspapers on a daily basis (Sinclair, 1906).

Although there was no specific mention as to how much of a formal education the Bohemian immigrant received, when she came to the United States, she was extremely knowledgeable about issues and intellectual topics.

**Occupations**

Employed by the stockyards, the Lithuanians were victims of layoffs, work-related accidents, and firings. The bosses had so often replaced them that they never knew where they would be sent next. Workers had to work hard and fast since there were many waiting to replace them. Stockyard jobs often included killing animals or handling meat. Viewed as a slick occupation, the Lithuanian male’s position as beef-boner was one that allowed him to easily strike a bone and contract blood poisoning. Stockyard employees had to endure the sounds of squealing pigs being killed or the wailing of cattle being given electric shocks.

The Lithuanian wife who was also employed at the stockyards sewed covers on hams or filled cans with lard. Although she never complained and kept her feelings to herself, she was convinced that the bosses disliked her for her immigrant status and that other women workers, mostly single or widowed, were jealous of her because she was happily married (Sinclair, 1906).

There was no mention of the Bohemian female’s occupation – only that she was sailing on a honeymoon cruise with her wealthy American husband.
Classism

Class was an issue when comparing poor immigrants to the wealthy Americans who lived on the other part of town. According to Sinclair (1906), the wealthy never really wanted to rub elbows with a laboring immigrant “due to the repulsiveness of the work . . . the people who worked with their hands were a class apart, and were made to feel it” (p. 100).

As portrayed in With the Best Intention (Harland, 1901), women of class supposedly did not speak like the Bohemian immigrant wife did, and when among upper-class acquaintances, her American husband often apologized for her lack of knowledge. He was embarrassed that she could not relate to their discussion about yachts and fine wines.

Lifestyles: Before and After Immigration

Prior to coming to America, the Lithuanian male was portrayed as a family man making a decent living. As his father had owned land in Lithuania, he was once a symbol of wealth for his culture. However, after coming to America, he endured extreme poverty, the death of his wife and children, the loss of his home, alcohol abuse, and jail time (Sinclair, 1906).

The Bohemian’s lifestyle both before and after immigration is unclear, except for the fact that she was now married to a very wealthy American man (Harland, 1901).

Lifestyles: Unrealistic?

Although possible, it was highly unrealistic to believe that an unknown rich lady would approach the Lithuanian male, give him her card, and offer him a job at a mill after witnessing him take food out of a dumpster (Sinclair, 1906). In contrast, nothing in the Bohemian female’s storyline was outside the realm of possibility, regardless of the fact that her American husband spoke poorly about her in front of his wealthy peers.
Peer Relationships

The Lithuanians’ peers were mostly employees of the Chicago stockyards who tried to persuade him into attending union meetings, supporting strikes, and fighting against the system that oppressed them (Sinclair, 1906).

Peers also included wealthy and corrupt politicians, symbols of political machines, who encouraged the naive immigrants into voting for them (Sinclair, 1906).

The Bohemian’s peers included high class, wealthy, intellectuals who looked upon her with condescension (Harland 1901).

Power

As men with authority held power, immigrants “stood in deadly terror of any sort of person in official uniform” (Sinclair, 1906, p. 24). Smooth-talking and robbing immigration officials made immigrants pay for documents twice even after knowing they received them the first time. Stockyard meat inspectors were deceitful as well. When inspecting animals for tuberculosis, they allowed animals to pass checks even without examining them. Irish policemen who worked “on the side” with stockyard bosses by recruiting employees and getting a cut of the profit from the deal, was also a common occurrence (Sinclair, 1906).

As immigrants could not speak English to explain the reason for crimes they were accused of, judges had the power to sentence them to as many days, months, or years in jail as they saw fit. With no legal representation or mercy from discriminating judges, immigrants were easily sent off to jail in a police van described as a “Black Maria,” and ordered to serve lengthy sentences that did not fit their offense (Sinclair, 1906, p. 163).

In the Bohemian’s storyline, the wealthy had great power over the immigrants as they not only flaunted their success, but also their ability to speak intellectually.
Customs and Traditions

Traditional Lithuanian weddings were expensive, but to the Lithuanians, well worth it. For the cost of entertainment alone, immigrants spent “over two hundred dollars, and may be three hundred . . . more than the year’s income” (Sinclair, 1906, p. 13). With uninvited guests welcomed and babies left unsupervised, all danced heartedly while they drank free beer (Sinclair, 1906).

Since the Lithuanian culture honored arranged marriages and the dowry system, the husband often reminisced about how he “bought” his wife “for two horses” at a just price (Sinclair, 1906, p. 22).

There were no Bohemian customs and traditions mentioned.

Males

Presented as breadwinners, Lithuanian males looked out for their family’s financial security. Being role models for their sons, fathers set a manly example for them to behave the same. Given the fact that males spent money on alcohol; they had to make certain that they could afford to pay the bills (Sinclair, 1906).

Since Lithuanian males were shown to crack animal heads all day at work, as suggested by Sinclair (1906), this practice only benefited their habit of fighting.

There were no Bohemian male immigrants.

Females

Immigrant women were generally subservient; a “slavish echo” of their husbands (Harland, 1901, p. 2), yet strong since they went to work immediately after having a baby.

Immigrant females were often threatened expulsion if they did not give in to their bosses’ demands. As Sinclair (1901) described it, women were treated like slaves similar to the “slavery
days, only they did not show [it] . . . because there was no difference in color between master and slave” (p. 104).

**Babies**

Babies were shown to be the bond between husband and wife, and the link that held the family together (Sinclair, 1906).

There were no babies in the Bohemian storyline.

**Children**

In America, most immigrant children did not go to school. Instead, they sold newspapers in the street and behaved like hoodlums (Sinclair, 1906).

Lithuanian parents were shown giving children beer to drink during parties. This perhaps was a common cultural practice; however it could also be why immigrant males started drinking at a young age (Sinclair, 1906).

There were no Bohemian children mentioned in *With the Best Intention* (Harland, 1901).

**Teenagers**

Immigrant teenage girls were depicted as staying home to clean and cook while teenage boys helped support the family.

**Grandfathers**

Although there was no mention of a Bohemian grandfather, the Lithuanian grandfather in *The Jungle* (Sinclair, 1906) worked hard in America, beyond a man his age would in the old country. Working in the pickle room at the stockyards, the grandfather’s duties included mopping the floors with chemicals and picking up pieces of dirty meat to be used again in sausage. Since America was considered to be a place that did not waste time hiring older people, the grandfather worked hard at his job for it was the only one he could get.
*New Home*

Although they had a decent life in Lithuania, immigrants had a hard time in America. Even though there were 15 family members living all together, they still could not afford to keep their home.

As the Bohemian story took place on a boat, no mention of the Bohemian’s new home was made.

*Religion*

Religious men were greatly mocked. Priests, who considered themselves as educated men, were accused of only knowing how to read the Bible. According to Sinclair (1906), priests confused religion with reality; they could not see that churches were in the hands of merchants and money-makers.

After enduring hardships in America, the Lithuanian male avowed that he had lost his faith in religion. Church bells that rang at Christmas meant nothing to him, particularly after his wife and children died and the injustices were overwhelming. As Sinclair (1906) suggested, he only knew that “the world had wronged him” (p. 156).

*Heroes*

Despite the violent and angry man that the Lithuanian male turned out to be, he was still regarded as a hero since he later devoted his life to making America a better place.

The female Bohemian was a hero because she was unafraid to display her intelligence, and that she was not just a peasant immigrant.

*Norms*

It was usual for an immigrant to be put in jail. If not for stealing food, many were imprisoned for drinking and loitering, or for their involvement in union strikes.
Since bankers were aware that immigrant males spent money on alcohol, they took advantage of this by selling them houses that they knew the immigrants would never be able to make payments on. This type of dealing made it common for immigrants to distrust Americans. Having lost faith in America, immigrants often considered suicide or hoped for an early death (Sinclair, 1906).

*Author’s Background: Immigrant or Non-immigrant?*

Although Sinclair (1906) was not an immigrant, he professed that he was not trying to be one. Instead, he wanted to expose social wrong-doings of industry, politics, and class on laboring workers. However, if this was his goal, characters could have been almost anyone. Perhaps the author used immigrants as characters for he knew that they were most oppressed and would draw support from the reader for his cause.

It is unclear whether Harland (1901) was an immigrant.

*Author’s Trustworthiness*

Both authors were journalistic writers that often wrote about conflicts in society and ways to improve them.

Upton Sinclair, raised in New York City, was known as a socialist freelance writer who could transform real life into fiction. Although he “aspired to be a great writer of serious books . . . he admitted that all his hack work led him to use too many clichés and exaggerations” (Blackwell, 1906, p. 1).

As for Marion Harland (1901), she was the author of magazine articles, fictional short stories, and newspaper advice columns who promoted the model of womanhood; intelligent and strong (Smith, 1991, p. 51). Harland’s advocacy for women’s rights was clearly shown as she expressed the misrepresentation of women in her stories.
Author’s Assumptions

Sinclair (1906) assumed that since immigrants had the tendency to drink, their poor habits would eventually cause them to wear down their love for family, become hardened individuals, and break over the stress of money.

Far greater was the authors’ assumption that only socialism could remedy the ills of society.

Author’s Perspective

Sinclair’s (1906) perspective was that there was an abundance of crooked lawyers, ruthless business owners, and religious bigots in America. According to Sinclair, “modern commercial civilization” was comprised of “hypocrites,” “serpents,” and “high-priest[s]” that ultimately “grind[ed] the bodies and souls of human beings into dollars” (p. 323). On a different note, Harland’s (1901) view was that immigrant women were capable of high intelligence, could carry on conversations about historical and current events, and were not the least bit incompetent based on their immigrant or ethnic status.

Author’s Purpose

Harland’s (1901) purpose for writing was to persuade women, particularly immigrant females, to become liberated, or independent and free-thinking women. However, Sinclair’s (1906) purpose was to inform the reader of ills of society in relation to the immigrant. To exemplify this, he asked the reader to consider the immigrant as:

Some poor devil who had worked in one shop for the last thirty years, and had never been able to save a penny; who left home every morning at six o'clock, to go and tend a machine, and come back at night too tired to take his clothes off; who had never had a
week's vacation in his life, had never traveled, never had an adventure, never learned anything, never hoped anything (p. 324).

**Learning English**

English was described as the key to securing decent employment. Immigrants who did not understand what they were agreeing to were pushed into menial positions by factory bosses (Sinclair, 1906).

**Publishers**

Charles Scribner’s Sons, located in New York, and publisher of *With the Best Intention: A Midsummer Episode* (Harland, 1901), was a company established in the mid-1800s that began by publishing religious-based stories (The House of Scribner, 2003).

Doubleday, Page, and Company, also located in New York, and author of *The Jungle* (Sinclair, 1906), grew from being a religious-based publishing house in 1922, into one of the largest publishers in America today of fiction and nonfiction books. The publisher was credited for introducing the first line of trade books in 1953 (Doubleday, 2007).

**Accuracy of Historical Events**

As expressed in the stories, after the Industrial Revolution, major United States cities grew due to the influx of immigrants. As a result, “the political boss, a distinctive breed, emerged” (Lythgoe, 1983, p. 12).

As political corruption took over, progressive writers, or “enterprising investigative journalists,” had their heyday writing stories on topics such as political bribery, graft, and cover-ups, and “filled newspapers, magazines, and books with reports of these official misdeeds” (Menes, 2003, p. 1). Furthermore, progressive writers believed that “publicity could tame the trusts and extinguish corruption; it could settle strikes and pass legislation; it could clean up the
slums and end ‘white slavery.’ These were comforting beliefs in a society wracked by new social ills” (Kennedy, 2004, p. 47).

In addition to political chaos, child labor laws were overlooked, and immigrants were reluctant to send their children to school. According to Kennedy (2004), it was then that the school system was assigned to “encourage immigrants to give up their “old-country . . . ethnic consciousness and separatism.” The American government “thus showed that it cared as much about controlling and manipulating immigrant groups as it did about educating them” (p. 66).

**Multiculturalism and Social Studies**

With few cultural examples expressed, neither storylines offered the reader an opportunity to develop a multicultural understanding. However, as many of the historical events discussed are found in American history textbooks today, both books would be suitable for the social studies curriculum.

**Age-appropriate**

Since both storylines focused on societal reforms and women’s rights, the content would be more appropriate for young adults rather than primary readers.

**1910s Trade Book Selections**

Trade book selections for the 1910s immigration decade were as follows:

**Title:** *A Chance to Live*  
**Author:** Zoe Beckley  
** Illustrator:** Charles G. Voight  
**Publisher:** New York, NY: MacMillan Company,  
**Year of Publication:** 1918  
**Time Period in Storyline:** 1913-1914, during World War I  
**Country of Origin:** Ireland  
**Ethnicity:** Irish  
**Setting in America:** New York, NY
Title: *The Broken Wall: Stories of the Mingling Folk*
Author: Edward Alfred Steiner
Illustrator: No illustrations
Publisher: New York, New NY: Fleming H. Revell Company,
Year of Publication: 1911
Time Period in Storyline: Late 1800s, early 1900s
Country of Origin: Ireland, Russia, Slovakia
Ethnicity: Irish, Russian Jews, Slovakia
Setting in America: Iowa

Title: *Comrade Yetta*
Author: Albert Edwards (also known as Arthur Bullard)
Illustrator: No illustrations
Publisher: New York, NY: MacMillan Company,
Year of Publication: 1913
Time Period in Storyline: 1890s
Country of Origin: Russia
Ethnicity: Russian
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: *The Hohenzollers in America*
Author: Stephen Leacock
Illustrator: No illustrations
Publisher: New York, NY: John Lane Publishers,
Year of Publication: 1919
Time Period in Storyline: Late 1800s
Country of Origin: Germany, Bulgaria, Bavaria
Ethnicity: German, Bulgarian, Bavarian
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: *Johnnie Kelly*
Author: Wibur S. Boyer
Illustrator: Maginel Wright Enright
Publisher: New York, NY: Gosset & Dunlap,
Year of Publication: 1917
Time Period in Storyline: Early 1900s
Country of Origin: Ireland
Ethnicity: Irish
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: *Little Aliens*
Author: Myra Kelly
Illustrator: Illustrations provided, but no mention of illustrator
Publisher: New York, NY: Charles Scribner’s Sons,
Year of Publication: 1910
Time Period in Storyline: Late 1800s
Country of Origin: Russia, Ireland
Ethnicity: Russian Jews, Irish
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: *Mr. Achilles*
Author: Jennette Lee
Illustrator: No illustrations
Publisher: New York, NY: Dodd, Mead, and Company,
Year of Publication: 1912
Time Period in Storyline: Early 1900s
Country of Origin: Greece
Ethnicity: Greek
Setting in America: Chicago, IL

Title: *My Antonia*
Author: Willa Cather
Illustrator: No illustrations
Publisher: Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company,
Year of Publication: 1918
Time Period in Storyline: Late 1900s
Country of Origin: Bohemia
Ethnicity: Bohemian
Setting in America: Nebraska

Title: *Our Natupski Neighbors*
Author: Edith Miniter
Illustrator: No illustrations
Publisher: New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company,
Year of Publication: 1911
Time Period in Storyline: Early 1900s
Country of Origin: Poland
Ethnicity: Polish
Setting in America: Outside of Boston, MA

Title: *Peterkin*
Author: Gabrielle E. Jackson
Illustrator: Maxfield Parrish
Publisher: New York, NY: Duffield and Company
Year of Publication: 1912
Time Period in Storyline: Late 1800s
Country of Origin: Russia
Ethnicity: Russian
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: *Sunshine Beggars*
Author: Sidney McCall
The number of books written about the immigrants’ various native countries was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of Books</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohemia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany, Bulgaria, Bavaria (combined)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
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The number of books written about the immigrants’ various United States destinations was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>Number of Books</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
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Books featured during the 1910s primarily included European ethnicities such as Irish, Russian (Christian and Jewish), Bohemian, Polish, German, Bulgarian, Bavarian, Greek, Slovakian, and Italian. Upon arrival to America, six storylines featured immigrants as having settled in New York City: two in Boston (with one in the outskirts of Boston), and one in Chicago. Pioneering immigrants settled in Nebraska, Iowa, and southern United States.

**Illustrations**

Seven out of twelve books did not have illustrations, and those that did had few illustrations with limited portrayals.

Since women were heading into the roaring twenties, illustrations mirrored their forthcoming rights and empowerment. As depicted in *A Chance to Live* (Beckley, 1918), women had flapper-style short and bobbed hairdos, and were smoking.

**Main Characters**

In all stories, immigrants were portrayed as peasants who belonged on a farm. Those that settled in major American cities appeared misplaced or living in the wrong place at the wrong time.

Main characters included a variety of genders, ages, and personalities. Immigrant children, often 14 to 18 years old, who were either orphaned or parentless, and immigrant adults, who were either never married or widowed, endured the struggles of adapting to America on their own. For example, in *Peterkin* (Jackson, 1912), a young Russian orphan ended up being raised by a woman stranger he met on the ship sailing to America. Similarly, a teen Russian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
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<tr>
<td>Outside of Boston</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern United States</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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female in *Comrade Yetta* (Edwards, 1913) suddenly found herself having to grow up alone in New York after her father died. Likewise, a 14 year-old Bohemian female in *My Antonia* (Cather, 1918) assumed the role as provider after her father died. Depicted in *Mr. Achilles* (Lee, 1912), a Greek widowed father had difficulties surviving as a single parent and a failing fruit market vendor in Chicago.

Including some not parentless, young immigrants were rendered as having a hard time adjusting to school and friends. In *Johnnie Kelly* (Boyer, 1917), a young Irish Dennis-the-Menace type character tormented his teachers and classmates due to his longing to fit in with American classmates. Similarly, a young Italian girl in *Sunshine Beggars* (McCall, 1918) tried to maintain a friendship with an American girl whose family viewed her as a dirty peasant, and with whom they discouraged their daughter from associating.

*Problems or Issues*

The general problem for the immigrants was trying to surpass their struggles in America. Although they went to great lengths to come, once here, they realized that America was not what they expected. Immigrants that worked in factories tried to make a decent living, but found it difficult to make ends meet. As their debts increased, life grew worse, and family conflicts increased. As expressed in *Our Natupski Neighbors* (Miniter, 1911), a Polish husband who came to America alone, married again without the knowledge of his pregnant wife in Poland. Other problems included immigrant parents having to change their old ways since their children had grown into Americans, and being suddenly lost and alone (Miniter, 1911).

*Stereotypes and Derogatory Overtones*

Several storylines included the stereotyping and name-calling of ethnicities and their religions. For instance, a female Jew was referred to as a “Sheeny” (Edwards, 1913, p. 142), a
male Jew was called a “Yiddisher” (Boyer, 1917, p. 67), and Jewish children were stereotypically shown eating pickles (McCall, 1918). Elderly Jews were portrayed as ignorant, unhappy (due to their unwillingness to learn English), and cheap misers (Edwards, 1913) who wore “old clothes and live[d] on garlic and gefilte fish just to save money” (Boyer, 1917, p. 170).

Although considered cheap, the Jewish were also shown owning a greater portion of industry. To exemplify, a Polish character who experienced a toothbrush for the first time remarked, “even the brisk wilted Russian Jews hadn’t thought of that” (Miniter, 1911, p. 117).

Jews and Christians were often shown insulting each other’s conduct in business. As delivered in The Promised Land (Antin, 1912), Christians viewed Jews as greedy individuals who were eager for a bargain. Jews fought back by accusing Christians of being ill-mannered peasants that “would take any kind of bribe” (p. 17).

Other derogatory representations included the Irish as policemen or drunkards (Boyer, 1917).

Italians were used as an example for ill-behaved individuals who lacked cleanliness. Primarily shown in Johnnie Kelly (Boyer, 1917), Italians were called “gimneys” (p. 67), “dego[s]” and garlic-loving “wop[s]” (p. 69-70), or gang members who “rule[d] [the] place” (p. 175). Italian mothers were described as fat “indignant Sicilian[s]” (p. 78) that had poor eating habits, while their Italian husbands were often subway diggers. Italian children were dirty and smelly beggars who did not take baths, and therefore, whose heads were “soaked with cheap perfume” (p. 77). If and when bathing, Italians were described as using coal pails for bathtubs filled with water that was previously used to mop the kitchen floor.

If possible, it was the Polish who were depicted as being even more unhygienic. With the philosophy, “Where does it get you?” a Polish father insisted that “it was no use to wash your
face. That got you nowhere. Why exterminate vermin? That also got you nowhere. By working early and late, eating little and saving much,” now, that is what got you “somewhere” (Miniter, 1911, p. 163). Besides Polish homes depicted as being bug-ridden dwellings, they were also places where children smoked, drank alcohol, used profanity, and wailed from beatings that could be heard from miles away (Miniter, 1911). The Polish were also portrayed as freeloaders. For example, when the Polish father in Our Natupski Neighbors (Miniter, 1911) visited a neighbor, it was automatically assumed that he must have come for crackers or cigarettes. The Polish were also shown as ones who refused to listen to advice, and therefore, blamed external forces other than themselves for any problems that arose (Miniter, 1911).

However, on a positive note, the Polish had no debts with anyone since they paid cash for all their business transactions (Miniter, 1911).

Other stereotypes included Greeks as rational thinkers (Lee, 1912), Swedes as highly conceited (Miniter, 1911), and Russians as vodka-drinking (Edwards, 1913) and non-smiling individuals (Cather, 1918; Jackson, 1912). Although Bohemian males were rough and tough, Bohemian women were described as mannish, too, particularly since they took well to farming (Cather, 1918).

In addition to immigrants being thought of as disease-carrying individuals who Americans were likely to contract diseases from (Cather, 1918), immigrants were looked upon as ignorant and ungrateful citizens who drained American taxpayers’ money. To exemplify, an American in Our Natupski Neighbors (Miniter, 1911) wondered whether it was really possible that there were “folks in that far off land, who lived decently,” since “what strained out into America [were] the dregs” (p. 57).
Impressions of America (pre-immigration)

While still in their native lands, immigrants were told of the great wealth that could be found in America, if only they worked hard enough. Since immigrants were no strangers to work (Leacock, 1919) and felt that they had the magic touch in laboring, America was certain to be the place where immigrants could find gold in the streets (Miniter, 1911).

Friends and relatives already in America wrote and told the potential immigrants that America resembled Utopia: money came off trees, no one endured cruelties, and life was perfect. Yet, those who wrote about these happenings had concocted these false notions simply to please their families and hide the real struggles that they were facing in America (Edwards, 1913).

Immigrants who hoped to venture out into the Great Plains were cautioned by others about the vastness of the land, the uncivilized people that they would meet, and the wolves that ate men and women (Cather, 1918.)

Why Immigrants Came to America

For the most part, immigrants came to America for a better life or to fulfill a dream. As many were from underdeveloped or war-torn countries, America offered them greater opportunities.

As presented in The Promised Land (1912, Antin), Russian-Jews came not only to escape religious persecution but because education was free: “the essence of American opportunity, the treasure that no thief could touch, not even misfortune or poverty . . . surer, safer than bread or shelter” (p. 235).

Orphaned children that found themselves in dire situations came to America to start a new life. Many traveled alone, or with neighbors that were also immigrating.
In the case of the Bohemians, they came after purchasing a homestead from a fellow countryman who had previously immigrated to America (Cather, 1918).

*How Immigrants Came to America*

Although immigrants journeyed by ship to America, they often traveled far and wide just to get to the port that would eventually take them across the ocean. The Greeks, for example, trekked to the seaport by donkey and cart (Lee, 1912). Others rode on a multitude of trains just to reach the ship’s port.

Baggage often consisted of small bundles since anything larger would have been cumbersome (Miniter, 1911). Mothers carried money secretly “sew[n] into the lining of” their jackets (Antin, 1912, p. 81), and held onto loaves of bread as if they were their babies (Miniter, 1911).

*The Journey*

For storylines that showcased the immigration experience, immigrants were described as having traveled in the steerage quarters, or as Jackson (1912) put it, “in the lower, humbler world” (p. 13). Often confronting storms, immigrants were shown clustering together while the waves tossed them from side to side (Miniter, 1911; Steiner, 1911).

*The Arrival*

Although many immigrants arrived with no income, plans, or friends, they came “with the confidence of a well-equipped soldier going into battle” (Antin, 1912, p. 71). As they neared Ellis Island, they marveled at the spectacle of the Statue of Liberty (Leacock, 1919).

Once off the ship, they faced wearisome examinations (Jackson, 1912). Upon entering America, immigrants “were now, indeed, citizens of the world, and many of them had not the remotest idea where they would finally come to an anchorage or establish a home” (Jackson,
1912, p. 13). Most immigrants settled in overcrowded tenement housing (Jackson, 1912) while others found short-term housing with relatives (Steiner, 1911).

After preparations were complete, the Bohemians and Greeks journeyed by railroad car to the Midwest (Cather, 1918) while the Irish, Russian, and Slovaksians traveled by horse and wagon to Iowa (Steiner, 1911).

Acceptance or Resistance

Although most Americans viewed immigrants as societal nuisances, there were some who helped them secure employment. As shown in The Promised Land (Antin, 1912), even though a young Russian factory girl had no experience as a switchboard operator, an American boss, who believed in her work ethic, hired her. As immigrant children grew to become Americanized, parents were resistant to their children’s friends or suitors. As seen in A Chance to Live (Beckley, 1918), an Irish mother did not want her daughter to get involved with just any American man who could not support her. She did not want her daughter to have the same life that she did.

Quite the opposite, however, the Polish father in Our Natupski Neighbors (Miniter, 1911) was resistant about his children going to school, leaving the farm, and not being around to fulfill his constant requests. The Polish father wanted his children to follow the path that he had chosen for them. As stated by his acclimated Polish American daughter, “Father didn’t want the family to become American unless it was in areas that would benefit him and his work and making money” (Miniter, 1911, p. 132).

On the other hand, Americans were shown as being resistant towards the way immigrants practiced hygiene and prepared meals. As presented in the story, My Antonia (Cather, 1918), American neighbors were appalled to see that their Bohemian neighbors washed the dirt off their
faces near the kitchen table, used a soiled cloth to cover the table, and served a meal consisting of mush, bread, and molasses.

Based on prejudgment, an American step-mother in *Sunshine Beggars* (McCall, 1918) believed that the Italian neighbors were thieves and ones who disgraced the neighborhood. Thus, she shunned her step-daughter from ever visiting them.

*Open-mindedness*

By and large, women were mainly the ones who were open-minded since they wished to do more than cook, clean, and raise children.

*Settings*

Iowa was described as a small world “where the geese graze[d] . . . at the edge of the village pasture” (Steiner, 1911, p. 16). Just as serene was the state of Nebraska, where green grass, winding rivers, and a sun-lit sky stretched over the prairie. Thus, both settings were depicted as beautiful (Cather, 1918).

In contrast, the cities of Chicago and New York were filled with dirty buildings that housed strangers who kept to themselves, or who frequented a drinking establishment found on every street corner. With the cities’ elevated rail service passing near tenement windows, “every few minutes the light . . . was cut off by the rush of a train” (Edwards, 1913, p. 14).

*Socioeconomic Status*

A majority of immigrants came with little more than nothing, and continued to be poor for a greater portion of their time in America. An Irish family portrayed in *A Chance to Live* (Beckley, 1918) was so deprived that they would take part in a “sample system,” a practice where unmatched pieces of fabric were used to create new clothes (p. 11). Oblivious to
American ways, or perhaps too poor to understand, the immigrant mother never realized her children’s sufferings under this system.

**Education Levels**

Being Jewish and female meant not having the opportunity to go to school in Russia. As a young Russian female explained, “A girl was ‘finished’ when she could read her prayers in Hebrew. If she could sign her name in Russian, do a little figuring, and write a letter in Yiddish to the parents of her betrothed, she was called . . . well-educated” (Antin, 1912, p. 57). For this reason, many immigrants considered education to be the key to success.

However, immigrant parents did not always send their children to school. Mostly to help support the family, children were kept out of school by parents who perceived education as less worthy than work. As presented in *Our Natupski Neighbors* (Miniter, 1911), a Polish father felt that school “was the trouble . . . every day those children had been spending in that white-painted building, wherein they learned strange and inconvenient things—to drink only from individual paper cups, to wash with soap that came out of a nickel spout” (p. 147).

Truancy laws that called for students to attend school were often a teacher’s burden as they were required to report the regularly missing children as absent. Often feeling the need to personally assist poor students and their families, teachers went out of their way to find the children themselves (Miniter, 1911). Although immigrant children were ones who acted up the most in class, they were also the most intelligent and able to figure out math problems in their heads without any written computations (Boyer, 1917).

**Occupations**

The main occupation for immigrant women was working in factory sweat shops in the New York City garment industry. As Edwards (1913) reported, the dark and dirty “prison cell”
factories were places where “nerve-destroying ‘speed’” was necessary for immigrant workers to churn out as many piece-work items as possible (Edwards, 1913, p. 23).

Regardless of age, factory bosses beckoned female employees to work hard and fast. As Beckley (1918) delivered, garment factories held “acres of rows of girls with bent heads sitting before zizzling machines from which they never for an instant raised their eyes” (p. 55). Employees’ “hours were from eight to six. On Saturday’s until nine . . . There was no extra pay. There were no child-labor laws then. Or certainly none that counted. Little, short-skirted girls who looked no more than ten, but said they were fourteen, were fed into the maw of industry” (p. 41).

“City” immigrant males were featured as dry goods salesman, manual laborers, saloon operators, small retail operators, and factory workers, while “country” immigrant males’ occupations generally included farming and cattle ranching.

Classism

Class divisions were often embedded in the way the characters lived. To typify, in A Chance to Live (Beckley, 1918), a young Irish girl made the decision to take on a job in a department store that paid her less, but to her, “the difference was not in mere dollars. It was the difference between two worlds! In the department store you wore nice clothes and saw life. In the factory you wore any old thing and became a machine. Was the four dollars worth it?” (p. 51).

Most immigrants featured in the storylines could attest to the fact that “New York City was divided into rigid classes and cliques” (Edwards, 1913, p. 51). With city neighborhoods having a ghetto on the one side and the rich on the other, the division of class was evident (Steiner, 1911, p. 47).
Through luck or persistence, immigrants who found success in America were shown to have acquired it through the help of the rich and powerful. With the wealth’s clout and connections, immigrants were able to enter an upper-class society, obtain better jobs, and become introduced to people that helped them achieve greatness.

Americans often viewed immigrants as vagabonds or beggars. To exemplify, while an American walked by an elderly Irish father who was simply resting on the sidewalk, the passerby automatically handed him a coin. As delivered by Beckley (1918), “How dare he take her father to be a beggar?” (p. 21).

With the rich and poor portrayed as being so drastically different, immigrants often wondered why some people had money and others did not (Beckley, 1919). As Steiner (1911) brought forth, most immigrants vowed to live to see the day when they “should be worthy to mingle with those [rich] people” (Steiner, 1911, p. 73).

Young immigrants that were rejected by American love interests simply because they were of the wrong ethnicity, religion, or class, were also determined to get even one day.

**Lifestyles: Before and After Immigration**

Compared to what they endured in their old countries, immigrants happily embraced their newfound freedom in America. As described in *The Promised Land* (Antin, 1912), Jewish villagers never ventured out of town in Russia since they were scared of the persecuting Russians.

Although a majority of Russian-Jews were financially well-off in Russia, they were willing to become poor in America in exchange for religious freedom. As a Russian immigrant brought forth, “In America . . . it was no disgrace to work at a trade. Workmen and capitalists were equal . . . The cobbler and the teacher had the same title, ‘Mister.’” (Antin, 1912, p. 74).
Immigrants who were once patriotic of their native lands were later shown rooting for America when the United States became involved in World War I. For a German immigrant featured in *Johnny Kelly* (Boyer, 1917), “Since war was declared, he has been fearfully patriotic. He knows what it is to live under German rule. He came to the United States to get away from it, and he has no use for the Germany of to-day . . . on his coat he wears American flags and buttons” (p. 109).

In addition, several immigrants were portrayed as having a difficult time adjusting to American products. In *My Antonia* (Cather, 1918), a Bohemian mother refused to accept an American pillow as a quality good; rather, she insisted on using pillows stuffed with goose feathers like she did in the old country.

Yet, there were those immigrants who were told that if they stayed in America long enough, they would forget about their old home. This was true for a Slovak in *The Broken Wall* (Steiner, 1911) who had immigrated 20 years before, and who “had lost the name by which he was baptized, had forgotten his native tongue, had forsaken his mother’s faith and but dimly remembered the name of his old home” (p. 65). According to Steiner (1911), “America . . . gives a man more than any other country, but it takes away more” (p. 67).

*Lifestyles: Unrealistic?*

Several of the storylines depicted scenes that were so far-fetched; this could have confused readers as to whether the details of the immigration experience were real or just make believe. For instance, in *Our Natupski Neighbors* (Miniter, 1911), a young Polish son who was dismayed with his father’s old-fashioned ideas and rule, suddenly left home, and within no time, graduated from Harvard University. Another example of a highly unlikely scene was when an American teacher in *Little Aliens* (Kelly, 1910) found a truant young Russian male student’s
locket, and went on a detective-like mission to find out where the jewelry and boy came from. Upon realizing that the young boy was really a Russian prince, the story ended with an improbable, yet happily-ever-after theme.

Once assimilated to American society, immigrants were shown trying to battle the country’s problems all on their own. As presented in Comrade Yetta (Edwards, 1913), a young uneducated Russian female spent her days and nights thinking about all the babies who had no food, all the prisoners who lived in deplorable conditions, and all the ill patients who lacked medical services. With the belief that socialism was the only sure way for the underprivileged to escape from bondage of poverty, the young Russian made it her lifelong goal to promote her brand new ideology. Although an interesting read, the story became an endorsement for socialism.

Also oversimplified was the story Peterkin (Jackson, 1912) where a young Russian orphan male ended up being transformed into a male fashion model, professional singer, and an overnight success by a wealthy American woman who simply enjoyed his singing.

The other storylines did not contain any scenarios outside the realm of believability.

Attire

While American children wore fancy clothes, poor young immigrants wore dark and dirty tattered clothing, often much too big for their small frames. Hence, their “scanty wearing apparel represented all” of what they owned (Kelly, 1910, p. 28).

Peer Relationships

Several immigrant children grew up in their families’ small businesses or joined them at work at the factory. Much like the young Russian in Comrade Yetta (Edwards, 1913) who
worked at her father’s used-bookstore, she was immediately put at a distance from other girls her age since she did not have the opportunity to play with them during her childhood years.

Immigrant children were shown to having few friends at school and being nervous about communicating with other children. As shown in A Chance to Live (Beckley, 1918), a young Irish female dreaded the awful hour where she would have to go to the playground during recess.

Immigrant teens that worked in the factories were often from the same neighborhood. Therefore, being from the same neighborhood and social class, they supported the women who fought for labor union strikes and other socialist reforms (Edwards, 1913).

Teen female immigrants, who left their farms in search of adventure in big cities and who behaved wildly during their time away, often went back to the farm in the end (Cather, 1918; Miniter, 1911).

*Family Members*

Although storylines portrayed family members as playing a major role in each other’s lives, most were shown having dysfunctional relationships. Since immigrant families were portrayed as having a multitude of children, parents did not really know, understand, or spend much time with their children.

For those that did not have mothers, fathers, wives, or husbands, immigrants were often shown having to take on several jobs in order to take care of the household. Wives, whose husbands left for America without them, had to work harder to support the family.

Americans were often sickened at the way immigrants handled family situations. For example, when a baby fell on the ground and cried hysterically, instead of tending to or comforting the bawling child, the Italian family ignored the wails. Instead of picking up the
child, they “crossed themselves . . . and began whispering in their queer, excited language” for Jesus to allow the baby to recover and forget the fall (McCall, 1918, p. 42).

Likewise, children were commonly shown being beaten by their immigrant fathers. As presented in Our Natupski Neighbors (Miniter, 1911), when the neighbor advised the Polish father that there were laws in America that prohibited the beating of children, the Polish father responded by saying, “Law! American law! Poh! Poh!” (p. 154).

Immigrant parents who had to deal with truant officers were forever trying to get them to lose the whereabouts of their children. As families moved “from one school district to another . . . their new habitat” was not often tracked (Kelly, 1910, p. 241).

Tense relations also occurred between the immigrants and their relatives that sponsored them. As expressed in Comrade Yetta (Edwards, 1913), after a young Russian orphan, who lived with her strict and overbearing uncle, secretly went out to a ball, she made the decision to move out after her uncle accused her of ill-behaving and bringing shame upon his good name. As the uncle had been taking her wages for years, the young girl knew that he would suffer when he could not use her money to buy alcohol anymore.

Power

Factory bosses had power over immigrant women. They abused them both mentally and physically. As showcased in Comrade Yetta (Edwards, 1913), a boss grabbed a woman when she did wrong and shouted, "You're fired . . . I've had too much from you. You're the slowest woman here (Edwards, 1913, p. 118).

Money-lenders and creditors were also merciless as they held mortgages on immigrant’s homes and later took the houses back from under them (Cather, 1918).
Police also held power over the immigrants. Since they did not sympathize with the immigrants or their troubles, police struck them hard or dragged them to jail for simple misconduct. As shown in Comrade Yetta (Edwards, 1913), a policeman who arrested a Russian female for protesting remarked, “Aw! Go on, ye dirty little Jew. I'll smack your face, if ye talk back to me” (p. 121).

Considered prejudicial as well, truant officers, who had the power to force children to go to school, did not bother to pursue cases considered “East Side affairs,” where most of the immigrant families resided (Kelly, 1910, p. 82).

Leadership

A greater portion of the leaders were immigrants who came to America as children, had grown up in America, and later as adults, helped their families break free from their traditional practices. For example, in Our Natupski Neighbors (Miniter, 1911), after a Polish son finished college and went back to live on the farm, he refused to live the way he did before. Besides requiring that his younger siblings practice good hygiene, such as washing themselves with soap that did not come off the floor, he ended up teaching his father that work was not the only measure of a man, and that children were not born for the sole purpose of becoming workers. Thus, after the eldest son became Americanized, he expected his family to do the same.

Young immigrants that faced hardships while growing up in America often became stronger individuals in adulthood. Often shown as individuals who fought for workers rights, they helped many overcome what they once endured (Edwards, 1914).

Customs and Traditions

Customs and traditions often centered on food. For instance, Jewish laws of Kosher were mentioned in Little Aliens (Kelly, 1910) during a scene when a Russian Jewish school girl
refused to eat certain foods during lunch. As another example, the dish “polenta,” which the “the Italian children next door simply live[d] on,” was eaten with onions and salt (McCall, 1918, p. 249). Along with polenta, Italians ate “sausage and garlic, with dandelion salad” as a staple meal (McCall, 1918, p. 121). As for the Bohemians, cucumbers, cooked in milk was a favorite (Cather, 1918).

The tradition of bringing food to one’s home when visiting was a practice that was continued in America. Immigrants who carried baked goods to hosting parties’ homes never left without something in return (Cather, 1918).

Storing and keeping food warm had its own ritual. Just like in the old country, a Bohemian mother took out a coffee cake out from “a quilt stuffed with feathers.” Neighbors professed that they had “seen her put even a roast goose in this quilt to keep it hot” (Cather, 1918, p. 70). The witnessing of these events confirmed to the American neighbors that the Bohemian mother was uncivilized.

Also considered uncouth were immigrant parents’ ideas on the raising and disciplining of children. Polish parents, for example, hugged their children one minute, then beat them the next. To exemplify, in Our Natupski Neighbors (Miniter, 1911), a Polish mother who punished her son, “snatched his legs in a quick frenzy which seemed more anger than fear, gave him a couple of blows that would have felled an adult carefully reared; then folding him in her arms sat and choked him with mother love” (p. 4).

On the other hand, immigrant children were shown as polite and respectful towards their elders. In the case of the Italian children, their habits of hard work and kindness to each other were qualities often envied by Americans. As a neighbor in Sunshine Beggars (McCall, 1918)
concluded about the over-sized Italian household living next door, “they can’t be too many children when they’s good an’ well-mannered like you youngsters seems to be” (p. 184).

As the first born son would often receive the greatest share of work, a young Russian male happily stated, “It was my good luck . . . to be born after . . . instead of before” (Antin, 1912, p. 51-52). However, being the first born also had its price. After the death of the father, the son not only inherited the animals, but also all the work that went with it (Antin, 1912).

Death and funerals were also recognized in the immigrants’ culture. For example, in My Antonia (Cather, 1918), a Bohemian family was not allowed to touch their father’s dead body until a coroner came. If anyone did, something terrible would happen. Having a priest present was of utmost importance or else “father’s soul,” which they “believed was in a place of torment,” would forever “remain there until his family and the priest” prayed for his soul to become free (p. 60). There was also great concern as to where a body would be buried. Since the Bohemian father was presumed to have committed suicide, an act of great sin, it was difficult for the family to find a Catholic cemetery that would bury him (Cather, 1918).

As far as weddings, marriage contracts for sons or daughters were set up between families with no regard for the couple. According to Antin (1912), “the marriage contract would be written anyway, no matter what . . . the prospective bride and groom” thought (p. 57).

Another custom included using home remedies to cure family illnesses. Since alcohol was considered a treatment for congestive symptoms, it was mixed into hot water and whiskey to ease coughing (Cather, 1918). When babies cried, they would be given “a pacifier made of bread and sugar tied in a muslin rag” (Antin, 1912, p. 68).

Lastly, since most immigrants did not believe in spending money on new clothes, it was common for immigrants to own few. As brought forth in Our Natupski Neighbors (Miniter,
1911), when the children asked their Polish father for money, his response was “For clothes, no. For something else, maybe” (p. 277). Since clothes were not of paramount importance, the non-stop working immigrants were shown as never undressing for bed. After all, what was the use when they had to get up early and dress for work again? (Miniter, 1911).

*Males*

Immigrant males were often displayed as intelligent and hard-working. Yet, with little formal education, they were willing to take on any menial position that came their way, even “for a dollar or two a day” (Cather, 1918, p. 53).

Although compliant at work, all but the Bulgarian and Bavarian males had a fierce temper at home. Particularly husbands who drank, they often “came home ugly and brutal” (Beckley, 1918, p. 230).

Nearly all immigrant males featured were portrayed as drinkers. Bohemian males drank beer, the Russians vodka, and the Polish hard cider. Regardless of having accomplished amazing feats, such as moving out to vast open lands and carving out cities out of forests, when it came to alcohol, immigrant males were weak (Steiner, 1911). As suggested by Edwards (1913), an immigrant male had the capacity to be “fairly prosperous,” but his “craving for alcohol had grown more rapidly than the earning capacity of his children” (Edwards, 1913, p. 44).

Insisting that the consumption of alcohol was attributed to poverty, a husband in *A Chance to Live* (Beckley, 1918) asserted, “What’s a man to do anyhow . . . with a houseful of children and a million expenses to meet?” (p. 240). Poverty even drove some immigrant males to leave their families (Beckley, 1918).

There were also swindling American males portrayed who took advantage of poor immigrant girls. As shown in *Comrade Yetta* (Edwards, 1913), suave and sweet-talking males
knew that “the grim, hopeless monotony of poverty made most of them hungry for a larger life” (p. 58). Therefore, male con artists used lines to get the sweat-shop girls hooked, and quite often, turned some of them into prostitutes.

Just as arrogant were immigrant sons whose parents favored them over daughters. In parents’ eyes, sons could do no wrong.

Immigrant males were generally chauvinistic in their way of thinking about women voting, becoming independent, or considering themselves as equals. As far as immigrant males were concerned, marriage was the only way for females to ever advance themselves (Beckley, 1918; Cather, 1918; Miniter, 1911).

**Females**

Immigrant women were portrayed as strong and willing to go the extra mile. Even though overworked and sick from factory conditions, women put their husbands and children first before themselves. Women who ran boarding houses or handled the family’s bookkeeping affairs did so while taking care of the household (Edwards, 1913).

Since poverty had weighed down many female immigrants, they were convinced that they did not want to grow up to be like their mothers. The need to cook, knit, and sew was dreaded. Many chose to never marry (Miniter, 1911). Besides, once married with children, there was “less chance to live” (Beckley, 1918, p. 223).

Several “city” immigrant females chose to break women’s traditional patterns by openly discussing the topic of sex and speaking out about women’s rights (Beckley, 1918).

However, “country” immigrants had to adhere to their husband’s belief that it was a “woman’s lot to bear and to suffer” (Leacock, 1919, p. 13). Women who were taken out to live in the wilderness without their permission desperately wished to not be there.
Though many immigrant women were physically and mentally abused by their husbands, they often stayed with them until death. However, young female immigrants who were raised in America and who later had abusive marriages themselves did not stay with their husbands. As shown in *Our Natupski Neighbors* (Miniter, 1911), after a young Polish daughter finds that she is discouraged with her marriage, she files for a divorce—an extremely modern move for a woman during the early 1900s.

Similar to males blaming their spouses, immigrant women blamed their husbands for the family’s impoverished situation (Beckley, 1918). The same went for their children’s behavior; immigrant women believed that their husbands were at fault for their children’s poor conduct.

Also shown playing the blame-game was the American female neighbors. If not jealous of the immigrants’ ability to shoo criticism about matters of taste and style, they looked down on the immigrants for behaving poorly in every direction. American female neighbors accused female immigrants of a variety of allegations; if not out to steal their husbands, for sure it was their sons.

Young adult immigrant females who visited saloons and enjoyed the night life were often viewed as “bad girls” by family and neighbors. Interestingly enough, however, they did not care what people thought of them. Besides, American men found them more exciting than American girls (Cather, 1918).

*Children*

Immigrants such as the Polish and Bohemians were portrayed as having many children. Often conceived to supply workers on the farm, children were used as a means of making money for the family (Cather, 1918; Miniter, 1911).
Immigrant children were depicted as lonely and misunderstood due to their inattentive parents. Although they were cheerful and rarely argumentative, when given the chance to be away from their parents and the farm, they were quick to run to the creek and forget about their problems at home. As expressed by a young American neighbor in *My Antonia* (Cather, 1918), Bohemian children “were so glad to get away from their ugly cave and their mother's scolding that they begged me to go on and on. . . The great fresh open, after the stupefying warmth indoors, made them behave like wild things. They laughed and shouted, and said they never wanted to go home again” (p. 52).

Perhaps for this reason, strangers or teachers often filled the void in children’s lives. As seen in *Johnnie Kelly* (Boyer, 1917), immigrant children raised money to buy a watch for their American teacher who they loved so much and could not bear the thought that he was fighting in a war.

Immigrant children were also wise beyond their years; they knew when they were being fooled. Adults could not outsmart them, especially the truant officers. Children found it “incredible that a person of mature years, and—upon other subjects—common sense,” would allow children to slip by them and avoid getting sent to “the Children's Court and the Reformatory” (Kelly, 1910, p. 264).

*Mothers*

Although strong in character, immigrant mothers were shown being passive. They performed their duties as wife and mother, yet were not allowed to voice their opinions. Often kept out of conversations, mothers had little say in matters, particularly over whether or not to come to America (Cather, 1918). Although proud of motherhood, immigrant mothers wanted no outsiders interfering with the raising of their children. As presented in *Little Aliens* (Kelly, 1910),
when an American tried to help a baby stop crying, a Russian mother remarked to the stranger, "Don't you bother," and stuck a pickle in the baby’s mouth (Kelly, 1910, p. 254).

Often fulfilling their dreams through their children, immigrant mothers encouraged their daughters to get an education, for it was “the equipment that gave a girl a chance to live” (Beckley, 1918, p. 93-94).

Fathers

Desiring to be modern men, or those who were less narrow-minded, immigrant fathers as well often encouraged their children to believe that they could do anything if they tried hard enough (Beckley, 1918). With several fathers having faced injustices such as racism and religious persecution in their native countries, most believed in democracy, and would do anything to attain it (Beckley, 1918).

Although immigrant fathers were good listeners and often optimistic, they often had a “pity for things” (Cather, 1918, p. 39). As shown in A Chance to Live (Beckley, 1918), regardless of the fact that an Irish father was always cheery and certain that good luck was soon to come, “it never did” (p. 21).

Regardless of not all having the opportunity to strike it rich either, immigrant fathers were good businessman. Despite the fact that Americans thought less of them, immigrant fathers were “not in the least stupid” about business, or frightened to do business with anyone (Miniter, 1911, p. 307).

Immigrant fathers had their own theories about Americans. The Polish father in Our Natupski Neighbors (Miniter, 1911) believed that Americans were foolish to pay interest on their debts. As a nonbeliever of acquiring liabilities, the Polish father had expected his family to hold back their present and personal cravings in hopes of saving for the future. In addition, the Polish
father could not understand how one would not want children if they could have them. The American neighbor, on the other hand, could not understand how the Polish believed that babies were just an added “number of incipient farmhands” (p. 145).

*Grandmothers*

Grandmothers were described as hard working and religious, yet loud and full of energy. Shown as all-knowing and comforting, grandmothers offered encouraging words and sound advice. Grandmothers kept on living because their families needed them.

Although grandmothers wished that their grandchildren would remember the past—the history of their people and where they came from—they also believed in the future, and encouraged their grandchildren to become educated.

*Brothers and Sisters*

Being males, immigrant brothers were considered the most important members of the family. Not only could they carry on the family name, but they performed daily mannish chores that kept the family going. Typically found near their father’s side, sons and fathers formed a mutual alliance based on manhood, work, and the need to support the family.

Immigrant sisters were often in awe of their brothers since their fathers loved their brothers more, and without a doubt, their mothers favored them as well.

*Aunts*

Although there were several aunts shown as supportive, kind, and accommodating toward the immigrants, a majority of aunts displayed ill feelings towards their newly arrived relatives. Often having sponsored the families in coming to America, aunts were jealous and cold towards the immigrants, and considered the immigrants to be attention-seekers from their husbands.
In addition, aunts often felt as if their immigrant relatives were ungrateful for what they had done for them. Simply put, aunts expected to be thanked for the rest of their lives.

**Uncles**

Likewise, American uncles expected the immigrants to pay them mind, and since living in their homes, abide by their rules. Often complaining about their immigrant nieces’ comings and goings, uncles refused to allow them to go out, associate with Americans, or keep their own wages. Feeling suffocated, teenage immigrants often argued with their uncles, begged for leniency, and made plans to run away. Many teen immigrants were beaten by their uncles or kicked out of their uncles’ homes before they had a chance to leave. Generally viewed as drunkards and hypocrites, uncles required their nieces to appear good and pure, yet failed to display a model of excellence in which the immigrant girls could learn from.

**Cousins**

In all storylines, American cousins were regarded as ignorant and spoiled, and having little feelings for their immigrant cousins. Considering the newcomers to have interrupted their world, American cousins belittled the immigrants to the point where their lives became even more miserable. American cousins also considered themselves as superior over the newcomers. Forgetting that they had the same roots, or that their parents had once walked in the same shoes, American cousins felt above the immigrants simply because they were born in America, while their immigrant cousins were not. To them, that made all the difference (McCall, 1918).

**Teachers**

For the most part, American teachers were caring and sympathetic to their immigrant students. Teachers’ roles included mother, instructor, counselor, priest, nutritionist, nurse, and truant officer. They were often viewed as ones who would listen to the children, knew more
about them than their own parents, and who would go to the extremes to help the children out. Overlooking the street-tough image that many of the immigrant children portrayed, the incoherent English that they spoke, or the incompetence that the youngsters displayed, teachers found immigrant children to be unique and special, and believed that they had much to offer their fellow classmates, as well as future society. Teachers worked with immigrant students not only to educate them academically, but to teach them cleanliness, good morals, and abstinence from gang involvement. Teachers were also shown to make house calls for students who were truant, take students home that lacked transportation, and babysit students whose parents were in the hospital or unable to care for them (Kelly, 1910).

Faced with young immigrants missing several days of school or coming into the classroom dirty and smelly, teachers realized that parents’ cultural practices often caused the children to follow these examples. As expressed in *Little Aliens* (Kelly, 1910), teachers believed that there was a “true relation between home and school,” and placed most of the blame on the mother (p. 5).

However, there were also a few teachers that had discriminatory feelings and therefore refused to teach or translate for students of certain ethnicities (Kelly, 1910). Particularly in the case between Jewish teachers and Russian students, conflicts arose as educators’ personal convictions could not be masked (Kelly, 1910).

In a timely matter, John Dewey was mentioned in *Little Aliens* (Kelly, 1910) as a high and mighty educational theorist who believed that a “child's progress was not to be gauged by an ability to spell obsolete words, and to worry her way through complicated problems in long division” (p. 15). Although Dewey’s ideas were intended to instill a positive outlook in educating foreign students, Kelly (1910) suggested that Dewey’s philosophy was seen by teachers as a
mockery against educators who taught immigrant children, and a travesty against immigrant children who were thought not capable of becoming highly educated.  

*Old Home*

Feeling that they were poorer in America, nearly all immigrants were angry with their old country for putting them in a situation where they had to leave and not stay where they were born. Although acknowledging the fact that their old country was no longer a place that they remembered, still, most immigrants longed to see their homeland once again and to hear the same language spoken among all its citizens, not just a few.

Although playing their instruments, singing old songs, and celebrating cultural holidays brought back snapshot memories of home, immigrants were quickly forced into reality when they looked out at the crammed tenement buildings or the vastness of the North Dakota wilderness.

*New Neighborhood*

Most neighbors were typically nosey and gossipy. City neighbors were often unfriendly and detached from the immigrants, regardless of being immigrants themselves. Ethnicities were segregated within neighborhoods, and ethnicities found living in the same tenement buildings separated themselves from their neighbors.

Jewish immigrants, once persecuted in their old country and often held in ghettos, felt the joy of being in a fenceless environment, yet continued to feel isolated in other ways. With neighbors always being busy, immigrants felt as if they were strangers living in a strange land (Jackson, 1912).

Although country American neighbors were meddlesome and believed that immigrants brought shame to the neighborhood and community, they eventually came to the aid of the
immigrants when their children were sick, could not pay their bills, or food was scarce. Regarding why he was helping his poor immigrants, the American neighbor stated, “Be we men or mice?” (Miniter, 1911, p. 25).

Religion

Priests were individuals who tried converting the immigrants into not only Christians, but civilized human beings. Often shown stopping immigrants and asking them to attend church on Sunday, priests intended to alter the immigrants’ ways and cleanse their souls of behaviors that townsfolk viewed as unacceptable.

However, priests were portrayed as hypocritical, brainwashing, and drinking individuals. Moreover, priests were blamed for teaching people to hate Jews. According to a Russian-Jewish female in The Promised Land (Antin, 1912), it was the priests that told people that Jews “had killed their God, which was absurd, as they never had a God—nothing but images. Besides, what they accused us of had happened so long ago” (p. 6). Jews did not trust priests; it was thought that they initiated riots and “held up the cross as the excuse for their cruelty” (p. 8).

Although churches and synagogues were a major part of an immigrant’s life in the old country, there was little mention of churches in America. However, for those storylines that did feature houses of worship, they were often presented as places where immigrants slipped away to experience peace, quiet, solitude, and safety.

Religion was shown as offering hope to some, while others considered it to be man’s cover-up for ulterior motives.

The Italians and Russian-Jews were the most religious. The Jewish regularly studied the Torah and prayed for God to protect them in America (Antin, 1912). The Italians regularly
crossed themselves by “touching with the raised right hand first the forehead, the breast, and then the two shoulders, one after the other” (McCall, 1918, p. 40).

Children were most puzzled by religion, and baffled by Americans’ multitude of denominations and sects. For example, a young girl innocently questioned her grandmother about religion by asking, “Why should there be so many different sorts of churches anyway? It's awful confusing.” The grandmother replied, "All the different named Christians are just different named fish. And so long as you are good, and do what he tells you, God don't care a nickel whether you call yourself a trout, or a catfish" (McCall, 1918, p. 158-159).

Although immigrant parents generally passed down positive messages to their children, there were those who passed down discriminatory views. For example, when a student informed his teacher that a Jewish student disliked her simply because she was Christian; the teacher asked the student why he thought this was. He responded by saying, because "my mamma tells me how it is” (Kelly, 1910, p. 85). In addition, parents even told the child that their family dog was Christian (Kelly, 1910).

Heroes

Overall, immigrants were honored as heroes for simply being willing to accept people for who they were (Leacock, 1919), keeping their promise that they would always help (Edwards, 1913), demonstrating “good comradeship” (Cather, 1918, p. 102), and exemplifying honesty (Jackson, 1912).

Norms

It was normal for immigrants to dream of a better life, yet many had been in America for several years and wondered if their dreams would ever come true. Many felt that they did not fit into American society and that they were better off back home. In their eyes, no one in America
treated them with respect like people did in the old country. They never thought that they would have to work so hard on the farm for so little money, or in factories under such horrid conditions.

There were those country immigrants who were free from factories, free from city crowds, and free from bosses, but were still depressed, and above all, never satisfied. For example, as shown in *Our Natupski Neighbors* (Miniter, 1911) “eleven years in America [and] nine children” later, the Polish father still did not think he was rich. However, he believed he had figured out why he was not as rich as his neighbors: “To be sure the neighbors all about . . . were likewise poor, but they were Americans” (p. 143).

Feeling that Americans were the lucky ones, young female immigrants wished for a chance to wear clothing like their teachers, or the ladies at the Settlement Houses. Visitors of the Settlement Houses were basically newly-arrived immigrants who barely spoke any English, and ones who did not know any better since, unbeknownst to them, Settlement Houses were pick and choose places for men who knew that women, particularly factory girls, often congregated there (Beckley, 1918).

Similar to what the Settlement Houses tried to teach new immigrants, schools also pushed for immigrants to become assimilated, well-adjusted, and good citizens. As shown in *Johnnie Kelly* (Boyer, 1917), teachers instilled patriotism by having young immigrants recite the Pledge of Allegiance, sell United States war bonds, or join the Boy Scouts. Schools wanted to assure the immigrant children, as well as the government, that although they were born in other countries, they were still Americans.

Since it was assumed that schools helped immigrant children assimilate quicker, ethnic and hard-to-pronounce first names were changed to simpler forms by American teachers in an effort to speed up the adjustment process. Even immigrant parents of children born in the United
States had begun to name their babies patriotic names such as “Woodrow Wilson” or “Grover Cleveland” (Miniter, 1911, p. 274).

As time passed, teenage immigrants began to try out and enjoy American foods. As shown in *Our Natupski Neighbors* (Miniter, 1911), a Polish immigrant son who ate Chinese chop suey for the first time came to the conclusion that it was delicious. Similarly, a Polish daughter who tried pumpkin pie for the first time declared that it was truly tasty; no wonder Americans liked it so much.

As depicted in most storylines, not only did immigrant children eventually assimilate into American society, but they often grew into self-sufficient adults, married out of their culture, and finally had children born in hospitals (Miniter, 1911).

**Author: Immigrant or Non-immigrant?**

Although little information could be found on authors’ background, based on the information gathered in the stories, five out of the thirteen authors were immigrants.

**Author’s Trustworthiness**

All authors were popular novelists and journalists who wrote stories on topics that they were passionate about and felt the public should be aware of. As many of the authors were immigrants themselves or were brought up in similar cultural environments, the authors’ stories often reflected their own lives and beliefs.

Authors Albert Edwards (1913) (also known as Arthur Bullard) and Sydney McCall (1918) (also known as Mary McNeil Fenollosa) wrote under pseudonyms to avoid negative views from members of society. Edward’s and McCall storylines were similar in that they both promoted their views on the effects of American society on immigrants. With Edwards’ characters being “subjects of their own labor power, rather than objects to be consumed”
(Lelekis, 2013), and McCall’s storyline based on “dramatic quality . . . and the graphic power of description” (Dyer, 1909, p. 1592), both authors shared the goal of establishing understanding and compassion for the immigrant.

Since Mary Antin (1912) and Edward Alfred Steiner (1911) were both Russian-Jewish immigrants, they were able to relate the immigrant experience firsthand and in great detail. However, by fictionalizing their stories, they also had the opportunity to express their political views.

Much like Steiner (1911), Antin (1912) tried to capture the difficulties in achieving success by offering “representations of city tenements and the social reform organizations that sought to ameliorate tenement life” (Sillin, 2013, p. 26).

Non-immigrants authors Willa Cather (1918) and Zoe Beckley (1918) focused their stories on “the dilemma of the immigrant woman as she faced the dual pressures of Old and New World demands” (Inglehart, 1975, p. 1).

Myra Kelly (1910), born in Ireland and raised in a wealthy family from New York, surprisingly wrote about underprivileged Jewish immigrant children in the classroom. She was accused of having “a sentimentalized and corrupt version of Jewish immigrant life.” Therefore, for the Jews, Kelly was considered “an outsider to the community” as “she herself experienced little of the trauma of adjustment” (Inglehart, 1975, p. 1).

Although author’s Wilbur S. Boyer (1917) and Stephen Leacock (1919) were considered comedic, they focused on serious politics (Lupoff, 2014). They made no boasts about their connection to the immigration experience, only that they wanted to express their advocacy for immigration through humor.
**Author’s Assumptions**

In nearly all storylines, immigrants had little regard for the police. As presented time after time, police turned their backs on immigrants. Therefore, it was assumed that all police were nothing more than ruffians in uniform.

Also assumed was that immigrant women were unhappy. Although authors encouraged females to rise from their lonely positions, cease old traditions, and become modern women, perhaps some women actually enjoyed being wives and mothers.

**Author’s Perspective**

Most authors’ point of view was an appeal for readers to understand the plight of the immigrant. Much like progressive authors during the previous decade, authors in the 1910s dwelled on politics and wove their personal views into the stories to drum up support for their philosophies. In an aggressive manner, authors expressed the need for socialism by exposing the wretchedness of American society. Thus, much like propaganda, authors had a way of creating a “visual” story that grabbed reader’s attention in order to express a political ideology and not the immigrant experience.

**Author’s Purpose**

The authors’ main purpose was to entertain, yet also to inform readers of the effects of societal ills on immigrants. Other authors came across as if they were offering their last confession (Steiner, 1911), or settling a score with those that mistreated them as immigrants (Antin, 1912).

**Author’s Writings: Cultural or Personal?**

Antin’s (1912) and Steiner’s (1911) stories were empty in expressing culture as they were written as personal contributions to immigrants.
In most stories, authors showed respect for culture particularly when discussing the beauty of characters’ native countries. Often times, authors respected the immigrants’ homeland more than America.

Author’s Message

Authors’ messages were often mixed. The message that characters should not give up despite the obstacles that they faced was overshadowed by the authors’ pessimistic beliefs that immigrants were headed for failure (Cather, 1918; Miniter, 1911).

Furthermore, authors suggested that immigrants, who did not know the first thing about farming, should never have settled on a farm. And since it was assumed that they had no place in the city either, it was apparent that authors tried to express that America was not the place for everyone (Cather, 1918; Miniter, 1911).

Similarly, authors often blamed immigrants for their own troubles. Viewing immigrants as possessing “horse-sense” (Cather, 1918, p. 58), or the lack of desire to become Americanized, an American neighbor in *Our Natupski Neighbors* (Miniter, 1911) stated, “people who came from far-off places to America,” and who made “the mistake of living in the old way . . . should live like people here” (p. 208). As boldly brought forth by Antin (1912), when immigrants cry “Give me bread!” America should ask, “What will you do to earn it?” (p. 203).

Authors also conveyed the notion that women should advocate for change if they want to improve their chances of success (Beckley, 1918). However, to make this change become a reality, women were to lay the groundwork for their daughters and continue to build on it (Antin, 1912; Beckley, 1918; Edwards, 1913).

Authors agreed that ambition alone was not enough to help one escape from one’s poor environment, and that the misdeeds of capitalism were mostly responsible for the immigrant’s
plight. Therefore, by applying the ideology of socialism, one has “nothing to lose but [their] chains” (Edwards, 1913, p. 411).

There was also the message that teachers were not appreciated for their efforts in educating immigrant children or looking after their well-being (Boyer, 1917). Teachers complained of educational specialists who believed that all aspects of the immigrant child could be measured, and that numbers could determine whether or not a child had been transformed into an American.

**Clinging to “Old-fashioned” Customs?**

Whether the immigrants were in their old or new country, they were described as clinging on to “old-fashioned customs.” For example, immigrants that owned cats and dogs did not see them as pets, but rather as snake killers. Animals would not be seen living in the house, or sleeping next to an immigrant. Like every member of the family that had to do its share of chores, an animal as well could never be idle. (Cather, 1918; Miniter, 1911).

Just like animals that had to do their part, children were expected to show parents respect, regardless of how old they were. This demand was apparent in the story *My Antonia* (1918) as Bohemian teens were shown having to kiss their father’s hand when approaching him. In another example, after the eldest son returned home to the farm following his university education, his Polish father told him to stop talking during breakfast, and then sent him out to repair the fence. Without a doubt, the obedient son still did what his father told him to do, regardless of having been grown up and Harvard-educated (Miniter, 1911).

More unpleasant was the fact that immigrant children were not given money to spend on toys like the American children did. As depicted in *Our Natupski Neighbors* (Miniter, 1911), the Polish father “had no words for the benighted American. That a sane man should be suspected of
a readiness to pay $2.60 for playthings! Children didn’t need playthings if you gave them plenty of work” (p. 76).

Immigrant fathers were shown beating their children not only as a form of punishment, but in hopes of instilling good ethics into them. As presented in several storylines, if fathers did not get the desired results from their children the first time, they would beat them even harder the second time (Miniter, 1911).

Immigrant fathers were also forthright about their daughters needing to marry at a certain age. As expressed in Our Natupski Neighbors (Miniter, 1911), when a Polish father suspected that a gentleman caller was interested in his daughter, he directly told the potential husband, “You like Marinka? . . . Marinka think you one grand boy . . . Marinka and you both get married each together . . . Say when” (p. 263).

Just as direct, immigrant fathers had little regard for the law. With the belief that lawyers were unnecessary in settling conflicts with neighbors, fathers were often shown taking legal matters into their own hands. As described by a neighbor in Our Natupski Neighbors (Miniter, 1911), “If you took the law on [him,] you’d be forever riding over to the county town, wasting money on lawyers, and in the end he’d likely set your buildings afire” (p. 48).

**Learning English**

Immigrants were looked down upon for speaking “broken English” (Jackson, 1912, p. 47), having a heavy accent, or talking with a non-understandable dialect (Boyer, 1917; Kelly, 1910).

Although immigrant parents struggled with English the most, through the help of their children (who were learning English at school), parents learned the new language.

With an emphasis on speed, many immigrants learned to speak English within as little as six months. Others had no other choice but to learn English slowly as they had to teach
themselves how to read, learn it at the school’s pace, or pick it up through American acquaintances or co-workers’ casual conversations.

In contrast, immigrants who had been in America for an extended period of time slowly forgot their native language. A Russian male in *My Antonia* (Cather, 1918) admitted that he was angry at himself for forgetting how to read and write his native language, and never bothering to keep it alive during his many years in America.

*Publishers*

Charles Scribner’s Sons began in 1846 in New York as a family-owned and operated publishing house. Focusing on publishing novels, the company’s catalog featured works by well-known American authors such as F. Scott Fitzgerald and Ernest Hemingway (*The House of Scribner*, 2003).

Also known for its classics, Doubleday and Company, established in 1897 in New York, evolved into becoming a leading publishing house that produced works in nearly all genres (*Doubleday*, 2007).

Likewise, the long-running publishing house of Henry Holt, established in 1866 in New York, and Houghton Mifflin Company, established in 1832 in Boston, Massachusetts are credited for having produced classics in both domestic and international markets (*Henry Holt and Company*, 2014; *Houghton Mifflin and Harcourt*, 2011).

Dodd, Mead, and Company, established in 1839 in New York, began with the purpose of publishing religious work, yet eventually extended its publications to include the works of both popular and diverse authors (*University of Delaware Library*, 2011).

Although not in existence today, Fleming H. Revell Company, established over 100 years ago, also aimed to publish books that inspired “Christian faith to everyday life” (*Baker
Likewise, the publishing house of John Lane Company, established in 1887, was once credited with working with “an array of fashionable authors” that distributed a “considerable range of nonfiction and, most notably, prose fiction” (Taylor, 2000).

Grosset & Dunlap concentrated on producing “high-quality books at affordable prices” that focused on children to young adults. The publisher’s goal was to publish “captivating, fun, [and] smart paperback series for children.” Most importantly, their books were often seen in school libraries and classrooms (Penguin.com, 2014).

Being the oldest publisher, Little, Brown and Company, established in 1837 in Boston, Massachusetts was best-known for its books that offered a “lasting significance.” Since 1926, the company added a children’s department (Hachette Book Group, 2014).

**Accuracy of Historical Events**

As several of the stories were set during World War I, America was described as a country that needed support from all its citizens, particularly immigrants. As expressed by Zieger and Zieger (2001), “For thousands of new immigrants toiling in the packinghouses, steel mills, and factories of their adopted land, highly emotive wartime propaganda, often directed specifically at so-called hyphenated Americans such as themselves, urged them to support the war effort, buy Liberty bonds, and release their sons to the military (p. 209).

After the catastrophic Triangle Shirt Waist Fire of 1911, an “18-minute inferno which killed 146 young, immigrant garment workers” (Carson, 2003, p. 407), an abundance of novels that took place in New York’s East Side came about during this decade (Inglehart, 1975, p. 1).

Also shown in stories during the 1910s were events such as women’s labor unions strikes and social movements.
Immigrant males were presented as being sexist in regards to the treatment they displayed towards their wives and daughters. For example, in *Our Natupski Neighbors* (Miniter, 1911), a Polish husband not only ordered his wife to get up and do chores immediately after giving birth to their eighth child, but also insolently expressed that he was displeased with her for failing to produce another boy.

Immigrant males were also shown as disbelieving that women could complete manly tasks. Young sons were indoctrinated into believing that a woman could never be president. As expressed in *Johnnie Kelly* (Boyer, 1917) by an Irish boy, “Gee whiz! . . . a skirt President! Wouldn’t that bump your funny-bone? . . . You suffragettes put it all over me” (p. 268).

**Multiculturalism and Social Studies**

All storylines could be used in the social studies curriculum since they depicted important historical events. However, since the stories negatively portrayed ethnicities and their cultures, they could not be used to promote multiculturalism since they did not offer any deep cultural meaning or understanding.

**Age-appropriate**

Storylines depicting immigrants during the 1910s could not be considered elementary age-appropriate since they discussed adult-like themes such as hatred for Jews, children and spousal abuse, alcoholism, and dysfunctional families. Stories presented a negative and often shocking image of immigrants and their culture, and positive messages were few and far between.

In addition, there were several books that started off as drama-like tales, and then developed into propaganda-like stories seeking to promote socialistic ideas. In this regard, stories
that endorsed socialism could have been written about any type of impoverished and oppressed character, not just about immigrants.

Appeal for Young Readers

In today’s standards, many of the stories discussed in this time period possessed inappropriate content. What may have seemed innocent during the 1910s is often unacceptable today. In addition, as many of the stories included ethnic slurs and stereotypes. Therefore, it would be hard to assume that they would be purchased by parents or teachers for fun reading. However, from a historical perspective, many of the selected books could find a place in today’s market, particularly for those interested in reading about women’s rights, the effects of World War I, and Americans perceptions of immigrants during the 1910s.

1920s Trade Book Selections

Title: The Americanization of Edward Bok  
Author: Edward William Bok  
Illustrator: No illustrations  
Publisher: New York, NY: Charles Scribner’s Sons  
Year of Publication: 1921  
Time Period in Storyline: Begins during the 1870s  
Country of Origin: Netherlands  
Ethnicity: Dutch  
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: A Daughter of the Samurai  
Author: Etsu Inagaki Sugimot  
Illustrator: Tekisui Ishii  
Publisher: Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran and Company  
Year of Publication: 1925  
Time Period in Storyline: Early 1900s  
Country of Origin: Japan  
Ethnicity: Japanese  
Setting in America: San Francisco, CA

Title: Giants in the Earth: A Saga of the Prairie  
Author: Ole Edvart Rolvaag
The number of books written about the immigrant’s various native countries was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of Books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Setting</td>
<td>Number of Books</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York City, New York</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco, California</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No mention of location</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of books written about the immigrants’ various United States destination was as follows:

During the 1920s, books primarily portrayed immigrant characters as either orphaned or parentless children, or single young-adults that journeyed to America alone. Characters stemmed from Norway, Japan, Switzerland, Ireland, Scotland, Holland, Italy, France, Germany, Russia, and Spain.

Upon arriving in America, the Norwegians settled in North Dakota, the Japanese in San Francisco, and all other immigrants in New York City or locations not mentioned.

*Stereotypes in Illustrations*

Three out of the six books presented during this decade included stereotypical illustrations that were mainly related to the characters’ attire and old country settings. For example, in *Little Americans from Many Lands* (Ridge, 1929), the Japanese were shown standing among hanging lanterns and little pagodas. The Scots were pictured wearing kilts. The Spanish were portrayed sitting next to haciendas and cacti. The Italians were presented gliding down a river in a gondola. The Norwegians were pictured in long blonde braids and attire that resembled the classic “Heidi” image.
Often depicted as farmers, immigrants of all ages were illustrated wearing caps, boots, and scarves.

Also featured were a “group of coolies” (Sugimoto, 1925, p. 1), or Chinese laboring slaves (Yan, 1985), who worked hard on menial tasks. They were stereotypically pictured wearing “straw mats over their shoulders and big woven hats that looked like umbrellas,” and carrying “broad wooden shovels [to] cut tunnels through from one side of the street to the other” (Sugimoto, 1925, p. 1).

Russian women appeared to be constantly baking poppy seed cakes from the poppy seeds that they brought with them from the old country (Clark, 1924).

Main Characters

Immigrant characters were shown planning for tomorrow rather than living for today. Orphaned immigrants were especially big dreamers. They came to America alone or with siblings and often lived with relatives that already resided in America, or with strangers that good fortune allowed them to meet along the way (Clark, 1924; Ridge, 1929).

Norwegian immigrant males that settled in the Western frontier had a “thirst for adventure . . . burning in [their] blood” (Rolvaag, 1927, p. 65), and were the ones who paved the way for others to follow. Norwegians believed “that Destiny had used [them] as her tool,” especially since they “had brought in twenty neighbours with a single stroke . . . every last mother’s son of them!” (Rolvaag, 1927, p. 164).

Problems or Issues

Regardless of being a novel or picture book, all stories presented during this decade contained serious undertones. For example, in *The Poppy Seed Cakes* (Clark, 1924), orphaned immigrants were left unattended by their aunt and became fooled by animals who talked their
way into eating the poppy seed cakes; this could be viewed as a caretaker jeopardizing the safety of children.

Also featured was a grave story about orphans who ended up living with a stranger who suddenly appeared in their life one day. Having no one else to claim responsibility for them, the children became wards of this stranger overnight (Ridge, 1929).

Serious family issues were also brought forth in the stories. For example, fathers or brothers who went to America without the family often found it difficult to adjust when reunited year’s later (p. 54).

Conflicts appeared between neighbors as well. Immigrant pioneers that settled in the West greatly feared their neighboring Native Americans. Although the immigrants faced difficulties with the natives, they endured even greater struggles with their own fellow countrymen as they all began to disagree, argue, and eventually stop speaking to each other. With collapsed dreams and friendships, many immigrants came to terms with their homesickness, and accepted the fact that they were not meant to be pioneers (Rolvaag, 1927).

Immigrants that came to America assumed that they would become rich quick and be happy forever, yet this was not the case for all.

Other than the Japanese or Dutch who smoothly and flawlessly attained success in America, most immigrants had experienced unfortunate occurrences.

Stereotypes and Derogatory Overtones

Immigrants’ names often stereotypically reflected their cultural characteristics. For example, in Little Americans from Many Lands (Ridge, 1929), the blonde and blue-eyed young Swiss male named “Franz” wore wooden shoes. “Angelo,” the young Italian male, “was a marvelous gondolier.” “Matsue,” the Japanese young girl and her father “Father San” greatly
enjoyed rice. “Manuel,” a Mexican boy, wore a sombrero and ate tortillas (Ridge, 1929, p. 32). Norwegians were also stereotypically portrayed as ones who were never idle, had a passion for cleanliness, and unlike Americans, used common sense and thriftiness when spending (Rolvaag, 1927).

Dutch parents in The Americanization of Edward Bok (Bok, 1921) were depicted as surviving just fine, regardless of the many mouths to feed. Regardless of the family having as many as 13 children, they all appeared happy and well-mannered.

Japanese, on the other hand, were portrayed as “quiet little Jap[s]” (Sugimot, 1925, p. 153).

**Impressions of America (pre-immigration)**

Before coming to America, immigrants had heard various stories about the country. Although America was a place with large mansions, there were also stories about how it was full of merciless people who took it upon themselves to settle law and order rather than go through legal venues (Rolvaag, 1927). Immigrants also heard rumors that Americans had conflicts with Native Americans, and that they, presumably barbarians, “ate cooked eagles” and made “red blanket[s] . . . with the blood of stolen infants” (Sugimot, 1925, p. 62). By reading books about America, immigrant children learned that the New World held colleges and libraries where anyone could learn to speak English, and where all courses and books were free (Ridge, 1929).

**Why Immigrants Came to America**

By and large, all immigrants journeyed to America to seek new opportunities. The Dutch, who had once been wealthy in the Netherlands, but lost it all after an ill-advised investment, came to America to start over. Being affluent already, the Japanese came to take part in foreign business (Sugimot, 1925).
Although there was no real mention of the Norwegian’s immigration experience to America, it was noted that they had a long and tortuous month-long ship journey, were hounded by rude passengers, and sailed on a ship that “seemed to be crossing an ocean which had no end” (Rolvaag, 1927, p. 39). However, when traveling to the West, pioneering Norwegians moved there in caravans (Rolvaag, 1927). As described in Giants in the Earth (Rolvaag, 1927), “Many queer races and costumes were to be seen in these caravans, and a babble of strange tongues shattered the air. Nut-brown youngsters . . . white-haired old men and women . . . The Lord only could tell whence all these people had come and whither they were going!” (p. 314).

The French and orphaned Dutch children traveled by ship to New York. Their month-long voyage consisted of hunger and cramped lodging. The French traveled on a ship appropriately named the “Paris” (Adams, 1926), while the Dutch sailed on the “Lucky,” a fitting name for future hopes and desires (Ridge, 1929).

The remaining immigrants traveled to the United States via steamship; however, little or no details were provided.

The Arrival

After the pioneering immigrants finally reached their destination, a Norwegian wife in Giants in the Earth (Rolvaag, 1927) best described North Dakota by stating, “It’s all so big and open . . . so empty . . . Not another human being from here to the end of the world!” (p. 43). With feelings saddened by the vastness of the land, many settlers were convinced that they were being punished for their sins. Norwegians, who had once been “intoxicated by bewildering visions . . . [to] Go west!” suddenly realized that their dreams “sank into night” (p. 227).
Likewise, the French children in *Toto and the Gift* (Adams, 1926) found America to be unfriendly and unwelcoming. The immigrants were also surprised to find an endless amount of elevated buildings, large stores, and crowds of people that paid very little attention to them (Sugimot, 1925).

In contrast, a newly arrived Japanese female in *Daughter of the Samurai* (Sugimot, 1925) was extremely fascinated with Americans and their lifestyle. Why, even kind strangers approached her with morning greetings and good night wishes.

Little or no details were provided about the arrival of the remaining immigrants.

*Acceptance or Resistance*

Female immigrants, particularly mothers, were shown to be the most resistant about coming to America, adapting to America, or for that matter, staying in America. To exemplify, when a Norwegian wife in *Giants in the Earth* (Rolvaag, 1927) was assured by her husband that within time, she would be happy living in North Dakota, she responded, “How will human beings be able to endure this place? . . . Why there isn’t even a thing that one can hide behind” (p. 29). As far as children being raised in such a rough country, she stressed, “Suppose they were to grow up here, would they not come to be exactly like the red children of the wilderness – or perhaps something worse?” (p. 103).

*Open-mindedness*

Norwegian males were the most open-minded about living among Native Americans. To exemplify, a Norwegian pioneering male in *Giants in the Earth* (Rolvaag, 1927) described himself as being “afraid of the Indians – not he! Who ever heard of such nonsense? Why should he or anyone else fear them, now that they had become peaceful and civilized? He tried his best
to instill [the] idea into the [minds] of others” (p. 64) that “Indians were only people . . . just human beings” (p. 70).

Other than the Japanese female, who was extremely pleased with America, open to new ways of living, all other immigrants were not as open-minded about America.

*Close-mindedness*

Since many immigrants believed that success was measured by money, a French aunt in *Toto and the Gift* (Adams, 1926) was close-minded about education since she felt that her young immigrant nephew should work in the family business instead of attend school. Likewise, a Dutch immigrant who was interested in pursuing a career in the book industry came up against a close-minded American boss that told him that books were not worth spending time on since they were a luxury item, and something people could get for free at a library. According to his boss, if the Dutch immigrant was smart, he would pursue a different business (Bok, 1921). Japanese fathers, too, were also portrayed as close-minded since they believed that their daughters should marry only prosperous men, even at the age of 13 years old, and of course, hand-picked by their fathers (Sugimot, 1925).

No other significant close-minded tendencies were mentioned about the other immigrants.

*Group Stereotypes*

Considered “much uglier than the Indians,” Irish women were portrayed as “terrible trolls, with noses as long as rake handles,” and ones who “ate the flesh of Christian men, instead of potatoes” (Rolvaag, 1927, p.138-139). Also negatively depicted were Russian women who were fat and unappealing. All other ethnicities presented were not linked with group stereotypes.
Areas in New York City and San Francisco were often divided between rich and poor. Unlike the shabby sections of town where most of the immigrants lived, affluent neighborhoods were simply places that the poor dreamed of living someday.

North Dakota was a wilderness where not only settlements were in the making, but where wigwams and tents could still be seen high up on the hills (Rolvaag, 1927).

Most immigrants were so poor that they could not afford coal or wood to keep them warm during the winter. Although they appeared content, they wished to have what others did (Ridge, 1929).

In comparison, the Dutch were not in the same impoverished state. They attributed this phenomenon to their thriftiness, or regular practice of saving money (Bok, 1921).

The Japanese, who were wealthy enough to afford servants in their native land, continued to hold the same position in America (Sugimot, 1925).

Although most immigrants were shown as being uneducated, they were not short on being clever. For example, in *Toto and the Gift* (Adams, 1926), although a young French female “could not read or write . . . she was shrewd enough and bright enough to feel herself well versed in the ways of the world just the same, and now and then she would surprise people by her wise remarks (p. 66).

Prior to embarking for America, the Japanese young girl’s family sent her to school to learn English. After all, she could not come without knowing the language since English was “the key to wealth . . . [and] wealth is the only power” (Sugimot, 1925, p. 95).
Similarly, the young Dutch immigrant not only learned English in the Netherlands, but as a product of a strict educational system that required children to learn several languages, he mastered English at an early age. Hence, the Dutch boy was outfitted to become an American from the start. However, feeling that he needed additional help to support his English, the young Dutch often visited libraries in America, and read all the books he possibly could to become even more proficient. With his perseverance in self-education and determination to find out what he did not know, the young Dutch eventually grew to establish a great future in America.

*Occupations*

After the Norwegians made friends with the Native Americans, they expanded their financial interests by fur trading with them (Rolvaag, 1927).

Presented as being the most thriving immigrant, the Dutch boy in *The Americanization of Edward Bok* (1921) became a prominent magazine editor after establishing himself among the rich. Considering himself as one who knew an open market when he saw one, he found success in offering people what they wanted.

The remaining immigrants presented during the 1920s were factory workers and manual laborers.

*Classism*

Class divisions were not only evident in characters’ economic status, but in their attitudes and behaviors towards others. For example, in *Daughter of the Samurai* (Sugimot, 1925), class was shown as being part of an aristocratic Japanese Samurai clan formed to protect their culture. With their noble attitude, the Japanese did not stay in the steerage quarters on the ship voyage to America. Rather, they traveled first class and congregated with only wealthy Americans on deck.
Lifestyles: Unrealistic?

Although stories were fiction, several books included occurrences that were difficult to believe. Quite frankly, these scenes did an injustice to the immigrant and his or her experience. For instance, when a young Dutch male immigrant in The Americanization of Edward Bok (Bok, 1921) refused to change his style of cursive handwriting at the teacher’s request, he took up the matter with the Board of Education, which in turn, agreed with the young boy’s denial. Thus, the young Dutch immigrant ended up changing the entire school system’s writing requisite. The same Dutch boy was shown to have made acquaintances with presidents and other important figures, simply because he wrote with exquisite penmanship. Although the scene was said to have really happened, it seemed unrealistic that a 21 year-old immigrant could have had so many chances at greatness and succeed at nearly all of them.

It was also unrealistic that an elderly aunt in The Poppy Seed Cakes (Clark, 1924) would ask her young nephew to keep a watchful eye over the cakes while she went to the market. In today’s standards, and assuming in the 1920s as well, the Russian aunt would have been endangering the life of a child whom she routinely left alone and unattended. Children were once again depicted in an unrealistic scene in Little Americans from Many Lands (Ridge, 1929) as a ship captain, who often befriended stray orphans on their voyage to America, had his sister adopt children who no one claimed. It seemed highly improbable that one could just take children and keep them. In today’s standards, this would suggest that the American captain was one who partook in a sort of slave-trade system as he gathered up young immigrants who had no family attachments.

Also hard to believe was the scene in Giants in the Earth (Rolvaag, 1927) where a Norwegian immigrant murdered a land ordinance agent yet was never charged with the crime.
Peer Relationships

With a longing for familiarity and comradeship, city immigrants were shown as only congregating with people from their old country and sharing stories about the life and times they once had. However, for the pioneering immigrants, they began to form strained relationships with their neighboring countrymen. With conflicts that included why one’s house was bigger, etc., immigrants began to feud with one another (Rolvaag, 1927).

Family Members

Overall, immigrants featured in the 1920s had loving family relationships. Since family meant everything, it was common for children to assist them in supporting the family. As shown in *The Americanization of Edward Bok* (Bok, 1921), a young Dutch boy not only went to school during the day, but helped his mother at her job at the bakery after school, then later worked on his paper route. Perhaps without the support of his devoted family to fall back on when he could not make his daily paper route, the young Dutch boy would not have been able to keep up with his numerous jobs.

As respect towards parents was exceedingly important, a young Japanese girl in *Daughter of the Samurai* (Sugimot, 1925) admitted to having been raised very strictly. Due to her training, she commonly referred to her father as “honorable father” (p. 28), and her spouse as “honorable husband” (p. 267). With male teachers being the most respected, the young girl was not even able to sit in the same direction or position as her instructor when lessoned, for it “was too greatly revered for him to be allowed to sit on a level with his pupil” (p. 20).

Although immigrant parents held high inspirations for all their children, sons were considered more special than daughters. As shown in *Giants in the Earth* (Rolvaag, 1927), a Norwegian father insisted that a career as schoolmaster or minister for his son was subpar.
Therefore, the father made the decision that his son “would have to be a doctor,” and since the young child was born in America, “the boy will, of course, be President! He is born in the country – everything points in that direction” (p. 256-257).

*Power*

Invisible forces such as fairies and sea maidens had power over the immigrants while sailing to America. For example, in *Little Americans from Many Lands* (Ridge, 1929), a greedy sea maiden would only allow the immigrants to reach America safely unless passengers promised to give her something in return. In bargaining, a young Italian girl dropped her beloved egg into the sea in order for her to make it to America in one piece.

Like evil sea maidens, school principals held power over young immigrants since they had the right to punish children by hitting their open palms with a cane. As delivered in *The Americanization of Edward Bok* (Bok, 1921), “The first time Edward was punished in this way, his hand became so swollen he wondered at a system of punishment which rendered him incapable of writing” (p. 3).

Just as commanding, the American government had power since it demanded that immigrants assimilate.

*Leadership*

Adult males were often depicted as leaders since they decided if and when the family would leave for America and where they would settle. For example, in *Daughter of the Samurai* (Sugimot, 1925), a Japanese brother already in America takes charge of his newly arrived sister. He was the one who determined where she would live and work, made the final decision as to whom she would marry, and participated in the financial and legal aspects of her dowry.
Customs and Traditions

Customs and traditions primarily focused on ethnic holidays and superstitious beliefs. As explained in *Little Americans from Many Lands* (Ridge, 1929), the Scottish immigrants practiced a “first-footer” New Year tradition that prohibited the first visitor of the year from entering the home “empty-handed.” If one entered without bearing a gift, the “first-footer” would have bad luck during the upcoming year (p. 21).

Another example of superstition was shown in *Daughter of the Samurai* (Sugimot, 1925) when a Japanese female, who was ridiculed by family and community members for having curly hair much “like animals hair,” endured the pain of hair treatments in boiling “hot tea and scented oil” to relax the curls. Told repeatedly by her parents that her “ugly, twisty hair” had shamed them, the young girl resorted to practicing a superstitious belief that called for locks of straight hair to be brought before a shrine at the temple, and requesting that the spirits exchange her curly hair for straight. If done accordingly, her wish would be soon granted (p. 15-16).

The Irish, too, were portrayed as having superstitious and “old-fashioned remedies” for congestion by “boiling a vile-smelling powder with onions, chanting near a crucifix, and preparing a cover for the chest made from flour, fresh milk, and linseed oil” (Rolvaag, 1927, p. 435).

References to customs and traditions for the other ethnicities were limited or nonexistent.

Males

The preference for sons over daughters was apparent in nearly all storylines. For example, a young Japanese female in *Daughter of the Samurai* (Sugimot, 1925) stated, “Every Japanese family believe[d] it most desirable that the name should be carried on . . . it was such a
serious inconvenience . . . to have no son, that congratulations always fell more readily from the lips when the first-born was a boy” (p. 216).

Although industrious, competitive, and strong, immigrant males were also portrayed as drunkards. Norwegian males, in particular, enjoyed their “Sunday bottle” of whiskey – not only for Sundays, but for everyday of the week (Rolvaag, 1927, p. 31).

Females

Immigrant women were typically portrayed as ones who raised the children and toiled in household chores. Yet, regardless of the multitude of tasks, women were still expected to have supper ready when their husbands or fathers returned home.

Although the affluent Japanese women in Daughter of the Samurai (Sugimot, 1925) had hired servants to cook and tend to the housekeeping chores, they still received training in housekeeping, simply for the sake of knowing. Furthermore, Samurai young daughters were taught early on to be compliant, not cry past the age of three, and to never “lose control of mind or body – even in sleep.” They were instructed to lay in a “curve[d]” and “dignified” position in order to develop a “spirit of control” that would last them a life time (p. 23-24).

Often portrayed as being under the dictatorship-like rule of their husbands, Norwegian women in Giants in the Earth (Rolvaag, 1927) were shown to be timid and afraid of being alone. Finding it shameful to “how nervous these women were” (p. 93), a Norwegian husband “never [took] his wife, Beret, out to town” (p. 156), and therefore, she did not even know what was slightly beyond their settlement. With the view that women were unable to take part in male conversations, Norwegian husbands “did not consult the wife about matters” that went beyond the household (p. 208).


Children

Although immigrant children were happy-go-lucky spirits, they had the stamina and endurance for hard work. Not only could immigrant parents profit from having children such as these, but with the children’s multi talents, they were handy at recreating throwaway objects into new and useful ones (Rolvaag, 1927).

Mothers

By and large, immigrant mothers were shown as being obedient and supportive of their husbands, even though they felt unhappy and alone in America. Although most mothers were sad for leaving their native countries, they neither complained nor let anyone know this. For the Norwegian mother featured in Giants in the Earth (Rolvaag, 1927) who was taken clear out to North Dakota, it was only a matter of time before life in the wilderness got to her. Due to her difficulty in accepting the reality of it all, she slowly became mentally incapacitated.

Although immigrant mothers were supportive of their children, they were especially caring for their sons who resembled their fathers’ personality, physical features, and behaviors (Ridge, 1929). Perhaps for this reason, regardless of age or position, immigrant males would still seek advice from their mothers. As expressed in The Americanization of Edward Bok (1921), although well in the later stage of life and his mother very old, a Dutch male still relied on his mother’s frank words to guide him when making a decision. When looking back and considering what path he might have chosen without his mother’s counsel, the Dutch male was certain that he would have made several dreadful mistakes.

Fathers

Although immigrant fathers were over-bearing and demanding, they were also role models for their children. While daughters lived by their father’s words, sons lived by the value
of hard work that their fathers passed onto them. Both sons and daughters confessed that they were indebted to their fathers for having taught them good morals.

Brothers and Sisters

Nearly all brothers and sisters, although not the main focus of the novels, were supportive of their siblings. However, immigrant brothers were those who American girls thought were handsome, charming, and exciting (Adams, 1926).

After a Japanese brother, who immigrated to America when his sister was just a child, was reunited with his sister years later, there was no denying that there was a noticeable difference between the two. Not only were their attire and mannerisms poles apart, but the brother’s time in America caused him to become detached from his ethnicity, tradition, and old way of life (Sugimot, 1925).

Aunts

American aunts were portrayed as devious, conniving, and self-obsessed individuals who only performed good deeds to benefit themselves. For instance, an American aunt in Tito and the Gift (Adams, 1926) lived up to this portrayal as she refused to let her young French niece go to school in order for her to work at the family’s store. Although the aunt later allowed her to attend, for the skeptical reader, it may seem that the aunt’s reversal was due in part for the young girl to become a better English-speaker, and thus a better sales clerk for the store.

Uncles

Uncles were primarily relatives who had lived in the United States for several years and sponsored the immigrants to America. For those immigrants that lived with them, uncle’s insisted that the newcomers work in their businesses to pay their room and board (Adams, 1926).
Similarly, an Irish uncle who had been in America for a number of years was characterized as one who had become a bitter old man in his quest for money. Although he worked hard all his years to accumulate wealth, he had nothing but money to show for it in the end (Ridge, 1929).

**Teachers**

Teachers were often portrayed as tired-looking and somber, yet kind.

**Old Home**

All immigrants thought of their homeland fondly. No American flower could match the ones that grew in their native lands (Sugimot, 1925).

Neighbors in the old country were most often portrayed as gossippers, yet so close that they baptized each other’s children. They felt at ease when visiting at unusual times of the day, and worked together to improve their community (Clark, 1924; Sugimot, 1925).

**New Home**

In America, neighbors were not so friendly and giving. For example, pioneering Norwegian neighbors who were kind and helpful at first suddenly became estranged after mix-ups in land ownership. Even fellow countrymen who delivered each other’s babies ceased to be friends (Rolvaag, 1927).

**Religion**

Although there was little mention of churches in the storylines, there was a minister in *Giants in the Earth* (Rolvaag, 1927) who came to the Norwegian settlement to instill Christian values into the pioneering immigrants. The Norwegians distrusted the minister who suddenly appeared from nowhere, yet for this same reason, thought he must have been sent by God. The minister took many of the wilderness-depressed settlers under his wing, and offered them
comfort. Since the pioneering immigrants often considered taking “their own lives. Asylum after asylum was filled with disordered beings who had once been human . . . God knows how human beings could endure it all. And many did not” (p. 424).

Immigrants often believed that God was punishing them in America for their past sins. For example, a Norwegian wife in *Giants in the Earth* (Rolvaag, 1927) felt that she was due punishment for having a child out of wedlock, and now that “she could not escape – this was her retribution!” The Norwegian husband, too, felt that due to being “a shiftless fellow . . . [who] drank . . . fought . . . was wild and reckless . . . [and] got himself tangled up in all sorts of brawls,” this was his pay back (p. 223-224).

While questioning her faith, a female Japanese Buddhist in *Daughter of the Samurai* (Sugimot, 1925) who was unhappy with Buddhism, converted to Christianity after coming to America.

**Heroes**

Immigrant males were portrayed as heroes since they were able to solve problems for their family and friends. If not for their courage, the rest of the party involved would not have survived. Such was the case of a Norwegian male in *Giants in the Earth* (Rolvaag, 1927) who, although he ruthlessly killed a man and walked away from his asylum-driven wife without blinking an eye, not only made friends with the Indians, but paved the way for others to follow in his footsteps to North Dakota.

Orphaned children were also heroes as they strived to find a home for themselves and their siblings, regardless of the odds. Through their ingenious thinking, they managed to escape the fate of living in an orphanage or with hostile relatives, and to not be split apart from their siblings (Ridge, 1929).
Feeling homesick, most immigrants longed to return home. However, as most could not get by with the money they presently made, they soon realized that moving back would be highly unlikely.

Quite the opposite, however, was the Japanese female immigrant in *Daughter of the Samurai* (Sugimot, 1925) who was exceedingly pleased with America. She prepared in advance for American life by reading up on the American classics, and took trainings on how to adapt to Western life while still in Japan.

There were also those immigrants who welcomed the thought of changing their ethnic name to a new American-sounding one. After all, it seemed fitting that if they aspired to look like an American, they should have a name like one.

Ethnic hair styles were also altered. For example, a young French girl that had arrived in America wearing traditional long braids eventually stopped wearing them (Adams, 1926). Young Japanese girls as well craved changes; even though they had dark black hair, they wished to become blondes (Sugimot, 1925).

*Author’s Background: Immigrant or Non-immigrant?*

Three out of the six authors were immigrants.

*Author’s Trustworthiness*

Foreign-born Edward Bok (1921), O. E. Rolvaag (1927), and Etsu Inagaki Sugimot (1925) contributed to American literature by defining the terms “assimilation” and “Americanism” in their own way. As evident in their stories, their aim was for immigrants to adhere to “the American way of life” (Lauret, 2013, p. 8).
Bok’s (1921) story was written in third-person format in order to keep the author at a safe “distance, positioned not to identify with but to admire the hero’s relentless progress in a newly modern American and to regard him as a model of aspiration, achievement, and good citizenship” (Lauret, 2013, p. 7). However, as observed by Lauret (2013), Bok mentioned little about the Dutch culture. Instead, he chose to criticize Americans. Therefore, perhaps Bok’s story entitled *The Americanization of Edward Bok* (1921) should have been called “The Dutchification of America” (p. 8).

Likewise, in *Daughter of the Samurai*, Etsu Inagaki Sugimot (1925) came across as a “diplomat . . . whose mission . . . [was] to gain understanding for [her] homeland by explaining foreign customs to a Western audience” (Dodge, 1996, p. 57).

Moreover, Katherine Adams was viewed as a writer who promoted “the politics of democratization,” and as apparent in her novel *Toto and the Gift* (1926), encouraged immigrants to adapt to their new country and its ways (Moody, 2011, p. 266).

Rolvaag (1927), on the other hand, presented the experience of Norwegian immigrants in *Giants in the Earth* in a more straightforward manner. Being one who had experienced the move himself, who understood failure, and who shared the mindset of the settlers, Rolvaag’s story was based on realness as he expressed immigrant’s lives within their ethnic groups in the old and new home (Kongslien, 2012).

Much like Rolvaag’s (1927) setting, Margery Clark’s (1924) *Poppy Seed Cakes* was a book that captured “an Old World setting and flavor” as it was “illustrated in the colorful peasant style” (Silvey, 1995, p. 349). Written during post-World War I and the commencement of the Great Depression, the story exemplified “hard times” (Silvey, 1995, p. 541).
**Author’s Assumptions**

Authors gave the impression that immigrants who drank alcohol created their own problems, and those that abstained could become sober and rich. Drinking alcohol was presented as a major pastime for the Irish and Norwegian males, groups that were unsuccessful in America. Yet, the Dutch males that rarely drank were shown as having succeeded.

**Author’s Perspective**

All authors offered the reader their views on how to become Americanized. In particular, much like a “to do” list, Bok (1921) suggested that immigrants first believe in the power of publicity; they must create it and use it in order to sell themselves. Next, an immigrant must take on a greater interest in their work, do more than what is asked of them, and never settle on working only nine to five. More importantly, an immigrant must never look for handouts, rather, give back to one’s community and pay it forward. In addition, since Americans tend to give immigrants a hard time, immigrants must learn to outsmart them.

Since Bok (1921) became successful by associating with wealthy Americans only, he assumed that if immigrants desired to climb the ladder of success, they must sever ties with their old native friends and form new relationships with Americans.

**Author’s Purpose**

For the most part, stories were aimed to entertain. Yet, since they included serious undertones, authors took on a persuasive approach in order to gain sympathy.

**Author’s Message**

Since authors’ messages often expressed the need for loyal citizenship from immigrants, it was common for young children to be shown saluting the American flag, singing patriotic songs, and assimilating into patriotic Americans (Adams, 1926).
Clinging to “Old-fashioned” Customs?

Elderly characters were most often portrayed as choosing to remain set in their ways. As described in Daughter of the Samurai (Sugimoto, 1925), when a Japanese family sat to eat a Western meal, the grandmother refused to join them since “she preferred to follow the path of [their] ancestors” (p. 27).

Learning English

In general, all immigrant characters were anxious to learn English. They often used the newspaper to help.

Publishers

Publishers featured during this time period included Doubleday, Doran, and Company, MacMillan Company, and Harper and Brothers. These were publishers not only credited for their long histories of producing quality trade books, but also for focusing on educational or new ideas (Doubleday, 2007; HarperCollins Publishers, 201; MacMillan Publishers, 2014). Also featured was Sam Gabriel, Sons and Company, a publisher in business during the late 1800s and early 1900s that no longer exists.

Accuracy of Historical Events

There was indeed a “twenty-year-long women’s movement that culminated in 1920 in the right of women to vote” (Anyon, 2006, p. 50). The amendment ultimately helped women “raise their status and create a better society” (Ryan, 2013, p. 34).

Also taking place during this time was the Temperance Movement, a social push that called for the law to prohibit alcohol. According to Gusfield (1986), the movement was established by the wrong people for the wrong reasons, or rather, since alcohol was consumed by so many regardless of the law, for no reason at all.
Another factor that contributed to the American rejection of immigrants during the 1920s was the Red Scare. As Murray (1955) explains, nativists mostly discriminated against southern Europeans who were viewed as disloyal, much like Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetto: “Italian aliens and avowed anarchists” sentenced to death for a murder “under what appeared to be highly prejudicial circumstances” (p. 266).

**Multiculturalism and Social Studies**

In general, most stories could not be used to promote a multicultural understanding since they focused more on the assimilation experience in America rather than the characters’ cultures. However, out of all books presented during this decade, the story *Daughter of the Samurai* (Sugimot, 1925) could be used since Buddhism was discussed, as well as the life of Japanese Samurai who were “Japanese military m[e]n . . . in the upper ranks of society” (Wilson & Lee, 1982, p. 17).

In terms of social studies, the story *Giants in the Earth* (Rolvaag, 1927) could be used to encourage students’ historical understanding as the story discussed events and explained how the pioneering immigrants survived in North Dakota.

**Age-appropriate**

Although most storylines were geared for middle school students, there were a few suitable for children since they included fairy tales, personification, and moral lessons.

**1930s Trade Book Selections**

*Title:* Little Pilgrims to Penn’s Woods  
*Author:* Edna Albert  
*Illustrator:* Esther Brann  
*Publisher:* New York, NY: Longmans, Green, and Company  
*Year of Publication:* 1930  
*Time Period in Storyline:* Late 1800s to early 1900s
Country of Origin: Germany
Ethnicity: German
Setting in America: Pennsylvania

Title: *All Things New*
Author: Sonia Daugherty
Illustrator: James Daugherty
Publisher: New York, NY: Thomas Nelson and Sons
Year of Publication: 1936
Time Period in Storyline: 1917
Country of Origin: Russia
Ethnicity: Russian
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: *Golden Gate*
Author: Valenti Angelo
Illustrator: Valenti Angelo
Publisher: New York, NY: Viking Press,
Year of Publication: 1939
Time Period in Storyline: 1907
Country of Origin: Italy
Ethnicity: Italian
Setting in America: California

Title: *Meggy MacIntosh*
Author: Elizabeth Janet Gray
Illustrator: Marguerite de Angeli
Publisher: New York, NY: Viking Press,
Year of Publication: 1930
Time Period in Storyline: 1775
Country of Origin: Scotland
Ethnicity: Scottish
Setting in America: North Carolina

Title: *Calico Bush*
Author: Rachel Field
Illustrator: No illustrator
Publisher: New York, NY: Macmillan Publishing Company
Year of Publication: 1931
Time Period in Storyline: 1743
Country of Origin: France
Ethnicity: French
Setting in America: Maine

Title: *Henner’s Lydia*
Author: Marguerite de Angeli
The number of books written about the immigrant’s various native countries was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of Books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Armenia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of books written about the immigrants’ various United States destination was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>Number of Books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York City, New York</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the seven trade books featured during the 1930s, new types of immigrants came to America. Armenians and Italians settled in California; German and German Amish went in Pennsylvania; the French established themselves in Maine; and the Scottish landed in North Carolina. Thus, not only were unique ethnic groups suddenly arriving in America, but they were also no longer settling in New York City.

*Illustrations*

Although six out of the seven books included illustrations, the drawings were few and far between. Authors and illustrators were often the same person.

*Illustration of Leaders*

Illustrations often portrayed male immigrants as leaders since they ordered family members around.

*Illustrations of Identical or Unique Characters*

In several stories, it was difficult to tell characters apart since the illustrations gave no hint as to what gender or age the immigrants were. Even grandmothers and grandfathers looked alike since they were illustrated with heavily-wrinkled faces.

*Main Characters*

Stories often featured main characters as orphaned children between the ages of 10 to 18. In *Calico Bush* (Field, 1931), an orphaned French 12 year-old female became a “Bound-out Girl,” or one who was hired as a servant “bound” to serve her master “for six long years in return for shelter, [and] food” (p. 8). It was through her “bounded” family that she ended up in America when they decided to journey to the New World.

Likewise, an orphaned 15 year-old Scottish immigrant in *Meggy MacIntosh* (Gray, 1930) traveled by ship to America by posing as her female cousin who had once planned to elope and
live there. Also featured were a 10 year-old German-Amish female and her family in *Little Pilgrims to Penn’s Woods* (Albert, 1930) who came to settle in Pennsylvania. Having mischievous natures, a young Italian male in *Golden Gate* (Angelo, 1939), a young Russian female in *All Things New* (Daugherty, 1936), and a young Armenian male in *My Name is Aram* (Saroyan, 1937) learn about American life through coming-of-age experiences.

*Problems or Issues*

Although many of the immigrant children’s problems were small, to them, they were important. They primarily desired freedoms that American children took for granted (e.g. to be allowed to leave home, ride a horse, and eat a white-frosted cake). The immigrant children’s problems were eventually resolved as they became more like Americans.

Immigrant parents adjusted as well. They acquired decent employment, purchased homes and planted gardens like they had back in the old country, and began to view their lives as slowly getting better. Those who planned on returning to the old country often ended up staying in America forever.

Many immigrants took their roles as Americans a bit too far. For instance, when an Italian mother gave birth to her daughter, the mother was so proud that her baby was a natural-born American that she named her “Gloria,” an excerpt from the patriotic song *Glory Hallelujah* (Angelo, 1939).

*Stereotypes or Derogatory Overtones*

Immigrant groups placed derogatory labels on other immigrant groups. For example, in *Golden Gate* (Angelo 1939), Italians considered all other ethnic groups to be “peasants” (Angelo, 1939, p. 30), and branded Chinese men as laundrymen who wore “long black pigtail[s] all tied up around [their] head like a nest” (Angelo, 1939, p. 223).
On a darker note, Armenian elders were often shown beating their children. To exemplify, when a young grandchild, who rarely talked in fear of getting hit by his grandfather, responded to a question, the grandfather reminded him, “If you lie, remember my hand” (Saroyan, 1937, p. 23).

African Americans were also negatively portrayed. When a young Italian immigrant saw a black man for the first time on a train in America, he commented about how “a colored man in a white uniform walked down the aisle,” and unexpectedly gave him a “broad smile, displaying two rows of glistening white teeth” (Angelo, 1939, p. 70). Also featured in the story Meggy MacIntosh (Gray, 1930) was a Scottish female who was shown to have drawn back “a little as the Negroes passed her. They were so black . . . that she did not want them to touch her” (p. 93).

Italians also considered themselves to be extremely friendly. Although Italians admitted that they were loud, according to the young Italian, it was simply a positive expression of their magnetic personalities (Angelo, 1939).

Impressions of America (pre-immigration)

Before going to America, the Scots in Meggy MacIntosh (Gray, 1930) were told that America was a land where poverty was “an entire stranger” (p. 33). Potential immigrants were also warned of storms, illnesses, and Native Americans.

Why Immigrants Came to America

Most immigrants traveled to America to escape war or religious persecution. Since immigrants were in such dire situations already, they had nothing to lose by going to America (Gray, 1930). For example, in an effort to secretly flee from their native country, the Russians in All Things New (Daugherty, 1936) had to hide their identity. To break away from religious persecution, the Germans in Little Pilgrims to Penn’s Woods (Albert, 1930) journeyed to
William Penn’s colony in Pennsylvania. The German-Amish in *Henner’s Lydia* (de Angeli, 1936) were so inspired by Penn’s offerings that they, too, settled in Pennsylvania. The Scottish, who sailed in groups to America on a monthly basis, were mostly poor villagers that fled Scotland due to high rents and unjust rules, and settled in a colony already established in North Carolina (Gray, 1930).

The remainder of immigrants came to the United States in search of opportunity.

*The Goodbyes*

Neighbors and relatives were commonly shown coming to say goodbye to the embarking immigrants. Through tears, good luck wishes, and warnings to never to forget their homeland, well-wishers tucked gifts such as linens, seeds, and stockings into the immigrants’ pockets before they boarded the ship. As mentioned in *Little Pilgrims to Penn’s Woods* (Albert, 1930), even pebbles were given to the immigrants to never forget their “Fatherland” (p. 44).

*Journey to America*

All immigrants came by steamship to America. Although they expected the voyage to be long and tiresome, they had no idea that they would find passengers huddled together, often sick from “cold and bad food.” Tense situations included sleeping “in the hold, in rows, each on what blankets [they] could muster. It was dark and airless.” (Gray, 1930, p. 74-75).

However, in *Calico Bush* (Field, 1931), the French sailed to America in a private boat that they paid quite a “shilling” for (p. 4).

Although the Italians traveled on a regular steamship, they stayed in quarters better than what other immigrants did. The young Italian male, who saw the entire steamship voyage as an adventure, exclaimed “It’s like living under the sea” (Angelo, 1939, p. 21).
There could be no denying that the sea took its toll on passengers, even the elite. As observed by the young Italian male in *Golden Gate* (Angelo, 1939), some “stood along the railing gazing at the distant shore with an air of loneliness” (p. 27). For food, “Sailors brought caldrons of thick soup that was served out in tin dishes. Some said the soup tasted like . . . dirty water; others dipped chunks of bread in it and did not complain at all.” Why, even “Grandfather said the coffee was fit to stain linen with, and Grandfather hardly ever complained about anything” (p. 27).

Since it often took weeks or months to cross the ocean, many of the immigrants became ill and died on the voyage (de Angeli, 1936). “[Their] greatest trials came at night and in squally weather, when they must remain below deck, where, with heat and the crowding and the odor of many unwashed bodies and sweaty clothes, the air became fetid. It was little wonder that a wise sailing master made what haste he could across seas: the possibilities of an outbreak of sickness were so great” (Albert, 1930, p. 194). Due to lack of milk, fresh fruit, and vegetables, “the voyage was bound to be hardest on” small babies (Albert, 1930, p. 195). Fever was often seen in youngster’s eyes, or red marks on their faces. If a passenger died, it was common for the captain to drop their corpse into the ocean, or leave the body at the nearest port. Although deemed a sinful act, captains were only trying to clear the ship of disease (Field, 1931).

*The Arrival*

When approaching America, the Statue of Liberty was the first American symbol that immigrants laid eyes on. As described in *All Things New* (Daugherty, 1936), the statue “gave the appearance of being suspended in space . . . The Statue of Liberty, grotesquely grand, held up her torch before the astounded eyes of the newcomers” (p. 11). When entering the Ellis Island processing station, immigrants had to prove to inspection officials that they had a valid reason
for coming to America. If not able to, they would be detained at Ellis Island, or sent back to their native countries (Daugherty, 1936).

After officials sorted through the newly arrivals’ luggage and doctors examined them for illnesses, they walked straight though the official entry into America (Angelo, 1939).

The newcomers were in awe of the skyscrapers in New York City, yet as they “stood there looking at this strange panorama . . . nothing seemed real any more, not even the memory of” their old country (Daugherty, 1936, p. 10).

Acceptance or Resistance

Native Americans were resistant to immigrants who took their land. In retaliation, Native Americans raided and burned down immigrants’ homes. Since many of the immigrant settlers could not deal with the torment, they left to find homes in less dangerous areas (Field, 1931).

Besides hoping that the Native Americans would accept them, most children immigrants wished they “knew some Americans.” As a young Russian female remarked in *All Things New* (Daughtery, 1936), “We ought to try to become Americans and live their way and find out how to be happy their way” (p. 44).

With change came resistance, particularly from immigrant mothers. They were most resistant in changing their old lifestyles. For example, in *All Things New* (Daugherty, 1936), a Russian mother refused to live in a tall building, use china and linens that were a “downgrade” from what she had in the old country, acquire “rough red hands” from working, or learn English (p. 38). Either due to unwillingness or not able to handle the changes, the Russian mother felt as if she had been punished for her sins since she had been “exiled” from her native land, and forced “to come to an outlandish country among strangers who live in nests near the sky instead of in houses like men” (p. 16).
Open-mindedness

Quite the opposite, immigrant males were portrayed as open-minded since they reassured their families that life in America would work out just fine. For instance, a French husband in *Calico Bush* (Field, 1931) assures his wife that there was no need to worry about the Native Americans. “Other folks have raised young ones in such places afore this,” and therefore “I mean to stay. Injuns or no injuns” (p. 42).

Although a Russian father in *All Things New* (Daugherty, 1936) admitted that the family’s “pride has [been] broken, washing dishes and mopping stairs,” he told his family that they must overlook the negative factors and learn the American ways in order “to become like these people who are now our countrymen” (Daugherty, 1936, p. 90).

Close-mindedness

Immigrant fathers were close-minded when it came to their children selecting careers that were not financially secure. Since immigrants believed that an American education would allow their children to become doctors or lawyers, fathers became upset when they heard that their children wanted to become actresses or artists (Angelo, 1939; Daugherty, 1936).

Education Levels

Some immigrants had little, or no, formal education. This lack of schooling was either due to indentured servitude or membership in the Amish community, which limited the amount of years a child could receive education. Yet, for the most part, immigrant children attended school in America, and felt grateful for having the opportunity to do so.

Aside from the Russian fathers who once held government positions and were highly educated, most immigrant fathers were uneducated. However, educated or not, immigrant fathers were shown as the parents who had high hopes for their children to become educated in America.
Elderly immigrants, on the other hand, were often those who believed that lessons in life could not be learned from books. As shown in Little Pilgrims to Penn’s Woods (Albert, 1930), a German older woman explained that “as for becoming a scholar, folk do not seem to think that befits a girl-child. They wish a woman to spin and weave, if need be and the occasion serve, and to knit; she must cook and bake and brew; she must keep house and garden and all tidy. But if she be able to read the Good Book stumblingly and to write her own name, that is all the learning they think she needs; and, sometimes, that is all she has time for” (p.93).

Likewise, in My Name is Aram (Saroyan, 1937), older Armenian males considered knowledge and wisdom to come “from within . . . beginning practically at birth.” For this reason, elder Armenians refused to accept book knowledge as true knowledge, and insisted that book reading and intrinsic understanding were two different things.

**Occupations**

Before coming to America, immigrants had occupations such as farmers, fishermen, mill owners, and even government officials. Willing to give up everything for freedom in America, many of the immigrants accepted employment in positions such as door-to-door salesmen, apartment janitors, and other work in unskilled trades. Only the German Amish continued their occupations as farmers and metal work manufacturers, and the Italians as merchant farmers.

**Classism**

Class was apparent in the stories when discussing how immigrants desired to act, dress, and live like Americans. Immigrant females were portrayed as longing to be pretty like the American girls because, simply put, “If a girl ain’t pretty then she’s got to be extra good . . . My ma says you won’t get married no other way” (Field, 1931, p. 7).
Also evident was the derogatory portrayal of immigrants as low-class peasants. For example, while on the ship voyage to America, immigrants were described as despicable drunkards who passed bottles around, and littered the deck with “peelings of cheese and salami, and olive pits” (Angelo, 1939, p. 24).

Lifestyles: Before and After Immigration

Most immigrants’ pre-immigration days were spent celebrating ethnic holidays and congregating with relatives. Although not rich, they felt rich, as they had family. For those immigrants who were once rich and powerful, such as the Russians in All Things New (Daugherty, 1936), the transplantation took a toll on them as the change of status, environment, occupation, language, and culture was often shocking. The Russian mother, once happy and beautiful, was described as being gray and quiet in America. The father, once energetic and in high spirits, was now “harassed and worried” (p 183). Consequently, immigrants often felt that they had lost their connection to their native lands and their culture. If they were not Americans, they often wondered who they were.

Lifestyles: Unrealistic?

While most immigrants were presented as having a difficult time adjusting in America, the Italians were shown having everything fall into place. For example, when the Italian family ran into an Italian policeman and found out that they were both Italian, the policeman kindly remarked, “I am at your service” (Angelo, 1939, p. 59). None of the other stories contained elements that were unrealistic.

Peer Relationships

Immigrants became friends with the Native Americans they so feared during their earlier days. The two groups not only became pleasant neighbors, but also ended up working together.
Young immigrants were also shown becoming friends with Americans, who in turn, helped them combat bullies and develop their talents. Either due to sympathizing with the immigrants, or genuinely recognizing their talents, Americans were helpful to the immigrants.

**Family Members**

Although several of the orphaned immigrants were passed on to relatives or hired as servants to strangers, most immigrants were portrayed as having a loving and close relationship with family members. Even the orphaned immigrants eventually became bonded with their new families and so attached that they finally felt as if they had found a place to call home.

In all storylines, grandparents were shown living with their children and their families. They became a deeply rooted part of the family as they watched over their grandchildren, entertained the family with their storytelling or musical abilities, and passed down cultural and religious traditions.

Overall, when families struggled, all family members came up with ways to pull the family through.

**Power**

Reading books held an important role in many of the stories. Not only were books viewed as a way to gain knowledge, but as comforting friends.

**Leadership**

Child immigrants, shown as mischievous, curious, and annoying creatures, often ended up taking on roles of leaders and saving all those around.

**Customs and Traditions**

Cultural traditions were generally expressed through food items, such as the Scottish immigrants pouring hot milk over cornbread, simmering bayberry flowers in gravy for a delicate
scent, and drizzling hot maple tree sap over ice (Field, 1931). The German Amish’s cultural foods were cottage cheese, fried mush, and meat pudding (de Angeli, 1936). Coffee was enjoyed by the Armenians not only for the taste, but to remember “the old country . . . to be in a place with a familiar smell, thousands of miles from home” (Saroyan, 1937, p. 198). The Italians drank red wine, used olive oil in nearly every dish, and ate polenta and goat’s cheese (Angelo, 1939). The German’s favorite traditions “were shnitze und knöpfe for dinner, slices of luscious apple and fine fat dumplings floating in rich pork stew” (Albert, 1930, p. 18).

Also presented were cultural superstitions about the planting of crops, falling in love, or handling medical issues. For example, plants would not grow unless it was the right time of the month, bad winds in early March meant that the sun was passing over the equator, leaves of the mullein plant cured nervous tension, ocean kelp healed many illnesses, and “whoever found the red ear of corn would be lucky in love” (Field, 1931, p. 112).

In terms of cultural work habits, the French could never be idle as there was always work to be done (Field, 1931). According to the Amish, children should learn how to work while they were young, so that when they reached adulthood, they would enjoy working (de Angeli, 1936).

Social customs included Armenian children not being allowed to engage in adults’ conversation. After all, what business did children have in discussing adults’ problems (Saroyan, 1937)? The Amish (being non-materialistic), wore pants without buttons, used no electricity (other than for work), and ate only homemade foods (since store-bought were considered luxury items) (de Angeli, 1936).

Russian males were shown “embracing each other” in “Russian fashion and exchanging the triple Russian kiss” (Daugherty, 1936, p. 22). Russian women would hide rubles in the lining of their coats for safety, and sleep with them near their beds (Daughtery, 1936).
Males

Although most immigrant males were depicted as breadwinners and decision-makers, they were also shown as more understanding and supportive towards their children than their mothers were. Immigrant males were also shown drinking alcohol, smoking tobacco, and expecting women to have supper ready for them when they arrived home.

Females

Immigrant females were pictured as housekeepers or crafters. While men worked, “women gathered in a little group about the cleared log table and spread out their knitting or patchwork, [while] giving an occasional rock to . . . [a] cradle” (Field, 1931, p. 73). Although women were portrayed as strong, they were also shown as never being satisfied, crying all the time, or as obedient wives who went wherever their husbands took them.

Babies

Babies were depicted as adored, in need of being cared for, and doted on.

Children

Immigrant children were portrayed as adventurous, rebellious, and curious about how the world worked. Although happy-go-lucky, children were mature enough to make adult decisions.

Teenagers

Immigrant teenagers were portrayed as hard workers, often love-struck, and children who grew up too quickly in America.

Young Adults

Young adult immigrants were depicted as having adult-like responsibilities. For example, a young Scottish male in Calico Bush (Field, 1931) was asked to hold a gun in case the need arose for him to shoot an Indian.
Mothers

Although immigrant mothers were portrayed as passive, or shown quietly praying for God to watch over the family, they were stern, hardworking, and their children’s greatest fans.

Fathers

Immigrant fathers were often presented as role models for their sons. They expected their sons to mirror their manly characteristics and fine work ethics. Yet, for many of the Americanized immigrant children that no longer thought like their fathers did, the new Americans came to believe that a “man could be the father of his son’s flesh . . . [but] that did not mean that he was also the father of his spirit” (Saroyan, 1937, p. 7).

Grandmothers

Immigrant grandmothers were depicted as old and wise, passing on religious and moral values. Often widowed and lonely, grandmothers lived with their children’s families and watched over their grandchildren.

Grandfathers

Immigrant grandfathers were portrayed as the head of the family. Although they offered wisdom, they were constantly bickering and complaining since they lived by old-fashioned rules.

Aunts

Immigrant aunts were depicted as miserable individuals who felt unappreciated or who were taken advantage of for their money.

Uncles

Immigrant uncles were presented as short-tempered, refusing to accept advice, declining to give up their old ways, and often drinking coffee and smoking while “remembering the old country” (Saroyan, 1937, p. 12).
Cousins

American cousins were shown as being tolerant of their immigrant cousins, but for the most part, did not really give them attention or want them around.

Teachers

Although there were some teachers that were caring and inspiring, most were shown as unsympathetic, demanding, and scolding. Since teachers had the authority to administer physical punishment, it was common for a teacher to grab students by the ear or smack their knuckles with a ruler.

Old and New Home

Since many immigrants, particularly elders, were portrayed as still living in the past, they had a hard time adjusting to America; they could not get the old village or friends out of their mind. In contrast, however, children were the most optimistic about their American lives. For example, although a young Russian in All Things New (Daugherty, 1936) thought that America was “so different from what we left behind,” he also thought it would “be interesting to work things out in a new way” (p. 14-15).

New Neighborhood

For the country immigrants, neighbors took care of neighbors. For example, when it came time to build a new roof, neighbors joined together to help. It was not only a sense of duty for them, but also an excuse for a celebration (Field, 1931). Yet, city neighbors were described as gossiping “from morning till night,” and doing little to help the immigrants (Field, 1931, p. 12).

Community

Country immigrants knew everyone else in their community. Members of the community built the settlement as a group effort; women used their housekeeping skills to prepare the
boiling water and males used their manpower to chop down trees. When community members cooperated and did their fair share, “Life in the wilderness began to look promising” (Albert, 1930, p. 250). Immigrants living in the city did not experience as much of a “community” as did their country counterparts.

**Religion**

Immigrants were often shown as missing their native land’s churches. Although they often practiced the same religion in America and built churches similar to the ones back home, their houses of worship were never the same.

Since Americans viewed immigrant males as in need of a rehabilitative lifestyle, neighbors would often try and convert, or “save,” the immigrants by offering them “pamphlet[s] . . . entitled *Redemption, The Story of a Drunkard . . . or Peace at Last, The Story of a Drunkard*” (Saroyan, p. 116). When young Armenian boys in *My Name is Aram* (Saroyan, 1937) received the pamphlets and questioned what they were for, a devout Christian abruptly told them, “try to be good[,] . . . stop using profane language,” (p. 116), and “if evil friends invite you to drink, turn away . . . Read the pamphlets . . . It’s not too late” (p. 119).

Immigrant children did not understand the true meaning behind church liturgies or its rules and practices, and only went to church because they were told to go. As a young Armenian explained in *My Name is Aram* (Saroyan, 1937), church was a place where “the air was stuffy, the preacher was a bore, [and] it was all very depressing” (p. 124). However, lucky for the young boy, he only had to go “on Easter and Christmas” (p. 129).

Perhaps for these reasons the young Armenian, who grew up in America and had the freedom to choose, eventually “moved from one religion to another” (p. 129).
Heroes

Young girls were mostly featured as heroines since they bravely saved others from disasters. As shown in *Calico Bush* (Field, 1931), a young French girl, who is looked down upon for being a girl, risked her life to save her master’s son from drowning during a terrible storm on the ship voyage to America. Although the young girl was not appreciated by the males for what she did, her heroism was eventually recognized as she continued to save others from catastrophes over and over again.

Norms

Immigrant names were changed to American-sounding ones, particularly by teachers. As explained in *My Name is Aram* (Saroyan, 1937), a young Armenian’s name was changed from “Pantalo” to “Pandro” because “when he had started to school his teacher hadn’t cared for, or hadn’t liked the sound of, the name, so she had written down on his card Pandro. As for his cousin’s name, it was Bedros, with the b soft, which in turn had been changed at school to Pedro” (p. 117.)

It was also common for city immigrant children, in particular, to desire relationships with Americans, learn the American ways, and fit in with classmates at school. However, many were harassed by bullies simply for the way they dressed and talked. When the children did make friends, they were often so ashamed of where they lived that they were hesitant about inviting their new American friends over to their miserable apartments.

Young country immigrants, particularly females, desired new friends and a new way of life as well, but had more difficulty achieving this. Teen immigrants, often married off at young ages by their parents, simply longed to go out at night, dress in fancy clothes, and not have to cook and clean so often.
Author’s Background: Immigrant or Non-immigrant?

Three out of the seven authors were immigrants.

Author’s Trustworthiness

Although there was little information offered on all authors, most were well known for their children’s literature, and often based their stories on personal experience, historical events, and familiar settings.

Rachel Field of *Calico Bush* (1931) often wrote books that expressed “her view of the past and present” with settings that were connected to Maine, a place that “was a summer refuge for her and provided the inspiration for most of her best writing” (Barron, 1996, p. 95).

William Saroyan (1937) touched upon themes such as poverty, religion, class, and education. As the son of Armenian-born parents, Saroyan based his story on his growing up in an unconventional immigrant family. Although fictionally written, Saroyan’s story “contain[ed] a measure of optimism and sentimentality which helped generate [his] Armenian American double-consciousness” (Levonian, 2012, p. 383).

Elizabeth Janet Gray (1930) was a writer of historical fiction that “call[ed] attention to the time setting of a story,” and offered children “a greater awareness of time backgrounds . . . in a straight-forward manner.” Often explaining historical events in great detail, the author created stories by conducting historical research for accuracy, then added fiction to make the stories more interesting (Deaton, 1946, p. 301).

According to Vandergift (1993), Marguerite de Angeli (1936) was a writer who “helped to make dramatic changes in twentieth-century literature for young people by telling the stories of those previously invisible . . . children of many ethnic and religious groups and of migrant families previously unrepresented in this literature.” Also an artist, de Angeli’s “illustrations do
not convey any real racial identity, but all her characters… have basically the same sweet faces.” Further, “De Angeli also wrote many other stories about minority children, especially those growing up near her Philadelphia home. Her belief that all children are basically alike comes through in her books” (p. 373).

Author’s Perspective

Many of the stories offered a nostalgic view, as if authors were remembering old times, good or bad. However, in the case of the Amish, it was difficult to decide whether or not the author was expressing admiration or criticism for the Amish way of life.

Authors generally expressed the belief that America could give immigrants “sunshine, friendship, and a freedom” (Gray, 1930, p. 123). However, first they had to accept the fact that it was “time to choose between the old and new” (p. 206). Authors also suggested that once immigrants were in America, they should not give up and leave, but try to stick it out, for things would surely get better. Regardless of feeling “defeated at first,” one must “fight” and tell themselves ‘I’m a Patriot, too’” (Gray, 1930, p. 261).

Discrimination

Discrimination was evident when authors mocked immigrants and Americans. Several authors suggested that immigrants needed to clean up their act and leave their old ways behind. Others harshly criticized Americans for playing a major role in immigrant downfalls.

Authors also ridiculed religion and mocked priests who believed that an immigrant’s life could improve if only they accepted Jesus. For example, in My Name is Aram (Saroyan, 1937), the author casts aside the thought that one will become a better person if they became “saved,” for, according to Saroyan (1937), it was neither realistic, nor the answer to an immigrant’s problem (p. 219).
Author’s Purpose

Generally speaking, the authors’ purposes were to inform the reader of the immigrant plight by expressing what it was like being torn between two countries, struggling to abide by American principles, growing up in America, and how to find one’s own identity.

Other authors entertained the reader by adding humor to make light of serious topics, or by offering secret family recipes in the back of the book.

Author’s Writing: Personal or Cultural?

Although it was assumed that the authors wrote to promote culture, it appeared to be more personal as they used mocking tones and criticized immigrants’ lifestyles and religions.

Author’s Message

Several authors sounded as if they were hired by the government to sell America and advertise citizenship. Along with mentioning the American flag, what its colors stood for and how immigrants should respect it, authors sent out messages for immigrants to love America, be Americans, and adjust to America. Authors also sent out direct messages to young immigrants telling them to be sure to go to school and to not be hoodlums like the bullies in the stories.

Authors suggested that if immigrants were farmers who knew how to farm well, then they would do fine in America. Authors begged all immigrants, young and old, to cease looking for their old country in America, stop living in the past, and prevent asking for handouts and public assistance; instead, plan on contributing to America. Authors stated that the American government and society did not need more public nuisances, and therefore only desired immigrants that could fit the criteria, and were willing to be proud Americans. As Daugherty (1936) summarized it, “In this country, everyone has a chance to make money” (p. 103). “Each one makes his own life by what he puts into it, and what he chooses to take from it” (p. 291).
Dialect

Ethnic slang words, accents, and incorrect English that were often used in the storylines caused the immigrants to appear uneducated. As characters’ words in dialogue were written out exactly as they were spoken, stories were often difficult to read.

Learning English

As depicted in all stories, the key to success for immigrants was learning English. To exemplify, in All Things New (Daugherty, 1936), the Russian children strived to teach themselves English “with the aid of a Russian-English dictionary” (p. 37). Children helped their fathers get past knowing only three sentences in English: “All right,” “If you please,” and “How much it is?” (p. 42).

Publishers

Publishers during the 1930s included religious-based Herald Press in Harrisonburg, Virginia that promoted the “ministry of the Mennonite Church.” Their goal was “to publish books from an Anabaptist perspective that are honest in presentation, clear in thought, stimulating in content, and that lead to the spiritual growth and welfare of the reader” (MennoMedia, 2014).

Harcourt Brace and Company, a publishing company located in Boston, Massachusetts dating back to 1919, specializes in “literature in translation” and the publication of renowned international authors. As the books feature a robust and diverse selection of divisions and authors, the combined company publishes books that appeal to readers of all ages. In 2007, it merged with Houghton Mifflin Company to form Houghton Mifflin Harcourt (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 2011).
The Viking Press, now a division of Penguin, was founded in 1925 with the following mission: “To publish a strictly limited list of good nonfiction, such as biography, history and works on contemporary affairs, and distinguished fiction with some claim to permanent importance rather than ephemeral popular interest.” Touting that “enterprise, adventure, and exploration in publishing” are its key tenets, Viking is known for publishing the literature of key American authors, such as John Steinbeck, Graham Greene, Arthur Miller, and Jack Kerouac, as well as several Nobel Prize winning works (Penguin Group USA LLC, 2014).

Longman Publishers, now a division of Pearson, is “the world’s oldest commercial imprint” as well as a “leading publisher of educational materials for schools and English Language teaching . . . as well as for higher education” (Pearson Education, 2011).

Accuracy of Historical Events

Immigrant settlements in Pennsylvania, or William Penn’s Colony, were historically accurate, since Penn was indeed given “a charter for forty thousand square miles in America (1681)” by King Charles II, “offered liberal terms to colonists, and promised a thoroughly equitable government” (Adams & Trent, 1909, p. 56).

Likewise, the Amish, or Mennonites, settled in eastern Pennsylvania. Like other immigrants who “trace up the long train of religious causes which brought them to Pennsylvania,” it was Penn who “gave them a special invitation to come and settle here” (Eshleman, 1917, p. 1).

Multiculturalism and Social Studies

Most stories during this decade did not specifically address the immigrants’ culture. Rather, they reported more about how the immigrants coped in America. For this reason, stories would not be beneficial to the multicultural curriculum.
Age-appropriate

All stories featured in this decade included small amounts of objectionable content more mild in comparison to stories written in other decades. Therefore, they could be considered age-appropriate as they were sensitive to children’s view on what it was like being an immigrant, and how they endured adult-like challenges. In addition, all stories turned out to have happily-ever-after endings where young immigrants prevailed, regardless of the odds against them.

Appeal for Young Readers

Since stories discussed themes found in books today, they could appeal to young readers.

Second United States Peak Immigration Era (1980-2010s)

1980s Trade Book Selections

Title: *How Many Days to America? A Thanksgiving Story*
Author: Eve Bunting
Illustrator: Beth Peck
Publisher: New York, NY: Clarion Books
Year of Publication: 1988
Time Period in Storyline: 1980s
Country of Origin: From a Caribbean Island, however not specific
Ethnicity: Assuming Jamaican
Setting in America: No Mention

Title: *The House on Mango Street*
Author: Sandra Cisneros
Illustrator: No illustrations
Publisher: New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf
Year of Publication: 1984
Time Period in Storyline: 1960s-1970s
Country of Origin: Mexico
Ethnicity: Mexican
Setting in America: Chicago, IL

Title: *Silver Days*
Author: Sonia Levitin
Illustrator: No illustrations
Year of Publication: 1989
Time Period in Storyline: Post-1940s
Country of Origin: Germany
Ethnicity: German-Jewish
Setting in America: New York and California

Title: *In the Year of the Boar and Jackie Robinson*
Author: Bette Bao Lord
Illustrator: Marc Simont
Publisher: New York, NY: HarperCollins
Year of Publication: 1984
Time Period in Storyline: 1947
Country of Origin: China
Ethnicity: Chinese
Setting in America: Brooklyn, New York

Title: *Angel Child, Dragon Child*
Author: Michele Maria Surat
Illustrator: Vo-Dinh Mai
Publisher: New York, NY: Scholastic, Inc.
Year of Publication: 1983
Time Period in Storyline: 1970s
Country of Origin: Vietnam
Ethnicity: Vietnamese
Setting in America: No mention

Title: *Living Up the Street*
Author: Gary Soto
Illustrator: No Illustrations
Publisher: New York, NY: Laurel-Leaf Press
Year of Publication: 1985
Time Period in Storyline: 1957
Country of Origin: Mexico
Ethnicity: Mexican
Setting in America: Fresno, CA

Title: *A Long Way to a New Land*
Author: Joan Sandlin
Illustrator: Joan Sandlin
Year of Publication: 1981
Time Period in Storyline: Mid-1800s
Country of Origin: Sweden
Ethnicity: Swedish
Setting in America: Farmland in Minnesota
Title: Watch the Stars Come Out  
Author: Riki Levinson  
Illustrator: Diane Goode  
Publisher: New York, NY: E.P. Dutton  
Year of Publication: 1985  
Time Period in Storyline: 1940s  
Country of Origin: Germany  
Ethnicity: German-Jewish  
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: Immigrant Girl: Becky of Eldridge Street  
Author: Brett Harvey  
Illustrator: Deborah Kogan Ray  
Publisher: New York, NY: Holiday House  
Year of Publication: 1987  
Time Period in Storyline: 1910  
Country of Origin: Russia  
Ethnicity: Russian-Jewish  
Setting in America: New York, NY

The number of books written about the immigrants’ various native countries was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of Books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribbean country (assuming Jamaica)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of books written about the immigrants’ various United States destination was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>Number of Books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York City (and Brooklyn, NY)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Stereotypes in Illustrations

Characters’ physical features were often the most exaggerated. For instance, Orthodox Russian-Jewish men were illustrated in beards, while Russian males in general had heavy mustaches. The depiction of German-Jews was the most discriminating as they were drawn with extremely large noses, droopy eyes, and red frizzy hair. Their mouths were turned downwards at the edges, depicting a set look of a group that did not smile. Similarly, the Vietnamese were also portrayed as never smiling and very serious. The Vietnamese were illustrated with jet black straight hair and flat noses.

The Chinese females were featured in typical pointy ponytails, while Chinese babies were bald except for a patch of hair sitting on top of their heads. Chinese bodies were illustrated disproportionally as the heads were bigger than the bodies.

The Caribbean characters were pictured as having curly black hair and dark skin, while the Caribbean soldiers that antagonized the characters in their native land were illustrated as Castro-like individuals with full black beards and caps. Although this offered the reader a greater understanding as to why the immigrants fled their homeland, it also implied a stereotypical view that all rebels resembled Cuban revolutionists.

In pre- and post-immigration scenes, the Chinese were stereotypically illustrated in various ways. For example, Chinese adult males actively worked together side by side. Chinese young adults carried people in carriages on their backs. Chinese children ran around with Chinese New Year dragon toys. Chinese businesses had pagoda statues in front of their stores.
Illustrations of Identical or Unique Characters

Although unique in personality, many of the characters were illustrated with similar physical features, making it difficult to tell characters apart. For example, Swedish children and their parents had comparable characteristics, and therefore lacked a defined age. Likewise, the Vietnamese’s recurring black hair and flat noses made it difficult to decipher the characters’ age, role (mother? daughter?), and gender. With no real faces illustrated at all, the Chinese characters were illustrated as bodies attached to blank circles as heads and wearing hats.

The German-Jewish characters were portrayed as chubby, lacking eyelids (only eyes and eyebrows), and having a slit for a mouth. Jewish women were shown as fat.

Settings

Immigrants’ old homes were stereotypically illustrated according to their ethnic backgrounds. For example, Chinese native homes featured classic uplifting roofs. The Caribbean homes were two-story, adobe-like structures layered with orange shingles. The Swedish homes were wooden houses with straw roofs, surrounded by rocky soil.

It was hard to judge whether the illustrations depicting the Vietnamese immigrants were set in America or Vietnam. Similarly, although one could tell that the native country of the Caribbean immigrants was a tropical island (because of the palm trees in the background), there was no hint as to what Caribbean island it was.

In America, the German-Jews were illustrated as living in flats among other immigrants from their country. Local businesses included stores with Jewish names, and tenements featured a Star of David hanging in the windows.

The young Mexican male in Living Up the Street (Soto, 1985) who lived on Brady Street in the middle of an industrial section and near a junkyard in Fresno, California, described his
surroundings as a scruffy place that held an array of laborers such as factory workers, mechanics, and welders.

Illustrations of Attire

Elderly women, particularly Swedish and Russian, were illustrated wearing babushkas, or scarf-like head coverings, and heavy layers of clothing.

Chinese children were stereotypically shown wearing traditional mandarin-collared tops and high-cropped pants.

The Vietnamese wore traditional white garments which, according to American classmates, resembled pajamas (Surat, 1983).

Russian males were pictured as laborers or farmers that wore caps, heavy clothing, and boots.

In pre-immigration scenes, Swedish children were shown shirtless and shoeless, with only overalls as clothing. After the immigrants came to America, however, women began wearing better clothing, and men began wearing suits, ties, and handsome derby-styled hats. This suggests that characters came to America as traditional “peasants,” yet changed due to becoming Americanized.

In stories that featured more recent immigration experiences, such as the Caribbean storyline, characters were in modern clothing: men in collared shirts, and women in round-neck blouses, flowing mid-length skirts, and no head coverings.

Illustrations of Subservient, Passive, or Active Characters

In general, most immigrant mothers were portrayed as subservient. For example, they obediently stood next to their husbands, held their babies close to their chests, and clasped the hands of their children by their side.
Young sisters were presented as passive since they were often frightened and crying. Immigrant children were portrayed as happy-go-lucky individuals, playing and having fun, even while on the ship voyage to America. Their only major concern was when they would get to America and what toys they would play with.

Immigrant male adults were often illustrated working hard and staying active.

Relationship of Illustrations to Text

Many of the selected stories were novels that did not include illustrations. However, for those that did have illustrations, the text described well what was pictured. For example, in *In the Year of the Boar and Jackie Robinson* (Lord, 1984), when a Chinese wife sees her husband for the first time after several years, the text explained that the two could only stand and stare at each other due to Chinese tradition disallowing public affection. The illustration added emotion that words could not bring forth alone.

The illustrations in *Watch the Stars Come Out* (Levinson, 1985) especially helped to explain how the immigrants endured life in their native country. In Germany, children were shown taking baths in the kitchen sink while the grandmother continued to boil water. Not only did this illustration depict life in Germany, but also added to the event in America when immigrants first saw water coming out from faucets.

Main Characters

Main characters chiefly included young immigrants between the ages of 10 and 16.

Problems or Issues

All immigrants faced the problems of adapting to American culture. For instance, in the story *In the Year of the Boar and Jackie Robinson* (Lord, 1984), after a young Chinese girl arrived in America, she had no friends, knew no English, and was bullied by classmates. Thus,
the main obstacles for this young immigrant were to learn English, get along at school, and become Americanized.

The main problem faced by the German-Jews was the need to leave Germany quickly to reunite with the father already in America before the horrors of World War II’s concentration camps became a reality for them.

Likewise, in *Angel Child, Dragon Child* (Surat, 1983), a young Vietnamese female left her mother in Vietnam to be with her sisters in America. Once in America, she had a hard time adjusting to a new American school and student peers. She finally overcame all the bullying after befriending the bully and finding out that he was much like her, scared and sad of not being accepted.

As evident, most stories dealt with assimilation. However, other problems abounded. For example, in the story *How Many Days to America? A Thanksgiving Story* (Bunting, 1988), the character’s problem was finding a home in America, far away from the soldiers that invaded his native village. As another example, Swedish characters faced the issue of hunger in *A Long Way to a New Land* (Sandlin, 1981). They leave Sweden to settle on an American farm and have a better life.

Some immigrants had problems entering the United States. In the story *Watch the Stars Come Out* (Levinson, 1985), the obstacle the main character faced was trying to get through the difficult examination process at Ellis Island.

In a more modern setting, a young Mexican female in *The House on Mango Street* (Cisneros, 1984) was unhappy about having to grow up on Mango Street, a neighborhood considered to be a ghetto. Although her problem is never exactly resolved, she finally escaped her miserable existence through writing.
In *Living Up the Street* (Soto, 1985), another Mexican character was sickened by society after being discriminated against more times than he could remember. Based on trials and tribulations of growing up in Fresno, California during the 60s, his gift of writing poetry enabled him to reinvent his childhood and express his feelings of injustice.

**Stereotypes or Derogatory Overtones**

Generally speaking, immigrants often considered Americans as the lucky ones; anything they said or did presumably turned out well. Americans were different; they received special treatment, and their life appeared neat and wonderful (Sandlin, 1981). Likewise, a young Mexican male in *Living Up the Street* (Soto, 1985) used to think that all white Americans lived a life right out of the 1960s *Donna Reed* television show: clean-cut, rich, and living the American dream.

American youth were viewed by immigrants as rich and spoiled. A Chinese immigrant recalled in *Angel Child, Dragon Child* (Surat, 1983) that American children used to laugh at her for being too smart, and enjoyed calling her “chop suey.”

By far, Mexicans were subject to the worst stereotypes. For example, in *The House on Mango Street* (Cisneros, 1984), a teacher automatically assumed that a young Mexican girl lived in a run-down neighborhood near the school, and that she came from a family with many children.

Ethnic groups were shown insulting each other. For instance, Italians called Mexicans dirty and lazy, while Mexicans labeled Italians, particularly mothers, as pushy and bi-polar (Soto, 1985). Even a young Mexican teen in *Living Up the Street* (Soto, 1985) expressed how he felt “Mexican” when he stooped to pick up grapes, wore mismatched clothing, or rode the bus with other Mexicans.
Impressions of America (pre-immigration)

Before making the journey here, immigrants heard that America offered people good land and the opportunity to build a house. For example, an uncle in America tells a Swedish family in A Long Way to a New Land (Sandlin, 1981) that life in the new country would offer their three sons a good future. Similarly, the Germans in Silver Days (Levitin, 1989) were tempted to go to America after viewing “American movies, with brightly dressed people living in beautiful houses” (p. 1).

However, it was the Chinese that heard negative comments and harrowing tales about America. They were told that America was a place where they would be among uncivilized strangers who were not Chinese, did not know the first thing about Confucius, and who ate puppies and raw meat (Lord, 1984).

Why Immigrants Came to America

All immigrants presented during this decade came to America to find opportunities. For example, due to farming hardships, poverty, and famine, the Swedish came to America for a better life. As the Swedish father expressed, “There is no future for us here. We will go to America” (Sandlin, 1981, p. 17).

The Chinese father came to America before his family to seek opportunities not available in China. However, it was not clear whether he came to expand his livelihood or to escape the strict and traditional life he was expected to live in China (Lord, 1984).

There were also immigrants that fled from war. The Caribbean characters left their island in search of safety from soldiers that were trying to kill them. The Russian-Jewish characters came to America after they escaped from the terrible pogroms in Russia where many Jews were tortured and killed (Harvey, 1987).
The Goodbyes

Saying goodbye to the people immigrants had known all their lives, or to the only houses they had ever known, was extremely difficult (Bunting, 1988).

Journey to America

Like most other immigrants shown, the Swedish family began their long journey to America by car, then train, and finally by steamship. Many had to stop in various cities before reaching the port. For example, the Swedes traveled three days just to reach Gothenburg, Sweden, then four days to get to Liverpool, England, and so on (Sandlin, 1981). Their amazement at the sights observed at these temporary stops was an indication that most immigrants had never left their farm before.

The names of the ships that immigrants traveled to America on were important since they were often connected to American symbols or cities. For example, the Swedish family traveled on a ship called the “City of Baltimore.”

The voyage to America was described as a terrible ordeal for most immigrants. The steerage quarters were smelly, dark, and packed with people sitting on benches or on the floor near the engine room. Little food was given to the steerage passengers, and cheese and bread brought by the immigrants themselves kept them alive. Storms often lasted more than three days, so people became sick from the rough seas, being locked in, and smelling the pungent smells (Sandlin, 1981). The Chinese sailed on a ship that took a month to get to America. The ride was described as being so rough that most immigrants stayed in their bunks a majority of the time (Lord, 1984).

Although the Caribbean characters also took weeks to reach America, they traveled on a small fishing boat with many other refugees. As the days passed and food and water ran out,
people became sick and often died. To make matters worse, armed pirates often took over their boat asking for money and jewelry (Bunting, 1988).

Fellow countrymen who emigrated together became a group held by a common bond, and often started their new lives in the same community (Sandlin, 1981).

**The Arrival**

All immigrants marveled at America when they arrived. However, to some, America was not what they thought it would be. Young children, who were reunited with their fathers, found that they were not the fathers they used to know (Levitin, 1989; Lord, 1984). To exemplify, a German young girl in *Silver Days* (Levitin, 1989) explained, “Papa was wearing a woolen suit and a hat. He said some words to the bus driver in English. How we marveled! Papa was so American! We thought he must be rich. I expected to see a pretty white house with a red-tile roof, grass out front, and a weather vane. But when I saw the apartment, I could hardly believe it. . . Strange, how suddenly we had become poor” (p. 2).

To the contrary, for the Mexican female teen in *The House on Mango Street* (Cisneros, 1984), the ill surroundings were nothing new to her; they mirrored her surroundings in Mexico.

Upon arrival to San Francisco, the Chinese had a difficult time with immigration officials at Angel Island (Lord, 1984).

Dissimilarity, the Swedes flawlessly passed through Ellis Island. And after realizing that they were in America, the family did the unexpected; they dragged their straw mattresses on deck and threw them overboard, a symbol that the family would never again use a poor man’s straw bed (Sandlin, 1981).

The German children in *Watch the Stars Come Out* (Levinson, 1985) also slid through Ellis Island quite easily with no obstacles.
Acceptance or Resistance

Resistance towards immigrants was generally shown when inspectors gave them a hard time during tests and examinations.

Peers, particularly American classmates, were also opposed to the newly arrived immigrants. Young immigrants were often bullied and punched by classmates who had an intolerant attitude towards them (Lord, 1984; Surat, 1983).

Open-mindedness

Although most of the immigrants were limited by poverty, fathers appeared to be the most open-minded as they beckoned their children to think positively about America. In Silver Days (Levitin, 1989), a German father even encouraged his daughter to become a dancer just like she had always dreamed of. After all, “Nothing is impossible,” the German father told his daughter (p. 5).

Close-mindedness

Immigrant mothers were often presented as close-minded about education. In Silver Days (Levitin, 1989), a German mother believed that American schools did nothing more than teach children how to be disrespectful to their parents.

Also portrayed as close-minded was a German father who did not believe that women should wear pants. Although some women were replacing men in the factories, the father informed his daughter, “I don’t care if there’s war going on, you’re not wearing pants. I will not have my girls running around like tramps” (p. 45).

Socioeconomic Status

For the sake of freedom, immigrants willingly accepted a sudden decrease in socioeconomic and cultural status. For example, the Chinese and German-Jews had once been
upper class, but due to political and religious persecution in their native countries, they came to America to start a new life, even if it meant being poor.

The rest of the immigrants presented were very poor. For example, in order to afford steamship tickets to America, the Swedish characters had to sell their cart and horses (Sandlin, 1981). Similarly, the German-Jews did not have enough money to bring their mother to America (Levitin, 1989). Moreover, a young Mexican male was so poor; he had to walk four miles just to get to work (Soto, 1985).

*Education Levels*

Education was a priority for many of the immigrants, particularly the Germans, since they did not have access to it in their native country (Levitin, 1989).

Many Mexican immigrant parents sent their children to Catholic school hoping that the “goodness” and “smartness” of other children would rub off. However, as expressed in *Living Up the Street* (Soto, 1985), instead of feeling intelligent among the smart kids, the Mexican children were made to feel even less intelligent.

The Mexican father in *The House on Mango Street* (Cisneros, 1984) enrolled his daughter in a private American school. As mentioned by the Mexican daughter who attended the school, the “high school cost a lot, [but] Papa said nobody went to public school unless you wanted to turn out bad” (p. 53).

In most cases, it was the fathers that promoted education to their children and who were amazed at the size of schools in America. Many attended night or summer school to perfect their English. On the other hand, most immigrant mothers did not care for education or books since those took time away from taking care of the family.
The Chinese father came to America already educated as an engineer from a university in China. The Chinese mother, however, came from a family line of clansmen that did not believe girls should be educated; therefore, it would be fair to assume that she was not formally educated (Lord, 1984).

**Occupations**

Although mostly shown as laborers, occupations varied for the newly-arrived immigrants. In *Silver Days* (Levitin, 1989), a German mother was a washing woman at a restaurant while the father sold neck ties door-to-door “with a large peddler’s case strapped to his neck” (p. 6). In addition to being a migrant worker in Fresco, California, a young Mexican male in *Living Up the Street* (Soto, 1985) worked as a door-to-door encyclopedia salesman. The rest of his family worked at the Sun Maid raisin factory nearby.

**Classism**

During the voyage to America, class determined who was treated better and had better sleeping quarters. First-class passengers were well-groomed, finely dressed, and carried expensive bags. They were often helped up to their higher deck compartments by a steward, or found chatting with the ship captain. Even during their time at Ellis Island, while the poor immigrants endured difficult examinations, the wealthy were able to avoid the worst of the ordeal.

**Lifestyles: Before and After Immigration**

For the sake of freedom, many immigrants went from being wealthy to poor. For example, in *Silver Days* (Levitin, 1989), a German father who had once flourished as a manufacturer of ladies coats in Germany sold neck ties door-to-door in America.
For the German-Jews that left war behind, they were still trying to fight discrimination in America. Many Americans did not like the Germans simply because they were Germans. Others did not like them because they were Jewish. Although the German family was loyal to America, the father warned the children, “If Americans hear [our] accent, right away they are suspicious! So keep quiet” (Levitin, 1989, p. 47).

After coming to America, immigrants often changed their religion. As a young German Jew in Silver Days (Levitin, 1989) remarked, “Maybe it would be better if there weren’t any separate religions at all. If people were all the same, they couldn’t hate each other” (p. 67).

In addition, immigrants were introduced to new technology after arriving in America. For example, the Chinese family had never before seen blue flames come out of a stove or a bathtub with a hose that sprinkled water. Although they marveled at the new appliances, they were also sad at the change of lifestyle (Lord, 1984).

Lifestyles: Unrealistic?

Regardless of the ridicule and black eyes young immigrants received from tormenting bullies, as shown in both Angel Child, Dragon Child (Surat, 1983) and In the Year of the Boar and Jackie Robinson (Lord, 1984), young immigrants made peace with their hounding peers, became friends, and later even thanked the bullies for their friendship. In Angel Child, Dragon Child (Surat, 1983), the bully even went so far as to help raise money for a young Vietnamese’s mother to come to America. None of the other works contained particularly unrealistic scenes.

Peer Relationships

Young immigrants across all the works longed for friends and acceptance. As expressed in Immigrant Girl: Becky of Eldridge Street (Harvey, 1987), when a young immigrant mispronounced a word incorrectly, she felt like crawling under a desk and staying there.
A young Mexican mentioned that he had to fight to overcome difficulties with peers since they regularly called him a dirty Mexican. If someone stared at him, he would fight them. Watching out for bullies or planning retaliations on a daily basis was common for the young Mexican immigrant (Soto, 1985).

*Family Members*

Immigrant families were strong, stable, and tight-knit. They played together, traveled together, and went through struggles together.

However, although there was love, there was also forced behavior. Immigrant children had to follow orders; respect to elders always came first. This led to much violence between family members, particularly amid fathers and daughters. It was common for immigrant parents to physically punish their children, actions that would be frowned upon in today’s world. For example, after an immigrant father sees his young daughter talking to a boy, “the next day she doesn’t come to school. And the next.” Her father “just went crazy, he just forgot he was her father between the buckle and the belt. You’re not my daughter, you’re not my daughter” he kept shouting (Cisneros, 1984, p. 93).

Similarly, after a young German girl was disrespectful to her mother, her father hit her. The young girl later remarked, “My father had never struck me before. But I felt his hand hard against the side of my face, only once, and I saw a look on his face that I will never forget” (Levitin, 1989, p. 94).

*Power*

Power was possessed by immigration officials, or men in uniform, who examined immigrants’ baggage or placed the newcomers into lines for examinations and tests. Immigrants dreadfully feared the doctors that looked into their eyes and down their throats.
In most storylines that dealt with characters fleeing their homelands due to war or political persecution, soldiers were commonly pictured as ones who held power in every situation. For the Caribbean characters in the story *How Many Days to America? A Thanksgiving Story* (Bunting, 1988), cruel soldiers and forceful pirates who stopped their boat and robbed them at gunpoint had great power. Sympathetic soldiers that gave the poor immigrants food also had power, as they kept the passengers alive.

School principals also had power as they were generally men who gave thunderous orders and were feared by immigrant children. As shown in *Angel Child, Dragon Child* (Surat, 1983), a principal stressed that there would be no more fighting. It was through his demands that the bully and immigrant child had to befriend each other.

American television programs had power. The 1960s *Donna Reed Show* made the young Mexican in *Living Up the Street* (Soto, 1985) want to live the same all-American, wholesome, and perfect lifestyle that the television family did. This also encouraged the nine-year old to work in order to make money for his desired future life.

Celebrities also had power. As an example, a Chinese 10-year old female idolized the young movie star Shirley Temple. Wanting to fit in, the Chinese girl went so far as to change her name to “Shirley Temple Wong” (Lord, 1984).

*Leadership*

In nearly all stories studied, fathers possessed leadership and made all of the family’s decisions. Since fathers were often the first to go to America, it was up to them when to send for the rest of the family. Once the family was reunited, fathers would decide where the family would live and how the family would make their living. Some fathers even made the decision as to when it was time for dinner simply by sitting down at the table. Fathers were also shown as
the ones who would hold the guns, handle business transactions, and talk for the family during the inspection process.

However, in other instances, young female immigrants possessed leadership qualities since they were the more thoughtful and independent ones, and regularly tried to come up with clever ways for their families to escape poverty.

**Customs and Traditions**

Immigrant fathers often held the same customs they were raised on, even in America. For example, when a young Chinese female in *In the Year of the Boar and Jackie Robinson* (Lord, 1984) was reunited with her father for the first time in over a year, she tugged at his arm to let him know that she wanted to give him a hug. But in return, her father told her that it was disrespectful and disgraceful to show affection in public. In addition, Chinese adults were shown talking in whispers in front of the children, or reprimanding children for questioning the conduct of elders. Chinese children were brought up to maintain dignity and respect, bow to elders, and wait until invited to speak.

There was also mention of other customs and traditions in the story *In the Year of the Boar and Jackie Robinson* (Lord, 1984). For example, arranged marriages and dowries were still being practiced, even in America. Also, on one’s day of birth, one was considered one year old, and upon the Chinese New Year (even if only two months later), the child would turn two.

In honoring the dead during the Chinese New Year, family members were to never scold or use profanity before the altar that honored deceased family members. In *House on Mango Street* (Cisneros, 1984), when a young Mexican girl’s grandmother dies in Mexico, her father had “a black-and-white photo taken in front of the tomb with flowers shaped like spears in a white vase because this is how they send the dead away in that country” (p. 56).
Cultural foods were also mentioned as being the link to tradition. Examples included Mexicans eating beans and tortillas, German-Jews eating pickles, and Russian-Jews having bread and herring in the morning, and roasted chicken, or challah, and noodle kugel for dinner. The Vietnamese ate mint leaves, chives, and rice noodles. The Swedish scraped moss in the forest and bark from the pine trees and mixed it with flour to bake bread (Sandlin, 1981, p. 11).

**Males**

In most stories, males were portrayed as breadwinners. They took care of the difficult tasks while women focused on housekeeping. Men that traveled alone to America first for work were shown as hard-working. However, in storylines such as House on Mango Street (Cisneros, 1984), Mexican males were portrayed as irresponsible, mean, and vicious towards females. For example, a Mexican father was shown abusing his daughter, and Mexican boys harassing young girls in the neighborhood (Cisneros, 1984).

**Females**

Regardless of being in America, women were still portrayed as homemakers, gossipers, and women who often fussed or cried at the kitchen table over everyday occurrences that they had no control over.

When not baking bread, sweeping, or taking care of the family, women were slaves to their sewing machines or to their bosses that yelled at them while they worked at the garment factories.

Females were not allowed to do what their brothers did (nor did their mothers try to encourage a change). To exemplify, a young female character in Immigrant Girl: Becky of Eldridge Street (Harvey, 1987) commented, “It makes me boil that I can’t go uptown like [my brother] Max and make my own money even though I’m older than he is.” Likewise, in Silver
Days (Levitin, 1989), a mother became bent out of shape when her daughter not only wanted to go to college, but wanted to wear pants.

Children

Children were mostly portrayed as carefree, happy-go-lucky, or just going along for the ride. Although most immigrant children were bound by poverty, they did not fully realize it.

However, gender played a role in children’s playtime. For example, in Immigrant Girl: Becky of Eldridge Street (Harvey, 1987), while girls played with their dolls or jump roped, “the middle of the street belong[ed] to the boys” (Harvey, 1987).

Teenagers

Immigrant teenagers were often shown having more responsibilities than American teens had. There were more chores to complete since both parents had to work (Levitin, 1989). Teenage immigrant females, in particular, were portrayed as intelligent and determined to get an education. They would do anything to escape poverty – except consider marriage. As a young Mexican female suggested in The House on Mango Street (Cisneros, 1984), it would be crazy to leave one’s father’s home/prison, just to go into another.

Adults

In most storylines, immigrant adults were portrayed as overburdened with troubles, and therefore did not pay too much attention to their children.

Mothers

Immigrant mothers were often portrayed as emotional: sad, worried, pessimistic, frazzled, tired, and unsatisfied. Most mothers simply wanted to settle down and call some place a home. For this reason, mothers never really felt like they belonged anywhere.
Mothers were also hard-working individuals, yet not used to the kind of toil found in America. As the German daughter mentioned in *Silver Days* (Levitin, 1989), “Mother’s hands were always red and chapped now . . . She had changed, too, here in America. Once gentle and eternally patient, my mother had become more brittle, like a comb that snaps and breaks when [you] try to pull it through your hair” (p. 6).

Immigrant mothers were also portrayed as great comforters. They would encourage their children to be happy, brush their hair, give them cookies, and rock their cares away. Mothers would take care of the children’s problems, regardless if they were tired.

Although storylines included mothers that discouraged education for their daughters, the Russian-Jewish and Chinese mothers were most supportive of their daughters reading and going to school. The Russian mother was shown trying to read along with her daughter so that she, too, could learn English (Harvey, 1987).

The Mexican mother was also portrayed as working hard; but because she was away from home most of the day, she was oblivious to what her children were doing.

*Fathers*

Immigrant fathers were chipper, happy, and optimistic about how change would bring better things for their families. Portrayed as the head of the family and the unyielding decision maker, once fathers made up their mind, it was difficult for family members to try and change it.

Immigrant fathers were portrayed as good businessmen. Although cautious of Americans, fathers had a talent in talking with customers. For example, in *Immigrant Girl: Becky of Eldridge Street* (Harvey, 1987), even though the Russian-Jewish father would tell stories and argue with customers about politics, the customers would end up buying from him anyways (Harvey, 1987).
Most of all, fathers were depicted as fearless and calming, telling their children not to be afraid. For instance, when the Caribbean father in *How Many Days to America? A Thanksgiving Story* (Bunting, 1988) sings to his young son, the boy confesses years later that it was his father’s comforting voice that helped him to lose his fear.

**Grandmothers**

In many of the storylines, grandmothers were portrayed as widows who refused to learn English, alter their traditional ways, or come to America. The grandmother featured in *Silver Days* (Levitin, 1989) who refused to leave her homeland, was taken instead to an Auschwitz concentration camp by the Nazis.

For those grandmothers that did come to America with their children’s families, they were referred to as “grandmother” in their native names such as “Bubbeh” in Russian, and “Farmor” in Swedish.

Although old, grandmothers still held power. Whatever the grandmother in *In the Year of the Boar and Jackie Robinson* (Lord, 1984) ordered, it was done. In other words, “[n]o one ever disobeyed the Matriarch” (p. 7).

**Grandfathers**

If grandmothers were matriarchs, grandfathers had even more power (Lord, 1984). Along with being greatly respected due to their age, grandfathers were often seen as a source of wisdom, offering advice and passing on stories to the young.

**Brothers**

Most storylines portrayed brothers as loving towards their sisters or watchful over their siblings. However, the Mexican brother was a tormentor who would throw rocks and hammers at his siblings (Soto, 1985).
Sisters

In general, sisters were portrayed as dutifully and gladly taking care of their younger siblings. The Mexican sister, however, was portrayed as an annoyance.

Aunts

In most storylines, Aunts were seen as kind and helpful, yet often in the middle of family conflicts.

Uncles

Often the ones having settled in America first, uncles were the relatives who sent letters back home encouraging relatives to come to America. Uncles were regarded as pioneering relatives to whom immigrants were to be grateful. However, uncles often changed after they came to America. They were shown as having become thrifty and refusing “to loosen . . . [their] purse strings” (Lord, 1984, p. 9).

Cousins

Although cute, cousins were portrayed as nuisances, jealous, or spoiled.

Step-family

In Living Up the Street (Soto, 1985), a young Mexican’s step-father was portrayed as evil. He would come home in a bad mood, grab a beer, refuse to talk to the children, yell with food in his mouth, and zone out in front of the television. This was the only appearance of a step-father throughout the books studied.

Teachers

In most storylines, teachers helped assimilate young immigrants. A teacher’s task was to educate young immigrants about good hygiene. Yet, in an indirect way, they were really being “taught to tell their parents what to do” (Levitin, 1989, p. 6).
In storylines such as *In the Year of the Boar and Jackie Robinson* (Lord, 1984) and *Immigrant Girl: Becky of Eldridge Street* (Harvey, 1987), American teachers played an important role in the young immigrant’s lives. Not only did teachers give young newcomers extra instruction after school, but they went out of their way to teach them how to write their names in English. Teachers also offered words of praise to encourage students’ into using their gifted and artistic talents.

However, teachers were also portrayed as strict, unforgiving, demanding, and unkind to the young immigrants. Teachers were often mad at the newcomers for not knowing English terms. In *Silver Days* (1989), the young immigrant character remarked, “My teacher said I was stupid . . . she said it in front of the whole class” (p. 9).

Teachers were often compared to the immigrants’ former teachers back in their native lands. The Russian-Jewish character noted that her American teacher smelled like roses (Harvey, 1987), while the German-Jewish character was relieved that once in America, she could no longer be referred to by her German teacher as a Jewish pig (Levitin, 1989). The Chinese character was happy that her teacher in America did not hit her with a bamboo stick like many did in China (Lord, 1984).

*Old and New Home*

As mentioned, immigrants loved their homeland, but had to leave due to poverty, religious persecution, or closed opportunities. For the sake of freedom, immigrants learned to tolerate and adapt to their new home in America. Immigrants that settled in major cities such as New York City and Los Angeles lived in run-down neighborhoods filled with prostitutes, fighting sailors, homeless individuals, taverns all around, children and teens in the streets, racist neighbors, child-abusing parents, and similar ethnicities or extended family members living
within reach of other. As expressed by a young female Mexican, “Those who don’t know any better come into our neighborhood scared . . . they are stupid people who are lost and got here by mistake” (Cisneros, 1984, p. 26).

Yet, for many immigrants, even in America, life had not changed much. Jewish immigrants attended synagogues which continued to be segregated; men sat on one side, with women on the other. Mexican children were sent to Catholic school, where according to many students, there were nuns who enjoyed hitting children.

Although immigrants in America were not able to go to church as often as they did in the old country, they still practiced their religion at home or in the community. For example, every night before bed, a young German-Jew would say the “Shema” (Levitin, 1989). Rabbis would continue speaking about living a noble life prescribed by the Torah. Jewish grandmothers still got up early on Fridays to make the challah (Levitin, 1989), and baptism parties were held in rented basements (Cisneros, 1984).

Heroes

Fathers were often shown as heroes for not letting their future be dragged down by their past. As an example, even though the German-Jewish father was once a man with money and position who owned a factory in Germany, he was now just a tie salesman. However, he was still optimistic about the future, for he had a chance to start over (Levitin, 1989).

Grandparents were also shown as heroes since their words came to young immigrants when they needed strength. Grandchildren often looked up towards the sky for signs of their deceased grandparents.

Popular sports figures and celebrities were also viewed as heroes. Jackie Robinson, the baseball hero, was a role model for a young Chinese female. When faced with having to make a
difficult decision, she would often wonder what Jackie Robinson would do if he was in the same situation (Lord, 1984).

A young Mexican male in *Living Up the Street* (Soto, 1985) talked about a baseball coach that was his hero. This coach who simply took the time to gather neighborhood kids to play ball, listened to their problems and acted as a father figure to the children who did not have fathers. A young German-Jewish female was inspired by Fanny Brice, a famous and glamorous Jewish actress who overcame obstacles. (Levitin, 1989).

Young children were often seen as heroes since they took care of family members when no one else could. For example, in *Watch the Stars Come Out* (Levinson, 1985), when “the boat rocked back and forth” on the voyage to America, and people “got very, very sick . . . Brother told me not to worry. He would take care of me – he was [only] ten” (p. 7).

**Norms**

In America, most young immigrants did not know which culture they identified with. To explain, a German-Jewish young immigrant wondered, “Maybe I was different from the other girls. I had different ideas. Some of those came from being German, some of those came from being Jewish” (Levitin, 1989, p. 173).

It was hard for family members to adapt to their surroundings and new lifestyles as well. For the German-Jewish characters, they were still facing discrimination in America. As a young Jewish immigrant wrote in her diary, “Is there something really wrong with Jews, that everybody hates us?” (Levitin, 1989, p. 18).

Most young characters were portrayed as dreamers. A young German-Jewish female had always wished she could take dance lessons to become a dancer, but from what she knew of America, she “might as well wish for the moon” (Levitin, 1989, p. 5).
Likewise, a young Mexican male discussed how he tried to enter a contest. Although his entry was clearly the most unique and imaginative, it was never given a second look by judges. In pondering over why he was not able to impress the judges, he attributed the reason to the fact that he was Mexican, and with that, he had no chance of winning (Soto, 1985).

On the other hand, immigrant children were often portrayed as excelling in academics. In the case of a young Jewish-German, the teacher even wanted to advance her to the next grade level (Levitin, 1989). However, for the young Mexican immigrants, they were shown as academically challenged, and having little interest in school. Instead of doing homework or helping their families after school, Mexican youth were shown playing in ditches, using profanity as a second language, or fighting in street gangs after school (Soto, 1985).

The school system in America was foreign to most immigrant parents. To exemplify, when a teacher asked immigrant parents to meet for a conference, it was not only difficult for the parents to take time off from work to go to the school, but hard to understand what their child could have done wrong for the teacher to schedule an appointment. Parents often wondered if their child disrespected the teacher.

Immigrant parents often shielded their children from knowing when “bad” things were happening. As expressed in Silver Days (Levitin, 1989), when business soured and the father made the decision to pack up the family and move to California, children were not made aware of this until the final moment.

As shown in Silver Days (Levitin, 1989) and Living Up the Street (Soto, 1985), teen immigrants often found themselves in religious and ethnic dilemmas after they fell in love with people outside their ethnic groups. Foreseeing problems with their immigrant parents, teen characters often exerted to meeting secretly or eloping.
Similarly, immigrant children created nicknames for each other such as “Caveman” and “Blacky” (Soto, 1985), or changed their names to American-sounding ones. Except for their traditional mothers, everyone became accustomed to calling the children by their new names (Cisneros, 1984).

Peer Relationships

In all stories, there were more discouraging than encouraging relationships portrayed. This included neighbors who disliked the newcomers, particularly the Jews, or street kids who taunted the immigrants with “Heil Hitlers!,” never realizing “what anguish the name Hitler caused” (Levitin, 1989, p. 64). It was the German father that encouraged peace by asserting, “We have to learn to live with other Americans, all kinds. If people all stick together, [with] only their own kind, they never grow” (Levitin, 1989, p. 65).

Author’s Background: Immigrant or Non-immigrant?

Seven out of the nine book selections included authors that were not immigrants. For the two authors that were immigrants, only one was born in the same country that the storyline featured. The seven authors that were not immigrants based their stories on family experiences, historical events, or stories that were shared by others.

Out of the nine books, seven included authors of the same ethnicity and religion portrayed in the stories that they wrote.

Although the other two authors were of different ethnicities, they were inspired by all immigrants and their experiences.

Although little information was found on the illustrators, one was born in the same country as the story’s setting, and therefore had a similar background experience, as well as an insider’s view, of the story being presented.
Author’s Trustworthiness

Most of the book selections were award-winning books written by best-selling authors. The authors primarily wrote children’s and young adult books, and featured topics on immigration, prejudice, and tolerance. Authors often based their stories on real life experience with a fictional twist (Lord, 1984), as well as historical events and people’s legacies. Several of the authors were advocates for democracy, immigrants, justice, and equality (Lord, 1984). Others wrote to document the past and reshape the future (Bunting, 1988). A few stories were supported by discussions the authors had with friends, relatives, and students (Surat, 1983), or with people that they met in their lives. Several authors, seemingly feminists, aimed at bringing attention to women’s issues (Harvey, 1987). Many authors credited their writing style to their talent in writing poetry or humorous fiction (Soto, 1985).

In terms of discussing difficult topics, many authors did not shy away from writing about issues such as war, discrimination, sexism, and dysfunctional families (Bunting, 1988). It was clear that many of the authors grew up in a tradition of storytelling; they heard stories that their parents or grandparents had told them when they were young, and in turn, passed them on for others to share (Levinson, 1985). Other authors wrote to express childhoods that they had; although seemingly funny today, they were not funny then (Soto, 1985).

Author’s Writing: Cultural or Personal?

In the stories presented, most authors were culturally insensitive as they did not focus on the immigrants’ culture; instead, they centered on how immigrants were or were not becoming American. In addition, for those authors that wrote about Mexican immigrants, the only “feel good” moments were when characters vowed that they would not stay in their rundown
neighborhoods forever, and that they would not give in to the low expectations that the world had to offer them (Cisneros, 1984).

Author’s Perspective

Although many of the authors described in detail how Americans mistreated immigrants, at the same time, they wanted readers to believe that America was a good place, and that it offered freedoms that other countries did not.

Author’s Purpose

The authors’ main purpose for writing the stories was to entertain the reader. However, authors also informed the reader about historical events that played a role in the immigrants’ decisions in coming to America.

Author’s Message

Authors often sent out the message that immigrants lived better in their old country in comparison to the shoddy neighborhoods and dilapidated buildings of New York and California, and that there were no homeless people in their native lands. Also expressed was the thought that one must give back to where they came from. As put forth by Cisneros (1984), “When you leave you must remember to come back for the others. A circle, understand?” (p. 105). To conclude, a message was delivered by Lord (1984) suggesting that in America, anything is possible.

Dialect

The use of dialect in the immigrants’ native language had a legitimate purpose as it informed the reader how the immigrants talked in real life.

Storylines depicting Asians often used the term “dragon” to describe the characters’ bravery. The use of the adjective “Little” was often put in front of a child’s name, such as “Little Quang,” not only to describe age, but to be distinguished among clans, family relationships, etc.
Clinging to “Old-fashioned” Customs?

Aside from religious traditions, an example of a custom that the Jewish culture continued to cling to in America was the practice of “match-making,” or the process of arranging marriages.

There were no direct, significant examples of clinging to old-fashioned customs in the other cultures.

Learning English

Keeping a dictionary on hand to practice new words was mentioned in several of the stories. This suggests that the immigrants longed to learn English. For stories that took place in more modern times, the Spanish-speaking immigrants were placed in the English Language Learners (ELL) program at school where children were pulled out during class for English instruction.

A major reason for the young German-Jewish immigrant to learn English as quickly as possible was to not be called a “Greenie,” or someone new to America. However, most grandparents often refused to learn English. Not wanting to give in to American ways, they often made their grandchildren speak to them in their native language so that the children would not forget it (Harvey, 1987).

In contrast, the German-Jewish parents were shown making the effort to learn English by going to night school. Taking this very seriously, the father said, “No more German in the house. Only English” (Levitin, 1989, p. 15).

Publishers

Not only are the publishers during this decade well-known, but most are legendary. Holiday House, which specializes in both fiction and nonfiction, is credited for publishing work
that is “not geared to the mass-market” of the book industry. Instead, their purpose is to produce books that will become a valuable “inclusion in a child's permanent library” (Holiday House, 2014).

E.P. Dutton, one of the oldest publishing houses, is credited for creating timeless books, such as the classic Winnie the Pooh (Penguin Group USA LLC, 2014).

In addition to Harper & Row and Houghton Mifflin Company, Scholastic Press has been around for multiple decades. Scholastic Press prides itself on its ability to give children memorable and quality reading experiences. In fact, over half of the educators in the United States use scholastic books in their classrooms. The publisher’s goals are to provide “quality, affordable books and entertaining and engaging educational materials and media to help children learn to read and love to learn.” Scholastic is committed to the principle that literacy is the cornerstone of all learning (Scholastic Inc., 2014).

Accuracy of Historical Events

As described in the stories presented, World War II evoked change in the United States during 1942. There was food rationing, children growing liberty gardens, and students instructed on what to do in case of a bomb attack. Nativists warned Americans not to talk to strangers since anyone could be a spy. Americans sent Japanese away to internment camps simply because they were Japanese. According to Daniels (2004), “nearly 120,000 Japanese Americans were taken from their homes in the spring and early summer of 1942 and incarcerated in concentration camps by the United States government” (p. 3). Thus, “the wartime abuse of Japanese Americans, it is now clear, was merely a link in a chain of racism that stretched back to the earliest contacts between Asians and Whites on American soil” (p. 3). War was also familiar to the Chinese; situations in America often reminded them of war in their own countries. For
example, in *In the Year of the Boar and Jackie Robinson* (Lord, 1984), a young Chinese immigrant remarked about how during the summer, “the school yard had an eerie look, as desolate as Chungking during an air raid” (Lord, 1984, p. 96).

Storylines accurately discussed women’s desire for equality. As reflected in the stories, either as an early 1900s female factory worker or a 1960s feminist, women were open-minded, demanding rights, and making speeches for better treatment and better pay. As Inglehart and Norris (2003) suggest, “During the late twentieth century, the issue of gender equality once again became a major issue.” Economic growth was “the most effective strategy for achieving human development and improvements in the living conditions and status of women. After World War II, optimism abounded that the world could be rebuilt to end poverty, injustice, and ignorance, [by] improving women’s lives” (p. 3-4).

*Multiculturalism and Social Studies*

Although most of the books could be used as social studies resources, they did not focus on culture enough to promote a multicultural understanding. Besides a few cultural traditions discussed, most stories revolved around war, family struggles, and religious differences.

*Age-appropriate*

Given the fact that many of the storylines discussed sensitive issues concerning poverty, most of the stories should be geared towards middle school-aged readers. Topics presented, such as drinking one’s own blood, burning down houses, and throwing ants into the fire for fun, could be deemed as inappropriate.

However, most storylines could be considered elementary age-appropriate as they featured children having difficulties in making friends.
Appeal for Young Readers

For the most part, many of the storylines discussed topics, such as family conflicts and peer acceptance, which children and teens could relate to today.

1990s Trade Book Selections

Title: Journey to Ellis Island: How My Father Came to America
Author: Carol Bierman
Illustrator: Laurie McGaw
Publisher: New York, NY: Hyperion Books for Children
Year of Publication: 1998
Time Period in Storyline: 1922
Country of Origin: Russia
Ethnicity: Russian-Jewish
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: The Memory Coat
Author: Elvira Woodruff
Illustrator: Michael Dooling
Publisher: New York, NY: Scholastic Press
Year of Publication: 1999
Time Period in Storyline: 1918
Country of Origin: Russia
Ethnicity: Russian
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: Where Did Your Family Come From?
Author: Gilda Berger and Melvin Berger
Illustrator: Robert Quackenbush
Publisher: Danbury, CT: Ideals Children’s Books
Year of Publication: 1993
Time Period in Storyline: Late 1980s, early 1990s
Country of Origin: North Korea, Russia, Mexico, Italy
Ethnicity: Korean, Russian, Mexican, Italian
Setting in America: Not mentioned.

Title: Seedfolks
Author: Paul Fleischman
Illustrator: Judy Pedersen
Publisher: New York, NY: HarperTrophy
Year of Publication: 1997
Time Period in Storyline: 1990s
Country of Origin: Vietnam, Romania, Guatemala, Haiti, Korea, Jamaica, Mexico, India
Ethnicity: Vietnamese, Romanian, Guatemalan, Haitian, Korean, Jamaican, Mexican, Indian
Setting in America: Cleveland, OH

Title: *Halmoni and the Picnic*
Author: Sook Nyul Choi
Illustrator: Karen Dugan
Publisher: Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin
Year of Publication: 1993
Time Period in Storyline: Late 1980s, early 1990s
Country of Origin: Korea
Ethnicity: Korean
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: *Two Suns in the Sky*
Author: Miriam Bat-Ami
Illustrator: No Illustrations
Publisher: New York, NY: Puffin Books
Year of Publication: 1999
Time Period in Storyline: 1944
Country of Origin: Yugoslavia
Ethnicity: Jewish
Setting in America: Oswego, NY

Title: *The Lotus Seed*
Author: Sherry Garland
Illustrator: Tatsuro Kiuchi
Year of Publication: 1993
Time Period in Storyline: At least three generations are represented.
Country of Origin: Vietnam
Ethnicity: Vietnamese
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: *Peppe the Lamplighter*
Author: Elisa Bartone
Illustrator: Ted Lewin
Publisher: New York, NY: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Books
Year of Publication: 1993
Time Period in Storyline: Late 1800s, early 1900s
Country of Origin: Italy
Ethnicity: Italian
Setting in America: New York, NY
Title: The Always Prayer Shawl  
Author: Sheldon Oberman  
Illustrator: Ted Lewin  
Publisher: Honesdale, PA: Boyds Mills Press, Inc.  
Year of Publication: 1994  
Time Period in Storyline: 1920s-1930s  
Country of Origin: Russia  
Ethnicity: Russian-Jewish  
Setting in America: Not mentioned

Title: The Morning Chair  
Author: Barbara M. Joosse  
Illustrator: Marcia Sewall  
Publisher: New York, NY: Clarion Books  
Year of Publication: 1995  
Time Period in Storyline: 1950  
Country of Origin: Holland  
Ethnicity: Dutch  
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: The Keeping Quilt  
Author: Patricia Polacco  
Illustrator: Patricia Polacco  
Publisher: New York, NY: Simon and Schuster Books for Young Readers  
Year of Publication: 1998  
Time Period in Storyline: Spans generations  
Country of Origin: Russia  
Ethnicity: Russian-Jewish  
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: Dragon's Gate  
Author: Laurence Yep  
Illustrator: No illustrations  
Year of Publication: 1993  
Time Period in Storyline: 1887  
Country of Origin: China  
Ethnicity: Chinese  
Setting in America: San Francisco, CA

Title: Grandfather's Journey  
Author: Allen Say  
Illustrator: Allen Say  
Publisher: Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin  
Year of Publication: 1993  
Time Period in Storyline: Early 1900s
Country of Origin: Japan
Ethnicity: Japanese
Setting in America: California

Title: Letters from Rifka
Author: Karen Hesse
Illustrator: No Illustrations
Publisher: New York, NY: Henry Holt & Co., LLC.
Year of Publication: 1992
Time Period in Storyline: 1919
Country of Origin: Russia
Ethnicity: Russian-Jewish
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: When Jessie Came Across the Sea
Author: Amy Hest
Illustrator: P.J. Lynch
Publisher: Cambridge, MA: Candlewick Press
Year of Publication: 1997
Time Period in Storyline: Late 1800s, early 1900s
Country of Origin: Russia
Ethnicity: Russian-Jewish
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: An Ellis Island Christmas
Author: Maxinne Rhea Leighton
Illustrator: Dennis Nolan
Publisher: New York, NY: Viking
Year of Publication: 1992
Time Period in Storyline: Late 1800s
Country of Origin: Poland
Ethnicity: Polish
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: A Piece of Home
Author: Sonia Levitin
Illustrator: Juan Wijngaard
Publisher: New York, NY: Dial Books for Young Readers
Year of Publication: 1996
Time Period in Storyline: Early 1990s
Country of Origin: Russia
Ethnicity: Russian
Setting in America: No mention
Title: *Leaving for America*
Author: Roslyn Bresnick-Perry
Illustrator: Mira Reisberg
Publisher: San Francisco, CA: Children’s Book Press
Year of Publication: 1992
Time Period in Storyline: 1920s
Country of Origin: Russia
Ethnicity: Russian-Jewish
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: *Hattie and the Wild Waves: A Story from Brooklyn*
Author: Barbara Cooney
Illustrator: Barbara Cooney
Publisher: New York, NY: Viking
Year of Publication: 1990
Time Period in Storyline: Mid- to late- 1800s
Country of Origin: Germany
Ethnicity: German
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: *Painted Words: Marianthe’s Story*
Author: Aliki
Illustrator: Aliki
Publisher: New York, NY: Greenwillow Books
Year of Publication: 1998
Time Period in Storyline: Mid-1900s
Country of Origin: Greece
Ethnicity: Greek
Setting in America: No mention

Title: *An Mei’s Strange and Wondrous Journey*
Author: Stephan Molnar-Fenton
Illustrator: Vivienne Flasher
Year of Publication: 1998
Time Period in Storyline: 1980s
Country of Origin: China
Ethnicity: Chinese
Setting in America: New England

Title: *Streets of Gold*
Author: Rosemary Wells
Illustrator: Dan Andreasen
Publisher: New York, NY: Dial Books for Young Readers
Year of Publication: 1999
Time Period in Storyline: 1890s
Country of Origin: Russia
Ethnicity: Russian
Setting in America: Boston, MA

Title: *Who Belongs Here: An American Story*
Author: Margy Burns Knight
Illustrator: Anne Sibly O’Brien
Publisher: Gardiner, ME: Tilbury House Publishers
Year of Publication: 1993
Time Period in Storyline: 1979
Country of Origin: Cambodia
Ethnicity: Cambodian
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: *Together in the Pinecone Patch*
Author: Thomas F. Yezerski
Illustrator: Thomas F. Yezerski
Publisher: New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux
Year of Publication: 1998
Time Period in Storyline:
Country of Origin: Poland and Ireland
Ethnicity: Polish and Irish
Setting in America: Pennsylvania

Title: *My Name is Not Gussie*
Author: Mikki Machlin
Illustrator: Mikki Machlin
Publisher: Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin
Year of Publication: 1999
Time Period in Storyline: Late 1890s, early 1900s
Country of Origin: Russia
Ethnicity: Russian
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: *Hector Lives in the United States Now: The Story of a Mexican-American Child*
Author: Joan Hewitt
Illustrator: Photographs by Richard Hewitt
Publisher: New York, NY: J.B. Lippincott Junior Books
Year of Publication: 1990
Time Period in Storyline: Late 1980s, early 1990s
Country of Origin: Mexico
Ethnicity: Mexican
Setting in America: Los Angeles, CA
The number of books written about the immigrants’ various native countries was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of Books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Korea, Russia, Mexico, Italy (combined)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam, Romania, Guatemala, Haiti, Korea, Jamaica, Mexico, India (combined)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland and Ireland (combined)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of books written about the immigrants’ various United States destination was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>Number of Books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles, CA</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An explosion of books about immigrants occurred in the 1990s. Out of the 26 books featured, characters came from 22 different countries, many not seen in previous decades. These “new” countries included Korea, Yugoslavia, India, Cambodia, Guatemala, Romania, Haiti, Greece, and Holland. The fact that 26 books were available for this decade alone suggested that multiculturalism was very much alive during the 1990s. As a final observation, in this decade alone, 13 out of the 26 books were written about Jewish characters (11 Russian Jews, 1 German Jew, and 1 Yugoslavian Jew).

**Illustrations**

Twenty-four out of the twenty-six trade books were picture books that featured a unique variety of art mediums. Besides the usual charcoal, watercolor wash, and painted scenes, more than one book used photographs in place of illustrations. Conversely, many books contained illustrations that resembled photographs.

Immigrant children were illustrated as culturally diverse. They were given different hairstyles, hair colors, skin tones, clothing, facial features, facial expressions, and body styles which helped portray the characters’ ethnicity and age, or at least described what illustrators thought the ethnic characters should look like. However, adult immigrants were most often
illustrated with identical features. Usually composed of quick simple lines, most adults were shown wearing scarves or hats, or with no clear facial features.

To exemplify, in many of the stories depicting Korean, Vietnamese, Chinese, and other Asian immigrants, the illustrators used similar body forms. They often illustrated the characters with their back sides more prominent. This allowed the reader to see only their hair length and dark hair color.

*Stereotypes in Illustrations*

A Russian male character was portrayed as spy-like and mysterious as he was illustrated with pointy eyes and eyebrows that spiked upward. A Russian father was portrayed as a scientist who wore glasses (a symbol of intelligence).

Mexican adult males were shown as dark-skinned with thick and dark mustaches and full heads of hair. Young Mexican females, as well as their mothers, were shown wearing braids.

German-Jewish older women were portrayed as fat, while older men had grayed beards, mustaches, and weather-beaten faces.

The Russian Jewish characters were illustrated in an exaggerated manner as their heads were larger than their bodies. Physical features included large foreheads (particularly for the girls) and large noses. Given that the illustrations appeared to be based on actual photographs, the model immigrants may very well have had large noses, however the depictions only added to the “large-nosed Jew” stereotype.

Illustrations of Dutch characters seemed similar to each other. Their features included newborn-like round faces, large rosy cheeks, whitish-blonde hair, and up-turned small noses. Comparable to the Russian-Jewish immigrants, the Dutch were illustrated disproportionally with
heads larger than their bodies. In addition, Dutch mothers, daughters, and grandmothers were similarly portrayed with hair braids circling their heads.

Other stereotypes included the Swedes as platinum blondes, Hispanics as tanned-skinned, and the Jewish as having bushy beards, curly hair, and wearing Yarmulkes.

There were no significant stereotypes evident for other ethnicities.

Illustrations of Settings

Many of the characters’ native land settings were saturated with stereotypical illustrations. For instance, in the Holland storyline, the setting included fish and red tulips in the background. The Mexican family’s home in Mexico was featured with adobe walls and home furnishings such as lace curtains, sombreros, and blankets as wall coverings – all extremely stereotypical of Mexican décor.

The Russian was featured working in a research laboratory in Moscow, Russia with ice skates hanging on the wall.

The Korean family lived in a well-kept home in Korea that included stereotypical oriental hanging lanterns and bamboo doors.

The Italian characters were shown living near the Leaning Tower of Pisa. With the family business being a pizza restaurant, the background portrayed Italians throwing dough in the air to make pizza crust. The illustrations also featured Italian cafes with large loaves of bread and tables covered in checkered tablecloths; all of which were stereotypically connected to Italians.

Illustrations of the ship voyage with its sea-sickening waves were commonly presented. Other images included young immigrants standing and holding onto the ship’s railing as they waved heartfelt goodbyes to the loved ones left behind, or as they looked ahead to see the Statue of Liberty – future hope.
Other memorable images were those of Ellis Island with customs inspectors forcefully telling the immigrants what to do.

Illustrations also featured positive and negative depictions of New York City, in particular, the neighborhood of Mulberry Street, an area commonly known “as the Main Street of Little Italy” since it was “dominated from the 1890s by immigrants from Italy” (World Digital Library, 2013). Illustrations also showcased street scenes, primarily heavily populated market areas.

Relationship of Illustrations to Text

Aside from character distortions and exaggerated scenes, illustrations generally matched the text and story well in all storylines.

Socioeconomic Status Portrayed in Illustrations

Prior to arriving in America, many of the European immigrant children were illustrated as having patches on their clothing – a symbol of poverty.

Immigrants, in general, were portrayed as poor and hard-working. For example, in an almost humiliating depiction, a young Mexican girl was described and illustrated as having been so poor in Mexico that her laboring father had to do farm work by hand. Their house had only one room with no running water or electricity, and their toilet was outside. This was perhaps insensitive on the illustrator’s part because non-Mexican readers could easily form the notion that all Mexicans lived this way in Mexico.

In addition, newly arrived Polish immigrants were portrayed as poor farmers or pick-and-shovel coal miners, while Polish women worked hard at home. Men wore hats, women wore scarves, and boys wore suspenders; all typical “peasant-like” attire. In addition, Polish women were usually shown not wearing shoes.
After coming to America, most ethnicities changed in appearance. For instance, Russian-Jews in America began dressing formally for dinner, and even hired a maid. Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees, who were once extremely poor, were also shown as having upgraded to a level of comfort after arriving in America. The illustrations offered the sense that America was a wealthier place.

*Illustrations of Occupations*

In terms of women’s occupations, illustrations featured a ballerina, an artist, a singer, and a police officer. Men were illustrated as holding the “higher” and more prestigious occupations, such as astronaut and doctor.

Since it was mentioned that the young Korean immigrant would someday become a successful businessman like his father, he was shown sitting in front of a computer.

Also illustrated was a young Russian male working alongside his father, a “top scientist,” in a laboratory. He planned to follow in his father’s footsteps.

The young character from Italy was shown working at her family’s pizzeria.

There were no illustrations present depicting characters of the other ethnicities.

*Illustrations of Attire*

Clothing helped portray the characters’ mood, class, and socio-economic status. Although traditional and timely, clothing was highly stereotypical. Clothing often became costume-like rather than cultural. For example, European immigrants arriving at Ellis Island were covered from head to toe in dark and layered clothing. Immigrant women’s clothing was mostly mismatched as they were shown wearing polka dot scarves, floral-patterned dresses, and different colored jackets all at the same time. Russian males wore dark clothing as well; adult
males wore hats while boys wore caps, young adults wore striped knickers and long boots, and older men wore vests over their clothing.

Even in America, immigrants often wore clothing from their homelands. For example, Mexican males were featured wearing traditional vests, sandals, sombreros, and bandanas around their necks. Mexican females wore striped flaring skirts.

In both pre- and post-immigration, the mother from Holland was shown wearing collared dresses, and only dresses. Her young son, who desired to be an American and was fascinated by cowboys, was shown wearing cowboy boots and a fringed leather vest.

In America as well, a Russian father was stereotypically portrayed wearing a turtleneck sweater, regardless of the setting or temperature.

Other immigrants that came to America by plane had a contemporary appearance. Those that were middle to upper socioeconomic class wore shorts and casual shoes, and had modern hairstyles.

*Illustrations of Passive Characters*

Characters portrayed as passive were mainly immigrant mothers. For example, in the Mexican storyline, when and if women were shown, they were sitting on the floor selling fruits and vegetables at the market. A Chinese grandmother was illustrated preparing food, pouring tea, and bowing her head. Russian mothers were often seen washing the floors.

*Illustrations of Power*

In storylines featuring immigrants leaving their native land for political reasons, they were at the mercy of armed soldiers who held power over them. In *Who Belongs Here: An American Story* (Knight, 1993), villagers were shown with their hands up in the air surrendering
to Pol Pot’s army. Although drawn in a simple manner, illustrations expressed fear that the immigrants felt.

Likewise, power was in the hands of the inspection officers who examined the immigrants when they arrived at Ellis Island and Angel Island. As illustrated in several of the books, the men in uniform had the power to allow families to enter the country or not.

Furthermore, illustrations of visas and medical papers played a major role in the stories. Holding these documents in hand was a form of power as they not only implied that the immigrants were starting a new life, but that they were going about the immigration process the correct and “legal way.”

*Education Level Portrayed in Illustrations*

Characters shown wearing glasses were shown as being the most intelligent, educated, or economically advantaged immigrants.

More examples of education included an affluent Korean child wearing a school uniform to attend private school, and a young Italian female who carried a book wherever she went, signaling that she no doubt *would* become a teacher someday.

*Main Characters*

Main characters were most often young Jewish immigrants approximately 10 to 15 years old. This included a young male who came with his mother and younger sister from Russia to meet their father who had already gone before them to America. Another was a young Russian-Jewish male who pretended to be an Italian student at a Catholic school to avoid religious persecution. Next was a Jewish young boy who came from Russia to live on a farm in America. Also shown was a young Russian-Jewish female who caught ringworm from a ship passenger
and was not allowed to enter the United States until cured. In addition, an orphaned Russian Jew came to America to start a new life.

Non-Jewish Russian characters included a young boy who was the son of a top scientist, a young boy who desired to bring a blanket with him to America to remind him of home, and a young girl who had no problems other than the fact that she was extremely beautiful.

Also featured were two young Italians: one female whose family owned a restaurant in Italy but came to America to work in their uncle’s Chicago pizzeria, and a young motherless boy who took on a job as a lamplighter when his father got sick to help support the family.

In addition, there was a young Mexican girl who came to America with her family, and whose father took on the same agricultural work in America as he did back in Mexico.

Also featured were two young Koreans, one who came to the United States with his family to seek economic opportunities, and another who came with his family to seek political asylum when their country turned communist.

In addition, Polish siblings came to America with their families in search of a better life.

There was also a young Dutch boy from Holland who refused to make adjustments in America, a Cambodian young male orphan whose parents were killed during the Khmer Rouge raid, an outspoken Irish girl who had six siblings and was known to be loud, a Polish young boy whose mother died when he was born, a young Mexican who settled in Los Angeles, and two young Chinese males, one who came to be with his adoptive father after accidentally killing a man in China, and one who was adopted by an American family.

Others main characters included a young adult from Guatemala who moved into a Cleveland, Ohio neighborhood with his father, a young unwed teen from Haiti who became pregnant and lost the will for her unborn baby to live, a Japanese young widow who rarely went
out since being held at gun point and severely beaten, and a young man from India who came to America for work.

*Problems or Issues*

Problems presented in the stories often involved getting family members to pass the immigrant processing stations’ examinations. For example, in stories such as *Journey to Ellis Island: How My Father Came to America* (Bierman, 1998), through the mother’s persistent pleading and good luck, immigration officials finally allowed her son to enter the United States. Not as fortunate, however, was a young girl in *Letters from Rifka* (Hesse, 1992) who had to stay behind while the rest of the family went on to the United States after she was found to have ringworm on her scalp.

Also featured were problems that focused on generational differences where the old and the new clashed. Characters that clung onto old ways found it difficult to adjust in America or to speak English. In *Halmoni and the Picnic* (Choi, 1993), although the granddaughter acclimated with no problem, the grandmother did not feel comfortable living in the United States.

In other stories, issues often included young characters having low self-esteem after arriving to the United States and being bullied by classmates.

Other dilemmas included family conflicts based on cultural and socioeconomic expectations. Such as in *Peppe the Lamplighter* (Bartone, 1993), regardless of a young Italian boy’s help in supporting the family, he is looked down upon by his father for working as a lamplighter. In another story, a young privileged Chinese boy, who was raised to think that he would easily find riches in America, was surprised upon arrival to find that his uncle and father worked as pick and shovel laborers.
Moreover were dilemmas that involved characters escaping from their country due to political and religious persecution, and having to be on the run until they finally reached America. As depicted in the Russian, German, and Yugoslavian Jewish storylines, families had to flee from soldiers who terrorized their villages.

Stories also described refugee characters that came to America to escape communism in their native countries. Upon arrival, not only did the immigrants have to become accustomed to a new school, home, and way of life, but were forced to develop relationships with American sponsors who would be their new caretakers.

A major dilemma apparent in most storylines was the fear of leaving one’s old life behind and trying to hold on to a piece of home. Afraid of change or something new, characters were fearful about not knowing anyone at school, or not understanding anyone because of their lack of English.

Immigrant characters also fought for their rights in America. In an effort to help their ethnic group members, the immigrants, such as the Chinese, fought for better treatment and wages.

Resolutions to problems included finding acceptance and becoming more open-minded. Strict family members, who once clung to old fashioned ideas, began to slowly change. As shown in Peppe The Lamplighter (Bartone, 1993), a father found pride in the job his son held after he realized how important it was that he lit up the streets.

Stereotypes and Derogatory Overtones

Immigrants were often culturally stereotyped. For example, Russians were portrayed as scientists, Koreans as highly skilled professionals, Italians as pizza restaurant owners, and Mexicans as poor farm workers.
Ethnic groups used derogatory overtones to describe other ethnic groups. For example, in *Letters from Rifka* (Hesse, 1992), the Russian-Jewish vehemently disliked the Russians who drove them out of their country. Therefore, they referred to them as evil, greedy, and cheating peasants. As stated by a young Russian Jew, “Why is it that if a Russian peasant does not get what he wants, he feels justified in stealing it from a Jew?” (p. 17).

In another example, the Chinese considered Americans to be slow and lazy, and described as them as taking four hours to complete a task that the Chinese could do in two.

For Mexicans, stereotypes were plentiful. For instance, most Mexicans were portrayed as having large families, living in apartments (since they were portrayed as not owning homes), and lived in neighborhoods among people of the same ethnicity and near a Catholic church. If not glued to the television, Mexican youth were shown spending most of their time playing in the streets or loitering around the park.

Ethnic group stereotypes were also connected to occupations. For example, when planning a garden on a vacant lot in a trash-filled and crime-ridden Cleveland neighborhood, it was assumed that Mexican men would collect the bricks to build a barbecue, the Polish men would take care of the steelwork, and the Polish women would cook the cabbage for the neighborhood garden party. It was also suggested that a Puerto Rican would dig out the soil for the garden for it was assumed that he knew how to steal a shovel, and was knowledgeable about soil since he grew marijuana (Fleischman, 1997).

*Impressions of America (pre-immigration)*

Fairy tales and wild stories spread about the topic of America. Forming their own opinion from what others told them, immigrants heard that America was a wealthy country: Americans had more money, bigger houses, and elevators to transport them from floor to floor. There was
plenty of food, such as green olives and steak (Joosse, 1995). People in America did not care what religion one was (Wells, 1999), and parentless children had a better chance of going to America since it favored children who did not have a mother or a father (Bat-Ami, 1999).

America was labeled as the “Golden Land” (Machlin, 1999), “Promise Land” (Wells, 1999), or “Golden Mountain” (Yep, 1993). People supposedly became rich since the streets were thought to be paved in gold bricks (Hest, 1997; Wells, 1999) and “money flow[ed] like water” (Machlin, 1999, p. 13).

America was also thought to be a safe haven where there were no guns or soldiers on the streets (Levitin, 1996), and where citizens were protected by “policemen on horses [and] cowboys in ten-gallon hats and silver spurs” (Joosse, 1995, p. 8) “who no longer killed Indians” (Bat-Ami, 1999).

In contrast, however, America was also considered to be a land of thieves (Bresnick-Perry, 1992).

Why Immigrants Came to America

Immigrants came to America for a multitude of reasons. For the Irish family, there was a drought, and thus it was difficult to feed their family in Ireland. Similarly, with no hope in Poland or crops to grow or sell, the Polish decided to come to America.

According to Hewitt (1990), the author of Hector Lives in the United States Now: The Story of a Mexican-American Child, since “Mexico [wa]s not as prosperous of a country as the U.S.,” many Mexicans came to find “jobs on the other side of the Mexican-American border” (p. 13). For this reason, Mexican parents came to America first to find work, and later sent for their children (Hewitt, 1990).
Likewise, the Russian father was not making money as a scientist in Russia, so came to America to better his career opportunities. Other immigrants were forced to flee their country due to war and genocide.

Several others came to America to be near relatives. Since many countrymen were there already, immigrants wondered why they should be the only ones staying back. This suggested a chain migration effect.

Many left to simply see the world and experience new adventures, while others came in pursuit of happiness and fortune.

However, one important reason why families came to America was for their children’s education. Immigrants had heard that in America, children would be able to read any books they so desired (Hesse, 1992), and that schools and libraries would offer them free books (Bresnick-Perry, 1992).

**The Goodbyes**

Saying good bye to family members was difficult. When leaving older parents or grandparents behind, immigrants knew they would perhaps never meet again. Characters were portrayed as saying good-bye to the things they knew, including the trees, rocks, and birds (Bresnick-Perry, 1992). However, for those immigrants that had to secretly escape from their homeland, they could not say goodbye to anyone. They felt sad for leaving, yet knew there was no turning back. As a young Yugoslavian remarked, “Where was this back we would turn to, anyway?” (Bat-Ami, 1999, p. 32).

**Journey to America**

Immigrants during the 1990s traveled to America in various ways. In comparison to a ship voyage that took several weeks, an airplane excursion took hours. The Russian immigrants,
for example, took approximately one month to reach America, whereas by the time the Italians woke up, their plane was in Chicago.

Families were either more or less fortunate when traveling to America. As described in Where Did Your Family Come From? (Berger & Berger, 1993), after the family drove to a docked ship and gave the captain money, the family was able to board and set sail to America. Just as fortunate, the Russian family had a quick and easy ride to the airport via taxi, and a struggle-free journey to America. However, for the Italians, the family had to wait two years just to obtain visas. By far, it was the Mexicans that had the most difficult journey as they had to walk by foot to the bus depot that would then take them to the Mexican-American border.

Baggage often expressed the immigrants’ social class or circumstance. For example, having to flee overnight in secrecy, the Yugoslavian Jews threw ropes around broken suitcases in order to keep them together (Bat-Ami, 1999). The Polish characters wrapped their belongings in bed sheets and filled wicker baskets with black bread and goat cheese to eat on the journey (Leighton, 1992). Other characters based their decision on what to bring by considering how difficult it would be to find the same items in America. As this rule applied, for one Russian family, embroidered underwear, feather beds, and copper pots went along with them (Bresnick-Perry, 1992). Many immigrants brought instruments such as violins and accordions as well. Some characters, such as the Dutch, packed most of their belongings into wooden crates and had them shipped to America. Having nothing to worry about except for “the passports and immigration papers,” this made the voyage less stressful (Joosse, 1995, p. 11).

For those that came by ship, many immigrants stayed in the steerage compartment packed with other fearful travelers. According to a Russian passenger in My Name is Not Gussie (Machlin, 1999), when first entering the ship, “The rich people walked straight ahead, but we
climbed down, down, down. The crowd pushed us forward. We couldn’t stop. Too many people went with us, down the ladder, down under the decks of the great ship . . . in a sour, smelly, dim, rocking, rolling, rat-infested darkness called steerage for three weeks” (p. 6). No one could sleep in the tiny dark cabins that consisted of wooden bunks close together like caskets (Yep, 1993). Furthermore, most immigrants got sick as “it stank worse than a flood of soured milk down there” (Hesse, 1992, p. 84).

Steerage passengers’ meals were served on wooden tables where platters were set in the middle and guests served themselves. Dinner often consisted of boiled potatoes and herring (Bierman, 1998).

To comfort themselves, children played story games and drew sketches (Woodruff, 1999). Adults played musical instruments. Males played cards and sang, while women sewed (Leighton, 1992).

Many immigrant passengers made friends with each other. In Two Suns in the Sky (Bat-Ami, 1999), a young girl is introduced to chewing gum by an American soldier who teaches her how to make a bubble.

Other immigrants meet strangers on the ships that try to steal from them.

Upon nearing Ellis Harbor and setting eyes on the Statue of Liberty for the first time, even though mostly seasick, immigrants were still in awe of “The Lady” (Leighton, 1992, p. 14) “with a flaming torch in her hand” (Bierman, 1998, p. 12). Quiet at the sight; adults ceased from talking, and babies stopped crying (Hest, 1997).

Most European storylines discussed arriving at Ellis Island. As expressed by a young Russian immigrant in Letters from Rifka (Hesse, 1992), “At Ellis Island, you are neither in nor out of America. Ellis Island is a line separating my future from my past. Until I cross that line. I
am still homeless, still an immigrant. Once I leave Ellis Island, though, I will truly be in America” (p. 90).

Immigrants were described as waiting endless hours in line for officials to ask them a multitude of questions. Feeling like nothing more than the number tied and hanging around their necks, immigrants were asked about their name, age, marital status, and occupational skills (Hess, 1997). The medical examination consisted of doctors lifting the immigrant’s eyelids with a buttonhook, and chalk-marking a large letter “E”, for “eyes”, on the back of their coat if an illness was detected (Woodruff, 1999).

Several storylines discussed immigrants being sprayed with a disinfectant that killed germs (Bat-Ami, 1999). To exemplify the scene, a Russian immigrant explains in My Name is Not Gussie (Machlin, 1999), “Eagerly we marched . . . straight into delousing showers – clothes and all. Stinky stuff soaked us, killing all our European bugs. Americans didn’t need more lice” (p. 10).

For those immigrants that came into the country with diseases or handicaps, such as the young Russian Jew in Letters from Rifka (Hess, 1992) who lost her hair due to ringworm, it was furthered explained that the American government would not let the sick or handicapped into the country as they were viewed as a social responsibility.

Immigrants that were allowed to enter the United States often dealt with inspectors who changed or invented new names for them. Names such as “Mr. Stein” became “Mr. Stone” (Machlin, 1999).

The Arrival

Upon entering America, with no money or English, many immigrants waited for relatives. Uncles were often the ones waiting for the newcomers.
In other cases, immigrants were placed in American refugee shelters, until a sponsor was found for them.

Characters were often dismayed when they saw that the streets in America were not paved in gold. Instead of gold there was garbage piled high in every corner (Machlin, 1999). Particularly in New York City, the streets were crowded and crammed. Immigrants found that they were among too many people in America (Hess, 1997).

Tenement living was a common setting for most newly arrived Europeans. As a character in My Name is Not Gussie (Machlin, 1999) observed, “A family lives here on top of another family, like bees in a hive, sardines in a can . . . For this I crossed an ocean?” (p. 14).

As another example, the Chinese character in Dragon’s Gate (Yep, 1993) who went to California to meet his father, never expected that life on Gold Mountain, or America, would be the way it was. He was not prepared to use a newspaper as a coat, live in a wooden shack covered in snow, or dig tunnels for a living. He could not believe that people in America worked so hard to make a living. He wondered why he came to this crazy place, or for that matter, why anyone did.

Acceptance or Resistance

Acceptance and resistance were mostly displayed when describing the manner in which immigrants adapted to American culture. For example, in Halmoni and the Picnic (Choi, 1993), a young Korean girl’s grandmother believed that it was undignified for a child to look into an adult’s eyes when speaking to them. However, the young granddaughter thought differently. She felt that the grandmother should learn to adapt to America since “People like it when I greet them. In America, it isn’t rude to call grown-ups by their names. Here it is rude not to say hello and not to look people in the eye when you speak to them” (p. 7).
Also, for the young Cambodian in *Who Belongs Here: An American Story* (Knight, 1993), children at school made fun of him, called him ‘Chink’ and “Gook,” and told him to go back to where he came from. Although he had little interest in accepting America or his classmates, he did so anyways because he did not want to go back to Cambodia.

Americans were resistant towards immigrants, particularly Jewish refugees. In *Two Suns in the Sky* (Bat-Ami, 1999), an American father disliked anyone “that d[id]n’t come directly from America” (p. 49). Keeping a watchful eye over his daughter, he did not allow her to go near a fort where the Jewish refugees were kept.

On the other hand, immigrant parents were also shown to display resistance towards American ways when their children desired to become artists (an assumedly unprofitable profession), or to marry outside their ethnicity or religion (Cooney, 1990).

Further examples included the Chinese father in *Dragon’s Gate* (Yep, 1993) who distrusted Americans and was against his son making friends with Westerners since the father thought they would fill his son’s head with liberal ideas.

*Open-mindedness*

Open-minded immigrants were those that believed life would be better for them in America. Teachers who helped young immigrant classmates understand who they really were, or mothers who felt that their daughters, as well as their sons, were worthy of books, displayed open-mindedness.

In contrast, grandparents were perceived as close-minded as they often refused to go to America with their children’s families since they were certain that they would “never get used to living [t]here” (Choi, 1993), or that they were too old to change (Yezerski, 1998).
Settings

In 14 out of the 26 storylines, characters migrated to New York City, a city filled with bedbugs and where homeless people begged for pennies (Machlin, 1999).

The Irish and Polish families settled in a dusty and noisy coal mining company town in Pennsylvania where the streets were dirty from the coal that was continuously being dug out (Yezerski, 1998).

The Mexicans settled in a poor section of Los Angeles. To express how economically strapped a Mexican family was, an electric cord was shown stretching across the living room from a television in one corner to a picture frame in another as their apartment had few electrical outlets available.

American refugee camps were described as consisting of army cots, a table, no stove or refrigerator, and only one room for the entire family (Bat-Ami, 1999).

San Francisco, also known as “Snow Tiger” for its frigid temperatures, was where most Asians settled (Yep, 1993).

Education Levels

Many of the immigrants came to America with little or no education. To exemplify, a young Russian male who did not go to a school, went to his grandfather’s house instead where “his grandfather taught all the children the stories of their people and how to read and write in Hebrew” (Oberman, 1994, p. 7). Similarly, a young Yugoslavian often missed school because he worked for his uncle picking plums for wine (Bat-Ami, 1999).

Jewish girls were not allowed to go to school. As described in Streets of Gold (Wells, 1999), a young Russian female’s mother taught her “how to count using dried beans,” while her father taught her “how to read and write from each of the five books” they owned (p. 10).
In books that did not mention education, it was assumed that the characters had little. For example, a young Cambodian worked in the fields from dawn to dusk (Knight, 1993), and Russian immigrants that, although they were skilled as cobblers, blacksmiths tailors, and shopkeepers, had very little, if any, formal education (Woodruff, 1999).

Since school in America was free for all, a privilege in the eyes of many immigrants, young newcomers were shown promising the teacher that they “would work hard to deserve what she was going to teach” them (Wells, 1999, p. 35).

The Mexican parents were described as having “only a grade-school education, and [the] grandparents did not go to school at all.” Being that their young son was “the first one in his family to have the chance to go on to high school,” he did “not intend to let his family down” (Hewitt, 1990, p. 35).

Only in the more modern storylines were characters portrayed as being formally educated. For example, the Korean grandmother was once a teacher in her native country (Choi, 1993), and the Russian father had a science-related degree from a university in Russia (Berger & Berger, 1993).

*Occupations*

With or without education, characters persevered in their pre- and post-occupations. Wealthy immigrants, such as the Koreans who owned a shoe factory in Korea prior to the communist take-over, and Russian-Jews, who were entrepreneurs in Russia (Bierman, 1922) managed to rebuild their businesses in America.

Since life in America was all about work, poor immigrants were primarily employed as factory, bakery, or restaurant workers. For instance, the Chinese were shown laboring with a pick
and shovel in the goldfields and mines (Yep. 1993), Haitians worked as taxi cab drivers, Indians were managers of stores, and Koreans owned dry cleaners (Fleischman, 1997).

**Classism**

As an indication of status, a wealthy Korean father was shown wearing a suit and tie throughout the storyline.

As shown in *Dragon’s Gate* (Yep, 1993), when Chinese pick and shovel workers went back to visit China, their town folk treated the new Americans like royalty, when in reality, the men had worked harder in America to make money than their fellow clansmen ever did.

There was no significant classism evident in this decade’s other trade books.

**Lifestyles: Before and After Immigration**

Upon arriving in the United States, many immigrant parents were shown working hard, but supposedly were much happier because they were in the United States. However, this was not the case for all characters. For example, in *Letters from Rifka* (Hesse, 1992), a young character’s mother, who once baked so much that she had “the smell of yeast [cling] to her,” had developed bony and rough fingers from having to work so hard in America (p. 35). It became apparent that in America, there was no time for baking.

Since work was a necessity in America, some immigrants had difficulty adjusting to this idea. For instance, in *Dragon’s Gate* (Yep, 1993), a privileged young Chinese male tried his hand at shoveling manure for the first time, something his charmed life would never have required him to do in China. Immigrants in *Seedfolks* (Fleischman, 1997) reported that in their homeland, they could sit outside without the fear of getting killed by drive-by shooters. In Cleveland, however, they “couldn’t sit out in the plaza and talk – there aren’t any plazas here, and if you sit out in public some gang driving by might use you for target practice” (p. 14).
Although a Korean female character described her life in her native country as happy, after coming to America, she endured the death of her young husband, a robbery and beating, and having to work six days a week and twelve hours a day sewing alterations to make ends meet (Fleischman, 1997).

*Family Members*

Most families were portrayed as loving, religious, family-oriented, and traditional. Most families held a tight bond as they loved and supported each other.

Since parents worked most of the time, grandparents and grandchildren were often each other’s only company. Grandchildren were raised and schooled by grandparents. Grandchildren respected their grandparents, and often went to them for comfort and advice.

*Customs and Traditions*

Family traditions and social customs were important parts of an immigrant’s life. For example, Jewish bat or bar mitzvahs, the birth of babies, and children’s weddings were highlighted events.

Many immigrants, such as a Korean grandmother, would not go to a social function empty-handed in fear of embarrassment. As pointed out in *Halmoni and the Picnic* (Choi, 1993), Grandmother “prepare[d] a huge fruit basket for the third graders. She also insisted on making large plates of kimbap and a big jug of barley tea” (Choi, 1993, p. 29).

Many books that dealt with Jewish tradition looked down upon women taking lessons from rabbis, believed that clothes were to be mended when torn, and felt that children should value items given to them by their parents (Hess, 1997). Young Jewish boys did not play ball on a Friday, the Day of Sabbath (Bierman, 1998), and grandfathers taught sons the Hebrew language as a way to keep culture alive (Oberman, 1994).
Chinese and Russian-Jewish custom did not allow a husband and wife to show affection in public (Yep, 1993). As an example, upon seeing an aunt give her boyfriend a kiss in public, a young Russian-Jewish female remarked, “Everybody knew this was not allowed when you weren’t married” (Bresnick-Perry, 1992, p. 12).

Arranged marriages were also evident, such as Vietnamese females who only married “young [men] chosen by her parents” (Garland, 1993, p. 7). German-Jewish parents, as well, picked only respectful husbands for their daughters to marry, and married off the next unwed daughter in line (Cooney, 1990).

In addition, cultural foods such as rice and beans for the Mexicans, pizza for the Italians, raw herring for the Dutch, and honey cakes for the Russian Jews were traditional favorites.

Males

Generally speaking, immigrant males watched over their mothers and siblings when their fathers were away or missing. Raised to never show signs of weakness, males were also told that “a man does not cry” (Bat-Ami, 1999, p. 28).

Many parents thought “it proper that their eldest boy be the family spokesperson.” For example, when describing an eldest Mexican son in Hector Lives in the United States Now: The Story of a Mexican-American Child (Hewitt, 1990), the author stated that “Whenever someone who can only speak English telephones . . . Hector is called to the phone” (p. 7).

Many males went to work with their fathers, such as the young Polish and Irish males that sorted coal from the mines all day long (Yezerski, 1998).

Females

Immigrant women took care of life when husbands left for America. Left at home in the old country, wives patiently waited for their husbands to send for the family (Bierman, 1998).
In all stories, women mainly took care of the house and worked in the kitchen. Women and young girls cooked, scrubbed the floors, or swept all day. Others made bread and cheese, hauled water, plowed the fields, and harvested crops. Others sewed, knit sweaters, made quilts, or did needlework.

Women who came to America alone could not pass through Ellis Island unless they were accompanied by a male figure: a son, husband, or brother, or a guardian that would take care of them in the United States (Bierman, 1998).

A common belief was that a woman could prosper only if she were married. To illustrate, wealthy German young girls appeared to have only one purpose in life – to grow up and be beautiful brides. Shown as having little work, German women had to entertain themselves, such as play piano for guests, or sew. If women had large hands, they could not sew, and therefore considered failures (Cooney, 1990).

In contrast, some women, such as the Cambodians, were portrayed as tough and brave since they carried children on their backs and walked through the jungle to refugee camps where they would be safe. As expressed, women bore the most responsibility.

Women were also portrayed as thinking of others before themselves. For example, in *Letters from Rifka* (Hesse, 1992), a young Russian sister was shown eating little so that her brother, who she felt needed more strength than her, would have more to eat.

Women were also the ones that managed the family’s money. Portrayed as good businesswomen, they often came up with the idea on how the family would pay for their trip to America and how the money would be spent (Berger & Berger, 1993).

Knowing what their mothers went through, many females did not want to live the life their mothers did: a life spent cooking, cleaning, and ironing. As expressed by a Russian young
girl in *Streets of Gold* (Wells, 1999), “the ache of that destiny used to come on me suddenly like a shove from a stranger” (p. 10).

*Babies*

Although babies featured in the stories were often shown crying, screaming, or fussing, they were also recipients of unconditional love, regardless of ethnicity.

*Children*

While everyone else seemed burdened, immigrant children were excited and carefree. Particularly during the ship voyage, children were adventurous. They would go on deck to watch the waves, run around the ship, or behave however they pleased. They did not realize poverty or the reason why the family was immigrating to America.

Children were depicted as miniature adults. They were often the ones that inspired their parents to learn, or taught them how to speak English.

Children were also characterized as wishful and imaginative thinkers. They would dream about living in a big house, having lots of friends, and having a magical life in America.

However, children worked hard. They helped the family with daily chores, or by doing odd jobs to earn extra money for their families.

Children were also known for asking the question, “Are we there yet?” or regularly announcing that they were hungry (Leighton, 1992).

*Young Adults*

Young adults were portrayed as headstrong, unafraid, and motivated.

*Mothers*

Immigrant mothers were shown as protectors. As presented in *Journey to Ellis Island: How My Father Came to America* (Bierman, 1998), a Russian Jewish mother went so far as to
dig a hole in the ground to hide and protect her children from enemy soldiers. After managing to escape, the mother vowed that “no matter how long it takes – we are going to America” (p. 16).

While children had difficulties at school with language and peer pressures, mothers were optimistic as they assured them, “It’s going to be wonderful, you’ll see” (Machlin, 1999, p. 4).

_Fathers_

Immigrant fathers were portrayed as leaders, breadwinners, and decision makers. For the children, having father near meant feeling safe.

Several fathers, particularly European, believed that once in America, their family would live better than they did in their old country. They did not see themselves as failures; they believed in America. Although still strict in morals, they encouraged their family to change, or assimilate. They allowed their wives go from wearing babushkas to hats with “ribbons and feathers,” their sons to go without wearing “a yarmulke or cap in sight,” and themselves to wear “derbies [and] fedoras” (p. 20). This implied that fathers were willingly to adapt to American ways. However, there were many who felt that they still lived the lives of beggars.

_Grandmothers_

Although immigrant grandmothers were portrayed as wise, reserved, and dignified, they were also unwilling to try out new things, such as learn English and assimilate into American culture.

However, when it came to their grandchildren, grandmothers wanted them to take advantage of the opportunities in America, be the modern men and women that they could be, and not miss once-in-a-lifetime chances. As far as education, grandmothers were great supporters. They insisted that their grandchildren go to school, regardless of their gender.
Often shown as the rock of the family, wise, and fearless grandmothers were the ones grandchildren went to for advice. They were also the family member that shushed or yelled at the noisy grandchildren in their native language (Woodruff, 1999).

As if food would always cure the blues, grandmothers often told their grandchildren, “eat a little something so you’ll feel better” (Bresnick-Perry, 1992, p. 24).

Grandmothers were often shown clinging to old ways, particularly when wearing traditional dress. For example, the Chinese grandmother, depicted as a dignified, yet stubborn, Asian woman, wore traditional garments since she refused to wear American clothing.

Grandmothers often stayed home and watched the grandchildren while the parents were at work.

**Grandfathers**

Being old and wise, immigrant grandfathers were often portrayed as their grandchildren’s best friend, teacher, or spiritual leader. Grandchildren looked up to their grandfathers, were most attentive to them, and respected them greatly.

As seen in *The Always Prayer Shawl* (Oberman, 1994), Orthodox-Jewish grandsons were traditionally named after their grandfathers, and carried on their names into the next generation.

Immigrants gave credit to their grandfathers for instilling positive values onto them. Grandfathers taught their grandchildren to never forget the history of their people.

**Brothers**

Similar to fathers, older brothers were often in America before the rest of the family. As protectors, brothers had a strong hold over their siblings. However, since they grew up in America, they felt and acted differently from their siblings in the old country.
Stubborn and adventurous, younger brothers often created obstacles for the family, such as almost keeping them from getting into America (Bierman, 1998; Hesse, 1992; Woodruff, 1999).

Sisters

Younger sisters were often portrayed as useless characters with no mention of having any feelings. They were often shown whining, pleading for something sweet to eat (Woodruff, 1999), blushing when embarrassed, interrupting, constantly asking to be read to or be kissed goodnight, obedient, or not doing anything unless their brother said it was okay (Bat-Ami, 1999). However, older sisters were less dreary. They were happy-go-lucky and often seen humming wherever they went (Woodruff, 1999).

Aunts

Most aunts discussed were in America already, waiting for the family to arrive. Aunts either gladly let the newcomers stay at their home, or could not wait for the immigrants to find a place of their own. Regardless of being in America for years, many of the aunts were close-minded about education and did not approve of their nieces going to school.

Uncles

In contrast, uncle’s often inspired their female nieces to learn. In the story, Spoken Memories: Marianthe’s Story Two (Aliki, 1998), it was the uncle that inspired his young immigrant niece to read by supplying her with newspapers and magazines from the city where he worked. Uncles were generally business owners or salesmen who lived well-off in America.

Cousins

American cousins were portrayed as spoiled and conceited relatives who were too busy to bother with their foreign cousins.
However, cousins that stayed behind in the immigrant’s native land were those that gave the immigrants in America strength and courage, regardless of being an ocean away.

Corresponding with cousins in the old country through letter writing became the immigrants’ best hope at keeping their native language and script alive.

*Teachers*

American teachers were portrayed as the most important figures in a young immigrant’s life. For the most part, teachers were helpful to young immigrants, and made it possible for the newcomers to feel well-received by classmates.

Teachers had the power to make children feel welcomed or out of place. For example, in *Who Belongs Here: An American Story* (Knight, 1993), a teacher presented a class lesson on refugees in an effort to ease the tensions between a young Cambodian immigrant and his bullying classmates.

Taking it upon themselves, however, teachers often changed young immigrants’ names when they started school. Feeling that American names would better assimilate the young children, or allow others to pronounce them easier, a male name such as “Yahud,” was changed to a closely-sounding, yet unrelated, “Julius” (Bierman, 1998), or a female “Masha,” to a common “Mary” (Wells, 1999).

Teachers taught manners, etiquette, and cleanliness to newly arrived young immigrants. As an example, a teacher in *My Name is Not Gussie* (Machlin, 1999) delivered a message to her immigrant students by stating, “Your teeth will rot, your bones will break, you’ll sicken and die if you continue to eat that awful, fatty, starchy, colorless stuff you ate in Europe. It is your duty to be healthy American children, and I will tell you how” (p. 16).
Old and New Home

Characters often missed their old home, and were especially reminiscent of it when they come across everyday objects such as a coffee pot, an accordion, or an instrument an uncle used to play after a satisfying meal with the family (Levitin, 1996).

City crowds and the speed to which people raced about were frequently questioned by the immigrants. “Why was everyone in a hurry?” and “Why was it so crowded?” According to the characters, it was not like that in their old country.

Others immigrants missed the mountains, rivers, gardens, cobblestone streets, walks by the sea, old currency, babushkas, aprons, or mattresses, and thought fondly of them when thinking of their old home.

Old and New Neighbors

Immigrants’ old neighborhoods were generally portrayed as close knit communities with family-like neighbors. Although kind and helpful, neighbors were also gossipers who made it a point to know everybody’s business.

Although immigrants’ new home in America had plenty of neighbors, neither of them knew each other well. “Each group kept to itself [and] spoke its own language (Fleischman, 1997, p. 26).

New Neighborhood

Immigrants generally lived in apartments located in impoverished neighborhoods of major cities. As described by a long-time tenant in Seedfolks (Fleischman, 1997), living in an apartment was “like a cheap hotel – you stay until you’ve got enough money to leave” (p. 5). The character further explained that after various ethnicities had come and gone over the years, the neighborhood eventually became divided.
Religion

The Sabbath Day was discussed in several storylines as a day of strict adherence by the Jewish. Although the Sabbath was traditionally a day of no work, Jewish characters bent their religious laws and worked on the Sabbath. It was rationalized that if American work standards were practiced from the start, this would only allow them to make more money, and thus, never have to work on the Sabbath in the future.

The Jewish Rabbi, pictured in traditional attire, long beard, and spectacles, was portrayed as an important figure. Not only was he a holy man, but a counselor, teacher of Hebrew, and one whose prayers comforted immigrants. The synagogue was also mentioned as a place that Jewish immigrants went to pray and seek quiet time.

Mexicans were depicted as a deeply religious group that honored the church and its traditions. As shown in Hector Lives in the United States Now: The Story of a Mexican-American Child (Hewitt, 1990), a young Mexican son prepared for his catechism, an event that would allow him to be closer to God. A child’s First Holy Communion was also discussed as an occurrence that marked the end of his parents being “responsible for him spiritually” (Berger & Berger, 1993, p. 28).

The Italians were also described as being religious as they regularly lit candles in church for special saints (Bartone, 1993).

Immigrants were also superstitious. For example, the Chinese believed astrologers who predicted that they would find riches in America (Yep, 1993). Similarly, an orphaned boy’s Chinese adoptive parents believed that he had been brought to them by fate (Yep, 1993). There was no significant amount of content about religion or superstition in the remaining trade books.
Heroes

Most of the heroes during the 1990s appeared to be parents. They brought their children to the United States so they could prosper. Parents had a strong watch over the family, strived for a better life for all, and were willing to take chances.

Mothers who had been left behind in their native country were heroes, as they endured wars and poverty, survived without a man for years, and ventured alone with their children to become reunited with their husbands in America.

Grandparents, too, were honored as heroes and heroines as they passed on their experience, knowledge, history, religion, language, and traditions to their grandchildren.

Immigrants that became activists were also heroes since they sought to make changes for members of their ethnicity in America, as well as in their native country. For example, in *Who Belongs Here: An American Story* (Knight, 1993), a fearless immigrant who escaped from the killing fields of Cambodia, later traveled around the United States promoting change for the conditions in his native country. Likewise, a young Chinese character in *Dragon’s Gate* (Yep, 1993) helped his countrymen in America receive fair workers treatment, and given the knowledge he acquired while in America, later tried to abolish the opium trade in China.

Norms

Many of the characters were shown to have acclimated to an American lifestyle quite well. However, several immigrants continued to associate with only members of their own ethnic group. For example, in *Where Did Your Family Come From?* (Berger & Berger, 1993), a Korean family made many friends in America, but they were all Korean. Similarly, the Guatemalans in *Seedfolks* (Fleischman, 1997) did not feel comfortable anywhere else but at Guatemalan businesses or with homeland natives.
Many immigrants were shown as not always assimilating, and longing for the past. For instance, an Italian father who was depressed about life in America dealt with the situation by brushing problems aside and getting out his accordion to play and sing tunes from his native land (Berger & Berger, 1993).

Characters were depicted as also having a difficult time adjusting to American foods. To exemplify, labeling their confusion as the “mystery of American food” (Bat-Ami, 1999, p. 33), Yugoslavian immigrants were puzzled about items such as evaporated milk in a can, pouring cold milk on breakfast cereal, hot dogs, bananas, and the strangest of all, Jell-O, which shook when it moved (Bat-Ami, 1999). Immigrant parents often encouraged their children to try new foods, like green olives, even if they did not care for them, in order to adjust to American norms (Joosse, 1995).

American social customs were also difficult for immigrants to get used to. For example, learning to ride the subway, ordering meals at restaurants, using American currency, experiencing snow and having blizzard days off from school, witnessing an American Santa Claus, or walking on city streets and not getting lost, were all part of the adjustment process.

However, immigrants could not understand why Americans treated them so poorly and thought so little of them. For instance, as observed in Dragon’s Gate (Yep, 1993), when a young Chinese immigrant asked an American a question, the American ignored and avoided answering him (Yep, 1993). When children wondered why such things happened in America, they were told that they would get used to it.

Feeling that Americans had ulterior motives behind everything they said or did, immigrants were often afraid to associate with them. This was not only a constant threat to the immigrant’s assimilation, but to their self-esteem. For example, in Letters from Rifka (Hesse,
1992), a young girl did not want to be with Americans as she thought they might give her a disease again, much like the one that caused her hair to fall out. Similarly, a young Cambodian in Who Belongs Here: An American Story (Knight, 1993), who had experienced the fear of soldiers and war, had no desire to connect with classmates since he felt that they were going to gang up on him.

Although most immigrants knew that it was highly unlikely for them to ever return to their native lands, some groups, including the Chinese, Japanese, and Mexicans, for example, planned on going back someday. To illustrate, considering themselves as temporary guests, the goal of many Chinese immigrants was to make enough money to go back to help their country. Further, with “feelings of being torn by a love for two different countries” (Say, 1993, p. 12), the Japanese also thought they would someday revisit Japan, or live their last years there in peace.

However, after becoming American citizens, immigrants were able to visit their mother countries as they so desired. For example, the Mexican family frequently went back to Mexico to visit friends and relatives whenever possible. Another example is that of a young Japanese character in Grandfather’s Journey (Say, 1993), who after becoming a success in America, returned to Japan to marry his childhood sweetheart.

Author’s Background: Immigrant or Non-immigrant?

Twenty-four out of the twenty-six books featured in the 1990s decade consisted of authors that were non-immigrants. The two remaining were immigrants.

Author’s Trustworthiness

A number of authors were award-winning writers that had written a multitude of books primarily for children and young adults. Many of the books received Caldecott Medals for their illustrations.
For those authors that were immigrants and based their stories on personal experience, their first-hand account offered the reader an insider’s view of their experience. Their description of events was often filled with detailed information that placed the reader back in time with the author.

Non-immigrant authors of the same ethnicity as the characters portrayed in their stories conveyed cultural traditions, family heritage, and aspects of religion realistically; however, in comparison to those authors that were immigrants, the trueness of the immigrant portrayal were missing. For example, several of the stories that centered on Jewish characters were written by Jewish authors (Oberman, 1994; Bierman, 1998). Based on family members’ tales, authors were able to recapture their parents’ and grandparents’ immigration experiences well, yet appeared to be simply recording history (Leighton, 1992; Polacco, 1998).

A few authors were advocates for change and delivered messages through their stories. For example, Joan Hewitt (1990) in *Hector Lives in the United States Now: The Story of a Mexican-American Child* promotes the notion of citizenship by encouraging undocumented Mexican Americans to apply for amnesty. She stated, “Some Mexicans are among the six hundred thousand from all over the world who are granted permanent residence in the United States each year. Other Mexican workers and their families enter the country with temporary work cards, and still others cross the border illegally, without documents” (p. 13).

*Author’s Assumptions*

Several of the authors suggested that in comparison to the immigrants’ native homes, life was better for all immigrants in America. Perhaps for or this reason, happy endings were often shown in the stories.
A large number of authors assumed that the reader understood the history or situations the immigrants faced. The communist rule was not explained in stories that expressed government takeovers and laws prohibiting citizens from participating in various acts.

In the passing of a keepsake, authors assumed that the reader understood the process of kin selection and failed to explain pertinent information that could have assisted in understanding the tradition.

Author’s Perspective

An author’s point of view was either quietly interwoven into the story, hidden behind the main character’s voice, or brought forth clearly.

Most authors expressed the idea that American citizens should find compassion and understanding towards immigrants since they had to endure such hardships. Others took the opportunity to vent upon or blame certain countries or groups, especially Americans, for the ill treatment of immigrants and the dilemmas that they faced. Many authors showed disrespect and bitterness towards Americans as they portrayed America as an overcrowded and filthy country filled with citizens that only looked out for themselves. Yet by far, most authors showed gratitude and respect towards the United States, and gave credit to America for opening its borders and allowing immigrants the chance for a better life.

Addressed from multiple points of view, the author of *Seedfolks* (Fleischman, 1997) expressed that although one is clearly a victim of one’s own environment, through community effort, or neighbor helping neighbor, change can come about.

In reference to change, Oberman (1994) pointed out in the *The Always Prayer Shawl* that although some things change, others do not. Therefore, traditions should be passed down from generation to generation. If not, one’s culture will die out.
Author’s Purpose

Although several storylines were created to entertain, authors set out to inform readers of the immigrants’ journey to America, adjustment to American culture, and the injustices that immigrants faced in America. Others aimed to convey the power of family, heritage, and multigenerational keepsakes and traditions.

Storylines brought forth exposure to the treatment of Chinese laborers in America, the discriminative treatment of Russian Jews in Russia and America, and the misdeeds of Ellis Island’s biased inspectors.

Several authors delivered their stories as history lessons or research projects. As historical facts, statistics, and demographics assisted in explaining their stories, this often took away from the characters, their culture, and the situations they faced.

Author’s Empathy

Empathy was displayed in touching scenes that could resonate with readers. For example, when describing how the Yugoslavian refugees first got off the train at the shelter, a young American watching observed, “Many of the children didn’t have shoes on, or they wore sandals that were falling off” (Bat-Ami, 1999, p. 47).

The authors’ dedications included heartfelt tributes to family, friends, and to all children who passed through Ellis Island on their way to America (Bierman, 1998), to those that experienced the Holocaust (Bresnick-Perry, 1992), and to those who traveled so far, only to have their future decided by an examiner (Woodruff, 1999).

Author’s Writing: Cultural or Personal?

Since many authors noted that they depended on newspaper articles, research, and oral interviews from people who “did not take democracy and freedom for granted” (Bat-Ami, 1999,
they created stories about topics that interested them, yet failed to offer readers true elements of the immigration experience. Even with oral histories and other forms of primary sources used to support their stories, several authors, immigrant and non-immigrant, disregarded the culture of characters completely and created stories that were informational, stereotypical, and had predictable outcomes.

Author’s Message

Although the authors relayed their messages in different modes, they were generally based on fostering understanding and awareness of the reader on the immigrant plight. In most cases, the authors suggested that given time, the immigrants would adjust to the American way of life and its people. Authors gave off feel-good messages such as “never give up,” or finger-pointing lessons such as “shame on you for discriminating immigrants.” Others blamed American parents for teaching their children to hate immigrants. Other authors expressed how immigrants were an asset to American society, and that it would be in the country’s best interest if it allowed more immigrants to come. As Jossee (1995) summed it up, “America is a big, big place. There’s room for mountains and cowboys and taxis. There’s room for people who like green olives, and for people who don’t. Most of all, there’s room for us” (Jossee, 1995, p. 31).

Dialect

Snippets of native terms were often added to the dialect of storylines. For example, Yiddish words in the Jewish storylines helped explain characters better, and made the story seem more real.

Native terms were often used to describe titles of family members and show respect. For example, “Grandmother” was referred to as “Halmoni” in Korean, and “Bubba” in Russian. The word “Grandmother” was also shown in various forms such as “Grandmamma” to depict the
actual use of the term. As some speakers used phrases such as “Ja” in German, and “Oy!” in Jewish, this helped depict the character’s actual dialect.

Clinging to “Old-fashioned” Customs?

As mentioned, several immigrants were portrayed as clinging to old-fashioned customs after coming to America. To exemplify, an Irish mother wore black after an immediate relative died (Yezerski, 1998), and a Russian great-grandmother continued to wear the same bulky overcoat and big boots that she wore on the farm in Russia (Polacco, 1998).

Even in America, many immigrants worked together in their family businesses. For a Korean family that owned a food market, while the father served customers, the mother was behind the scenes taking care of the store or cooking, and the children cleaned the store (Berger, & Berger, 1993).

Families also held onto the belief that children should marry within their own culture. As featured in Together in the Pinecone Patch (Yezerski, 1998), parents took offense when their Irish daughter wanted to marry a Polish miner. Not only did the Irish parents believe that their daughter had disgraced them, but felt that people would talk, not only in America, but also all the way in Ireland.

Learning English

Nearly all of the characters were portrayed having language barriers upon arrival. Immigrants were shown learning English using various methods and at various paces. For example, a Mexican father took English lessons four nights a week at a local high school, and a mother went to a nearby church to learn English “so she [could] keep up with her children and help them with their homework” (Hewitt, 1990, p. 16).
The dilemma of being in school and not being able to speak English was expressed in several stories. As shown in *Hector Lives in the United States Now: The Story of a Mexican-American Child* (Hewitt, 1990), a young Mexican “did not speak English when he started kindergarten. It was a scary time.” However, he was determined to learn English, and by the end of the second grade he was reading and writing as well as his classmates. It was then that school “started to be fun” (p. 8). Likewise, the Cambodian young character mentioned that learning English was hard and frustrating, but admitted that his friends and teachers helped him overcome his obstacle.

It was common for immigrants to find their own ways in learning to communicate. Most chose to use their hands. Others practiced English with passengers on the ship voyage (Jossee, 1995), used street signs to learn English, or communicated through art by talking with paints and crayons (Aliki, 1998). In *Two Suns in the Sky* (Bat-Ami, 1999), sailors on the ship to America coached the Russian immigrants in English and taught them how to sing *My Country Tis of Thee* and *I Have a Gal Whose Name is Sal*. Another Russian young character learned English through books that immigration station workers gave her while being detained for ringworm (Hesse, 1992). To further exemplify, the Guatemalan character learned English by watching American television. He asserted, “Don’t believe what people say - cartoons make you smart” (Fleischman, 1997, p. 13).

Although many characters struggled to read and write in English, others had little trouble in mastering the language. For example, the Russians reported that the language was not difficult for them to learn, and within six months, they knew English (Bierman, 1998; Hesse, 1992; Wells, 1999).
Few characters learned English for the sake of knowing it, but rather most learned it for future business prospects. For instance, since it was already determined that a young Chinese boy would take over the family business in China someday, his parents encouraged him to learn English since it was the key to their business’ success (Yep, 1993).

There were also those immigrants that refused to learn English, such as the Guatemalan father in Seedfolks (Fleischman, 1997) whose son confirmed that “Father, he worked all day in a kitchen with Mexicans and Salvadorans. His English was worse than a kindergartner’s . . . He used me to make phone calls and to talk to the landlady and to buy things in stores where you had to use English. He got younger. I got older” (p. 13-14). Likewise, the grandmother in Halmoni and the Picnic (Choi, 1993) felt that she was not smart enough to learn English, and was embarrassed about her accent.

Immigrants were shown as uttering a “yes” or “no” for anything that they were asked, and “okay” for everything else (Levitin, 1996; Bresnick-Perry, 1992).

Publishers

Publishers included Clarion Books, a division of Houghton Mifflin Harcourt in New York, which focuses on publishing quality works aimed for younger audiences. They prefer to publish books that are literary, as opposed to commercial. When it comes to children’s picture books, Clarion Books prides itself on offering selections that feature “quirky, colorful artwork and unique, often humorous premises” (Children’s Book Council, 2014).

Simon and Schuster’s Books for Young Readers also dedicates itself to “to publishing a wide range of contemporary, commercial, award-winning fiction and non-fiction that spans every age of children’s publishing.” It is committed to “developing new talent, new formats and new avenues of publication” and prides itself on its “eclecticism, elasticity and sensibility.” The
publisher is determined to survive the continually changing tides of the children’s book market (Simon & Schuster, 2014).

Dating as far back as 1832, Houghton Mifflin Company (now known as Houghton Mifflin Harcourt) has published works by many popular authors of American literature. However, in 2007 it merged with Harcourt Brace & Company to form Houghton Mifflin Harcourt. Harcourt Brace & Company was a publishing company dating back to 1919, specializing in “literature in translation” and the publication of renowned international authors. Featuring a robust and diverse selection of divisions and authors, the combined company publishes books that appeal to readers of all ages, from children to adults (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 2011).

Viking Children’s Books, a department of Viking Press (itself a division of Penguin books) showcases both its innovation and dedication to quality through its extensive list of Newberry and Caldecott Medal and Honor receiving works. Its credits include the “best-selling young adult book ever published” and the book “which brought multicultural books mainstream recognition.” Viking publishes books aimed at all ages of youth, from the very young child to the teenager/young adults (Penguin Group USA LLC, 2014).

Penguin Books accredits itself with beginning the "paperback revolution" and having the “most recognized logo of any book publisher in the world.” Penguin’s line-up of books evolves with readers’ tastes, featuring a mix of classic literary masters and contemporary authors. Penguin is the “largest publisher of ancient and modern classic literature in the English-speaking world” (Penguin Group USA LLC, 2014).

Puffin Books, the 70-year-old division of Penguin Books, aims to “make children into book readers.” Puffin showcases “exciting new talent, ideas and innovations.” Puffin is proud of
its diverse characters, including “heroes . . . the criminally good . . . and heroines” (Penguin Books LTD, 2014).

HarperCollins is a publishing giant formed after multiple mergers. Its inventory features many award-winning books, as well as works written by bestselling and heavily decorated authors. The company has ambitiously increased its reach by focusing on various fields of knowledge and targeting new areas of the world. HarperTrophy is an imprint of HarperCollins Publishers focusing on books for children and teenagers (HarperCollins Publishers, 2014).

The motto of Ideals Books, a children’s book publisher, is “Share a book with a child and share a moment of love.” Ideals’ goals are to inspire, teach, and entertain children through the books. Early Ideals’ books focused on “family, home, holidays, and God.” Although Ideals is now owned by Guideposts, a non-profit organization that “helps people connect their faith-filled values to their daily lives,” it continues to publish works targeted primarily at children of two to eight years of age (Ideals Publication, 2010).

Established in 1974 and an imprint of HarperCollins, Greenwillow Books is a relatively young book publisher that focuses on printing books for children. Greenwillow “hope[s] that at the heart of each book there is honesty, emotion and depth – conveyed by an author or an artist who has something that is worth saying to children and who says it in a way that is worth reading” (HarperCollins Publishers, 2014).

Candlewick Press is somewhat unique in that it is a very young, independent children’s book publisher that is “100 percent owned and operated by [its] employees.” Since its birth in 1991, Candlewick has grown immensely and has an extensive backlist, including many award winning books, and is committed to keeping up with changing technology by delivering its works to readers through a variety of mediums (Candlewick Press, 2014).
Children’s Book Press, now a part of Lee & Low Books, was a nonprofit publisher established for the purpose of printing multicultural and multilingual works popular among schools and libraries. According to its official website, “Children's Book Press was the first independent press in the country to focus on publishing first voice literature for children by and about people from the Latino, African American, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Native American communities.” The publisher promoted the “lived and shared experiences of cultures who have been historically under-represented or misrepresented in children's literature while also focusing on promoting inter-cultural and cross-cultural awareness for children of all backgrounds” (Lee & Low Books, 2014).

Dial Books for Young Readers is a division of Penguin Young Readers Group that publishes works for children and young adults. The division traces its root to a monthly literary magazine called The Dial, which eventually shut down after founding The Dial Press, a book publisher. Its focus is on “high literary merit, fine design, and kid-relevance,” as well as “stylish, genuine, character-driven writing.” Dial Books for Young Readers was a pioneer in publishing children’s board books and wordless picture books, and has featured throughout the years the works of literary giants (Penguin Group USA, 2014).

Dating back to 1866, Henry Holt & Co. focuses on publishing high quality works concentrating on psychology, history, current events, politics, health, mystery, and science, as well as highlighting American and international fiction and children’s books. The division is one of the oldest United States trade publishers and has a long history of promoting the works of renowned authors. Its children’s book division produces works for youth of all ages, including young adults, and seeks to inspire young readers and encourage imagination. Henry Holt & Co. strives to appeal to a “diverse and substantial readership” through “its commitment to diversity,
distinction, and surprise” as well as its willingness to feature “unconventional, uncompromising and sometimes controversial voices” (Macmillan, 2014).

Originally called the Harpswell Press, Tilbury books is a 40 year old independent publishing company featuring an even younger and quickly blossoming children’s book division. Tilbury House prides itself on encouraging youth to “build character, appreciate cultural diversity, and explore the natural world” by sharing stories common to real life, modern children. In addition, Tilbury strives to promote the involvement of children in the community, and urge them to become “willing to speak up and make decisions in ways that promote harmony and move us all forward with positive change.” The youth material published by Tilbury House include works falling within the following categories: anti-bullying, how to be a good friend, best for boys, great for girls, helping hands, how nature works, animal stewardship, Native American, multicultural, and teachers’ guides. Furthermore, due to positive response from teachers using Tilbury books as tools in the classroom, Tilbury has made available classroom activity and discussion guides for almost all of its books on its website (Tilbury House, Publishers, 2014).

After over 200 years of business as a book publisher, and several mergers and acquisitions, J.B. Lippincott Company no longer exists. Lippincott entered the market by publishing Bibles and other works focused on religion. Lippincott subsequently expanded by adding trade books to its repertoire, which became a major source of profit. However, the popularity of its trade books eventually fell due to the company’s failure to draw in best-selling authors, while demand for its elementary-high school works rose. It eventually drew a large portion of its profits from its medical and nursing journals and textbooks (Campanella, 1976).
As the largest publisher of children’s books in the world, Scholastic Press prides itself on its ability to give children memorable and quality reading experiences. In fact, over half of the educators in the United States use scholastic books in their classrooms. The publisher’s goals are to provide “quality, affordable books and entertaining and engaging educational materials and media to help children learn to read and love to learn.” Scholastic is thoroughly committed to the principle that literacy is the cornerstone of all learning (Scholastic Inc., 2014).

DK Publishing is known for “its distinctive, highly visual books, eBooks and apps that inform, inspire and entertain readers of all ages.” DK revolutionized the children’s nonfiction industry by creating award-winning visual works that aim to inform and educate children. Overall, DK “likes to make books that are fun to look at and play with” (DK Publishing, Inc., 2010).

Accuracy of Historical Events

As the late twentieth century was shown to have a “multicultural education explosion” of trade books, it is fair to surmise that the height of multiculturalism included “theoretical propositions as ‘learning styles’” . . . “cultural discontinuities” . . . “prejudice reduction” and “tossed salad” ideologies in full force (Watkins, 1884, p. 99). However, it was also noted that since multicultural literature was a body of knowledge that “reflect[ed] diversity,” it tended to “have focused separately and collectively on groups with low socioeconomic status . . . people with disabilities . . . people for whom English is a second language . . . the undereducated . . . and religious groups,” all of which were evident in the 26 storylines presented in the 1990s decade of books (Dawson, 2001, p. 250).

In addition to diversity influencing stories written during this time frame, the end of the Cold War is evident in the stories as a surprising 11 out of the 26 books included a focus on
Russian characters. To confirm this phenomenon, Englehardt (2007) reported that with the ending of the Cold War in the 1990’s, and the “loss of the enemy” (the Soviet Union), it was apparent that America’s sense of “national purpose and identity,” became “central themes underlying American popular culture” (p. 10).

**Multiculturalism and Social Studies**

Most stories could benefit the social studies curriculum since they teach about historical events that influenced immigration. For example, a reader who had never heard of a street lamplighter, the book *Peppe the Lamplighter* (Bartone, 1993), could help explain how the work was done. For the common reader unaware of the opium problem that existed in China during the 1800s, the book *Dragon’s Gate* (Yep, 1993) could be used for additional information on the subject.

Readers could also be taught about the Ellis Island examination process: the letter marks placed on one’s coat if found to be medically or mentally unfit, or how the biased inspectors had the power to decide who should stay and who should go.

Also, the relationship between the Russian Jews and the Russians, and the visa process versus political asylum, could encourage discussion in the social studies classroom.

Historical themes such as the perspectives on Chinese immigrant life and the positive Chinese characters that fought for better working conditions could be explained better through the books, unlike the content brought forth in history textbooks.

Also, as the story *The Always Prayer Shawl* (Oberman, 1994) expressed how a family valued tradition through the passing of a keepsake down the lineage of sons, the story could be used to promote a discussion on gender equality, and the significance of family keepsakes and religion.
Age-appropriate

Several of the picture books were primary age-appropriate since they discussed topics that many children readers, immigrant and non-immigrant, could relate to. Themes such as helping out family members overcome their unwillingness to change, youth adapting to a new country, and conflicts associated to bullying, were all topics found in stories that young readers could benefit from. However, for the most part, since many of the storylines were highly stereotypical and could cause students to form the wrong opinion of certain ethnicities, several stories would be deemed inappropriate for young readers. Thus, most chapter books were best suited for teen readers since they were focused on topics such as family issues, discrimination, history, push and pull migration factors, and the dilemma immigrants faced at Ellis Island.

Appeal for Young Readers

As books were mostly written by familiar authors and illustrators, they could easily capture audiences such as students and teachers that had access to books in libraries and book stores. The story, Two Suns in the Sky (Bat-Ami, 1999), would be a very marketable story for the youth of today as it discussed a love story between two young people who came from different backgrounds, and who were not allowed to love each other due to religious and cultural differences.

Picture books featured in this time frame could be marketable due to their colorful illustrations, actual photographs, eye-catching covers, large font, and easy-to-read text.

2000s Trade Book Selections

Title: Home of the Brave
Author: Katherine Applegate
Illustrator: No illustrations
Publisher: New York, NY: Feiwel and Friends
Year of Publication: 2007
Time Period in Storyline: Late 1980s to early 2000s
Country of Origin: Sudan, Africa
Ethnicity: Sudanese
Setting in America: Minneapolis, MN

Title: *Blue Jasmine*
Author: Kashmira Sheth
Illustrator: No illustrations
Publisher: New York, NY: Hyperion Books for Children
Year of Publication: 2004
Time Period in Storyline: Early 2000s
Country of Origin: India
Ethnicity: Indian
Setting in America: Iowa City, IA

Title: *Grandfather Counts*
Author: Andrea Cheng
Illustrator: Ange Zhange
Publisher: New York, NY: Lee & Low Books
Year of Publication: 2000
Time Period in Storyline: 1990s
Country of Origin: China
Ethnicity: Chinese
Setting in America: San Francisco, CA

Title: *Silent Movie*
Author: Avi
Illustrator: C. B. Mordan
Publisher: New York, NY: Atheneum Books for Young Readers
Year of Publication: 2003
Time Period in Storyline: 1920s
Country of Origin: Sweden
Ethnicity: Swedish
Setting in America: California

Title: *Downtown Boy*
Author: Juan Felipe Herrera
Illustrator: No illustrations
Publisher: New York, NY: Scholastic Press
Year of Publication: 2005
Time Period in Storyline: Early 2000s
Country of Origin: Mexico
Ethnicity: Mexican
Setting in America: San Francisco, CA
Title: *Kai’s Journey to Gold Mountain: An Angel Island Story*
Author: Katrina Saltonstall Currier
Illustrator: Gabhor Utomo
Publisher: Tiburon, CA: Angel Island Association
Year of Publication: 2004
Time Period in Storyline: 1930s
Country of Origin: China
Ethnicity: Chinese
Setting in America: San Francisco, CA

Title: *Behind the Mountains*
Author: Edwidge Danticat
Illustrator: No illustrations
Publisher: New York, NY: Orchard Books
Year of Publication: 2002
Time Period in Storyline: 2000
Country of Origin: Haiti
Ethnicity: Haitian
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: *Ashes of Roses*
Author: Mary Jane Auch
Illustrator: No illustrations.
Publisher: New York, NY: Henry Holt & Co., LLC
Year of Publication: 2002
Time Period in Storyline: 1911
Country of Origin: Ireland
Ethnicity: Irish
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: *The King of Mulberry Street*
Author: Donna Jo Napoli
Illustrator: No illustrations.
Publisher: New York, NY: Wendy Lamb Books
Year of Publication: 2005
Time Period in Storyline: Early 1900s
Country of Origin: Italy
Ethnicity: Italian
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: *A Step from Heaven*
Author: An Na
Illustrator: No illustrations
Publisher: Asheville, NC: Front Street
Year of Publication: 2001
Time Period in Storyline: Late 1900s
Country of Origin: Korea
Ethnicity: Korean
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: *The Days the Animals Came: A Story of Saint Francis Day*
Author: Frances Ward Weller
Illustrator: Loren Long
Publisher: New York, NY: Philomel Books
Year of Publication: Late 1900s
Time Period in Storyline:
Country of Origin: Puerto Rico
Ethnicity: Puerto Rico
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: *My Diary from Here to There; Mi Diario de Aqui Hasta Alla*
Author: Amada Irma Perez
Illustrator: Maya Christina Gonzalez
Publisher: San Francisco, CA: Children’s Book Press
Year of Publication: 2002
Time Period in Storyline: Pre-1980
Country of Origin: Mexico
Ethnicity: Mexican
Setting in America: Los Angeles, CA

Title: *Rene Has Two Names/Rene Tiene dos Apellidos*
Author: Por René Colato Lainez
Illustrator: Fabiola Graullera Ramírez
Publisher: Houston, TX: Piñata Books
Year of Publication: 2009
Time Period in Storyline: 1985
Country of Origin: El Salvador
Ethnicity: Salvadoran
Setting in America: Los Angeles, CA

Title: *Uncle Rain Cloud*
Author: Tony Johnson
Illustrator: Fabrico VandenBroeck
Publisher: Watertown, MA: Charlesbridge Publishing
Year of Publication: 2001
Time Period in Storyline: Late 1990s
Country of Origin: Mexico
Ethnicity: Mexican
Setting in America: Los Angeles, CA

Title: *Brothers in Hope, The Story of the Lost Boys of Sudan*
Author: Mary Williams
Illustrator: R. Gregory Christie  
Publisher: New York, NY: Lee & Low Books  
Year of Publication: 2005  
Time Period in Storyline: 1980s-early 2000s  
Country of Origin: Sudan  
Ethnicity: Sudanese  
Setting in America: Atlanta, GA

Title: The Color of Home  
Author: Mary Hoffman  
Illustrator: Karen Littlewood  
Publisher: New York, NY: Phyllis Fogelman Books  
Year of Publication: 2002  
Time Period in Storyline: 1990-1999  
Country of Origin: Somalia  
Ethnicity: Somalian  
Setting in America: Not mentioned.

Title: Pick & Shovel Poet: The Journeys of Pascal D’Angelo  
Author: Jim Murphy  
Illustrator: Various photographs  
Publisher: New York, NY: Clarion Books  
Year of Publication: 2000  
Time Period in storyline: 1910  
Country of Origin: Italy  
Ethnicity: Italian  
Setting in America: At first New York, and then migrated to other parts of the U.S. to help build the railroad.

Title: Crossing the Wire  
Author: Will Hobbs  
Illustrator: No Illustrations  
Publisher: New York, NY: HarperCollins  
Year of Publication: 2006  
Time Period in Storyline: 2004, after 9/11  
Country of Origin: Mexico  
Ethnicity: Mexican  
Setting in America: Arizona

Title: Charlotte in New York  
Author: Joan MacPhail Knight  
Illustrator: Melissa Sweet  
Publisher: San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, LLC  
Year of Publication: 2006  
Time Period in Storyline: 1894  
Country of Origin: France
Ethnicity: French
Setting in America: Not specified

Title: *Ms. Bridie Chose a Shovel*
Author: Leslie Connor
Illustrator: Mary Azarian
Publisher: Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Co.
Year of Publication: 2004
Time Period in Storyline: 1856
Country of Origin: Ireland
Ethnicity: Irish
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: *America, My New Home*
Author: Monica Gunning
Illustrator: Ken Condon
Publisher: Honesdale, PA: Boyds Mills Press
Year of Publication: 2004
Time Period in Storyline: Early 2000s
Country of Origin: Jamaica
Ethnicity: Jamaican
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: *Escaping to America: A True Story*
Author: Rosalyn Schnazer
Illustrator: Rosalyn Schnazer
Publisher: NY: HarperCollins, Publishers
Year of Publication: 2000
Time Period in Storyline: 1921
Country of Origin: Poland
Ethnicity: Polish
Setting in America: New York, then Knoxville, TN

Title: *A House of Tailors*
Author: Patricia Reilly Giff
Illustrator: No illustrators
Publisher: New York, NY: Yearling
Year of Publication: 2004
Time Period in Storyline: 1870s
Country of Origin: Germany
Ethnicity: German and Irish
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: *Landed*
Author: Milly Lee
Illustrator: Yangsook Choi
Out of the 25 books selected for this decade, the number of books written about the immigrants’ various native countries was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of Books</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
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<td>India</td>
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As evident, immigrants began to arrive in America from parts of the world not commonly seen before. A surge of stories about African refugees from Sudan and Somalia, and Asians from Vietnam, North Korea, and China, had taken the country, as well as decade, by storm. There were “new kids on the block,” or countries that were rarely discussed in prior decades, such as India, El Salvador, Jamaica, Haiti, and the West Indies. Although immigrants coming from Mexico had been discussed previously, in this decade, Mexican immigrants were now portrayed as undocumented.

Out of the 25 books selected for this decade, the number of books written about the immigrants’ various United States destinations was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>Number of Books</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>California (San Francisco &amp; Los Angeles)</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Knoxville, Tennessee</td>
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<td>Iowa City</td>
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<td>Atlanta</td>
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As apparent, stories written in the 2000s included immigrants that continued to settle in New York City, however, surprisingly, California’s San Francisco and Los Angeles took a close second in settlement patterns. Also unanticipated was that two books were written with a modern Minnesota setting, and that Tennessee, Arizona, and Atlanta were destinations never mentioned
before either. Thus, this suggests that stories written during the launch of the twenty-first century no longer portrayed immigrants from just Europe, but from all parts of the world, particularly Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean.

Illustrations

Thirteen out of the twenty-five books were considered picture books (one including very little text and one mainly photographs).

Stereotypes in Illustrations

Stories that included exaggerated or distorted illustrations were focused on certain cultures more than others. For example, the Mexicans were illustrated with dark skin, over-sized heads, flat faces, long noses, and extremely wide mouths. Mexican males were stereotypically depicted with weather-beaten faces and full black mustaches. Salvadorans had two dots for eyes, a backward “L” for a nose, and cartoon-like grinning mouths.

Illustrations of Identical or Unique Characters

Several of the illustrations featured characters that were similarly drawn, so similar that it was often hard to distinguish gender. For example, it was difficult to tell a young Mexican girl apart from her male siblings, particularly since all characters, even the males, were featured with bright red lips. The Sudanese were illustrated with black silhouettes, large heads, and no faces. Immigrants from Somalia were stone-like and expressionless; a difference in height was the only clue as to the characters’ ages. The Chinese father and son resembled American businessmen. Elderly immigrants were similar to each other as they were often illustrated with wrinkled and worn-out faces.

The illustrations of the Swedes were similar, yet quite unique. Although they were analogous in the style of drawing, they were delivered in a distinctive cinematographic “film
clip” manner to tell the story. Several characters were illustrated with unique physical features and vivid expressions. For instance, mischievous youth were shown as freckle-faced and wide-eyed. Evil males were depicted with deadly smirks and long curly-end villainous mustaches. Emotions such as stress and fear were also captured in the immigrants’ faces as they sadly said good bye to family members they left behind, or while traveling in the ship’s hideous steerage quarters.

*Illustrations of Settings*

Settings included realistic and picturesque images that text alone could not explain. For example, in *My Diary from Here to There; Mi Diario de Aqui Hasta Alla* (Perez, 2002), the Mexican countryside was illustrated so beautifully that it conveyed in its images why the Mexicans were homesick, missed the beauty of their homeland, and longed to go back someday.

Also featured were emotional illustrations of war-torn countries where terrifying soldiers pointed guns at frightened people.

*Illustrations of Attire*

Although the immigrants presented were illustrated in more up-to-date attire, there were examples of immigrants still wearing traditional clothing. For example, Somalian women were pictured wearing a *rousari*, or Muslim-style head scarf. Chinese men were shown wearing tunic-style shirts. Chinese women wore traditional dresses.

*Socioeconomic Status Portrayed in Illustrations*

As immigrants in the 2000s were generally illustrated with a more modern approach, their socioeconomic status was often depicted by what they owned. For example, immigrants that were illustrated having decent luggage during the voyage, a car to get to school and work, or a nice-looking home with comfortable furnishings, were considered middle-to-upper class. In
addition to better clothing, they wore glasses, had a lot of food on their plates, and leisure time to watch television. Therefore, this suggests that although immigrants came to America for better opportunities, they were also not as impoverished as many of the immigrants featured in prior decades.

Yet for those characters that were presented as poor, not only were their items few, but their inadequate lifestyles were depicted through their sad facial expressions.

*Educational Level Portrayed in Illustrations*

The education level of immigrants was often illustrated by the actions that characters engaged in. For example, a Mexican female character was shown carrying a diary with her wherever she went, an indication that she knew how to read and write.

*Illustrations of Power*

Power was often illustrated in objects. For example, a visa was magnified in its pictorial since it symbolized freedom. A pick and shovel held power as it represented the hard work that most immigrant males endured while trying to survive in America. The Statue of Liberty was shown as a real lady who greeted the newcomers to America. The uniformed immigration officials at Ellis and Angel Islands also held power, as they were the ones who would determine whether or not immigrants would stay in America, or be sent back to where they came from.

*Illustrations of Leaders*

Leaders were generally illustrated as physically strong immigrant males who worked hard at manual labor jobs in order to support themselves or their families. Males were also depicted as being more important as they sat at the head of the table while their wives and children sat on the sides.
Illustrations of Occupations

Immigrant women were often garment factory workers while immigrant men worked as railroad, concrete, or road work laborers.

Illustrations of Subservient Characters

Mothers were often portrayed as subservient since they were often shown standing with their hands on their children’s shoulders, or waiting for their husbands to instruct them on what to do next.

Relationship of Illustrations to Text

The illustrations worked well with the text as they supported the written word and allowed for the reader to realize when a flashback memory occurred, and when the story resumed.

Main Characters

Main characters chiefly included young immigrants who journeyed to America to become reunited with their fathers (or parents) who left years earlier. In the case of a young Chinese boy who was reunited with his wealthy businessman father after many years, he came to America in order to be taught the trade of exporting and importing. Likewise, a young Swedish boy and his mother came to be reunited with the father, only to find out later that they had just missed him at the dock, and desperately searched to find him throughout the rest of the story. Similarly, a young Haitian girl came to America with her mother and siblings to finally meet the father who left them years before. Again, a young Vietnamese boy was reunited with his parents after being left behind in his native land because he contracted tuberculosis. In essence, children were brought together with parents they no longer knew. Not only did they have to rekindle a
relationship they once had, but also had to become acclimated to a new country, school, and way of life.

Many young immigrants came alone to America with no one waiting for them. To illustrate, a young Italian male who came by himself to America filled with dreams of success soon found that a pick and shovel was the only thing that awaited him.

Another Italian was put on a ship as a stowaway by his own mother because he was an illegitimate child, and mostly because he was embarrassment to her. Left to fend off immigration inspectors, street hoodlums, and homeless vagrants all on his own, the young Italian-Jew ultimately survived to tell the story.

There was also a young Irish girl who ventured to America single and alone, yet managed to make the best of her experiences with the help of her beloved shovel.

Other young immigrant characters, such as a Mexican, Jamaican, and Haitian, that came to America with their families, were shown having to overcome school, work, and peer pressures.

Also presented were Sudanese, Somalia, and El Salvadorian young characters that came to America as refugees and found that American students had nothing in common with them. Americans did not have the slightest idea as to what war meant, or what sneaking out in the middle of the night to escape from being killed by soldiers was all about.

Most immigrants were shown becoming overburdened with problems, unsatisfied with America, or frustrated to the point where they wanted to go back to their old country. As a result, many did. Such is in the case of an Irish mother who was bothered by her American relatives; she went back to Ireland and left her two daughters to survive all on their own in America.
Another example of a family that broke down after coming to America was that of a Korean young girl who, although she was happy to be in America, endured a horrific existence after her father became an alcoholic and started abusing her and her mother.

Other characters presented in the stories included a Chinese grandfather and grandchild who found it difficult to communicate since they did not share the same language, yet through the use of universal numbers, the two were able to teach each other their languages. Also shown was a quick-thinking Irish young girl that saved many from being killed in a tragic garment factory fire. In addition, there was a story about a young Indian girl who was tormented by a bully, but after finding out they both longed for acceptance, in the end, the two became best friends. Also having to overcome difficulties was a young girl from the West Indies who missed her animals back home, yet after visiting a cathedral that was baptizing zoo animals, she found that witnessing this event helped comfort her sadness. Added to the list was a Mexican uncle who was frustrated at his lack of ability to speak English; however, with the help of his Mexican American nephew, he overcame his language barrier. Another Mexican was featured as one who illegally entered the United States by outwitting the American border patrol, yet found that life on the other side was not all what he expected it to be. And yet another young Mexican character was forced to live a life of constant moving since his father, too, was an undocumented citizen. Polish-Jews that fled Poland after mobs of hateful non-Jews accused them of being spies ended up in America – a place where people continued to discriminate against them. Also included was a story about an innocent young German girl who was accused of murdering a soldier, yet in order to avoid the police, was sent to live with her uncle in America. Although the uncle was not happy with her, after the young girl saves the family from several near-misses, the uncle realized what a wonderful blessing she had been after all.
Many stereotypes shown in the stories were often directed towards certain ethnicities. For example, Irish immigrants were considered dirty and disease-carrying individuals. Often labeled as “greenhorns,” or newly arrived immigrants, Americans viewed foreigners as helpless. As mentioned by an American to an Irish immigrant, “There’s a boatload of you greenhorns landing every day, and you all think you’re going to make a fortune in America” (Auch, 2002, p. 68).

Mexican males were greeted with a “Hey, you! Chicoo!” (Herrera, 2005, p. 124) and depicted as gang members that were ready and willing to beat up anyone. To exemplify, in The Trouble Begins (Himelblau, 2005), a Vietnamese neighbor believed that his Mexican neighbor, someone who he did not even know, was capable of hurting someone, and for that reason the family agreed that they “should leave him alone” (p. 12). Also stereotypical was the portrayal of Mexican immigrants eating tortillas with chilies, then needing to “find shade” in order to “take a siesta” (Hobbs, 2006, p. 176).

Although the Jewish were portrayed as low-class and uncivilized peasants, they were also depicted as being unduly sanitary that they would not sit in a spot that “there was nowhere clean” (Napoli, 2005, p. 25). According to a young Italian-Jew, men who ate in an uncivilized manner could certainly not have been “Jewish – not the way they’d devoured that salami” (Napoli, 2005, p. 33-34). Jewish males were also believed to own nearly all the garment factories, and were considered to be unscrupulous and tyrannical individuals that made women employees work ten hours a day, and even bring their own cup to work (Auch, 2002).

Italians were depicted as ones who smoothed “down stray locks of hair with spit” (Napoli, 2005, p. 40). And although Italians were viewed as hardworking and “strong . . . still they [got] paid bad” (Napoli, 2005, p. 138).
Americans were often criticized as well. As described in Kai’s Journey to Gold Mountain: An Angel Island Story (Currier, 2004), a young Chinese boy who had just arrived at Angel Island remarked about the officials, “So these were the white devils” (p. 15). American girls, in particular, were labeled as ones who did not study, were boy-crazy, and thought only of themselves. For these reasons, a young Korean could understand why her parents did “not want [her] to end up like them” (Na, 2001, p 105).

American politicians were assumed to all be Irish and corrupt. As observed by an elderly Irish woman in Ashes of Roses (Auch, 2002), “There was a time when everyone looked down on the Irish. Now they run the whole city” (p. 80).

Impressions of America (pre-immigration)

Before journeying to the United States, immigrants heard various stories about America. For example, Italians in The King of Mulberry Street (Napoli, 2005) were told that in America, “everyone got rich” (p. 5). Furthermore, “you don’t have to cheat in America . . . everyone’s rich” (p. 45).

In A Step from Heaven (Na, 2001), a Korean young girl is told by her father “that in Mi Gook [America,] everyone can make lots of money . . . Uhmma [mother] says all the Uhmmas in Mi Gook are pretty like dolls. And they live in big houses. Much bigger than the rich fish factory man’s house in the village.” Furthermore, “in Mi Gook, everyone will be happy and filled with love” (p. 17).

Why Immigrants Came to America

Immigrants came to America for a variety of reasons. An Italian young man came to break free of “the poverty that had a stranglehold on his family” (Murphy, 2000, p. 3). The Chinese, Polish, Sudanese, Vietnamese, and Somalian immigrants came after they were forced to
leave their war-torn countries and find a new home in the states. The Irish, Mexicans, Koreans, and West Indie immigrants came for better opportunities. To best describe why the Irish came, a young daughter in *Ashes of Roses* (Auch, 2002) stated, “Da had talked about comin’ to America for a better life. So many people had left before us, it seemed the natural thing to do” (p. 4). “Da thought he could make a better life for us in America, where his brother had arrived with twenty dollars and had climbed his way up from a dockworker to a politician” (p. 106).

Other immigrants also came to America for their children to become educated. As expressed by an Italian mother speaking to her child in *The King of Mulberry Street* (Napoli, 2005), “Remember . . . as soon as you can, get an education. Be your own boss” (p. 29).

For the Indian father who received a formal education in his native country, he and his family immigrated to America after the father received a letter from an American employer who wanted to hire him as a microbiologist (Sheth, 2004).

*The Goodbyes*

Saying good bye to friends and family was difficult for the immigrants. As presented in *Pick & Shovel Poet: The Journeys of Pascal D’Angelo* (Murphy, 2000), “Pascal hugged his brother and relatives . . . his mother embraced him, showering him with kisses. “God bless you,” she was saying over and over again, trying her best through tears that trickled down her cheeks” (p. 9). Similarly, neighbors paid their respects to a parting young Indian girl by giving her “coconuts for good luck” (p. 28). Her sad cousin who stayed behind in India whispered to her, “Don’t forget that you’re the one making a journey. There’s always excitement there. It is harder for the people left behind” (Sheth, 2004, p. 25).

In contrast, showing no sadness in leaving, a young Chinese boy proclaimed, “Goodbye, China . . . Here I come, Gold Mountain. Here I come, America” (Currier, 2004, p. 3).
How Immigrants Came to America

Immigrants traveled to America in many different ways. The Polish family was able to come after their daughter in the United States went to Washington DC and registered to be their sponsor (Schnazer, 2000). The Chinese young boy traveled to America on a ship named the S.S. President Taft for 22 days (Lee, 2006). With the help of a counsel that assisted the Chinese in completing paperwork for America, another young Chinese male came on a ship called the S.S. Hoover that took 21 days to cross the ocean (Currier, 2004, p. 3).

As portrayed in Pick & Shovel Poet (Murphy, 2000), a poor Italian male made his way to the ship dock that set sail to America by foot, horse, and train after a paesano, or good friend, already in America secured employment for the potential immigrant, obtained a loan through his new employer to help pay for his ticket, and rented a boarding room for him to live in when he arrived in America. However, before the Italian and his shipmates could leave Italy, the passengers on board were required to “pass a preliminary physical examination to see if they met the strict health requirements of America” (p. 27). However, much to the Italians’ dismay, many of the “doctors refused to pass them until they received their bribe” (p. 29).

A young Vietnamese and his grandmother came to America after the father sent them money to buy plane tickets. As expressed by the young boy, “we flew in an airplane that took days and nights to get here because the Philippines are on the other side of the world and also we waited a long time in airports” (Himelblau, 2005, p. 87). Likewise, the Haitian family came to America by airplane after they received their visas (Danticat, 2002).

Once the Mexican mother and children received their green cards, they drove to America to meet the father. According to the young daughter in My Diary from Here to There; mi diario de aqui hasta alla (Perez, 2002), “We drove right along the border, across from New Mexico and
Arizona” (p. 13). Further, “Crossing the border in Tijuana was crazy. Everyone was pushing and
shoving. There were babies crying, and people fighting to be first in line” (p. 25).

Without the luxury of having a car, the characters from Somalia traveled by foot at night,
and slept in the woods during the day, until eventually making it to a refugee camp and later
flying to America (Hoffman, 2002).

Journey to America

For those immigrants that traveled by steamship, the “next phase of the journey was the
Atlantic crossing. Many immigrants had not only been on a steamship before, but never saw one
either” (Murphy, 2000, p. 31). As expressed by a Irish young girl whose fellow countrymen
decided that the voyage might be too much for them to handle, “we weren’t more than an hour at
sea before they were gulpin’ pints of ale and singin’ about wantin’ to go back to dear old
Ireland” (Auch, 2002, p. 4).

Although first-class travelers had large private quarters, third-class passengers stayed in the
lower-decked steerage compartments that were dark, over-crowded, and bug-ridden (Schnazer,
2000).

After observing thousands of fellow countrymen on the ship, a young Italian boy noted,
“The immigrants were almost all men, some in their teens” (Napoli, 2005, p. 63). A young
Italian in Pick & Shovel Poet (Murphy, 2000) explained that in the steerage deck, “crowded
conditions existed, causing great suffering. The trip across the ocean could take anywhere from
four to six weeks, enough time to allow contagious diseases to spread among the passengers”
(Murphy, 2000, p. 31).

The illiterate were often swindled by corrupt steamship agents. If a passenger complained or
reported an incident, they would be immediately removed from the ship. Dishonest ruffians,
often pretending to be priests, nuns, or American-dressed businessmen, would rob passengers, or try to convince them to buy worthless documents that they guaranteed would help the immigrants pass inspections (Murphy, 2000). Young Irish ladies who managed to ward off crooks who nearly robbed them of their luggage were later praised by a policeman, “Ye were wise to not go with them thugs. They work for the boardin’ houses around here. Once they have yer luggage, they’ll charge ye a big fee for storage even if ye don’t want to stay in their filthy houses” (Auch, 2002, p. 37-38.) There were many “tricky padrone[s]” on and off the ship who preyed on women and children that traveled alone (Napoli, 2005, p. 62).

Along with the deplorable conditions on the ship, food that was served to the many steerage passengers was barely consumable, as it regularly consisted of herring soup and stale bread left over from dinners served to first class passengers (Murphy, 2000). However, other immigrants, such as the Chinese, were fortunate to eat better food on the ship and experience American foods for the first time (Lee, 2006).

Sea sickness resulted from tormenting waves. As one young Italian explained, “All it had taken was one storm to teach me perfect balance” (Napoli, 2005, p. 42). Passengers that stayed on the steerage quarters were often cooped up in their barracks for days on end, hoping to catch a glimpse of the sunlight outside through undersized port holes (Murphy, 2000).

Before reaching Ellis Island, ships were often halted and inspected for disease. As a young Italian described the event, “The next day the quarantine station officers came on board . . . They checked for typhus, yellow fever, small pox. The trick was to stand at attention, look alert, and, no matter what, not cough” (Napoli, 2005, p. 53).

Another young Italian explained that passengers were “Placed in quarantine . . . for infectious diseases and other problems. If passengers were pronounced clean, the quarantine
would be lifted and the ship could proceed up the Hudson River to its Manhattan or New Jersey pier.” However, if a ship possessed serious diseases like cholera, malaria, or typhoid, it would be “sent back to its port of origin. Ships arriving with less severe problems, such as cases of measles or infestations of lice, would be thoroughly cleaned and their passengers treated and held in quarantine hospitals on Ellis Island until cured.

The Statue of Liberty was depicted as a real lady to the many arriving immigrants; immigrants who saw her “fell to their knees in prayer” (Napoli, 2005, p. 53).

Upon reaching Ellis Island, immigrants were faced with even more interrogations and examinations. Immigrants walked off the boat in separate lines; males on one side, and women and children on the other. Immigrants made certain that they dressed well when leaving the ship for “immigrants wanted to look as prosperous and as healthy as they could” (Murphy, 2000, p. 41). The immigrants were then: “lined up for the doctors to inspect them [to see] if they had obvious illnesses . . . Immigrants were then led . . . to the Great Hall, where immigrants were registered, and started on another medical exam“(Murphy, 2000, p. 47). Fingernails, scalps, and postures were checked as well. “If a problem was detected big letters would be marked in white chalk on the immigrants’ clothes, and that person would be isolated from the rest of the group for an even more detailed examination . . . Chalk letters were often an immigrant’s first lesson in English” (Murphy, 2000, p. 47). Immigrants that had treatable illnesses were sent to the agency’s hospital; those with serious illnesses were immediately deported” (Murphy, 2000).

Next was the idiocy test where a nurse formed shapes with her hands and requested that the immigrants duplicate her action. To express a young Italian’s disbelief in having to prove his intelligence in this manner, he declared, “they’d thought I was an idiot” (Napoli, 2005, p. 59).
During the final stage, immigrants were interviewed, or questioned, about their personal life and reasons for coming to America (Murphy, 2000). Inspectors asked the immigrants if they “could read, if they were sick, if they were married, if they’d committed crimes, what their occupations were, if they were anarchists – on and on, ending with how much money they had. The men couldn’t write, so the translator wrote answers for them” (Napoli, 2005, p. 61).

Women that traveled alone, or had no one waiting for them in America, had a difficult time getting through customs. Inspectors would inform any unaccompanied woman that “unescorted women [we]re not allowed off Ellis Island . . . We’ll have to contact an immigrant aid society to come get you” (Napoli, 2005, p. 75).

For immigrants that sailed into Angel Island and “marveled at the steep, rocky cliffs” as the ship “entered San Francisco Bay,” their cheerfulness quickly ceased when they laid eyes on the “men in green uniforms” who would soon cross-examine them about why they came to America. (Currier, 2004, p. 14)

**The Arrival**

Upon arriving in America, immigrants were often disappointed. For example, a young Italian set out to find work became disillusioned when he found that “Italians can only work laying bricks or breaking stones or digging ditches” (Napoli, 2005, p. 94), a common occupation for those Italians that were “fresh off the boat” (Napoli, 2005, p. 119).

On a different note, after illegally crossing the Mexican border through an underground tunnel, avoiding drug smugglers and border patrol agents, and giving the right password to “coyotes,” or human traffickers, a young Mexican finds America to be nothing more than a place with graffiti-filled walls and garbage-filled lots. Homes and buildings had “windows barred with
heavy wrought iron.” Children were seen inhaling spray cans or sleeping under trees among trash (Hobbs, 2006, p. 64-65).

In another example, when a young Indian girl arrived in America, nothing could have prepared her for what she saw. “Not only were the roads four lanes wide, but the gas stations had eight pumps . . . [and] stores were so large that they were never crowded” (Sheth, 2004, p. 32).

As expressed by an Italian, New York may be a place full of the rich, but “Manhattan smelled like urine” (Napoli, 2005, p. 82).

However, according to a young German female, this new environment was “no different from [her] own, except that it was poorer” (Giff, 2004, p. 34). The young German stated, “Where had I ever gotten the idea that people who lived in Brooklyn were all rich . . . Dear God, if I could only go home again” (Giff, 2004, p. 26).

Although a young Vietnamese is amazed at the city with all its cars, he received an unexpected welcome when he was almost run over by an “angry red face[d] . . . American truck driver . . . [who] yell[ed] at [him] in English” (Himelblau, 2005, p. 5).

Resistance or Acceptance

Characters were often portrayed as being resistant to American culture or dealing with Americans. For example, a Chinese grandfather in Grandfather Counts (Cheng, 2000) was angry that his grandchild could not speak Chinese, and isolated himself from her and his daughter’s family.

Even the immigrants’ own relatives in America rejected them. Relatives that immigrants lived with often felt that their world had been interrupted, and often times, kicked the immigrants out of their home. As expressed by a young Mexican girl in My Diary from Here to There; mi diario de aqui hasta alla (Perez, 2002), “So far we’ve had to live in three different houses with
some of Mama’s sisters . . . Tia Lupe finally took us in, but where will we go if she decides she’s had enough of us?” (p. 20).

In another example, Irish immigrant sisters were looked down upon by their American cousins that they lived with. Not only did the cousins think that they were better than the immigrants, but that the girls were carrying diseases. Similarly, an American-born brother tells his mother that his Vietnamese immigrant brother “can’t sleep in my room anymore! He smells and he’s a bad-luck kid” (Himelblau, 2005).

Immigrants also found resistance in border officials. For example, Mexicans had to constantly deal with border patrol agents who requested to see their documents. For instance, “One woman and her children got kicked off the bus when the immigration patrol boarded to check everyone’s papers” (p. 27).

Knowing that the immigrants were helpless, thieves often picked on them (Avi, 2003). Perhaps for this reason, a young Italian asserted that he did not trust anyone in New York, disliked anyone who was not Italian, and had a difficult time making friends (Napoli, 2005).

American classmates were resistant to young immigrants as they regularly bullied them. Immigrant children often resisted changing on the bullies’ behalf. As shown in Rene Has Two Names/Rene tiene dos apellidos (Lainez, 2009), a young El Salvadoran girl refused to conform, even though fellow students could not accept the fact that she had two last names.

Open-mindedness

Many of the immigrants, particularly mothers, were shown as being open to new opportunities. For example, as presented in Behind the Mountains (Danticat, 2002), a Haitian mother supported her son’s dream in becoming a painter in America. Likewise, a Korean mother encouraged her daughter to strive for greatness by reminding her that “in America, women have
choices” (Na, 2001, p. 131). The Irish female immigrants were open-minded as well since they did not want to go back to Ireland and get married. If they ever decided to marry, “there were more Irishmen in New York than in Limerick and Dublin put together” (Auch, 2002, p. 107).

Close-mindedness

Although the Haitian mother believed that her son would be a great painter, the father insisted that it took “more than a happy heart to eat and have a roof over your head in this country” (Danicat, p. 133). In another example, an Italian father was close-minded about America; he went back to Italy, not giving America a second chance (Murphy, 2000).

Settings

City immigrants often rented rooms close to where they worked or over their business. A young German girl recalls how bad the smells were that came out of her uncle’s butcher shop nearby as “carcasses hung on hooks . . . some of them had sprigs of green in their open dead mouths” (Giff, 2004, p. 46).

Unlike Haiti, New York was viewed as crowded and filled with “churches, beauty parlors, and restaurants, all of them bigger than any buildings” a young Haitian “had ever seen in Port-au-Prince” (Danticut, 2002, p. 92). The young boy states, “Instead of lawns there are fields of concrete and asphalt. It is rare to see grass, and even then it’s usually dead” (Na, 2001, p. 109).

Most of the immigrants that settled in places such as Minnesota, Tennessee, or Iowa lived in modest-sized middle-class homes.

Immigrants that settled in San Francisco described the city as having “buildings like wrinkled accordions all in a row . . . So many wires. Wires into wires into wires connecting everything so buses can drive through the streets” (Herrera, 2005, p. 60).
Undocumented Mexicans were described as living in trailers where a dozen or so migrant workers stayed together to work in the fields nearby (Hobbs, 2006).

Socioeconomic Status

Although “There was a saying that no one starved in farmlands,” a young Italian believed that this was not true, for “we’d been hungry for months. People went to bed trying not to think of food” (Napoli, 2005, p. 1-2). However, on a happy note, although most European and Caribbean immigrants were presented as being poor, they all slowly moved upwards.

The Asians, Indians, and Jamaicans who came to America middle-class from the star achieved even more socio-economic success, as they were already businessmen, career professionals, or wealthy because their families often owned land and cattle before they came.

Education Levels

Aside from those that were highly educated, most immigrants had very little education when they came to America. For example, a young Italian-Jew that did not go to school in Italy explained, “Uncle Aurelio didn’t like how Catholic teachers put religion into the lessons. So he taught me numbers and Mamma taught me reading” (Napoli, 2005, p. 8).

Although the young Sudanese had the opportunity to go to school in the refugee camp, he rarely went. If and when he did, the camps did not offer a good education since they did not have pencils and paper, and students had to write their lessons in the mud with a stick (Williams, 2005). The Jamaican young boy, as well, had little educational resources since the only book that was used in his class was the Bible (Gunning, 2004).

Immigrant parents were shown wishing that their children could get a decent education in America. Yet, even though education was free in America, some did not take advantage of it. For
example, a young Mexican that was often in trouble with his teachers preferred to avoid the entire situation and not attend school anymore. (Herrera, 2005).

Likewise, the young Irish stopped going to school, too. They claimed that since “they couldn’t take being made fun of for their English . . . they quit.” (Auch, 2002, p. 236). After all, according to the Irish sisters, American teachers only taught them how to wash themselves and have good manners. According to one sister, “All [the teacher] talks about is how she’s goin’ to make us all into Americans” (Auch, 2002, p. 166).

Several immigrant children were also angry that they had to attend special reading classes. A young Vietnamese boy felt that “everybody in Room 10 is really dumb except for me and I’m not talking. I’ll read when I have to but I won’t talk” (Himelblau, 2005, p. 21).

Many young immigrants were shown to favor math. Since immigrant children were taught in their homelands how to compute numbers in their heads, American teachers were angry that immigrant children were not practicing their math problems on paper or with a calculator.

*Occupations*

Besides the Chinese and Indian immigrants shown as being professionals when coming to America, most immigrants had to take on jobs that involved manual labor. The Irish, German, and Vietnamese female immigrants worked as seamstresses in garment factories, the Irish males as tailors, and the Italian males as pick and shovel laborers. The Haitian parents worked in a small restaurant while the Korean parents held jobs in the dry cleaning business. Since Mexicans were described as not wanting to work in the fields like other Mexicans, they would do anything else such as “wash dishes in a restaurant, sack groceries, [or] do landscaping or construction” (Hobbs, 2006, p. 55). Unlike the Italian young boys, the Irish youth got “all the bootblack jobs.
They deliver[ed] all the newspapers. There’s no way an Italian boy . . . [could] get a penny without begging or stealing” (Napoli, 2005, p. 94).

**Classism**

Class was first apparent when immigrants traveled in the ship’s steerage quarters. As depicted in *Ashes of Roses* (Auch, 2002), “The first- and second-class passengers had their own compartments” (p. 6). Upon arrival, immigrants were told that “All first- and second-class passengers, go to B Deck for inspection,” where examinations were few. However, “steerage passengers w[ould] disembark and immediately board the ferry to Ellis Island,” where examinations would be fierce (p. 10).

After settling with American relatives, immigrants were often looked down upon by their aunts and uncles. As shown in *Ashes of Roses* (Auch, 2002), an Irish young immigrant talks about her American cousin: “I can tell she thinks she’s better than me . . . [but] money doesn’t make them any better than us.” (p. 53-54).

**Lifestyles: Before and After Immigration**

A portion of the city immigrants had a hard time adjusting and finding employment in America since there was an abundance of immigrants to compete with. A young Irish exemplifies this dilemma by commenting, “What an amazing city this was – so many people all goin’ about their lives. It seemed there were more immigrants livin’ here than native-born Americans” (Auch, 2002, p. 109).

To explain this phenomenon, the author of *Pick and Shovel Poet* (Murphy, 2000) states, “Italians and other southern European immigrants were forced to take the most menial jobs in order to survive . . . The pay for this work was extremely low, and there was little chance of advancement, no matter how able a worker might be (p 63).
Most immigrants found that dreams did not always become realities in America. A few examples include a Mexican uncle in *Downtown Boy* (Herrera, 2005) who dreamed of becoming a lawyer but instead became a hunchback from hard work, and a Korean father in *A Step from Heaven* (Na, 2001) who, after arriving in America and feeling strapped with responsibilities, began drinking, abusing his family, and showed no financial or loving support towards his wife and children. He even began to smoke marijuana.

For children having grown a world apart from their parents before becoming reunited with them in America, they had to learn how to be a son or daughter again. To exemplify, after a young Vietnamese in *The Trouble Begins* (Himelblau, 2005) “look[ed] . . . at the family that [he had] only seen in a few pictures,” he suddenly realized that he did not know them (p. 6).

*Lifestyles: Unrealistic?*

Even by today’s standards, parents that allowed their children to travel alone to a new country would be considered child abandoners. Therefore, some stories were difficult to believe. For instance, it was unrealistic that an Italian mother in *The King of Mulberry Street* (Napoli, 2005) would let her nine-year old son come to America alone, and even harder to believe that the young boy rented a flat at the age of nine or ten, ran a successful business, and hired other young men as employees. Another example includes a poor Swedish boy in *Silent Movie* (Avi, 2003) that was randomly selected in the streets of New York by a movie director to be the next mega-movie star. Hardly the typical immigrant story, a reader would wonder if these kinds of lucky chances could happen to all immigrants.

*Peer Relationships*

Immigrants formed relationships in an effort to laugh with people and try to forget how hard life was. Examples include a young Irish girl in *Ashes of Roses* (Auch, 2002), who made
friends at the factory so that she could have someone to go to the movies with and exchange books, and a young Chinese boy in *Kai’s Journey to Gold Mountain* (Currier, 2004) who was overjoyed when he met someone on the ship who was just like him; they were both born in the same year, enjoyed playing games, and were going to meet their fathers in America.

In contrast, some immigrants, especially those in New York, wished to not make friends since they felt that the city was filled with segregated neighbors, cultural turfs, nativists, bullies, and distrustful people (Napoli, 2005). For example, a young Vietnamese in *The Trouble Begins* (Himelblau, 2005) does not go out of his way to make friends. As a matter of fact, “just last week he punched a classmate” (p. 7) after continuously being called ‘Ching ching chong dong’” (p. 21). To further illustrate, a young Mexican also had a hard time making friends, particularly after finding out that there was rivalry between various Hispanic groups in America (Hobbs, 2006).

*Family Members*

Most immigrants were portrayed as having loving relationships with their families. A few counterexamples include the Korean father that abused his family and the children that felt that their reuniting fathers were “stranger[s] and a Papi at the same time” (Herrera, 2005, p. 110).

Elderly immigrants often got in the middle of arguments between children and their parents. For example, in *The Trouble Begins* (Himelblau, 2005), when a Vietnamese father yelled at his son for misbehaving, the grandmother stood up for her grandchild by reminding the father that his son was behaving poorly only because “he [wa]s new here” (p. 42).

Many parents were shown favoring boys over girls. A Korean mother suggested that her newborn son could someday “be a doctor or a lawyer,” but not her daughter (Na, 2001, p. 40).
Power

As usual, immigration officials had the power to make or break the immigrants’ lives. Guards watched over the newcomers as if they were felons, and interrogated them harshly (Currier, 2004). Fearing the chance of getting deported, immigrants did as they were told. A young girl was even asked to “take down the top of [her] dress so the doctor [could] have a listen to [her] chest,” and she obediently complied (Auch, 2002, p. 13).

The police were also corrupt and took bribes from immigrants who tried to cross the border illegally. Law enforcement agents often turned their backs on “paid” immigrants and allowed them to freely walk into the United States. Those immigrants that had not paid were often deported (Hobbs, 2006).

Sewing machines had power over young women since they had to forever toil over these machines. For example, a young German female asserted, “That sewing machine! It was like a cranky member of the family that had to be cleaned and polished and fed with oil whenever I turned around” (Giff, 2004, p. 4).

Clothing held great power in influencing the impression immigrants had on others. For example, a young Italian’s polished shoes made Ellis Island officials think that he was from a wealthy family. Not only did his shoes allow him to pass through inspections more easily, but they gave him the opportunity to rent a flat from a landlord that considered him to be a well-paying tenant. As the young Italian in The King of Mulberry Street (Napoli, 2005) explained, “These shoes kept me from looking like I was dressed in rags. Signora Esposito had given us the room because of them. One more way these shoes had paved my path” (p. 190). Thus, simple objects that immigrants brought with them from the old country allowed them to overcome their struggles in America.
Leadership

Leaders were shown as those who offered encouragement and guidance to others. In *Ashes of Roses* (Auch, 2002), a young female immigrant possessed leadership as she tried to recruit new members to a labor union. In another instance, a young Sudanese male was a leader as he made the decision to take 35 other young boys on a long-distance walking journey to Ethiopia to escape war (Williams, 2005).

Customs and Traditions

Holidays and traditions included honoring the dead. For example, in *Ashes of Roses* (Auch, 2002), a young Irish immigrant who believed that her dead ancestors were watching over her family, annually celebrated the “Day of the Dead” and “All Saints Day” to thank them (p. 34).

Even in America, immigrants were shown eating their usual cultural foods. The Mexicans ate tamales and beans, tortillas, and used cinnamon in many of their traditional dishes. During Christmas, the Haitian children looked forward to their mother’s “delicious coconut drinks . . . along with codfish fritters” (Danticat, 2000, p. 71). The Koreans ate rice and seaweed soup during New Year’s (Na, 2001), while the Italians ate hot anise-seed “fresh bread passed from hand to hand” dipped in hot mozzarella cheese (Napoli, 2005, p. 32).

Social customs included Mexican women punishing their children with a belt. (Herrera, 2005). Similarly, an Italian mother believed that “those who don’t beat their children don’t love them” (Napoli, p. 18). Therefore, she often “smacked” her son “on the back of . . . [his] head” to discipline him (Napoli, 2005, p. 17). Other traditions included Korean children having to bow respectfully in front of elders (Na, 2001). In addition, young Italians had to open their mouths for
their mothers to spit in “for long life” (Herrera, 2005, p. 23). The rest of this decade’s trade books did not contain content about cultural traditions.

**Males**

In most stories, males were generally portrayed as breadwinners, even though they were the ones that went off to America first, leaving their families behind. “[Fathers] talked about how wonderful they knew America was and how they would send for their wives and mothers and sisters soon” (Napoli, 2005, p. 63). However, many never did. The separation even disconnected the family and caused members to become strangers.

Like their fathers, young males had to maintain their manly, emotionless, and hard-working image. For example, when a Haitian son and father were reunited in America after five long years, the two simply looked at each other and shook hands. Months later, after the teen had become employed at a factory and returned home from a hard day’s work smelling of “gasoline, tar, smoke, and sweat,” the young teen was considered to be “already a man . . . more and more like Papa” (Danticat, 2002, p. 49).

Further examples of the image of masculinity include Haitian boys portrayed as “young bulls” who were encouraged to “fight their way through everything” (Danticat, 2002, p. 20), a young Italian male that believed that he “was supposed to be smart,” and that “no one should have been able to steal from [him]” (Napoli, 2005, p. 17), and a Korean Father that told his son “he will not grow up weak . . . In this world, only the strong survive . . . If you talk like a man, fight like a man, you will get what you want in this world. Do you understand?” (Na, 2001, p. 70).

Life was difficult for those characters who questioned their masculinity, wondering why they must fight all the time. For example, a young Mexican, feeling as if he lived in two worlds,
remarked, “When I am alone looking at myself in the mirror in the bathroom sometimes I see a boy blurry and worried; sometimes I see a boy strong and tall” (Herrera, 2005, p. 200).

When not living up to their family’s expectations, immigrant fathers often hid behind the bottle. As many were not able to handle the stress of everyday life, they blamed everything and everyone on their failures. Thinking that all would come to them easily in America, many men were not willing to take advantage of what America had to offer. For these reasons, fathers were often shown in conflict with their wives and children, and threatening to send them back to their native country if they misbehaved.

_Females_

Most immigrant women in the featured storylines did not play a major role. Instead, they were portrayed as individuals who obediently waited for their husbands or fathers to return from America, or patiently waited for the males to send for them. With males often being absent, women left in the old country had to bear the worst alone. As one year turned into several, mothers often became their children’s protectors and discipliners, and thus, the most important figure in their children’s lives. Yet, aside from being passive, they managed to survive on their own without their husbands.

Although there were a number of immigrant women who were unhappy in America and wanted to go back to their native land, since they desired a better life for their children, they were willing to sacrifice for their kids.

However, by far, it was the young girls that were portrayed as being headstrong, motivated, and willing to adapt. Although they maintained their submissive roles as daughter, sister, or niece, they took on a more independent and modern approach to life, such as a young Irish factory girl who defied the norms by telling her boss in English, “Keep your hands to
yourself, please,” when he tried to sexually take advantage of her, or when she chose not to marry (Auch, 2002, p. 79).

Another example is a young Korean who refused to believe that she was less important than her brother when she acknowledged, “I cannot be the great son, but I can do important things. Then I will be the famous Park in the family. Maybe even better than first son” (Na, 2001, p. 47).

Even in books that depicted modern settings, males and females were still unequal. With this being the case, a young girl stated, “I don’t understand why [father] thinks boys and girls cannot be treated the same. Why they are so different. There is no dictionary for these kinds of questions.” (Na, 2001, p. 57-58).

Babies

If not crying all the time when their families were trying to cross into America, babies were shown impatiently waiting for their mothers to feed them.

Children

Children, on the other hand, were shown with few cares, only wanting to play, assuming that America was a place where they could buy many toys (Perez, 2002).

However, as children were often the determining factor in whether or not a family could stay in America, they were immensely important to the stories. While being inspected by immigration officials, children clutched onto their mothers in fear, and if found to have an illness, mothers would shriek when officials abruptly took the screaming children away.

Children were also shown teaching others, young and old, about lessons in life. For instance, in *Uncle Rain Cloud* (Johnson, 2001), a young Mexican taught his immigrant uncle to not be afraid when speaking English. As the young boy willingly took on the role of translator,
he slowly weaned his uncle from speaking Spanish to speaking English, hence causing him to adjust to America in a slow but polished way.

Similarly, in *Brothers in Hope* (Williams, 2005), older children would take care of the younger ones when they journeyed to a refugee camp.

**Teenagers**

Immigrant teenagers were strong, outgoing, and outspoken. When not working, they engaged in adult-like activities such as playing cards, contemplated new economic opportunities, or tried making a name for themselves through their writing, acting, or artistic talents. In contrast, other immigrant teens were shown partaking in criminal activities such as robbery, smoking marijuana, and drinking alcohol. In essence, immigrant teens were “scugnizzi-urchins, the poorest of the poor,” whom “no one trusted” (Napoli, 2005, p. 17).

**Young Adults**

Young Adults were often respected by their mothers and younger siblings for their role in taking care of the family, or else shunned when they found themselves in budding romances with out-of-culture mates. This often led to the lessening of their position as supplemental family providers or caring sons and daughters.

**Adults**

Without realizing it, adults were role models for their children. In setting examples, fathers who left their families for America caused their sons to believe that it was common practice for men from their country to do, and therefore, assumed it to be a man’s duty. Although displeased about being left behind, children still viewed their father’s act as honorable, and one that was done so that the family would not have to be rice paddy farmers in the future, like their fathers once were (Currier, 2004).
Mothers

Immigrant mothers were often portrayed as sad and tired and ones who could not deal with life in America. Many mothers missed their homelands and the simple life they once had there.

Immigrant mothers greatly worried that their children were headed in the wrong direction. For example, a Haitian mother “was so worried about . . . [her son] getting into trouble that even though she was lying down, she never slept (Danticat, 2002, p. 33).

Mothers also felt unappreciated for the work that they did, and like their children, yearned for a friend. However, instead of a human friend, immigrant mothers often turned to God as their comrade, and used Him to help them overcome their struggles and fears (Na, 2001).

Although immigrant mothers hoped that their sons would become better than their fathers were, they especially wished that their daughters chose a lifestyle unlike the ones they had. Mothers often encouraged their daughters to become respectable American ladies. For example, an Irish mother advised her daughter to “stand up straight like proper ladies, use yer napkins instead of yer mouths at meals, and don’t ye be sayin’ a word unless somebody speaks to ye first” (Auch, 2002, p. 1). Moreover, a Korean mother suggested to her daughter, “Your life can be different . . . Study and be strong” (Na, 2001, p. 131).

Fathers

In many of the stories, immigrant fathers were negatively portrayed as alcoholics and family abusers. Although immigrant fathers often considered punishment a necessary evil, some, such as the Korean and Vietnamese fathers, went beyond the normal disciplining of their children when they beat and kicked them like pieces of trash. When times were rough, fathers who could not handle the pressures made their families suffer greatly.
Many immigrant fathers felt ashamed for what their children did in America, particularly the company that they kept. For example, a Korean father hit his daughter to the ground after finding out that she was seeing an American friend. “You have been running around with that American girl for too long . . . she is a bad influence . . . you are becoming too American” (Na, 2001, p. 111-112).

Immigrant fathers also thought that their wives were not satisfied with the amount of money that they brought home. As presented in *A Step from Heaven* (Na, 2001), when a Korean mother asked her husband to relocate the family into a larger flat because the new baby would be born soon, the father took her request as an insult to his manhood and responded by saying, “Get you a fancy house? Is that what you want? I cannot provide you with enough? . . . You always want more” (p. 36).

In addition, most immigrant fathers were portrayed as being absent breadwinners. Although they sent money to the family back home and acted as providers, they had one goal in mind – to become successful. If it meant leaving the family to do this, so be it they thought.

*Grandmothers*

Aside from being the “all-knowing” member of the family, many grandmothers were the ones who kept the family’s cultural values and traditions alive. For instance, a Mexican grandmother who gave her granddaughter a journal to write in reminded her to “Never forget who you are and where you are from. Keep your language and culture alive in your diary and in your heart” (Perez, 2002, p. 24).

Furthermore, offering proverbs on a regular basis, an Irish grandmother suggested that her family stop complaining about having to live with an American uncle because, as she saw it, “Anyone who feeds me is like a father to me” (Auch, 2002, p. 97).
Grandmothers viewed their grandchildren as solid individuals who were simply trying to find their way in life. For example, in The Trouble Begins (Himelblau, 2005), even though a Vietnamese father did not think his son would amount to much, the grandmother believed that the young boy was special, and would one day prove it to his father.

Grandfathers

Immigrant grandfathers were portrayed as thoughtful and wise, yet energetic and full of life. Grandchildren honored and respected their grandfathers and cherished their keepsakes, such as a prayer shawl, that grandfathers passed down onto the next generation (Napoli, 2005). Although they were often uneducated and needed their grandchildren to read letters to them, grandchildren lived by their encouraging words.

Sisters

Immigrant sisters were often annoying and pushy, yet motherly, since they carefully watched over their siblings.

Brothers

Although most immigrant brothers treated their family members kindly in their native land, once in America, brothers often changed. As portrayed in The Trouble Begins (Himelblau, 2005), immigrant brothers began yelling at their family members on a regular basis. Likewise, a young Korean not only began to smoke marijuana, but also started skipping school. When his younger sister asked him what he did during the day when not at school, he angrily responded, “I hang out with my friends . . . mind your own stupid nerdy business. You’re probably jealous that I even have friends . . . Who are your friends . . . Who do you eat lunch with? The books at the library?” (Na, 2001, p. 134-135).
Aunts and Uncles

American aunts and uncles were often unkind to the immigrants when they came to America. Since the newly arrived immigrants often lived with them, aunts and uncles did not like it when the guests touched or used their household items without permission.

Although American aunts were bossy, fussy, and often angry at the immigrants, uncles were more neutral and only asked that the immigrants cooperate with their wives in order for the family to have peace. Regardless of their impartiality, American uncles had forgotten who they were and where they came from, and treated the newcomers as if they were different.

Teachers

For the most part, American teachers were portrayed as ones who made a positive impact on immigrant children’s lives. For example, a teacher in Behind the Mountains (Danticat, 2002) was kind and helpful, and went out of her way to find someone who could ride the bus home with a young immigrant. Another teacher noticed that a young Mexican had a talent for singing and suggested that he use it (Herrera, 2005). Teachers were also shown sitting next to young immigrants and helping them learn new words (Na, 2001). Other teachers allowed young immigrants to express who they were through their art (Hoffman, 2002), or accept the fact that they had long and hyphenated last names (Lainez, 2009).

Yet, there were American teachers who disliked the young immigrants’ ethnic names and took it upon themselves to change them. For example, in A Step from Heaven (Na, 2001), a Korean father has to comfort his crying daughter after learning that the teacher changed her name. “Shhh, Young Ju” he said. “In school you are only Young. Mi Gook [American] people will have too much trouble saying all the syllables. It is better to keep it simple for them” (p. 31).
It was also assumed that American teachers enjoyed punishing their students. For instance, a young Vietnamese claimed in *The Trouble Begins* (Himelblau, 2005), “I don’t like the teacher because I don’t know what she’s saying. She points at me . . . to stand up. Then she says a lot of words. Everyone laughs. She smiles a big fake [smile]” (p. 15).

*Old and New Home*

Many of the immigrants found that they were homesick for their native country. The Irish mother, for example, felt that life was better there, and insisted that they never should have left (Auch, 2002). Likewise, even though a Mexican father had tried to stay on for years, he believed that being in America had caused him to forget his homeland when he stated, “Mexico feels like a house where we used to live” (Herrera, 2005, p. 77).

Immigrants often compared their old home to their new home in America. For example, a young Vietnamese refugee states, “In the Philippines there were kids everywhere, but in America the kids are all hiding” (Himelblau, 2005, p. 12). In the Philippines refugee camp, children would catch beetles and skunks as a pastime activity and not care if they smelled the next day. The young Jamaican, too, found that America was different from his homeland. In America, subway trains went under the ground, whereas in Jamaica, the only things found underground were dead people (Gunning, 2004).

After coming to America, many husbands and wives were shown arguing on a daily basis. To illustrate, a Haitian son in *Behind the Mountains* (Danticat, 2002), “Manman [mother] and Papa had their first fight in New York. I could hear them arguing all the way from my room. Manman had turned up the stove too high and burnt some rice she was cooking” (p. 96-).

However, there were those immigrants who anticipated greatness in America. Some examples include a young Irish that girl did not want to go back to Ireland to marry a boy in the
village and live the life her mother and grandmother did (Auch, 2002), and a Somalian boy who felt happy and comfortable in America, so much so that he finally began drawing pictures without flames or bullets in the background. Instead, he used bright colors and drew cheerful people (Hoffman, 2002).

New Neighborhood

Unlike the old neighborhood where everyone knew and helped each other, immigrants often felt resistant towards their new neighborhoods and neighbors in America as they appeared segregated and unwelcoming. As various neighborhoods housed certain ethnicities, it was assumed that “Italians belong[ed] together,” as well as the Irish, Jewish, and Polish (Napoli, 2005, p. 114). American neighborhoods included pedophiles (Herrera, 2005), spying and nosey neighbors (Himelblau, 2005), and other social discrepant individuals.

Yet, on the bright side, even though neighborhoods in major American cities were considered despicable places, at least some, such as the Somalians, did not hear soldier’s guns go off anymore (Hoffman, 2002). Further examples include West Indie newcomers that were happy that they could still find churches in America, and a young Italian that was relieved to not hear people call him a “Bastardo Jew” anymore (Napoli, 2005, p. 16)

Religion

Several of the immigrants were religious, frequent visitors at their local churches, and read the Bible for strength. For the Haitians, going to mass at church was like “carrying a piece of Haiti with them” (Danticat, 2002, p. 95). For a Korean mother, church was a refuge, a place that made her feel worthy of being alive and a place that offered her something more than just work (Na, 2001). For an Irish mother, a devoted Christian, having a church that resembled the one in Ireland and that offered mass every Sunday was a small, yet great, blessing (Auch, 2002).
Other immigrants refused to go to church, did not want to meet other parishioners, and did not want anything to do with religion. They felt that churches did not need parishioners since “the church [was] rich” (Napoli, 2005, p. 19). The Korean father, who greatly ridiculed the church and his wife for believing in religion, felt that there was no reason to go to church. After all, “What good is God going to do?” (Na, 2001, p. 100). Perhaps it was due to living with an anti-religious father that caused the young Korean girl to begin questioning her faith. “I sit in the front seat staring out the window, thinking about the time that Halmoni taught me to pray . . . Now that I’m older, I don’t really believe there is someone listening to me” (Na, 2001, p. 101).

Religious leaders were important community figures since they were often the only ones that immigrants could turn to, cry to for help, talk to, or believe in.

Having the freedom to choose in America, immigrants often converted their religion to one that they found interesting. An Irish American uncle, for example, changed from being a Catholic to a Lutheran, regardless of the Irish calling him a pagan for converting (Auch, 2002).

Being highly superstitious, a Chinese grandmother believed that once her grandchild was in America, the American devils would take him and not allow him to come back to China, just like they did with the young boy’s father and grandfather (Currier, 2004). A young Italian was also superstitious as he felt that his deceased grandfather’s spirit lived within a small carved object, and therefore it “could protect” their home “against evil” (Napoli, 2005, p. 2).

Other books did not include any mention of religion, or briefly mentioned the religion of the characters, but did not focus in it or go into any detail.

Heroes

Young children were often the heroes in the stories, as they were able to keep the family together during the inspection process at Ellis Island or Angel Island, or help mend conflicts...
between family members. For example, a young Chinese boy managed to get from China to America on his own, despite the problems he faced along the way, all while staying true to his culture, staying out of trouble, minding his own business, and being good (Currier, 2004). A young Korean girl was described as a hero due to the fact that she saved her mother from being killed by her father when she did not hesitate to report him to the police (Na, 2001). Furthermore, a young Italian is a hero since he made it to America alone at only nine-years old, and upheld his promise to his mother that he would become his own boss (Napoli, 2005). Finally, a young Irish woman was a hero when she not only came to America alone, but despite the natural disasters that tried to break her, she outwitted Mother Nature by getting through it all with her little shovel (Connor, 2004).

American historical figures were the young immigrants’ role models, and inspired children to become heroes themselves. For example, if simple men such as Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King could alter the fate of African Americans, a young Haitian thought he could make a change in his family’s lives. Furthermore, if President William Clinton, whose farewell speech encouraged citizens to treat foreigners with respect, and George W. Bush, whose inaugural address promoted the notion that foreigners were an asset to American society, had the power to change people, so could the young Haitian (Danticat, 2002).

**Norms**

Immigrants often felt humiliated as they “had done grueling work in order to make the lives of these people easier” (Murphy, 2000, p. 83). For example, as a Sudanese father stated, “I didn’t come to this country to sweep the floors” (Applegate, 2007, p. 109).

For immigrant children whose fathers had come to America before them, as described in *Behind the Mountains* (Danticat, 2002), it was common for children to think that their fathers
would “find a new son and daughter and a new wife and forget about” them (p. 64). Although the fathers in the stories did not do such a thing, they did have conflicting feelings about their families once they came back into their lives.

Also shown was the normal desire for young immigrants to be accepted by their peers. Some would lie to get attention, such as the young Korean who told her classmates, “My brother. He die” (Na, 2001, p. 43), when he was very much still alive.

Children were also shown experiencing American norms for the first time. Such as the drink, Diet Coke, it was hard for young immigrants to understand why anyone would want to drink a dietetic soda (Himelblau, 2005), or why a child would be offered root beer when they were too young to drink beer (Sheth, 2004). When going to a mall, a young Vietnamese saw an escalator for the first time and did not know how to get on it (Himelblau, 2005). A young Indian also had a hard time believing that Americans put up real trees in their living rooms during Christmas (Sheth, 2004). As for Halloween, a young Haitian was surprised, yet delighted, that people would give him free candy if he only put his jacket over his head and appeared like a headless monster. A young Indian immigrant discussed her experience in celebrating Thanksgiving for the first time in America. Since she had never seen a turkey before, when seeing one on a platter, she “wondered where its head was” (Sheth, 2004, p. 83). In addition, when a young Vietnamese boy had no choice but to eat Macaroni and Cheese, an “American frozen food with slimy cheese,” he was shocked to find that all he had to do was “pour hot water over dried-up American noodles in a white foam cup” (Himelblau, 2005, p. 24).

Young immigrants were also shown wishing that their present life would become better in the future. Aside from someday getting Porsches and other fancy cars, a young Korean girl wished that, like her American friend’s parents, her parents would “speak or joke with the ease
of Mr. and Mrs. Doyle” (Na, 2001, p. 110). An Irish girl dreamed of never having to sew again (Giff, 2004). A young Mexican, who had crossed over the United States border illegally, hoped that one day he would no longer have to hide, or be picked up by “men in the green van,” or immigration officials (Herrera, 2005, p. 247). Another young Mexican wished that his mother would stop having to visit the social services office for “the Well-fair check at the beginning of the month” (Herrera, 2005, p. 129).

Author’s Background: Immigrant or Non-immigrant?

Through the author’s acknowledgements and biographies on the back cover of their books, it was found that nine out of the 25 authors were immigrants, and 16 were non-immigrants.

Author’s Trustworthiness

Most authors were not only award-winning writers, but were former or present teachers, university professors, journalists, poets, reading consultants, bilingual instructors, or script-writers. Authors credited their writing ideas to real-life experiences and historical events, as well as from social dilemmas that they became interested in.

Many of the authors were born in the same countries that their stories represented. Similar to the characters in their stories, Monica Gunning (2004), Eldwidge Danticat (2002), René Colato Laínez (2009), An Na (2001), and Amada Irma Perez (2002), experienced emigrating to America, and held the same hopes and fears that came with being a child immigrant.

For writers such as Donna Jo Napoli (2005), Katina Saltonstall Currier (2004), Patricia Reilly Giff (2004), Juan Felipe Herrera (2005), and Francis Ward Weller (2003), although they were not immigrants, they based their stories on family’s experiences, what relatives told them
about certain family members, or on what their students shared with them about their immigration experience. The authors’ primary goal in writing their stories was to document the important happenings, and to provide oral history-type stories to present or future students.

Authors such as Andrea Cheng (2000), Mary Hoffman (2002), Linda Himelblau (2005), Milly Lee (2006), and Mary Williams (2005) were inspired to write stories that could promote multiculturalism and awareness of the immigrant experience.

Other authors such as Leslie Connor (2004) and Avi (2003) were described as having come from families of writers or storytellers. For that reason, they were influenced to write about people since they grew up surrounded with tellers of tales that did the same. Mary Jane Auch (2002) and Jim Murphy (2000) not only offered vivid details about historical events such as the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire or the early 1900s immigration of Italians to America, but wrote to express the treatment immigrants faced from Americans. Authors infused historical events and figures in order to make their stories more meaningful and interesting.

Several authors conducted research to portray accurate stories. For example, authors such as Will Hobbs (2006) had an interest in Mexican illegal immigration. He not only wanted to expose the struggles that Mexicans faced, but to educate readers about the problems Americans had with undocumented citizens. Likewise, Joan MacPhail Knight (2006) and Rosalyn Schnazer (2000) wrote about people and events that they were familiar with, and also based their stories on extensive historical research.

Author’s Perspective

Overall, the author’s perspective was that one could overcome ethnic barriers in America if one persevered. However, regarding the stories on illegal immigration, the authors’ views were that this type of activity had been around for a long time, yet became a major issue after 9/11
when border patrols took drastic measures to protect America from terrorists, or anyone that was considered undesirable.

With authors often focusing on family relationships or the daily life of immigrants, it was clear they felt that the way children or adults behaved with the loss of their family or country was what mattered most when delivering immigrant stories.

Since the stories had serious underpinnings, authors viewed their stories as documentations that children must know and have access to.

Author’s Empathy

Most authors showed a great deal of empathy and respect for immigrants when they described the dilemmas that the newcomers faced. For example, in *Ashes of Roses* (Auch, 2002), the author displayed compassion towards the victims of the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire in the immigrants’ quest to reform working conditions. In stories such as *Behind the Mountains* (Danticat, 2002) and *The King of Mulberry Street* (Napoli, 2005), authors pulled at readers’ hearts when they emotionally expressed the struggles young immigrants endured when coming to America.

Author’s Purpose

Although most stories were written to entertain, they were attempts at creating multicultural literature in which children could perceive themselves as not just minorities, but as champions. In an effort to promote activism, authors informed readers of historical events so that they could become inspired to make change happen for immigrants in the future.

Author’s Message

In all stories, the authors’ overall message was that although immigrants faced many challenges in adjusting to America; if they believed in themselves, they could overcome all
obstacles. To express this point, a young Haitian in *Behind the Mountains* (Danticat, 2002) delivered the proverb, “Behind the mountains, are more mountains . . . We had faced mountains of obstacles, but with help from family and friends [we] seemed to have conquered them” (p. 159).

Likewise, through her young German female character who once felt that America did not deliver what she had hoped for. Giff (2004) pointed out that through time, perseverance, hard work, and cleverness, the young girl did get what she wished for, and so deserved. Napoli (2005) confirms this type of message as her young Italian male character stated, “Lots of us had it rough at first. America’s not perfect. God knows . . . But in Italy my family was always struggling. Here, we’re doing better” (Napoli, 2005, p. 132). Hobbs (2006), the author of *Crossing the Wire*, also expressed through his young Mexican character that if one is prepared to work hard in America, “it’s possible to start from the ground and reach the top of the tree” (p. 97). For that matter, Knight (2006), author of *Charlotte in New York*, suggested that even though her young character had the opportunity to travel around the world, she found that there was no place like America.

In a seemingly scolding tone, Lainez (2009), author of *Rene has Two Names*, pointed out that although Hispanics had two last names (the first part depicting the father’s side, and the second depicting the mother’s), Hispanics were no different than Americans. Furthermore, since some Hispanics chose to hold onto this tradition while in America, Americans needed to realize that Hispanics are only honoring their cultures.

In some cases, authors depicted the United States as a country that welcomed diversity. For example, for the Italian who was looked down upon in Italy for being Jewish, as well as for
being an illegitimate child, Napoli (2005) relayed that in America, everyone is accepted for who they were.

Yet, for the undocumented Mexicans that came to America daily, the author of *Crossing the Wire* (Hobbs, 2006) begged to differ. As the author suggested, Americans not only looked down upon Mexicans, but “they sure [went] to a lot of trouble” to catch the illegal ones . . . They say that one out of every ten citizens of Mexico is living in the States. Think if they ever rounded [them] all up. Who would do all the work? Are they willing to pick the fruits and the vegetables to fill their grocery stores?” (p. 100).

**Dialect**

In a greater portion of the books, native words that were used to describe English words helped make the stories more realistic. For example, the Haitian word “*Manman,*” often used in *Behind the Mountains* (Danticat, 2002), meant “Mother,” and the Korean word “*Mi Gook,*” often mentioned in *A Step from Heaven* (Na, 2001), meant “America.”

Stories such as *My Diary from Here to There* (Perez, 2002) taught readers key Spanish words through a vocabulary list. This offered readers a truer sense of the text.

**Learning English**

Since most immigrants came to America with little or no knowledge of the English language, not only did they desire to learn English for various reasons, but found unique ways to grasp the new language. For instance, a young Italian taught himself how to read and write, not only to be able to communicate with Americans, but mainly to read the newspaper’s help wanted ads (Murphy, 2000). The young Chinese had coaching books and personal tutors who taught them English in China (Currier, 2004; Lee, 2006). Although an employed Haitian father could not find time during the day to learn English, he enrolled in night school at a local church that
helped Haitian parishioners learn the new language (Danticat, 2002). In contrast, a young Italian who also went to school at night confessed that he learned more English on his own in the streets, or at least what he thought was enough to sell sandwiches to customers, than he did in school (Napoli, 2005).

Many of the immigrants learned English through no formal classroom training, but by way of reading tags on shirts (Herrera, 2005), using flash cards (Cheng, 2000), or immersing themselves in factory or other work-related environments where they learned English through co-workers and customers (Giff, 2004).

Publishers

Besides the usual publishers such as Scholastic; Henry Holt & Company; Children’s Book Press; Lee & Low Books; Clarion; HarperCollins; Atheneum; Houghton Mifflin Company; and Hyperion Books for Children; stories published during the 2000s were produced by various new companies never shown before. For example, Phyllis Fogelman Books, an imprint of Dial Books for Young Readers, published high-quality books for children and young adults and featuring award-winning authors and illustrators. Although it was only recently established in 1998, it seems to be presently defunct (Mormon Literature & Creative Arts, 2014).

The Angel Island Association is unique in that it is not primarily a publishing house. Instead, The Association, or Conservancy, is a non-profit Cooperating Association that supports Angel Island State Park and whose “primary mission is to facilitate the preservation, restoration and interpretation of historical and natural resources on Angel Island, with the goal of enhancing the visitors’ experiences and building a community.” The Conservancy hosts educational projects at the park and has made available a few select works of literature featuring Angel Island (California Department of Parks and Recreation, 2014).

A relatively young publisher, Boyds Mills Press, established in 1990, focuses on publishing books for children. The publisher is a trade division of Highlights for Children Inc., the producer of the popular children’s magazine Highlights. According to the official website of Boyds Mills Press, Highlights “has a long tradition of helping children develop a love of reading. The publisher’s highest priority when choosing manuscripts for publishing is “respect for children.” The publisher is dedicated to “publishing and exposing young readers to the best literature available in other countries, cultures, and languages,” holding a strong belief in “new voices” (Boyds Mill Press, 2013).

According to Random House Children’s Books, it is the “world’s largest English-language children’s book trade publisher,” producing and distributing literature for youth of all ages. The publisher’s success began in 1957 when it revolutionized the market for youth literature and published Dr. Seuss’s The Cat in the Hat as part of its new “Beginner Books” series. (Random House LLC, 2014). Thus, most publishers produced books for children and young adults that promoted a new way of thinking.

Accuracy of Historical Events

With stories centered on the exodus of Vietnamese during the Vietnam War and the spotlight on refugee characters, Rumbaut (1996) reported that “The war was a tragedy of staggering proportions for Americans and Vietnamese . . . After the end of the war in 1975, over two million refugees fled Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia . . . By the early 1990s over one million had been resettled in the U.S.” (p. 315).
For the Somalian refugees during the early 1990s, Haitian refugees in the late 1970s, and Sudanese refugees in the late 1980s, their experiences before, during, and after coming to America were greatly expressed in the stories. As suggested by Bhui, (2003), “Each refugee group experience[d] specific migration and resettlement experience[s]” (Bhui, et al., 2003, p. 35). Yet, surprisingly, although they faced “constraints and limited opportunities” in America, “refugees were found to be imaginative, resourceful and industrious.” Hence, “in spite of the unfavourable conditions, the refugees succeeded in maintaining their independence and cultural identity” (Kibreab, 1993, p. 321).

Since the Italians were discussed in great lengths, it was shown that these immigrants did face American nativism, were regularly placed in pick and shovel jobs, and mistreated by American bosses and coworkers. As presented by Cosco (2003), “The Italians constituted America’s largest immigrant group. Between 1880 and 1921, some 4.5 million Italians came to America, some to settle permanently, some as seasonal workers who would eventually return to Italy” (p. 4). To further explain, Murphy (2000) pointed out that “when a laborer [left] one locality for another, he could always find a pick and shovel job – to move dirt and rocks, [and] make roads” (p. 75). Although, “it was called work . . . it was nothing short of slavery” (p. 84).

Several of the stories reflected high-skilled immigrants in “science and engineering” or in fields “concentrated in computer-related jobs” (Martin, 2012, p. 1058). With the internet having burst into the new millennium, Martin (2009) confirms that, “Between 2000 and 2007, a third of the eight million immigrants admitted to the US were from Asia” (p. 3.) Although “migration from Asia to traditional immigration countries was largely blocked until mid-1960s, when policy reforms in Canada and the US eased entry for Asian professionals[,] . . . [Asians] were offered jobs by Canadian and US employers . . . and most quickly climbed the economic ladder” (p. 6).
To also note, since several of the books were dedicated to victims of the September 11th, 2001 New York City terrorist attacks, or associated to tragedies such as the 1911 New York Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire and political and religious wars in Somalia, Vietnam, and Sudan, it was clear that stories reflected a new concern for immigrants – and the way Americans viewed them. With President George W. Bush’s “crusade against . . . war on terror,” the establishment of “the Department of Homeland Security,” and the passing “of the USA Patriot Act,” it was apparent that “U.S. media and popular culture participated in the construction, diffusion, and sometimes, critique of this powerful discourse” (Croft, 2007, p. 1).

Since a string of hurricanes occurred in the early 2000s that caused children to come face-to-face with “the consequences of disasters,” it was also brought to the surface that “younger children possess fewer strategies for coping with both the immediate disaster impact and its aftermath, and thus may suffer more severe emotional and psychological problems” (Fothergill, 2006, p. 99). Therefore, stories such as Ms. Bridie Chose A Shovel (Connor, 2004), that featured a character overcoming the effects of natural disasters, functioned as “an association between children's level of understanding” about natural disasters, brought forth the message that one could overcome one’s environmental happenings (Sprung, 2008, p. 575).

With illegal immigration featured in books such as Crossing the Wire (Hobbs, 2006) and Downtown Boy (Herrera, 2005), stories reflected not only the daily occurrence of Mexicans wanting to come to the United States, but the impact of undocumented immigrants in literature. As Huntington (2004) delivered, “Contemporary Mexican . . . immigration is without precedent in U.S. history . . . Mexican immigration differs from past immigration and most other contemporary immigration due to a combination of six factors: contiguity, scale, illegality, regional concentration, persistence, and historical presence” (p. 31).
**Multiculturalism and Social Studies**

Most of the selected books could not be used to express a multicultural America as they were more about how immigrants were treated by non-immigrants and immigrants alike. However, since two of the books included text in both Spanish and English, perhaps they could be used since they were written bilingually. Also highlighted was why Hispanics had two last names, an important aspect of Hispanic culture.

Although a few stories expressed cultural traditions and holidays, there were more that discussed social studies topics. For example, stories that explained the harrowing examination process at Ellis or Angel Island, or the social stigma that was placed on the Chinese in America, would work well in a history course. As many readers may be unaware that the Jewish were found in countries such as Italy, the story *The King of Mulberry Street* (Napoli, 2005) could be used in the social studies curriculum to inform readers about Jewish Diaspora. With the book *Crossing the Wire* (Hobbs, 2006) detailing how Mexicans were able to enter the country illegally through customs agents that were paid off, the story could be used in the social studies curriculum since it focused on the reality of undocumented immigrants.

**Age-appropriate**

As many of the stories discussed adult-like themes such as immigration, genocide, and child abuse, it would be difficult for young children to appreciate the author’s messages, or their meaning and connection to the immigrant experience. Therefore, for books that included such topics, they would be most appropriate for middle school-aged children.

As the 2000s decade included a wide range of unique picture books, young students could associate with the stories since themes focused on trying to fit in with other classmates, reuniting with parents after many years, and using art, writing, or acting to express one’s self.
Appeal for Young Readers

As the 2000s decade had a multitude of books that included unique and catchy titles such as *Silent Movie* (Avi, 2003), *Uncle Rain Cloud* (Johnson, 2001), *Ms. Birdie Chose a Shovel* (Connor), or *The House of Tailors* (Giff, 2004), readers could be drawn to the books for this reason alone. With the picture books also having a flair for distinctive illustrations, many of the stories could be used as read alouds in the primary classroom since they could capture a young audience’s attention.

Since many of the books were award-winning books written by popular authors; students, teachers, and parents would be more likely to purchase them.

In addition, since many of the books were published by Scholastic, not only would readers purchase the books since the publisher is a symbol of safe content, but students would have the opportunity to purchase them in class since teachers often provide them with Scholastic Club purchase orders.

Most Chinese readers would be drawn to books such as *Grandfather Counts* (Chieng, 2000), *Kai’s Journey to Gold Mountain* (Currier, 2004), or *Landed* (Lee, 2006) since they might have ancestors that passed through Angel Island and would like to gain knowledge about what their relatives went through.

Books such as *A Step From Heaven* (Na, 2001) and *Blue Jasmine* (Sheth, 2004) met new market demands since they could appeal not only to Koreans and Indians, but to also Americans since Korean popular culture and “Bollywood,” or India’s Hollywood, are growing in popularity today. Any type of literature, movie, or music reflecting these trends are marketable for today’s youth.
2010s Trade Book Selections

Title: Thanhha Lai
Author: Inside Out and Back Again
Illustrator: No illustrations
Year of Publication: 2011
Time Period in Storyline: 2000s
Country of Origin: Vietnam
Ethnicity: Vietnamese
Setting in America: Alabama

Title: Ruby Lu
Author: Lenore Look
Illustrator: Stef Choi
Publisher: New York, NY: Atheneum Books for Young Readers
Year of Publication: 2011
Time Period in Storyline: Early 2000s
Country of Origin: China
Ethnicity: Chinese
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: The Name Jar
Author: Yangsook Choi
Illustrator: Yangsook Choi
Publisher: New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf
Year of Publication: 2011
Time Period in Storyline: 2000s
Country of Origin: Korea
Ethnicity: Korean
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: Girl in Translation
Author: Jean Kwok
Illustrator: No illustrations.
Publisher: New York, NY: Riverhead Books
Year of Publication: 2010
Time Period in Storyline: 1997-present/future
Country of Origin: China
Ethnicity: Chinese
Setting in America: New York, NY

Title: Tell Us We’re Home
Author: Marina Budhos
Illustrator: No illustrations
Publisher: New York, NY: Atheneum Books for Young Readers
Out of the six books selected for this decade, the number of books written about the immigrant’s various native countries was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of Books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad, Slovenia, and Mexico</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown, immigrants began to arrive in America from places such as Trinidad, Slovenia, and Argentina, countries not commonly seen before in previous decades.

Out of the six stories selected for this decade, the number of books written about the immigrants’ various United States destinations was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>Number of Books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meadowbrook, New Jersey</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twin Lakes, New York</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Stories written in the 2010s continued to include immigrants that settled in New York City. However, regions such as New Jersey, Alabama, and outer New York City never mentioned before in previous decades were featured as immigrant settlements.

Illustrations

Two out of the six books presented were picture books.

Stereotypes in Illustrations

Out of the two picture books presented, one storyline in particular featured stereotypes in the illustrations. To exemplify, a young Chinese girl was shown wearing glasses, a representation that she was smart.

In addition, while an Americanized young Chinese girl used a fork at dinner, her immigrant Chinese cousin by the name of “Flying Duck” still used chopsticks.

Illustrations of Identical or Unique Characters

Chinese characters were identically illustrated with black straight hair tightly pulled into pony tails on top of their heads, beach-ball round faces, and small bodies. Korean character illustrations were more distinguishable.

Illustrations of Active Characters

All children in the stories were illustrated participating in mischievous activities.

Socioeconomic Status Portrayed in Illustrations

A Chinese mother was illustrated wearing a scarf on her head while busily doing housework, or dressed in casual clothing at the table while fretting over unpaid bills. In contrast, however, Americans were often portrayed as having wealth and leisure time; they had the time and money to dye their hair pink and wear unusual clothing.
Main Characters

Most main characters were children between the ages of 10 and 16. The stories often spanned their growth from childhood to adulthood.

Problems or Issues

Although stories were fictional and often entertaining, storylines included serious undertones. For example, in *Inside Out and Back Again* (Lai, 2011), a young Vietnamese girl learned to adjust in America while she waited to find out whether her father, once captured by the communists, was still alive. In *Girl in Translation* (Kwok, 2010), the novel explained the story of a young Chinese immigrant girl who came to the United States after her father died. Poverty, poor working conditions, illegal housing conditions, child labor, language barrier, young love, and pregnancy were all issues addressed in the story. In *Life, After* (Littman, 2010), an economic depression in Argentina caused an Argentinean-Jewish family to move to America. In their new life, the family had to deal with the issues of assimilation and a depressed father.

*The Name Jar* (Choi, 2011) discussed the story about a young Korean female who after starting school in America for the first time and desiring to fit in, found out that she was in need of an American name.

Stereotypes and Offensive Overtones

Stereotypes often revolved around cultural foods and social practices. For example, a Trinidadian family was shown eating chicken and curry, drinking rum, and blaring Caribbean music at a family BBQ. They were also portrayed as being so thrifty that they reused plastic wrap and empty containers, and collected second-hand merchandise (Budhos, 2010).

Along with the common portrayal that all Mexicans were undocumented, the group was stereotyped as being loud and rowdy, having multiple generations living together in one
dwelling, and thus having an abundance of cars parked in their driveways. Mexican males were
boisterous, dangerous, and regularly in jail for fighting (Budhos, 2010).

The Chinese were portrayed as punctual and never missing a day of school or work. As
presented in Ruby Lu (Look, 2011), a young Chinese daughter described a day when her father
surprisingly came home early from work: “Missing work was like missing school... dad could
gt seriously busted” (p. 24). Stereotypes were also present when discussing immigrants’
employment. For example, the Chinese were shown to have found jobs “in a couple of busy
Chinese restaurants” (Look, 2011, p. 118), while the Mexicans secured jobs as day laborers or in
the landscaping business (Budhos, 2010).

Americans commonly held stereotypes about certain ethnicities. For example, a young
Argentinean’s classmates connected her to the movie “Evita,” and therefore called her by that
name (Littman, 2010). Similarly, a young Vietnamese was called “Buddha” by classmates who
made fun of her religion, and “pancake face” for her physical features (Lai, 2011). Yet,
immigrants also stereotyped Americans and their lifestyles. Americans were viewed as wealthy,
unsympathetic, selfish, and evil. American food was considered revolting and not real (Lai,
2011). As most immigrants had never seen an African American before, immigrants described
them as dark-skinned individuals whom they feared (Kwok, 2010).

*Impressions of America (pre-immigration)*

Before coming to America, young immigrants had the expectation that American males
were cowboys who wore cowboy boots and rode horses through town (Lai, 2011).

*The Goodbyes*

As immigrants said good bye to their loved ones, friends and relatives offered them
keepsake gifts or seeds to plant in America for them to remember their homeland.
Why Immigrants Came to America

Immigrants came to America to escape poverty, war, political and religious oppression, or for their children to have greater educational opportunities. Often widowed and in search of a better way to support their families, immigrant mothers felt the need to leave their country so that their children could grow up in a place where they no longer had to “worry about saving half a bite of sweet potato” (Lai, 2011, p. 47). To provide an example, a Vietnamese mother refugee decided to go to America after a stranger standing behind her in line at the immigration office whispered to her, “Choose America, more opportunities there, especially for a family with boys ready to work . . . If they are smart, America will give them scholarships” (Lai, 2011, p. 106).

Similarly, a group of Argentinean-Jews had an opportunity to move to Israel since the Israeli government offered them financial incentives to move there. However, the family decided to immigrate to the United States after seeing the mother, an innocent bystander, come home injured during an Argentinean demonstration. After all, the family thought, Israel might be a place just as violent – if not more (Littman, 2010).

How Immigrants Came to America

Although the immigrants traveled to America in various ways, the Vietnamese had the most difficult route. The Vietnamese had to first secretly make their way onto a Navy ship to Thailand to escape the war. They then connected onto another ship that sailed to America and landed in Florida. Once there, the family stayed in a tent camp until they were sponsored by a family in Alabama (Lai, 2011). The Argentineans, Trinidadians, Slovenians, Chinese, and Koreans came to America by plane.

As far as baggage, immigrants brought practical items with them to America. The Vietnamese packed uncooked and cooked rice, as well as memorabilia that reminded them of
home. The young Vietnamese boy brought old report cards, photographs, and pictures of American idols such as Bruce Lee and Johnny Cash, not only because he treasured them, but so that the Communists would not have them (Lai, 2011). There was no mention of how Mexicans arrived in America.

Journey to America

As commonly depicted, the ship’s steerage quarters were disturbing. With no lights or bathrooms in the lower deck, passengers were told to limit their water drinking to not have to go to the bathroom. Since the upper ship’s deck belonged to males only during the day, women could only use the deck during the evenings for bathroom purposes, or to take meager sponge baths behind a bed cover curtain (Lai, 2011).

As days turned into weeks, immigrants endured harrowing ordeals. For example, since the Vietnamese immigrants’ stock pile of food that they brought with them quickly dwindled, they made a rule that each passenger would only get a clump of rice “according to . . . [one’s] height” (Lai, 2011, p. 77).

The Arrival

Upon arrival in America, immigrants were amazed, yet disappointed, at the sights of New York. For instance, a young Chinese female who had imagined skyscrapers to be enchanting, found that they were not as wondrous as she had expected (Kwok, 2010).

Once on their own, Chinese immigrants started their life in New York with only a radio, an alarm clock, a television, and a few bed sheets. They were overjoyed at the sight of hot water coming out of a spigot, yet disappointed with all the roaches and mice, and little or no heat, in their apartment. The immigrants were also discouraged when an American store clerk spoke to
them harshly and overcharged them when they could not answer the clerk’s question, or explain in English what they wanted (Kwok, 2010).

For those that settled in places such as New Jersey, Alabama, or outer New York City, the communities were picture-perfect with wealthy citizens living in three-story homes and schools consisting of privileged students in advanced classes. Yet to the immigrants, the suburban communities were too sterile and quiet (Kwok, 2010).

Acceptance or Resistance

Immigrant children were often faced with resistance from bullying classmates who went to great lengths to inform them that they were not liked. For example, in Inside Out and Back Again (Lai, 2011), a young Vietnamese was not only harassed on a daily basis by her fellow classmates, but continued to be bullied out of school, particularly when the bullies egged her house.

Likewise, in Tell Us We’re Home (Budhos, 2010), snobbish peers at school never really accepted the three immigrant girls. Although there were exceptions, such as the two young Americans who fought for the immigrants’ causes and helped the girls overcome their English barriers, young immigrants still had a difficult time being accepted by their wealthy peers.

Furthermore, a young Argentinean was looked down upon by her American peers for lacking English, and was saddened when she overheard an American classmate telling another that if foreigners were “going to come to our country, the least they c[ould] do [wa]s make the effort to learn our language” (Littman, 2010, p. 150). The young immigrant was also ridiculed by her American classmates for wearing hand-me-downs, particularly when she was found to be wearing a rich female student’s shirt whose mother had donated to a local Jewish charity organization (Littman, 2010).
Although an Argentinean young female was met with resistance by an intimidating American peer, they eventually became friends after finding out that they shared a common background: they both experienced the loss of a family member during a terrorist attack (Littman, 2010).

Open-mindedness

Immigrant children were most open-minded about finding ways to overcome obstacles. For example, in the story *Ruby Lu* (Look, 2011), a young Chinese girl thought that if her father did not find a job soon, she would have to come up with another plan. Immigrant mothers were also open-minded as they longed for their children to have a better life. To illustrate, in *Life, After* (Littman, 2010), an Argentinean mother told her husband that if he did not want to go to America, she would have no other choice but to divorce him.

Close-mindedness

Storylines generally included a parent that did not wish to go to America. As typified in *Life, After* (Littman, 2010), an Argentinean father refused to leave his native land, even after the mother told him that “America [wa]s the land of opportunity.”

Americans were also close-minded about immigrants and poor people. For example, in *Inside Out and Back Again* (Lai, 2001), an American sponsor’s wife could not understand why her husband needed to support immigrants, and became jealous over his overt admiration for the Vietnamese family he brought to America.

Socioeconomic Status

Several of the immigrants that once held middle to upper-class occupations in their native lands accepted being poor in exchange for freedom in America, for example, the Argentinean
father that suddenly went from middle-class to poor overnight after an economic depression in Argentina, or the Trinidadian mother who attended nursing school in Trinidad.

Further, the Chinese mother and daughter shown in *Girl in Translation* (Kwok, 2010) were so impoverished that they could not afford to visit the doctor, eat meat with their rice, purchase underwear or winter clothing, or order photos taken at school. Since the mother and daughter were paid according to the amount of piece work they completed, they often calculated the cost of an item in relation to how many garments they needed to finish.

In the story *Tell Us We’re Home* (Budhos, 2010), immigrants were so economically disadvantaged that they could not go to the doctor or afford a car, and were only able to window shop. Yet, although they were poor, “there was always something delicious about pretending . . . Even if you couldn’t really have something, it always felt as if it were there for you to touch and smell” (Budhos, 2010, p. 105).

The other trade books of this decade contained little or no implications of the socioeconomic status of the characters.

*Education Levels*

Although all immigrants attended school in America and did their best to keep up, to them, education was more centered on how well their English was improving or how well they were turning into better Americans. Only the Vietnamese, Chinese, and Argentinean children were portrayed as extremely intelligent, first in their class, and successful in receiving scholarships.

The American school system was often negatively compared to the immigrants’ native schools. For example, in *Girl in Translation* (Kwok, 2010), a Chinese young immigrant expressed how American students were disrespectful towards their teachers and displayed poor
behaviors in class, and insisted that it was the fault of the American school system for allowing students to behave this way. To further exemplify, the young Chinese girl claimed that American students often tried to cheat off of her, and with her scores being so high on standardized tests and college entrance exams, educators often accused her of cheating.

Nearly all young immigrants were portrayed as having a passion for books and spending time in American libraries. A library was considered a luxury for young immigrants who did not have access to free books in their native countries.

*Occupations*

Although once holding prominent positions in their native countries, for the sake of freedom and starting a new life, immigrants held low-paying and back-breaking occupations in America. For example, the Chinese mother in *Girl in Translation* (Kwok, 2010) was once a prominent music teacher in China, but in America was employed in a factory where employees worked robotically for long hours.

The Vietnamese mother who was once a secretary also worked as a seamstress in a clothing factory. Although her eldest son was attending a university for engineering, he worked after school as a part-time mechanic. The youngest son helped out, as well, as a newspaper delivery boy (Lai, 2011).

The Argentinean father was the owner of a clothing shop in Argentina until he had to shut down due to a sweeping economic depression. Although he was unemployed and depressed when the family first arrived in America, he eventually became a counselor for a Jewish organization that helped guide individuals who were once like him (Littman, 2010).

Although the Slovakian young girl’s deceased father was once an engineer in Slovakia and the Trinidadian’s deceased father was an artist and businessman, due to life’s unexpected events,
their mothers, along with a young Mexican’s, became housemaids in America. Dressed in their usual blue uniforms, the mothers went to work every day at their employers’ fancy homes in affluent neighborhoods (Budhos, 2010).

Classism

Many of the storylines revolved around the struggles faced by the immigrants due to their economic statuses. Even from the start when several of the immigrants sailed to America by ship, there was an obvious division between steerage and first-class passengers.

After arriving, immigrants were treated as third-class citizens. For example, the three young immigrant females and their families featured in *Tell Us We’re Home* (Budhos, 2010) had a hard time fitting in with their American peers. The immigrant girls were considered low-class by American students who were well off and had the benefit of buying expensive clothes.

Another example is an obvious class difference between the Chinese mother and daughter and their American aunt who sponsored them to America. Since the aunt looked down on her sister and niece because of their poverty, she did nothing to assist them other than give them low-paying factory jobs. (Kwok, 2010).

Lifestyles: Before and After Immigration

Upon arriving in America, all immigrants eventually increased their socioeconomic status and recovered from their temporary level of poorness.

Peer Relationships

As mentioned, peers were shown treating young immigrants cruelly. For instance, a young Vietnamese explained that classmates not only made fun of her name “Ha” by pretending to be laughing “Ha ha,” but criticized her flat face, asked her if she enjoyed eating dog meat, or wondered if she liked living in the jungle (Lai, 2011).
Family Members

In general, immigrant families were portrayed as close-knit, loving, and caring. However, immigrant parents were shown worrying that their children were becoming too American. With American youth perceived as drug users, spoiled, and lazy, immigrant parents were concerned about who their children formed relationships with. When a daughter talked back to her mother in *Tell Us We’re Home* (Budhos, 2010), the young girl was automatically thought to have learned to speak in a foul tone from her American friends.

Power

For the most part, blue-uniformed individuals had power over the immigrants. For instance, Ellis Island inspectors who checked the immigrants for diseases had the authority to keep families together, or send members back to where they came from.

American sponsors, and aunts and uncles that brought the immigrants to America, also held power since they were now in charge of the family. For example, although the Vietnamese’s sponsor was kind and helpful, the same could not be said about the aunts and uncles (Lai, 2011).

School principals also possessed power since they could make it possible for teen immigrants to receive academic awards and scholarships, or set them up in private colleges (Kwok, 2010).

Leadership

Females mainly possessed leadership in the storylines. Mothers were shown as leaders who took charge and led their families to America. Young girls were leaders as they made it possible for their fathers to get a job, protect their rodent-fearful mothers from rats that lurked in the night, and made decisions based on their own instincts.
Customs and Traditions

Many of the customs and traditions discussed dealt with holidays and cultural foods. As shown in *Inside Out and Back Again* (Lai, 2011), during the tradition of “Tet,” or Vietnamese New Year, the family was shown blessing the house for good luck, and making one wish. As the young Vietnamese explained, the family ate “sugary lotus seeds and glutinous rice cakes. We wore all new clothes... Everyone must smile no matter how we feel... Today we all gain one year in age, no matter the date we were born. Tet, our New Year’s, doubles as everyone’s birthday” (p. 1-2).

The Chinese were described as celebrating their New Year holiday by adhering to Feng Shui principles, honoring their ancestors, and visiting a temple (Kwok, 2010).

Other Chinese cultural traditions included showing respect to a teacher by putting one’s arms behind one’s back, never sharing a meal for “it wasn’t Chinese to eat from someone else’s food” (Kwok, 2010, p. 33), never allowing a dog to lick a human as dogs were considered full of germs, wrapping hot rice in a hankie and placing it on one’s forehead to cure illnesses, and if invited over to one’s home, return the invitation by having them over as well (Kwok, 2010).

The other trade books of this decade did not describe any cultural traditions in great detail, if any were mentioned at all.

Males

As typical, immigrant males were portrayed as the dominant gender in family. They were depicted as being tougher than women and responsible for the physical work that needed to be done. Although strong and tough, immigrant males were often unemployed and no longer breadwinners. Feeling undervalued and unable to get anywhere in American society, they became complainers and self-pitying drunkards. Portrayed as lazy, immigrant males often stayed
home with the window blinds drawn, were found sprawled on the couch sleeping, and made no effort to find a job (Littman, 2010).

For example, Mexican teen males were portrayed as angry and always fighting, having bloodshot eyes, smelling like beer, playing loud music, or having dropped out of school. Young Mexicans were abusive toward women; they hit them when they spoke without permission, yelled at them when their dinner was not ready, and punished them when they spoke to American boys (Budhos, 2010).

In contrast, American males were portrayed as “Frisbee boys” where “everything was easy . . . American easy” for them (Budhos, 2010, p. 93). Shown as wealthy and always complaining like spoiled children, American males did not “realize how lucky” they were (Budhos, 2010, p. 123).

**Females**

Women were portrayed as standing by their men. When their husbands were unemployed and depressed, women became the family breadwinners and carried the family’s weight on their shoulders. When men gave up, women took over and began making the family’s decisions. Overall, females appeared to be stronger than men, and were able to get by without them.

**Children**

Although children were depicted as cute and innocent, they were also an essential part of the family’s survival since they worked hard alongside their parents and assisted in chores.

**Teenagers**

Often portrayed as counselors, immigrant teenagers offered comforting words to their worried mothers such as, “Everything’s going to be okay, Mama . . . We’re in America now” or offered advice to their siblings on how to deal with bullies (Lai, 2011, p. 94).
In contrast to their calming voices at home, immigrant teens loudly vocalized their rights in America and began speaking out for change. Many became interested in politics and social justice issues and became activists (Kwok, 2010).

American teens, on the other hand, were depicted as having parties when their parents were away, drinking liquor, and smoking marijuana (Kwok 2010).

**Mothers**

As many immigrant mothers were portrayed as widows, they were individuals who suddenly become the family’s breadwinner and children’s disciplinary figure. To express this, a young Vietnamese daughter who was expected to live by her mother’s tradition and strict rules stated, “Who can go against a mother who has become gaunt like bark from raising four children alone” (Lai, 2011, p. 54).

Although immigrant mothers were often pessimistic about their future, they were extremely optimistic about their children’s futures in America.

Immigrant mothers were also moral-laden story-tellers and offered advice through proverbs or inspirational messages. In *Ruby Lu* (Look, 2011), a Chinese mother reassured her daughter that Father would find employment by stating, “Change is hard on everyone“ (p. 42), but “hard times can bring out the best in people” (p. 119).

Although immigrant mothers were their children’s “rock,” they were also ones who clung to their old ways. Immigrant mothers hoped that their children would become doctors or lawyers and were crushed when they wanted to become artists or actors. Why waste the chance at becoming someone special in America?

Immigrant mothers were also afraid that their children would become similar to American children: spoiled, irresponsible, and disrespectful towards their parents. For this
reason, immigrant mothers would not allow their children to go wherever or see whomever they wanted. Since dances, movies, and other social functions were out of the question, immigrant youth resorted to lying to their mothers in order to meet with their American friends.

_Fathers_

Since most young immigrants’ fathers were deceased, children only knew of their fathers by what their mothers told them. Most children believed that their fathers were watching over and protecting them. Their artistic talents were said to have been passed down by their fathers.

However, for the immigrant fathers that existed, they were shown as having given up on America. They felt that no one would hire someone like them: older and with no experience.

_Grandmothers_

Although grandmothers often chose to remain in their native land, grandmothers’ uplifting and long-distance words forever echoed in the minds of their children and grandchildren and helped them overcome challenges in America.

Grandmothers were often superstitious; they found signs of good or bad luck in nearly every entity of life, such as the color of the sky, dreams, or the accidental breaking of an egg (Kwok, 2010).

_Brothers_

Immigrant brothers were described as brave, intelligent, determined, hardworking, and skillful at nearly every task. They held a tight bond with their family, especially their mothers, and were willing to do anything for them. However, since they were often frustrated with their menial jobs, immigrant brothers were easily irritated by their siblings, and easily aggravated by Americans who bothered them. Therefore, brothers were ready to cease bullying situations once and for all by beating up their siblings’ perpetrators.
Sisters

Immigrant sisters were often portrayed as role models to their siblings, rational thinkers, and over time, popular among American friends. They were wise for their age and personified as having lively and cheerful dispositions which often helped dissolve tension between family members.

Aunts

Since American aunts were often the immigrants’ sponsors, they were portrayed as taking advantage of their newly arrived relatives as housekeepers, babysitters, or tutors for their own children. Aunts were jealous of the newcomers and especially envious of their nieces’ and nephews’ high test scores. Most aunts wished that their relatives would be less successful. They also helped determine where their immigrant relatives would live, work, and how much money they would make (Kwok, 2010).

As expressed in Girl in Translation (Kwok, 2010), an American aunt who placed the immigrant family in a dilapidated apartment and situated the mother in a slave-like low-paying job position, acted as if she should be thanked for the rest of her life.

Uncles

Although a few American uncles were helpful and kind to the newly arrived immigrants, most were just as horrid as the aunts were. For instance, in Tell Us We’re Home (Budhos, 2010), a Mexican-American uncle did not pay attention to the immigrant relatives since he had his hands full trying to make ends meet for his own family.

Cousins

American cousins were portrayed as wanting nothing to do with the newly arrived immigrant relatives. Such is the case for a young Chinese immigrant whose ill-mannered
A Mexican-American teen cousin featured in *Tell Us We’re Home* (Budhos, 2010) regularly argued with his immigrant female cousin, and physically abused her over her insistence upon having American friends. Portrayed as hypocritical, the Mexican teen was an alcoholic, involved in gang activity, and often in jail for fighting.

**Teachers**

Although there were many teachers that embarrassed young immigrant students, or seemed to go “out of . . . [their] way to choose assignments that were practically impossible for” (Kwok, 2010, p. 61) them to complete since they could not speak English or afford project materials, most teachers were kind and helpful to immigrant children. The teachers often admired the immigrants’ intelligence, supported their endeavors, and encouraged them to apply for scholarships at high ranking schools and universities. An example, as presented in the story *Inside Out and Back Again* (Lai, 2011), was about a teacher who found out that a bullied young Vietnamese had been eating lunch in a bathroom stall. She consequently invited the young girl to eat lunch with her in the classroom, and later restored her confidence by telling her that life will get better, “Just you wait” (p. 18).

**Old Home**

As many of the immigrants were homesick for their old life, which included shopping at local markets, having regular family outings, or congregating on porches with neighbors (Budhos, 2010), many admitted that life in their native country was not as great as they made it out to be. As an example, a young Chinese immigrant confessed children were forced to grow up with poor teeth in Hong Kong because they did not offer braces there (Kwok, 2010). A young
Trinidadian attests that perhaps her father’s life could have been saved had the medical establishments in Trinidad been more advanced (Budhos, 2010). A Vietnamese realized that although Vietnam was beautiful, at least there were no war bombs exploding in America (Lai, 2011).

New Neighborhood

Most immigrants considered their old neighborhoods to be filled with happy and helpful community members. Immigrants lived in hostile neighborhoods in America, which were sites of much unhappiness.

For those immigrants that moved to Alabama, New Jersey, and outer New York, neighbors were viewed as wealthy, yet boring, gossiping individuals who did not embrace diversity well. If a wealthy neighbor was annoyed at the loud sounds of one’s speaking voice, he or she would easily call authorities on the immigrants (Budhos, 2010). Even sadder were the American neighbors who strung toilet paper on the Vietnamese’s tree, or threw a brick through their front window (Lai, 2011).

Religion

In an effort for hostile neighbors to accept the Vietnamese, the American sponsor requested that they convert to Christianity and become baptized. The Vietnamese did as the American sponsor asked, unveiling what an immigrant would do to fit into American society (Lai, 2011).

The Buddhist religion was brought up when a Chinese young girl did not know how to go about ridding the apartment from roaches since her religion did not allow for the killing of animals, even small ones (Kwok, 2010). No other significant mentions of religion were made throughout the books studied.
Heroes

By far, teenage immigrant girls were considered heroes as they went above and beyond their poverty and immigrant status to survive.

Norms

Although immigrant children were proud of their ethnic names, they believed that they would be better accepted if Americans could pronounce their names, “otherwise, they might think” that they “were fresh off the boat” (Kwok, 2010, p. 11). For this reason, young immigrants often wanted to change their names to American ones (Choi, 2011).

American teen girls were viewed as boy-crazy. Therefore, it was often difficult for immigrant teens that were not raised this way to fit in. Immigrant teens dutifully attended school dances because they were an important part of American school life, yet did not really enjoy the experience (Littman, 2010). For those immigrant teens that were able to bond with American friends, there was often a feeling of inequality as immigrant girls felt less pretty than American girls (Kwok, 2010).

A young Chinese immigrant was surprised to find that in America, sports seemed to take importance over academics. Not only was the ability to play sports a major part of one’s social status, but taking a P.E. class in school and then removing all clothing during a shower was seen as an embarrassing and humiliating experience to immigrant teens (Kwok, 2010).

It was normal to see young Chinese immigrants working with their mothers at factories, although they were not on record as really being employed there. Mothers and bosses knew very well that this was happening and that it was illegal. However, children that had nowhere else to stay when their mothers were at work, tagged along and worked at the factories (Kwok, 2010).
Author’s Background: Immigrant or Non-immigrant?

Four of the eight authors of the books in this decade were immigrants. All but two authors were of the same ethnicity or religion as the characters portrayed in their stories. Thus, authors that shared the same experience or ethnicity were able to offer a more realistic view of the immigrants’ experience in America.

Author’s Trustworthiness

Authors such as Yangsook Choi (2011), Marina Budhos (2010), Jean Kwok (2010), Thanhha Lai (2011), and Lenore Look (2011) were of the same ethnicity or religion as the characters in their stories. Through their own experiences or ancestor’s tales, their background knowledge qualified them as trustworthy resources for their stories. All authors are credited with writing several award-winning books. It was mentioned that they were often inspired by not only personal and family experiences, but by historical aspects associated with immigrants. The remaining author, Sarah Littman, was not an immigrant, but conducted extensive research prior to writing her book, and had a goal: to promote tolerance.

Since several of the authors were or are presently classroom teachers, artists, or professors, perhaps students encouraged them to write about issues such as multiculturalism or injustices towards immigrants.

Author’s Assumptions

Several of the authors held the assumption that most Americans were spoiled, mean, and anti-immigrant, and went to great lengths to harass immigrants. As American readers have roots stemming from somewhere other than the United States, this message paints a poor picture of Americans, as well as of the immigrants who believe this.
Americans were also portrayed as clueless about geography when they were shown asking immigrants impractical questions. The author of *Life, After* (Littman, 2010) also assumed that American students did not know where Argentina was, and spent time explaining to readers that Argentina was located in the southern hemisphere, while America was in the Northern Hemisphere.

*Author’s Purpose*

Although all authors’ purposes were to entertain, it appeared that the main reason for writing their stories was to inform the reader about historical events in regards to immigrants, and to raise awareness about discrimination and bullying. Authors also wrote to express how racism and classism existed even in the most peaceful of suburbs, and to explain how discriminatory feelings towards foreigners came out of the new millennium’s terrorist attacks.

*Author’s Writing: Cultural or Personal?*

Although authors wrote for personal reasons, immigrant authors were shown as possessing the most respect for their character’s culture. For example, the author of *Inside Out and Back Again* (Lai, 2011) knew what it was like to have lived in a war-torn country, and what it was “like to go from knowing you’re smart to feeling dumb all the time” (p. 261). Thus, the author was able to express “the emotional aspect” of growing up in Vietnam, and “the daily challenges of starting over in a strange land” (p. 261-262).

*Author’s Message*

Although most authors inspired American readers to embrace diversity and view immigrants not as hindrances, but as assets to society, the main message delivered was that if immigrant children were provided with support, they could consequently bring about change for themselves, their family, and society.
Dialect

The use of native phrases in dialogue added to the realness of the stories. In *Inside Out and Back Again* (Lai, 2011), Vietnamese words were often used to describe the names of a food or significant places in the character’s homeland. For example, when reminiscing about a tree back home, a Vietnamese girl used the word “dudu” instead of the American term “papaya.”

Clinging to “Old-fashioned” Customs?

Chinese immigrant mothers, in particular, were shown clinging to old-fashioned customs in America since they chose not to completely assimilate into American life (Lai, 2011).

No other examples of this tendency were particularly significant throughout the books.

Learning English

Since understanding English was considered the key to success, immigrant parents saw to it that their children mastered the language. As stated by a Vietnamese mother in *Inside Out and Back Again* (Lai, 2011), “Unless you children master English, you must think, do, wish for nothing else” (p 117). Although her children knew that this was true, English was still seen as a confusing language, and they wished that it “could be learned without so many rules” (p. 158).

Publishers

In addition to the usual and popular publishing houses such as Scholastic Inc., Houghton Mifflin, and Atheneum publishing houses which have been previously discussed in great detail, Riverhead Books was introduced in this decade. Although Riverhead Books was a relatively young publisher founded very recently in 1994, it is now “well established as a publisher of bestselling literary fiction and quality nonfiction. As with most other publishers, Riverhead’s publications feature numerous awards (Penguin Group USA LLC, 2014).
Accuracy of Historical Events

Stories from this decade were often based on modern historical events. For example, Life, After (Littman, 2010), which was dedicated to those that died in the September 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks, took on a modern day tale of Argentinean Jews experiencing an economic crisis in their country. The immigrants eventually had to migrate due to terrorism. As many of the books revealed that they were influenced by terrorism, their depictions of violence, bombings, and Americans’ discrimination towards foreigners matched modern times. As Keniston & Quinn (2013) brought forth, “9/11 literature works as a prosthesis, an awkward substitute for and attempt to compensate for the unrepresentable absence effected by 9/11 itself. If literature expresses what remains unrepresentable about 9/11, it also raises persistent questions about how we interpret and represent 9/11” (p. 2).

The Vietnamese family was described in Inside Out and Back Again (Lai, 2011) as having come from a refugee camp in Guam after escaping the Vietnam War. Indeed “during the month of April 1975, the first evacuees from Vietnam began arriving at the refugee center in Guam.” As “the mass of refugees fled . . . when the shelling of the capital [Saigon] began in earnest . . . the citizenry responded with fear and panic . . . [they] fled in fear for their lives.” Thus, the story accurately depicts that “[b]y the end of the summer . . . Vietnamese families resettl[ed] in communities across the United States” (Montero, 1979, p. 624).

Like to the immigrant mothers in the stories who were housemaids for the wealthy, according to Glantz (2005) housemaids are usually “migrants from poor areas – who arrive in cities with little knowledge of work and lifestyle, and are often reliant upon the help of relatives and friends,” and tend to be “Caribbean, Mexican, Central American,” as well as from other impoverished global areas (Glantz, 2005, p. 88).
Multiculturalism and Social Studies

As culture did not play a major role in the stories, as opposed to language, socio-economics, and classism, stories written in the 2010 decade could not be used to encourage discussion or promote multicultural understanding. However, several of the stories that focused on historical events and movements could be used as resources for a history course.

Age-appropriate

Although all stories presented were regarded as children’s picture books or teen novels, all storylines featured grave themes. With the seriousness of issues such as converting Buddhists to Christians, alcohol abuse, child abuse, depression, unemployment, drug use, profanity, teen pregnancy, and the derogatory name-calling of Spanish women (they were referred to as putas), a greater portion of the stories were inappropriate for elementary-aged children. However, since a portion of the stories revolved around young immigrants dealing with bullying peers or the death of loved ones, teenagers may relate to these dilemmas.

Appeal for Young Readers

As picture books were colorful and uniquely titled, they would appeal to young readers.

Discussion of Findings

Research Questions

The study answered the following questions:

Research Question 1: How are immigrants portrayed in children’s and young adults’ American trade books published during the United States peak immigration era of 1880-1930?

This era portrayed immigrants as poor, peasants, and separate from Americans. Although welcomed for work, immigrants were ridiculed when they arrived. Immigrants were portrayed as ones who brought dirt, disease, alcoholism, and other societal ills to America.
Immigrant parents were portrayed as unwilling to adapt or to conform to American society. They brought their old ways to America and refused to change. This immovability often brought about conflict when their children were becoming Americanized.

Immigrant mothers were hardworking and loving, but obedient to their sometimes abusive husbands, and more attentive to their sons than their daughters. Young daughters raised in America wanted to experience life like the American girls did. They often became advocates for change, were union and women’s worker leaders, took charge in the face of bullying, and helped their families get through difficult times. They were the heroes.

Adult males were poorly presented. They were portrayed as strong pillars of the family, yet very weak in the face of outside forces such as alcohol.

*Sub-question 1 (a): What cultures are portrayed and which ones are omitted?*

Trade books during the first immigration peak reflected an era of western and southern Europeans (e.g., Norwegian, Italian, and Scottish). Although the same Europeans continued to pour in during the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries, an abundance of southern central Europeans soon followed. Differences included a more pronounced distinction between Christian and non-Christian immigrants.

Immigrants during the 1920s began to arrive from Scandinavia, the Netherlands, and Japan. The 1930s continued to publish books that featured Europeans, an overwhelming number of which featured Russians, particularly Russian Jews. Other religion-based immigrants such as the German Amish were introduced.

In summary, all ethnicities and cultures that were non-European and non-Japanese were omitted during the first peak United States immigration wave (1880-1930.)
Sub-question 1 (b): How are immigrants depicted in the written text?

Since America was portrayed as a country divided by class and wealth, immigrants were at the lowest end of the socio-economic spectrum. Stories written during the immigration era were dark, gloomy, and filled with an abundance of tragic scenes including ones where immigrants ended their lives. Immigrants were depicted as dirty, peasant-like, and dysfunctional, which ultimately resulted in a harsh and negative portrayal of culture and ethnicity.

Sub-question 1 (c): How are immigrants depicted in pictorials?

The pictorials made clear the characters’ socio-economic class. Wealthy immigrants resembled gentlemen and proper ladies and were often dressed fashionably. It was not difficult to tell which immigrants, on the other hand, were poor – these characters wore heavily layered and dark clothing.

Stereotypical ethnic physical characteristics were obvious. Noses, body forms, hair, and other physical features were either stereotypically depicted or distorted. Furthermore, there was a stark difference between immigrants and the Native Americans as they differed in attire and skin color.

Research Question 2: How are immigrants portrayed in children’s and young adults’ American trade books published during the United States peak immigration era of 1980-2010s?

Immigrants in this era were more diverse. They continued to come from Europe, but they also traveled from Asia, South America, Africa, and other regions of the world not seen in the other era’s works. The reasons these modern immigrants came to the U.S. differed from those of their predecessors – among these motives were war, genocide, economic failure, terrorism, and job opportunity. Immigrants were no longer solely portrayed as impoverished; many struggled
economically in the U.S., but had held good jobs and positions in their home countries which they sacrificed for freedom.

Immigrants were more modern, but had the same issues as the first era; they still suffered and endured mistreatment. Immigrants were considered outsiders and second-class citizens. Much of the adversity they faced was still based on their ethnicity, religion or immigrant status.

Children were still the main characters in this era. There were not as many orphans as in the prior era, but most children were portrayed as “parentless” in a variety of ways. For example, many children were separated from their fathers, either because the children were left behind in their native countries due to illness, or because their fathers went to America first, were missing in war, killed in genocide, or died in the United States. However, immigrant children were still portrayed as heroes and prevailed in the end. They taught their parents about life and adapting, and their American classmates about tolerance.

Sub-question 2 (a): What cultures are portrayed and which ones are omitted?

The books in this era featured an influx of immigrants from global regions such as Africa, Asia, India, South America, Mexico, and the Caribbean. Immigrants continued to come from Europe. Notably, however, these works omitted Middle Easterners, Cubans, and other ethnicities not mentioned above.

Sub-question 2 (b): How are immigrants depicted in the written text?

Stories from this era continued to depict immigrants as peasants, poor farmers, pick-and-shovel laborers, or factory workers. However, as the decades passed, Asians, Indians, Jamaicans, Chinese, and Russians came to America with middle to upper-class status as skilled laborers or professionals. Although certain groups during the 2000s and 2010s were not as impoverished as
those that were previously featured, in both immigration eras Mexicans lived in an extended version of poverty that did not improve with time.

*Sub-question 2 (c): How are immigrants depicted in pictorials?*

Although unique in personality, many immigrants in this era shared similar physical features, making it difficult to tell them apart. Immigrant fathers and eldest sons were illustrated as tough and stern. Although immigrant mothers were chiefly short and plump, they resembled their teenage daughters as they wore the same peasant-like attire. Immigrants continued to be depicted with stereotypical physical characteristics and attire.

Notably, in this era the peers of the main character appeared more diverse. Classmates were pictured with a variety of skin tones and hair colors, expressing a multicultural society.

*Research Question 3: What are the similarities and differences in the portrayals of immigrants between the two peak United States immigration eras?*

Immigrants during the second era came to the United States for similar reasons than in the first era. Although they were not here to pioneer or pave the way for new settlements, immigrants primarily came for economic opportunities, or to get away from war, hatred, and prejudice. Many settled out in the suburbs, holding jobs other than factory work. Furthermore, methods of immigration changed; immigrants during the first peak immigration era mostly traveled to America by ship and had a difficult journey from start to finish.

Once off the ship, immigrants faced a distressing examination, interview, and inspection process at Ellis Island. In comparison to this harrowing experience, many immigrants during the second era came to America in a matter of hours by plane with flawless entrances into America.
In both eras certain ethnicities had struggle-free immigration experiences (e.g. the Dutch, Chinese, and Russians). Their journey was less difficult due to wealth; riches and struggle reduction made a difference in the immigrant portrayal.

During both eras, immigrants were disappointed upon arrival to America. They saw that the streets in America were not paved in gold. When it came time to find work, immigrants became disappointed when they found out that the only jobs offered to them included menial laboring positions or other types of demeaning work. Although many immigrants featured during the second immigration era held higher-leveled occupations in their native countries, they accepted low-paying jobs in America in exchange for freedom. However, there were many immigrants, particularly Indians, Asians, and Russians, who came to America with advanced education and professional skills, or as wealthy business owners.

In terms of education, both eras portrayed child immigrants as uneducated and parents as illiterate. Realizing that education was essential for success, most immigrants hoped to pursue an education in America. Yet, there were many immigrants in both eras that did not believe in education. Even though schools in America were free and truancy laws called for students to attend, many parents believed that children should work instead of go to school.

On the other hand, immigrant children, particularly females, were portrayed in both eras as extremely intelligent and successfully receiving scholarships to major universities.

Immigrant women during the first immigration era were mainly shown cooking, cleaning, and sewing. Although they were less open-minded about living in America, they were compliant and subservient towards their husband’s demands. Many were burdened with the responsibility of taking care of life after their husbands left for America or died while in America. In essence, in both eras, immigrant women managed to survive on their own, even without their husbands.
In addition, there were also signs of women being strong and fighting for their rights during both eras. As poverty, abuse from male caregivers, and working conditions weighed them down, young women came to the conclusion that they did not want to live like their mothers. They would even resort to divorce if abused or restrained by their husbands.

Immigrant males during both eras were portrayed as decisive, emotionless, and never physically or mentally idle. Demanding and strict, they also exemplified poor role models as they were portrayed as ignorant, absent, and mentally and physically abusive towards their children. Since they spent most of their time working and drinking, they did not have time for their children. Immigrant fathers were overprotective of their daughters and watched over them cautiously, sheltering them from Americans and their way of life.

Although most still lived the life of a beggar in America, immigrant males refused to see themselves as failures. Furthermore, the second era brought forth even more immigrant fathers as alcoholics and family abusers. Often unemployed and no longer breadwinners, immigrant males became complainers and self-pitying drunkards who made no effort to find a job. They also blamed their alcohol consumption on poverty.

In the first era the immigrant children were left alone and unattended because parents were always working. Thus they were portrayed as street hoodlums and gang-like, mostly the Italians. In the second era, this “street” behavior was transferred over to the Mexicans – they were the gang members who were always fighting.

Sub-question 3 (a): How is the term “immigrant” portrayed in the two immigration eras?

“Immigrant” in the first era was portrayed as a peasant, or a low-class individual. An immigrant was perceived as someone that came off the boat, was poor, uneducated, and illiterate. Immigrants were uncivilized, backwards, unclean, and in need of guidance. They were lawless
and unwilling to adapt to the American way. However, “immigrant” also meant a hard worker, and someone who aided his or her family in times of need. They were also willing to work at low wages and tolerated abuse by bosses.

Even though immigrants during the second era were more advanced in education, skills, and business, Americans continued to view them as less-superior, classless, a nuisance to society, and a government’s burden. Although continued to be viewed as “poor peasants,” immigrants were now being referred to as “foreigners,” “potential terrorists,” and “illegal aliens.” Thus, as Zhou (1997) well stated, characteristics of the “old” immigrants echoed those of the “new” immigrants, regardless of being “extraordinarily diverse in national origins, socioeconomic circumstances, and settlement patterns” (p. 65). The second era immigrant was also a second-class citizen. This era lent a distinct nativist tone to the definition of immigrant, as someone who was unpatriotic and unwilling to assimilate.

**Sub-question 3 (b): How have attitudes changed from one immigration era to the next?**

In both eras, attitudes changed very little. Immigrants were portrayed as losing hopes and dreams after Americans showed them resistance. Unable to rise above their immigrant status, they (immigrant fathers in particular) considered themselves failures in life, and in their children’s lives.

Similarly, immigrant children, who anticipated making friends and fitting in became disappointed when Americans were unfriendly and unwelcoming. Children found it difficult to adapt to American culture, particularly in the face of bullying at school.

In both peak immigration eras, class division was a constant theme. Well-to-do citizens lived in a part of town separate from the poor. Based on money and ethnicity, the rich made it clear that they were better than immigrants.
Immigrants’ attitudes about Americans being unreceptive and heartless, and Americans’ attitudes about immigrants being low-class and unimportant, remained the same throughout the eras. 

Sub-question 3 (c): How similar or different are the historical events that took place within each immigration era?

Historical events that took place during the first peak immigration era include migration to the Great Plains. In addition, missionaries traveled there to convert immigrants and Native Americans into “civilized” Christians. Other events and topics discussed were unionism, socialism, the women’s movement, World War I, patriotism, and the Great Depression.

During the second peak immigration era, historical events included World War II, the Holocaust, the Vietnam War, the end of the Cold War, 9/11, the internet boom, and the influx of refugees that came to America through sponsorship programs.

Besides World War I, historical events during the first immigration era were mostly about domestic problems such as America’s societal ills and economic depressions, which Americans, as well as immigrants were trying to remedy. During the second era, however, events focused more on global crises such as 9/11, the end of the Cold War, African and Vietnamese refugees, and becoming transnational with the internet.

Research Question 4: Are the portrayal of immigrants and their experiences during the immigration eras historically accurate?

According to history resources and references, the various historical events, trends, and attitudes expressed in the trade books studied were historically accurate. For example, it was true that since the mid-1880s, immigrants migrated out to the West after construction of the railroads. Desiring freedom as well, immigrants did travel to Pennsylvania for religious reasons.
and settled in William Penn’s Colony after Penn was given “a charter for forty thousand square miles in America” (Adams & Trent, 1909, p. 56). The 1880s was also indeed an era filled with discrimination towards the Chinese, and the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act was enacted to prohibit immigration from China and the naturalization of Chinese immigrants (Gyory, 1998). Since America became an industrial giant, immigrants featured in the stories did come from Russia, Italy, Greece, and Ireland to fulfill labor needs. Consequently, after coming to America, they became divided by ethnic, religious, and class differences (Dublin, 2013).

During this time, parents were working and children were unattended. The church and public school system stepped in during the late 1800s and early 1900s in hopes of assimilating young immigrants (Dublin, 2013; Gerstle & Mollenkopf, 2001).

Along with public institutions, public servants, such as the police, played a major role in the immigrants’ lives. Police and politicians were indeed found to be corrupt and dishonest (Kigel, 2012). With corruption rampant and distrust for immigrants aplenty, “anarchism's ideas and political orientation” spread rapidly (Hong, 1992, p. 110).

As tensions grew over capitalism, revolting working conditions, and bosses’ poor treatment of immigrant laborers, the late 1800s was truly a time when muckraking journalists, novelists, and photographers exposed societal ills (Filler, 1993).

Stories set during both World War I and II expressed America’s need for support from all citizens, especially immigrants. America’s pleas for help were confirmed by Zieger and Zieger (2001). As for World War II and the growing resentment towards immigrants, America did indeed assume that Japanese spies were lurking among the crowds, and placed Japanese Americans in concentration camps (Daniels 2004).
As presented in several stories, immigrants were still faced with discrimination in the early 21st century. According to Cosco (2003), immigrants became “short hand for everything threatening to American society” (p. 4). With discrimination still at large, immigrant women had a difficult time gaining decent employment in America. Many became housemaids for wealthy suburbanites. They were mostly poor migrants who came from places such as the Caribbean, Mexico, Latin America, and Central America (Glantz, 2005).

Many recent stories were dedicated to the victims of 9/11, or connected to political and religious wars in Somalia, Vietnam, and Sudan; stories began to reveal a new concern for Americans, as well as immigrants. Stories during the 2010s continued to be influenced by terrorism and global unrest as storylines depicted violent protests and bombings, and the intensification of Americans’ discrimination towards foreigners. It was also confirmed that “after the end of the war in 1975, over two million refugees fled Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia . . . [and] by the early 1990s over one million had been resettled in the U.S.” (Rumbaut, 1996, p. 315).

Sub-question 4 (a): Are immigrants stereotypically portrayed in either immigration era?

Stories from the first immigration era were filled with stereotypes, mostly of the negative variety. To name a few examples, Lithuanian, Bohemian, and Irish males were consistently portrayed as drunkards. Russian males were unfriendly and non-smiling, while Russian women were emotional and unwilling to conform to American’s laid-back ways. Italians were dirty beggars who did not take baths and smelled like garlic, and Italian youths were gang members. Jewish males were wealthy factory owners while Jewish elders were ignorant misers. Chinese males were servants or laundrymen who wore long black pigtails. Polish and Armenian males abused their wives and children. The only cultural group to have positive stereotypes was the
Norwegians, who were model citizens; they were clean, never idle, and used common sense and thriftiness when spending.

The second peak immigration continued to stereotype immigrants just as poorly, but went further in particularly attacking the Mexicans. For example, Mexicans were dirty and lazy, and wore mismatched clothing. Mexicans were poor farmers, migrant workers, day laborers, in the landscape business, or working in menial jobs for little pay. Mexicans lived in run-down neighborhoods with other Mexicans, near a Catholic church. Mexican youth were either glued to their televisions, or out playing in the streets or loitering around the park, while Mexican teen males were gang members. Lastly, many of the Mexicans were shown as being undocumented immigrants.

Stereotypes of other immigrants in the second immigration era were also derogatory. For example, Puerto Ricans were thieves who were knowledgeable about growing marijuana. The Irish were dirty and disease-carrying individuals who did not use soap, and who went out of their way to avoid adjusting to American ways. Italian mothers were pushy and manic. Christian-Russians were evil, greedy, and cheating. The Jewish were low class and uncivilized peasants, yet Jewish males owned all the garment factories; they were tyrannical individuals that made female immigrants work ten hours a day. The Chinese spoke very poor English.

Other less derogatory stereotypes included portrayals of Russians as scientists and Koreans as intelligent and highly skilled professionals. Italians owned pizza restaurants. The Chinese worked in Chinese restaurants, were quick and efficient workers, were punctual, and never missed a day of school or work. Trinidadian families ate chicken and curry, drank rum, and blasted Caribbean music at family gatherings.
Sub-question 4 (b): What are the immigrants’ emotional tones during the immigration eras?

Immigrants’ emotional tones during the first immigration era were mostly negative; the books were filled with dark emotions and depression. The general problem for immigrants during this time was trying to overcome struggles in America. Not only did debts and family conflicts increase, but immigrants also faced resentment as Americans’ hatred for foreigners grew. Thus, most immigrants had difficulties in adjusting to America.

Immigrant women were often portrayed as unhappy, and wishing for freedom from the wrath of their abusive fathers or tyrannical uncles. For this reason, they were often shown never satisfied and crying all the time. Several immigrant women wanted to go back home. Immigrant mothers were depicted as emotional: sad, worried, pessimistic, frazzled, tired, and unappreciated. Often resistant to change, they simply wanted to settle down and call some place a home.

Young female immigrants were shown as going to the extremes to have a better life. Situations included a young female teen who married a stranger in order to escape living in depressed conditions, and a young girl who jumped out of a factory window to escape her prolonged misery. It appeared that many immigrants would not have died or killed themselves had they not been out of their minds with anguish. It seems they believed that it was better to die than to live a life of misery.

The emotional tone of the second peak immigration era was predominantly composed of dissatisfaction and disappointment – dissatisfaction with America and with the lives the immigrants lead in this country. Many immigrants desired to go back to their native countries. Although immigrant fathers were hard workers, and more optimistic than mothers, fathers did not always have the opportunity to strike it rich. As a result of this dissatisfaction, many either left or drowned their problems in alcohol, causing the breakdown of the family unit. Although
young immigrants were gladly willing to change their impoverished or oppressed past environments to happy ones in America, they experienced much resistance from American classmates who were close-minded and judgmental towards them. Naturally, immigrants felt disappointed that they were treated this way in America.

Sub-question 4 (c): What values do the stories offer the reader?

Despite the negative portrayals of immigrants, the works studied in both eras were valuable in terms of the lessons offered to the reader. These books marked a time when immigrants came and faced a difficult life. We tend to take it for granted that people struggle to come to and survive in the United States – we do not fully realize their endeavors unless they are brought to our attention and we read about their tales.

The books provide us with a connection to immigrants and to history. Readers can learn history from reading these works – about Ellis Island, neighborhood compositions, interpersonal relationships, job availability, corruption, and working conditions. Readers see the way public schools were used not just as vehicles for education, but for the Americanization of immigrant students – teachers’ jobs were to teach them how to be clean and to teach them morals. Their jobs were not entirely academic.

The characters in the works endure real life problems from which readers can learn. The works focused quite a bit on family issues, magnifying the relationships and tensions between family members. Many students reading these books may be suffering the same problems and be able to relate to the characters in the stories.

Hidden within books from both eras are important and positive life messages. Inspirational messages such as “never give up” abound amidst the negativity. There were good lessons or morals to be learned, even though sometimes they were overshadowed by stereotypes.
and derogatory depictions of immigrants. Authors delivered the message that in America, anything is possible through time, determination, and hard work. Indeed, one can overcome obstacles if one perseveres. Furthermore, the works tended to promote the value of education, which is used as a method to improve socio-economic status.

The books also teach us the extent to which a person would go to come to this country. Immigrants simply would not give up. Some took a month-long journey to get here, others gave up decent lives, jobs, and wealth in their home countries in exchange for freedom in the United States, and still others came here illegally (and would sometimes return to the United States four or five times after being sent back to their home countries), all in search of opportunity. The books expressed how much immigrants wanted to come to America and what they would do to get here.

Authors in both eras made it a point to express that immigrants were an asset to American society, and that it would be in the country’s best interest if more immigrants were allowed to come. Other authors showed gratitude and respect towards the United States for opening its borders and allowing immigrants to come. Hopefully these messages will inspire children to take a second look at immigrants and find sympathy in their hearts, and to encourage them to make changes and look at people differently. Authors, especially in the second immigration era and particularly post-9/11, attempted to inspire future activists to make change happen for immigrants, who still suffered discrimination in this country.

Research Question 5: Who are the authors and illustrators of books about immigration for children and young adults?

Out of the 28 books examined during the first peak immigration era, approximately half of the authors were first-generation immigrants. Out of the 70 books studied during the second
peak immigration era, 24 books were written by first-generation immigrant authors. The fact that non-immigrants wrote two-thirds of the books studied suggests that an abundance of authors wrote books about the immigrant experience without having actually experienced it themselves.

Books written by first-generation immigrant authors reflected their own ethnicity, religion, and beliefs, and expressed what it was like to be torn between two countries, to abide by American principles, and to find one’s true identity. Immigrant authors contributed by defining what “assimilation” and “Americanism” meant in their own terms. Many wrote to inform the reader about historical events that played a role in the immigrants’ decision to come here. Others wrote for revenge, out of a desire to get back at those who mistreated them as immigrants. Since these first-generation authors experienced the move themselves, understood failure, and shared the mindset of the immigrants, they wrote truer stories based on actual first-hand experience.

Since non-immigrant authors based their stories on historical events, family members’ experiences, research, and social injustices, they included themes such as poverty, religion, class, and education to make readers aware of the problems faced by immigrants. Since their stories often mirrored their personal views on the effects of American society on immigrants, several authors wrote under pseudonyms to avoid negative publicity. Authors, such as historical novelists and journalists, made no boasts about their connection to the immigrant experience; they only wanted to expose social wrong-doings. For this reason they chose immigrant characters, primarily orphans, knowing that they could draw the most support from readers. As many authors transformed real life circumstances into exaggerations and clichés, they were often viewed as “outsiders” and accused of portraying a fraudulent version of the immigrant life.
Several of the stories that portrayed Jewish characters were written by Jewish authors. Based on family member’s tales, authors recaptured their parents’ and grandparents’ immigration experience, explained political and religious persecution in great detail, and offered the reader mental images of how immigrants survived before and after arriving to America. Although they were able to convey information about the immigration experience, they failed to incorporate the realness of the immigrant experience.

Authors during the first immigration era were pro-Christianity and often wrote to promote Christianity and emphasized the virtue of honesty as being the key element in achieving goals. However, there were more who mocked religion and harshly criticized priests and churches for their involvement.

Politically-active authors during the first immigration era created visual stories that grabbed the reader’s attention. Through propaganda-like messages, authors promoted the notion that government was at fault for the immigrants’ dilemmas. Particularly during the 1900s, stories were so weakened by authors’ overt focus on alcoholism, politics, and unionism that they lost their “immigrant” appeal.

It was also apparent that in both immigration eras, a multitude of authors were advocates for social change. Mostly focusing on prejudice and tolerance, authors begged Americans to find compassion and understanding towards immigrants, and blamed Americans for the dilemmas that immigrants faced. A few authors, seemingly feminists, aimed at bringing attention to women’s issues. Others delivered messages about democracy, diversity, and other social dilemmas that needed to be addressed. In doing so, authors did not shy away from writing about issues such as bullying, child and spousal abuse, teen pregnancy, classism, war and refugees, discrimination, sexism, dysfunctional families, illegal aliens, and terrorism.
Since illustrators were often first-generation immigrants themselves and from the same country that the story portrayed, their background knowledge allowed them to portray their settings, characters, and tone more authentically. Non-ethnic illustrators, on the other hand, presented immigrants and their native country in a stereotypical manner. Although the new millennium brought about a slight decrease in the amount of distortion in illustrations since it focused more on using art to tell a story, misrepresentations were still evident.

Perhaps Takaki’s (1993) assertion that an author or illustrator is not able to understand the souls of immigrants without walking in their shoes, or to understand their hopes and sorrows without experiencing it themselves, was correct. In his view, it is not possible to accurately write about history if one has not been fully immersed in history.

*Research Question 6: Who are the publishers of books about immigration for children and young adults?*

Although the 1880s consisted of publishers that were no longer in existence, a greater portion of the publishers during the first era were “involved in social reform and mission work” (Philadelphia Baptist Association, 2013) that advocated “religious, political, and commercial freedom” (Nowell-Smith, 1958). Publishers took on stories that promoted societal issues such as religion, women’s equality, and the assimilation of Native Americans with the goal that if children’s views could be altered, perhaps future America could be less discriminating.

Older publishers such as Houghton Mifflin, Harcourt Brace, and Longman Publishers continue to produce books that focus on educating students (Houghton Mifflin and Harcourt, 2011; Penguin Group USA LLC, 2014; Pearson Education, 2011) even today. Publishers during the second era delivered award-winning books that taught children and young adults how to embrace diversity. Included in this list are Scholastic House, Holiday House, E.P. Dutton, and
Harper & Row. Having existed for nearly a century, these publishers are credited for creating timeless classics (Penguin Group USA LLC, 2014).

Similar long-lived, publishers such as Clarion Books, Simon and Schuster, HarperCollins, and Houghton Mifflin were committed to publishing books on unique and important topics. With their extensive list of Newberry and Caldecott Medal honors, they have been credited for bringing multicultural books into “mainstream recognition” in the recent “paperback revolution” (Penguin Group USA LLC, 2014).

Other publishers such as Ideals Books mainly focused on “family, home, holidays, and God” (Ideals Publication, 2010). Greenwillow Books conveyed stories that had something “worth saying to children” (HarperCollins Publishers, 2014). More recently established publishers such as Candlewick Press and Tilbury House were committed to keeping up with a changing world (Candlewick Press, 2014), and encouraging youth to “build character, [and] appreciate cultural diversity” (Tilbury House, Publishers, 2014). Although J.B. Lippincott Company and Phyllis Fogelman Books no longer exist, they were best known for their religious children and young adult books (Mormon Literature & Creative Arts, 2014; Campanella, 1976).

The Angel Island Association is unique in that it is a non-profit association whose primary mission is to support educational projects and works of literature featuring Angel Island (California Department of Parks and Recreation, 2014).

Relatively young, Boyds Mills Press is credited for publishing “books that enlighten and entertain, reaching children primarily through bookstores, libraries, and schools” (Boyds Mills Press, 2013). Similarly young, Wendy Lamb Books publishes “a diverse array of literature” (Random Acts of Reading, 2011). Thus, publishers during the second era not only produced religious works, but inspired young readers to embrace diversity and new ways of thinking
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This chapter will summarize the findings in accordance to the two United States peak immigration eras (1880-1930 and 1980-2010s), explain implications for teacher preparation, and suggest recommendations for future research.

Summary of Findings

First United States Peak Immigration Era (1880-1930)

The collection of 28 trade books examined during the first immigration era primarily followed the stories of Europeans (particularly Russians) migrating to the United States and settling in Western territories or major cities such as New York City or Chicago. As the era drew to a close, immigrants were more diverse and started settling in non-urban locations. The books contained historically accurate renditions of events and trends occurring during their stories’ time period settings, such as migration patterns to the West became and conflicts among immigrants and between Americans and immigrants as the U.S. became industrial giant during the 1890s.

In addition to pioneering immigrants, main characters included orphaned or parentless immigrant children between the ages of eight and eighteen whose general dilemma was trying to overcome struggles in America while facing resentment by Americans. Furthermore, the stories contained serious undertones. Written in a sensationalized style to draw readers’ attention to societal ills, stories were often dark, gloomy, and filled with an abundance of tragic scenes where immigrants sometimes ended their lives.
Since the books studied were primarily novels, most contained few illustrations. Images mainly included immigrants in scenes with Native Americans or stereotypical depictions of various immigrants’ livelihoods (e.g., Chinese as servants and Polish as peasants). Textual stereotypes chiefly included Irish males as drunkards, young Italians as dirty beggars and gang members, Jews as misers and factory owners, and Scots as religious and noble.

Prior to arriving in the United States, immigrants heard that America was a land of wild beasts and savage Indians. They were also told that if one was willing to work hard, it could be Utopia. Believing that they knew the meaning of labor, immigrants were certain that they would be successful. Immigrants primarily came to America to escape poverty and ethnic or religious oppression, acquire an education, attain land, or be with group or family members already in America. The wealthy came not only because there was a lot to see and learn, but to also seek new business opportunities.

For most immigrants, the tortuous month-long ship journey seemed to have no end. Immigrants endured robberies, storms, seasickness, and deplorable living conditions in steering quarters. However, there were those groups that had flawless voyage experiences (e.g. the Japanese that stayed in upper-level quarters). As immigrants neared Ellis Island, they marveled at the Statue of Liberty. However, once off the ship, they faced harrowing examinations. If unable to pass tests, the immigrants would be detained or sent back to their native countries.

Upon entering the city, immigrants were disappointed. They wondered how this land of stockyards, crowds of people, and tenement housing could be America. Pioneering immigrants who traveled out to the West also perceived America to be nothing more than an empty land where no humans could live. With neighbors always busy and keeping to themselves, immigrants felt like strangers living in a strange land.
Pioneering immigrants generally held occupations as farmers, while “city” immigrants worked as factory workers or manual laborers. Although many held reputable positions in their native lands, immigrants accepted menial positions in America in exchange for freedom. Class division was apparent throughout the stories, particularly when immigrants did or did not travel in steerage quarters on the ship voyage to America. Some immigrants had servants in America while most did not.

Although often wise beyond their years, immigrant children were either bound to their families or left unsupervised to become street bullies that engaged in gang-like behavior. The Scottish and Italian children’s upbringing was a reflection of what their immigrant parents wanted them to be: good Christians and genetically superior. Young immigrants had their share of troubles with bullying classmates who told them to go back to their home countries.

While immigrant children grew up and became Americanized, many of their parents continued to cling to old traditions. Several parents were close-minded about education, particularly for daughters, and believed that work came first. Success was measured by the amount of money one had, not education. Immigrant parents were also close-minded about their children selecting a future career that was not financially bountiful. Parents became upset when they heard that their children desired to pursue careers in the fields of art or drama.

Although mature and intelligent, young female immigrants continued to play a domestic role. Compared to males, immigrant females were portrayed as having unimportant roles in their families. Factory co-workers were the only female friends with whom women associated. Although dutiful, immigrant women were often physically abused and mistreated by their husbands and fathers. As the decades progressed, young women realized that they did not want
to grow up to be like their mothers. Several took on a greater role in breaking women’s traditional patterns by speaking out.

Immigrant brothers were considered the most important members of the family, not only because they were males, but because they performed daily chores. However, immigrant fathers set poor examples as role models. They were often ignorant, absent, and mentally and physically abusive, and put alcohol before their children.

Immigrant grandparents in all decades were older, wiser, religious, heads of the family, and duplicate versions of their children. Since many were still living in the past, they had a hard time adjusting to America.

Aunts and uncles were seen as a model for success because they “made it” in America. Yet, they displayed ill feelings towards their newly-arrived relatives. Like their parents, cousins were insensitive towards their immigrant relatives. They considered themselves to be far superior since they were American-born.

Religion was shown as a connection to old customs and traditions. Most immigrants believed that God would guide them and give them courage to overcome obstacles. Others, however, felt that they were being punished for their past sins or for having brought their family to America. Having been religiously persecuted in their old country and held in ghettos, the 1910s Jewish immigrants continued to feel isolated in New York.

As portrayed in the books analyzed, many immigrants felt that they did not fit into American society and that they were better off back home. Young country immigrants, too, desired new friends and a new way of life, but had a more difficult time in achieving this goal. In this era, many immigrants changed their names to American-sounding ones. Immigrants not only had the chance to start a new life in America, but to assume a new identity.
Approximately half of the authors were immigrants, and their stories reflected their own ethnicity, religion, and beliefs. Non-immigrant authors included historical novelists and journalists who wrote to expose societal injustices and to promote their political views. Publishers consisted of religious publishing houses that advocated “religious, political, and commercial freedom” (Nowell-Smith, 1958), and others that promoted new ways of thinking.

Books presented during the first decade could not be used to demonstrate a multicultural society since they included negative portrayals of ethnic groups, focused on religion, and did not offer any deep cultural meaning or understanding. However, in terms of social studies, books could benefit the social studies middle school student since they discussed historical events found in history textbooks today.

Second United States Peak Immigration Era (1980-2010s)

Books presented in the second era featured an explosion of diversity with immigrants coming from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean and settling in suburban areas. Sudanese, Somalian, and El Salvadorian young refugees started traveling to the U.S. Although immigrants continued to be featured as farmers, skilled professionals and their families began arriving to the United States.

Immigrants throughout the decades experienced a variety of obstacles. These included lack of money, lack of opportunity, discrimination, developing relationships with American sponsors, generational differences between family members, the clash of old and new cultures, family conflicts, cultural and socioeconomic expectations, and war. Resolutions to these problems often included immigrants finding acceptance among their peers and neighbors in America. Fortunately for some, caring teachers, friends, and strangers went out of their way to help young immigrants go on to college, pursue careers, or use their creative talents to become
someone special.

Ethnic groups were portrayed as possessing stereotypical cultural qualities (e.g. Irish were dirty and diseased, Mexicans were gang members), and holding stereotypical occupations (e.g. Russians were scientists, Italians owned pizza restaurants). Stereotypes often revolved around eating cultural foods (e.g. Trinidadians family ate chicken and curry and drank rum) and ascribing to certain cultural social practices (e.g. being thrifty, having multiple generations of family members live together). Furthermore, individual immigrants were depicted with stereotypical physical features according to culture (e.g. Russian-Jews had large noses). Finally characters’ pre-immigration settings were also described and pictured according to common stereotypes (e.g. Mexicans lived in adobe homes and Italians lived near the Leaning Tower of Pisa).

The reasons why immigrants traveled to the United States varied, but were usually similar in nature. Immigrants were drawn to this country by rumors that America offered material riches such as wealth, food, good land, the opportunity to build a home, and beautiful clothing. Furthermore, America was known for its religious freedom, peaceful environment, and kindness to fatherless and motherless children. Immigrants came here to escape farming hardships, poverty, famine, strict traditions, economic crises, religious persecution, and war. They also sought opportunities not available in their home countries, both economic and educational. However, there were a few who left to simply see the world and experience new adventures, or to reunite with family members.

The second era saw a rise in the number of books detailing immigrants using more modern methods of transportation to reach the United States. In comparison to the ship voyage
that took one month, modern immigrants, such as the Vietnamese, Italians, Argentineans, and Koreans, came to America by plane in a few hours.

Books from this era continued to detail the voyage-by-ship method of traveling to the United States. Immigrants endured harsh conditions upon these boats, and often became sick from the rough seas and close quarters.

After reaching Ellis Island, immigrants endured the examination process, waiting endless hours in line for officials to interview and ask questions about their personal lives and reasons for coming to America. Medical examinations followed, marking anyone that was ill. Those who were diagnosed with a disease or handicap were either sent to the agency’s hospital for treatment or deported. Once immigrants made it through the examinations, agents often changed the immigrants’ names in order for them to be more American-sounding.

Upon entering the United States, immigrants were amazed, yet disappointed, with life in the new country. The sights of New York City, such as skyscrapers, were wondrous, but on closer inspection, city streets were overcrowded and lined with garbage. Immigrants were only offered the most menial jobs. Americans resisted the newcomers by bullying classmates, harassing neighbors, and speaking poorly of them. Even the immigrants’ relatives, who had either come before or been born in the United States, felt superior to the newly arrived immigrants.

Many storylines portrayed immigrants living in New York City. Others showed settlement in coal mining towns, working class areas in San Francisco, poor sections of Los Angeles, and refugee camps. Immigrants who came during the latter decades began living in suburban areas.
After coming to America, immigrants’ lives often changed. For the sake of freedom, many went from being wealthy to poor as many had good jobs in their native countries that they could not recover in the United States. Many left troubles behind, but had to fight discrimination in America. Some immigrants questioned their religion and even changed their faith. Certain families, accustomed to traditional styles, became modernized and changed their clothing, home décor, and the food they ate. Death, crime, and intense workloads were all that awaited some immigrants in America. Despite all the obstacles, some immigrants eventually increased their socioeconomic status. On the other hand, life did not change much for certain immigrants, as they continued to practice the same rituals that they had before immigrating.

Not surprisingly, immigrants were often homesick. Many felt that life was better in the old country and regretted coming to America. Most considered their old neighborhoods to be filled with happy and helpful community members. Immigrants who stayed in the United States many years believed that America had caused them to forget their homeland and who they were. To ease the pain, immigrants often found comfort by being with others from their homeland.

Immigrant families were often strong, stable, and tight-knit. They struggled together – children and adults alike would earn money for the family. However, when parents were under too much stress, the books began to show violence between family members. Although it was common for immigrant parents to punish their children, images described in the books depicted severe child and spousal abuse. As immigrant parents worked long hours, grandparents and grandchildren were often each other’s only company.

Although limited by poverty, immigrant fathers in the stories were open-minded about the future and encouraged their children to think positive about America. They were initially happy, fearless, and optimistic. Furthermore, they were portrayed as the head of the family – the
decision makers. Males were often portrayed as heading to America first and leaving their family behind. Later the fathers would send for their families. Fathers who could not support their families often turned to alcohol, and blamed external forces for their failures.

Immigrant mothers throughout the era were open-minded and supported their children’s dreams. They all longed for their children to have a better life, but some were wary, suspicious, or fearful about education or America in general. In addition, mothers were protectors, and were wary of their sons and daughters becoming like American children. Immigrant women were generally homemakers, caretakers, and slaves to their sewing machines and bosses in the garment factories. Several immigrant women were unhappy in America and wanted to go back home. However, they were strong. They stood by their husbands, became family breadwinners, and carried the family’s weight on their shoulders. With this burden to bear, in all storylines immigrant mothers were portrayed as emotional: sad, worried, pessimistic, frazzled, tired, unsatisfied, and unappreciated.

Conflicts often stemmed from immigrant parents resisting the idea that their children were becoming too American, or making friends with American youth. Families attempted to maintain their cultural traditions, and often carried them over into America. Grandparents were angry that their grandchildren did not follow cultural rules, or keep up with their native language, and attempted to keep cultural traditions alive.

Most immigrants came to America with little or no education. Therefore, having the opportunity to attend school for free was a gift. Immigrant children were often portrayed as extremely intelligent and the first in their class. Children often compared their old school to their new one in America. Parental involvement in immigrant youths’ schooling, however, was sparse, as parents worked long hours and often could not communicate with teachers due to language
differences. Nevertheless, nearly all young immigrants had a passion for books and spending time in American libraries. Furthermore, they desired to quickly learn English.

However, youth often had a difficult time fitting in with their peers. All decades featured stories with young immigrants that longed for friends yet had trouble making them. Since their parents had to work, they had more responsibilities and less free time than American children. Furthermore, some children could only form friendships with members of their own culture. Youth who formed relationships with people outside of their ethnic groups often caused discord with their traditional families. To make matters more difficult, immigrant youth had a difficult time adjusting to American foods and social customs.

When not working, immigrant children contemplated new opportunities to make a name for themselves through their writing, acting, or artistic talents. Eventually, immigrant teenagers developed a strong voice in America as they began to speak out and fight for change. Many became interested in political and social justice issues, and set out to reform social ills. In all decades, young adults were portrayed as headstrong, unafraid, and motivated.

Early on, American aunts were portrayed as kind and helpful to the immigrant relatives, and often in the middle of family conflicts. However, later in the era aunts were shown feeling bitter and jealous towards immigrant relatives, giving off the impression that they were richer and smarter. Aunts would take advantage of newly arrived relatives by using them as housekeepers, babysitters, tutors, or low-wage workers.

American uncles were often business owners or salesmen who lived well-off in America. Uncles were generally more neutral than aunts. Regardless of their impartiality, American uncles had forgotten that they were immigrants themselves, and treated the newcomers as if they were
different. Later in the era, uncles paid little attention to their immigrant relatives, and focused more on making ends meet for themselves.

In all decades, immigrants’ American cousins were portrayed as spoiled, conceited, and jealous individuals who wanted nothing to do with their immigrant relatives. Cousins often looked down at the newcomers and considered them to be dirty, peasant-like, and unintelligent.

American teachers played an important role in a young immigrant’s life. They had the power to make children feel welcomed or out of place. Kind and sympathetic, teachers gave young immigrants extra instruction after school, and offered the children words of praise and encouraged them to use their artistic talents. Some teachers, however, were strict, unforgiving, demanding, and unkind to the newcomers.

Religion played a role in many of the immigrants’ lives. They were frequent visitors at their local houses of worship, and honored religious customs. For many, these establishments were places of refuge from work, and helped them hold onto a piece of home. However, some immigrants refused to go to church, did not want to meet parishioners, and did not want anything to do with religion. They greatly mocked the church and those who believed in religion. Still others willingly converted to Christianity in an effort to fit into American society.

The works studied portrayed historical figures such as Jackie Robinson, Fanny Brice, Martin Luther King, and Abraham Lincoln as role models for young immigrants. Immigrant children often wondered what these historical figures would do if they were in the same situation the immigrant was facing at that moment. Sometimes heroes were more ordinary figures, such as a baseball coach. Grandparents were also honored as heroes as they passed on their experience, knowledge, language, and traditions to their grandchildren.
Out of the 70 books examined during the 1980 to 2010s, 24 were written by immigrant authors. Thus, one-third of the authors wrote books about the immigrant experience without having that experience themselves. These authors based their works on family experiences, historical events, or stories that inspired them, and were able to convey informational aspects of the immigration experience; however, they failed to incorporate the realness of the immigrant experience. The first-hand perspective of authors that were first-generation immigrants and based their stories on personal experience offered the reader an insider’s view of the immigrant experience. Their descriptions of events were filled with detailed information that placed the reader back in time with the author. Through their fictional characters, authors expressed what they experienced when immigrating to America as a child.

A multitude of authors wrote as advocates for change. Some feminists aimed to bring attention to women’s issues. Others delivered messages about democracy, justice, diversity, and other social dilemmas. They did not shy away from writing about real issues such as war, discrimination, sexism, and dysfunctional families.

However, some authors were culturally insensitive. They did not focus on the immigrants’ culture; rather, their stories centered on how immigrants were becoming more Americanized. There were a few authors that disregarded the culture of the characters completely and created stories that were informational, prescribed, and with predictable outcomes.

Publishers in this era included Scholastic House, Holiday House, E.P. Dutton, and Harper & Row, which specialize in both fiction and nonfiction for younger audiences. Since most of them have been around for nearly a century, they are credited with creating timeless books (Penguin Group USA LLC, 2014). Also producing studied works were Clarion Books, Simon and Schuster, HarperCollins, Houghton Mifflin, Viking Children’s Books, and Children’s Book
Press. All are publishing houses that have an extensive list of Newberry and Caldecott Medal honors. They are credited for bringing multicultural books into “mainstream recognition” (Penguin Group USA LLC, 2014). Also notable is Penguin Books, the publisher that began the "paperback revolution" (Penguin Group USA LLC, 2014). Puffin Books, as well, is unique in that it prides itself on showcasing diverse characters that include “heroes . . . the criminally good . . . and heroines” (Penguin Books LTD, 2014). Other publishers included Ideals Books, which focuses on “family, home, holidays, and God” (Ideals Publication, 2010), and Greenwillow Books, which “hope[s] that at the heart of each book there is honesty, emotion and depth.” Dedicated to the changing world is DK Publishing, a publisher known for its “highly visual books, eBooks and apps that inform, inspire and entertain readers of all ages” (DK Publishing, Inc., 2010).

Relatively young publishers included Boyds Mills Press, credited with publishing books that reach “children primarily through bookstores, libraries, and schools” (Boyds Mill Press, 2013), Wendy Lamb Books, publisher of “a diverse array of literature” (Random Acts of Reading, 2011), and Riverhead Books, featuring “unique writers” (Penguin Group USA LLC, 2014). Also on the list of new publishers were Candlewick Press and Tilbury House, committed to encouraging youth to “build character and appreciate cultural diversity” (Tilbury House, Publishers, 2014).

Although J.B. Lippincott Company no longer exists, it entered the market by publishing Bibles and trade books that focused on religion (Campanella, 1976). Other unique publishers in the era were Dial Books for Young Readers, a publisher known for its “kid-relevance” and “character-driven writing,” (Penguin Group USA, 2014), and Henry Holt & Company, a publisher that concentrates on psychology, history, current events, politics, mystery, science, and
controversial issues and that produces books encouraging imagination and worthy discussion (Macmillan, 2014).

The list of publishers goes on with Random House Children’s Books, credited for being the “world’s largest English-language children’s book trade publisher” (Random House LLC, 2014). Phyllis Fogelman Books, no longer in existence, was best known for its children’s and young adult books featuring award-winning authors and illustrators whose stories were based on religion (Mormon Literature & Creative Arts, 2014). The Angel Island Association is unique in that it is a non-profit Cooperating Association that supports Angel Island State Park (California Department of Parks and Recreation, 2014).

The stories provided historically accurate renditions of events, trends, and issues occurring during their timelines. Books were dedicated to 9/11 victims, and written about tragedies and political and religious wars that actually took place. As the decades progressed, the books indicated a shift towards stories written about diversity and embracing multiculturalism. However, as terrorism and conflict in the real world increased throughout the era, stories began to focus on global unrest and Americans’ increasing discrimination towards foreigners.

Although the books studied during this era are suitable for the social studies curriculum due to their explanations of historical events that influenced immigrants and their experience, most were far from promoting a multicultural understanding. With an abundance of stereotypes on certain ethnic groups and a focus on language, socio-economics, and classism, books during the second peak immigration era lacked a true definition of and appreciation for diversity.

The storylines discussed issues to which immigrant students can relate, such as poverty, family conflict, and discrimination. However, they also featured serious undertones such as alcohol abuse, child abuse, depression, unemployment, drug use, profanity, and teen pregnancy,
themes which diluted the storyline’s connection to the immigrant experience. Thus, a large portion of the stories are inappropriate for elementary-aged children.

Additional Findings

Surprisingly, after examining over 100 years of immigrant tales, the portrayal of immigrants has changed very little. Although most immigrants were portrayed as peasants, it was the Irish, Russian Jews, Chinese, and Mexicans that were repeatedly depicted stereotypical and derogatory manners. For that matter, the same groups, such as the Norwegians and Dutch, were repeatedly featured as having unblemished immigration experiences, easy lives in America, and few difficulties in adjusting to American ways, all due to having higher economic statuses when arriving to America. In comparison to the “rich” immigrants, “poor” immigrants were the ones most often mistreated, and the ones who had the greatest amount of conflicts with classmates, neighbors, bosses, landlords, and the law.

The degrading portrayal of Irish males as drunkards did not change much either throughout the decades. With the belief that poverty caused the Irish to become drunkards, authors gave off the impression that Irish males’ habits intensified in America due to marriage, children, work, and being mistreated by Americans. Although alcoholism could be applied to most immigrants, authors made it seem as if only Irish males were abusing alcohol.

By far, Mexicans were subject to the worst stereotypes and derogatory portrayal over the years. They were humiliatingly depicted as poor, angry, abusive, and undocumented. This overwhelmingly negative portrayal is not only inaccurate, but can also have deleterious effects on young readers’ interpretation of Mexican immigrants and culture in general.

Furthermore, the constant and continued negative portrayal of Americans as uncaring, class-conscious, deceitful, spoiled, lazy, and anti-immigrant individuals was offensive and overly
discussed. In over a century of books, authors focused more on the Americans’ mistreatment towards immigrants, than the immigrant themselves.

While stories appeared to be portraying the immigrant, authors overlooked the immigrants’ culture. Instead, authors centered more on how immigrants were becoming Americanized. There were several authors that disregarded the culture of the immigrants completely and created stories that were informational, prescribed, and with predictable outcomes.

*Implications for Teachers*

According to Levstik, “Education—and children’s literature—was expected to be a vehicle of change” (Levstik, 1990, p. 331). Yet, as this trade book analysis indicates, the quality of children’s literature can vary greatly. As such, teachers have responsibility to carefully review and wisely select which trade books to include in their curriculum. Multicultural literature “can be a rich resource for broadening children’s world views when used by a careful and insightful teacher” (Levstik, 1990, p. 339).

Many of the earlier books fell short of being considered truly multicultural since they mainly promoted religion and few aspects of culture. Since stories included stereotypes, negative portrayals of certain groups, objectionable content, and stereotypical images of immigrants and their traditional practices, most books would not be considered content- or age-appropriate for a young reader. However, this does not mean that children should be kept from reading the books. Teachers could, for example, use them to fully develop a “critical teaching moment,” sparking discussion about stereotyping, discrimination, and racism.

As several of the stories were considered classics, or included historical events that are found in American history textbooks today, stories can also benefit the middle school reader,
especially when used to compare and contrast with the classroom history textbook. However, a book should not just be well-known to be included in the classroom, but “should be considered both in terms of its literary merit and its accuracy of content” (Levstik, 1990, p. 339).

Although books during the second era regarded themselves as being multicultural, storylines became “informational,” focused on the adjustment process rather than the immigrant experience, and derogatorily depicted Americans as anti-immigrants. Authors did more explaining than storytelling; hence students will likely not be able to grasp the true meaning of these books.

Recommendations for Future Research

With the study having focused on peak immigration eras during the 1880-1930 and 1980-2010s, it would be worthy to investigate how immigrants and their immigration experiences were portrayed in books during the gap years, or during the 1940s to 1970s. Would the results be the same? How might immigration be portrayed differently – especially during the years when immigration was actively discouraged?

It would also be valuable to investigate if (and to what degree) trade books were once used in schools, particularly at the turn of the century, and how they are presently being used in the classroom. Furthermore, it would be useful to compare the portrayal of immigrants in trade books with their portrayal in school textbooks. Moreover, students could be observed and interviewed before and after reading immigrant trade books in order to analyze their impression of the immigrant and immigrant experience portrayed. These further examinations would not only prove interesting, but could also determine what knowledge students gain from trade books and give us further insight into how trade books are and ought to be used in the social studies curriculum.
In addition, it would be beneficial to young children if a further study examined how 9/11 impacted the word “immigrant,” and how stories were influenced by this event. Did the origins of immigrants change before and after the event? Did authors’ attitudes change? Was the immigration process different?

**Final Thoughts**

In terms of evolution, although the earlier works depicted child and spousal abuse, alcoholism, and ethnic name-calling, latter stories were nonetheless more subtle and ethical. For example, the second era not only featured abuse, but also immigrants smoking marijuana and having out-of-wedlock pregnancies.

Although the eras were similar in that they both featured serious undertones, there were also differences. For example, as immigrants during the first era had little or no contact with their family and friends once they left their native countries, immigrants during the second era were shown texting each other country to country, joining internet clubs online, and chatting online with boyfriends they left behind.

As many immigrants in the earlier era were shown never having the opportunity to ever see their native country again, immigrants during the second era were shown going back “just to visit,” to do business, or to pay respects at funerals. My, how the portrayal of the immigrants in books has evolved, yet stayed the same.

Perhaps as Portes and Zhou (1994) suggest, the common depiction of immigrants as newcomers trying to cope in a prejudiced America is nothing new. For this reason, there is a need for unbiased stories that shed light on the overall immigration experience and the portrayal of the immigrants, and tales that do not present them in a stereotypical and demeaning manner.
In conclusion, this study has caused my view of multiculturalism to change. What I once considered a multicultural book is now different. Although immigrant literature, a seemingly appropriate multicultural resource, has the ability to express one’s culture, a majority of the immigrant stories presented in this study could not be used to express a multicultural America. Disappointingly, they often did not focus on culture, the assets of ethnicities, or the embracing of diversity. Instead, the stories were more concerned about how immigrants were treated by non-immigrants and immigrants alike and focused on the assimilation process of immigrants. They overwhelmingly presented certain ethnicities in a negative manner.

Thus, with literature having the power to skew what an immigrant is, where he or she came from, or why he or she came to America, perhaps Toni Morrison’s (in MacCann, 2005) assertion that American “authors, publishers, critics, and educators,” or “outsiders” have programmed children into believing that what they are told is true, is a correct assumption (p. 186-187). The fact that immigrant tales during both eras were shown lacking positive portrayals of ethnic culture suggests that there is a need for books that include positive portrayals - particularly ones that could be used to teach multiculturalism.
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APPENDIX A: TRADE BOOK DATA COLLECTION FORM

Title:

Author:

Illustrator:

Publisher:

Year of Publication:

Immigration Decade:

United States Peak Immigration Era (1880-1930)

☐ Pre-1880   ☐ 1880-1889   ☐ 1890-1899   ☐ 1900-1909
☐ 1910-1919   ☐ 1920-1929   ☐ 1930-1939   ☐ Post 1940

United States Peak Immigration Era (1980s-2010s)

☐ 2000-2009   ☐ 2010s

Comments
## APPENDIX B: CRITERION 1: ILLUSTRATIONS

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Portrayal of Heroes

Accuracies:

Inaccuracies:
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presence/absence of Sexist Language:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun Usage:</th>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Usage of Dialect:</th>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Customs – Old-fashioned?</th>
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</thead>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Learning English:</th>
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</thead>
</table>

Notes:
### APPENDIX K: CRITERION 10: COPYRIGHT DATE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publisher</th>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Influence of Actual Historical Event(s):</th>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historical Accuracies/inaccuracies:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portrayal of a Multicultural Society:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likelihood to be Overtly Racist or Sexist, Based on Copyright Date:</th>
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<tr>
<th>Notes:</th>
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</thead>
</table>

451
APPENDIX M: INITIAL TRADE BOOK CRITERIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial Trade Book Criteria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Instructions: If the answer to ANY of these questions is “no,” the book will be eliminated from the booklist of approximately 200.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Does the book contain immigrants?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Was the book published during one of the peak immigration eras?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Is the book fiction?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Is this a children’s or young adult’s book?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Is this a trade book?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Is this book written in English?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Are the immigrants in the book immigrating to the United States?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Rating Scale

1. How does this book focus on the immigrant?
   1. Not at all  
   2. Lightly  
   3. Fairly  
   4. Greatly  
   5. Heavily  
   Notes: ________________________________________

2. How does this book focus on the immigration experience?
   1. Not at all  
   2. Lightly  
   3. Fairly  
   4. Greatly  
   5. Heavily  
   Notes: ________________________________________

3. How well-known is the book? (Did the book win any significant awards?)
   1. Less well-known  
   2. Slightly well-known  
   3. Fairly well-known  
   4. Very well-known  
   5. Extremely well-known  
   Notes: ________________________________________

4. How well-known is the author?
   1. Less well-known  
   2. Slightly well-known  
   3. Fairly well-known  
   4. Very well-known  
   5. Extremely well-known  
   Notes: ________________________________________

5. How well-known is the publisher?
   1. Less well-known  
   2. Slightly well-known  
   3. Fairly well-known  
   4. Very well-known  
   5. Extremely well-known  
   Notes: ________________________________________
APPENDIX O: CRITERIA CHECKLIST

1. Illustrations
   - Do the illustrations depict characters in subservient and passive roles or in leadership and action roles?
   - Do stereotypes demean characters?
   - How do the illustrations portray males and females – as participants or observers?
   - How are the illustrations drawn? Are there identical features for all characters? Are they responsible for stereotypes?
   - Do all immigrant faces look alike, or are they depicted as unique individuals?
   - If the text has illustrations, how does it work with the text?
   - How is “power” illustrated?
   - Do the characters look natural?
   - Do the illustrations bring attention to socioeconomics, backgrounds, educational levels, and occupations?

2. Storyline
   - What is the genre? How does it shape the story?
   - Where are the character(s) and from what country?
   - Who is telling the story and how is the story being told?
   - What problems are presented and resolved in the story?
   - Do characters in the story face poverty and/or oppression?
   - Is there stereotyping in the text of the immigrants being portrayed?
   - Does the storyline promote acceptance or resistance?
   - Are there derogatory overtones used to describe the characters and their culture?
   - Are leading messages about class imbedded in the story?
   - Are the characters portrayed as individuals, not as summations of culturally stereotypical characteristics?
   - Does the author accurately describe modern settings and conflict?
   - Do the plots, characters, and themes encourage discussion and promote understanding?
   - Do the books reflect the realities of a multicultural society?
   - Can the books be used in a social studies classroom?

3. Lifestyles
   - How are people and their families depicted?
   - Are the characters’ lifestyles oversimplified or do they offer realistic insights?
   - Is the clothing appropriate?
   - Are there inaccuracies in the depiction of their lifestyle?
   - Are family issues and problems depicted accurately?
4. Relationships
- Peers; how do they deal with each other?
- Does the story reinforce or discourage a relationship?
- Who in the story possesses power, takes leadership, and makes the decisions?
- How are customs and traditions portrayed?
- How do males and females function in their roles?
- How are family members; mother, father, elderly… stereotyped?
- Does the literature have connections to family, home, church, and community?

5. Heroes
- How are the heroes portrayed and what qualities do they display?

6. Norms: Social, Political, Religious, and Cultural
- What norms are established for children’s aspirations and self-concepts?
- What effects on a child’s self-image are taken into consideration?
- Are the stories age-appropriate?

7. Author or Illustrator’s Background
- Consider the author’s background; is he/she able to display trustworthiness?
- What qualifies the author or illustrator to deal with the subject?
- Where does the author get the knowledge to create the story?
- Is the author or illustrator sensitive to the culture?
- Does the author make certain assumptions about the topic, setting, or people?

8. Author’s Perspective
- What is the authors’ point of view?
- What is the authors’ purpose?
- Does the author write from a cultural or personal context?
- Does the author show respect for culture?
- What is the author’s overall message?

9. Loaded Words
- Are there insulting overtones?
- Is there sexist language?
- If dialect is used, does it have a legitimate purpose?
- Is it suggested that certain cultures cling to “old-fashioned” customs?
- What are the implications of immigrants learning English?

10. Copyright Date
- Who is the publisher?
- How have historical events which occurred during the copyright dates influenced the stories?
- Are the historical details accurate?
- Do the books meet modern market demands?
- Does the copyright date indicate how likely the book is to be overtly racist or sexist?
APPENDIX P: LIST OF INITIAL TRADE BOOK SELECTIONS

First United States Peak Immigration Era (1880-1930)

1880s (and slightly before)


Sadlier, J. (1885). *Bessy Conway; or, the Irish girl in America*. New York, NY: P. J. Kenedy and Sons.


1890s


1900s


1910s


458
1920s


1930s (and slightly after)


Second United States Peak Immigration Era (1980-2010s)

1980s


*1990s*


2000s


2010s


APPENDIX Q: LIST OF FINAL TRADE BOOK SELECTIONS


