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**THE STRANGE CASE OF DISCONNECTION:  
CO-SLEEPING, ATTACHMENT, AND THE IMPORTED  
PICTURE BOOKS ABOUT BEDTIME IN TAIWAN**

A Thesis in

Curriculum and Instruction

by

Wan-Hsiang Chou

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The thesis of Wan-Hsiang Chou was reviewed and approved\* by the following:

Daniel D. Hade  
Associate Professor of Education  
Thesis Advisor  
Chair of Committee

James E. Johnson  
Professor of Early Childhood Education

Steven L. Herb  
Head of Education and Behavioral Sciences Library

Karen T. Keifer-Boyd  
Professor of Art Education/Woman Studies

Mary Galbraith  
Lecturer in English, San Diego State University  
Special Member

Patrick W. Shannon  
Professor of Education  
Coordinator of Graduate Programs in Curriculum and Instruction

\*Signatures are on file in the Graduate School.

## ABSTRACT

This study argues that children's picture books about bedtime are cultural artifacts created from the ideas about children and childhood that have been popular in the United States in the past 60 years, including (a) the sleeping arrangements that isolate children from parents, (b) the perceptions of children as emotionally vulnerable, and (c) the parental goals relating to individuality and independence. Moreover, picture books about bedtime are part of the ritual of bedtime separation, and function as substitutes to an absent attachment figure. The translation of U.S. picture books about bedtime in Taiwan, where parent-child co-sleeping is the norm and the attachment relationship is different from in the U.S., is a rich site for exploring how different ideas of children and childhood interplay across cultures. Three groups of picture books about bedtime were collected and analyzed: popular books in the U.S. (1943-2006), translated U.S. books in Taiwan (1986-2006), and books created by Taiwanese authors (1981-2005). The comparison focused on the portrayals of children's bedtime practices in the books and how fictional parents and children cope with bedtime problems, such as fear, separation, and sleeplessness. Guides for parents coming with Taiwanese and translated picture books were also examined for their advice to parents regarding children's sleep and fear. The findings show that children's attachment to inanimate objects and self-soothing to sleep as strategies are often encouraged in the U.S. and translated picture books. Fictional children in these two groups of books also often avoid using parents as a secure base when facing nighttime fear and distress. Influences from U.S. culture can be seen in both

Taiwanese creations of picture books about bedtime and in the notes to parents in the translated books. The conclusion suggests that adults in Taiwan need to be aware of the ideas of children and childhood in children's books translated or imported from other cultures and be sensitive about how these ideas may be different from Taiwanese childrearing goals and practices.

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION: THREE STORIES

The curiosity over the issues explored in this study started from noticing a disconnection between the bedtime practices portrayed in children's picture books translated from North American and European countries and the actual practices in Taiwan. It began with a personal experience when I translated some children's stories for a Taiwanese parenting magazine targeting parents of 0-to-3-year-olds. The magazine came monthly with a picture book for parent subscribers to read to their young child. The Taiwanese publisher collaborated with a French publishing house, and half of the short stories included in the Taiwanese monthly picture book were translated from a similar French magazine. One of the stories I translated was a bedtime story about a young boy who is afraid of the monsters in his dark bedroom. He stands inside his crib in the darkness, while his mother stands by the bedroom door saying good night to him. The mother reassures him that the thing he suspects as a big serpent is in fact the window curtain waving to say good night to him, the wolves with bright eyes are just his chairs quietly waiting for him to wake up in the morning, and the wriggling monsters are actually his stuffed animals watching over him through the night. After the mother's explanation, the boy happily says good night to all these things in his room and is finally willing to let go of his mother. This bedtime scenario is familiar to many European-American and European families, as well as readers of children's picture books created by authors from these cultures. In U.S. author Margaret Wise Brown's now

classic picture book about bedtime, *Goodnight Moon* (Brown & Hurd, 1942), a young rabbit also says good night to the objects in his room one by one, while an old rabbit lady sitting in a rocking chair is whispering “hush.” The old lady disappears from the child’s room before the young rabbit actually falls asleep. Children’s bedtime portrayed in English or European language picture books created to read to children at bedtime usually shows an isolated sleeping arrangement where a young child sleeps alone in his or her bedroom and is separated from parents and other family members at night. When taking into account the actual parenting practices in Taiwan, the translation of these picture books for bedtime in Taiwan becomes problematic. In fact, most Taiwanese parents do not leave their 3-year-old child sleeping alone in a separate bedroom. They usually share the room or even the bed with their young child through the night. A recent parent-report study shows that 56.7% of the sampled Taiwanese 5-to-7-year-olds sleep with their parents (either in the same bed or in the same room), 30% sleep with their siblings, and 5.5% sleep with their grandparents or other adults (Li & Chen, 2003). These numbers show that even from the age of five to seven years old, less than 8% of the Taiwanese children studied sleep alone in a separate room.

The discrepancy between the stories read to children and the actual practices in Taiwan raises several important research questions: Why have picture books depicting isolated sleeping arrangement been continuously (as shown later in this study) translated into Chinese in Taiwan where the majority of people practice co-sleeping with young children? Who are the intended readers of these books? Moreover, children’s books as a capitalist enterprise always have the need to make a profit. What kind of need do

Taiwanese parents have or is created for them for English language or European picture books about bedtime? Do Taiwanese authors and illustrators also create similar picture books about bedtime? If yes, do they portray children's bedtime different from the translated books? The purpose of this study is to unravel this disconnection and identify and explore the important elements relating to the phenomenon. I set out by taking a closer look at two stories: the first is a popular folktale often told to children at bedtime in Taiwan—the story of the Great-aunt Tiger; the second is a well-known U.S. picture book about bedtime, *Bedtime for Frances* (Hoban & Williams, 1960). Through retelling and contrasting the two stories, the subsequent sections highlight some essential themes in stories about children's bedtime, including different sleeping styles, nighttime practices, attitudes toward children's fear, childrearing goals, and attachment and separation between parent and child.

### **Changing Views of Childhood in Literature for Children**

*The story long, long time ago  
Is told to me from my mother.  
Very, very late in the night  
There will come Ho Ko Po.  
Children who cry easily, don't cry,  
Or she will bite your small ears.  
Children who haven't gone to bed, sleep at once,  
Or she will bite your little fingers.*

*I still remember, I still remember,  
I closed my eyes and said,  
Don't bite me Ho Ko Po.  
The good child has fallen asleep.*

This is a popular folk song almost every Taiwanese child can sing. The memory of it is so clear to me that this English translation of the lyrics came out of my fingertips as I sang it from recollection. The story of Ho Ko Po (Great-aunt Tiger) is a Chinese folktale about a tiger demon who can transform into human shape. It disguises as a relative or acquaintance of a family, often a great aunt, grandmother, or a neighborhood old woman, in order to get into the house where the adults are absent and devour human children. Below, I retell the story about this awful creature, Great-aunt Tiger, from my childhood memory.

Once upon a time there was a lady who lived with her two children by the mountains. One day she needed to make a trip downtown. Before she left home, she told the children to lock the door.

"Do not open the door to anyone," she said. "I heard people say there's a tiger demon in the mountain. If it gets into the house, it'll eat you both."

Night fell soon after the mother left, and there was a knock on the door.

"Who is it?" the elder sister asked.

"I'm your great-aunt," a deep voice answered from outside. "I know your mother well. Open the door."

"I don't know any great-aunt."

"I know you don't remember me. I haven't visited you for years because I live on the other side of the mountains. Open the door. I brought many gifts and snacks for you."

"Gifts!" the young brother rushed for the door before his sister could stop him.

The old lady standing at the door was huge. Somehow her features reminded them of cats. All suspicion was gone when she showed the gifts to the children and cooked a nice meal for them. The boy was so happy that he wanted to sleep by the great-aunt when it was time to go to bed.

In the middle of the night, the girl was awakened by some crunchy noise coming from where her brother and the great-aunt slept.

"Are you eating something, great-aunt?" asked the girl.

"I feel hungry and so I'm having some peanuts. Go back to sleep," answered the great aunt.

"May I have some, too?" The girl requested again and again. The great-aunt finally tossed a piece to her, but to her greatest horror, it was not a peanut at all. It was a small human finger. She then realized that the old woman in her house was not her great-aunt, it was the tiger demon chewing the remains of her poor brother.

"I need to go to the toilet," the girl said dreadfully, trying to hide her fear.

"Do you think I'm stupid?" snarled the tiger, knowing that it no longer needed to hide who it really was. "Don't even try to escape. You will stay here, and be my breakfast."

The girl found a long rope and gave it to the tiger. "I won't run. You can tie one end of the rope to my ankle and hold the other end when I go outside." The tiger thought for a while and agreed.

The girl went outside, struggled to untie the rope and climbed up a tree, hoping that the tiger would not find her. The tiger waited for a while and called the girl's name,

but she never came back. Finally, the impatient tiger pulled the rope back, only to find that the girl had already escaped. The tiger came out of the house with rage, and found the girl immediately.

"Get down here," the tiger roared, "before I chop down the tree. There's nowhere you can run."

"I don't want to die now," the girl answered, trembling. "I can fry a piece of myself and throw it down to you; it will taste better. But I need some boiled cooking oil."

"Good idea," said the tiger. "Don't even try to run. I'll be watching."

While the tiger went inside for the oil, the girl caught a bird and hid it in her pocket. Soon the tiger returned with a big jar full of boiled peanut oil, lifted it up to the girl with the rope and waited below. The girl threw the bird into the jar, and soon the tiger smelled the tasty fried meat.

"I'm ready. Open your mouth." The girl said.

The tiger looked up greedily, opened its bloody jaw so widely that its eyes narrowed. The girl poured the jar of boiled oil right into the jaw, and the tiger was killed in an instant.

Various versions of this tale can be found in Taiwan and across many provinces in Mainland China. There are differences between versions; for example, the number and gender of children in the story, the kind of beast coming to the door, and how the monster was killed in the end. In U.S. author Ed Young's picture book retelling *Lon Po Po* (Young, 1989), for example, it is a story about three sisters, and the monster in the story is a wolf

rather than a tiger. Another variant, “Goldflower and the Bear,” recorded by Chiang Mi (1979, collected in Zipes, 1993), however, is a tale about how two sisters escape from a bear. Regardless of the number of siblings in the story—be it two or three girls, or a sister and a brother—the oldest child is always a female and the smartest among the siblings. Other versions also include monsters such as a fox, wildcat, serpent, barbarian, or other mythical creatures, depending on the regions in which the folktale was told.

As for the ending, similar to my retelling, in both Young’s and Mi’s versions, the children smartly tricked and killed the monster from up in the tree. The three sisters in *Lon Po Po* told the wolf that they would pull him up into the tree with a rope and a basket, but they drop the rope when the wolf almost reaches their branch. The wolf was killed by falling from such a height. Goldflower, on the other hand, tricked the bear to hand her a spear so that she could get the big pears on the tree for the bear. Instead of throwing pears into the bear’s mouth, she threw down the spear with all her strength and finally killed the beast. In some versions of the Great-aunt Tiger, a street vender passed by the girl’s house and called for help to the villagers. They chased the tiger away and saved the girl. With or without help from adults to kill the monster in the end, the children in all these stories survive and outsmart the child-devourer by tricking it to let them go outside and cleverly hiding up in a tree.

Folktales change across time and space. In every act of retelling an old tale, the story is often altered according to the audience, the storyteller’s personal values, and various possible contextual factors at the time the story is told. When folktales gradually gained their association to children, an important value figured in the adaptation of stories

for children; that is, the idea and assumptions of children and childhood. A comparison of the traditional tales with modern retellings for children foregrounds how a culture believes who children are and what kinds of texts are appropriate for them to read. Chang (2004) compared twelve folktale variants of the Great-aunt Tiger story collected in Taiwan and Mainland China with ten contemporary Taiwanese literary retellings for children. Several different treatments of children are noted in these two groups of texts. First, in some traditional versions, the number of siblings in the story is three or more. In the contemporary versions, however, most stories depict only two children in the family. The author suggests that this difference might reflect the lower birth rate in modern Taiwanese society. Second, at the beginning of most modern versions, before the mother departs, more warnings toward children regarding not opening the door to strangers were added to the plot. Chang suspected that, whereas in ancient time, the story was about warning adults and children alike to be alert to dangerous wild animals, modern adults seem to worry more about malicious strangers coming to the door to do harm to children. Third, in some old versions, the mother encounters the beast not long after she left the house and is devoured by the animal. This is also how the animal gets to know that the children are alone at home. There is, however, no description of the death of the mother in any of the contemporary versions for children. This is probably due to a modern view that children are psychologically fragile and to read about the death and murder of a mother is unbearable to them. Yet, the depiction of the death of a younger sibling still exists in all the Taiwanese retellings for children Chang studied. This is one of the most unforgettable and dramatic moments of the tale—the young protagonist found out that the

peanuts the tiger is eating are actually her younger brother's (or sister's) bloody fingers and thus realizes the true nature of the Great-aunt. This scene is so memorable that the aforementioned popular folk song sings out the shared childhood memory of many Taiwanese.

Great-aunt Tiger's European relative, the tale of Little Red Riding Hood, has a different fate. Growing up familiar with both tales, it never occurred to me that the two stories probably have the same root. Although it is never clear where the tales originated from and how they traveled, the two tales do have many similarities, especially when comparing their earlier versions.<sup>1</sup> In "The Story of Grandmother" (Zipes, 1993), a version more truthful to the oral tradition and unsanitized by Charles Perrault and Brothers Grimm, the girl, too, outsmarts the wolf and gets away by untying the rope around her leg and attaching it to a tree in the yard. Perrault and Brothers Grimm, however, both victimized the female child in the tale, as she is either devoured by the wolf at the end or rescued from its belly by a stronger male, adult hunter. Dundes (1989) comments that both Perrault and Brothers Grimm turned a story about children's fear of being devoured into a story about adults' sexual anxiety. In many contemporary English language picture book re-creations of Little Red Riding Hood, however, the part about being devoured by the wolf is eliminated altogether (e.g., Browne, 2004; Ernst, 1995; Sweet, 2005). The wolf becomes a loving farther, who goes to the granny's only to steal some soup bones for his pups (Sweet, 2005), or can be tamed and trained to work for

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<sup>1</sup> In the earliest literary version of Great-aunt Tiger in record, written down in Ching dynasty, the children went out to send dates to their grandmother and met an old woman along their way. The plot structure in this version is more similar to the now familiar Little Red Riding Hood story.

Little Red Riding Hood and her granny (Ernst, 1995). It is not a fearsome creature anymore but an approachable big dog.

The examples of how Great-aunt Tiger and Little Red Riding Hood changed over time and space shows changing attitudes toward children. Stories for children reflect how a culture in time and place believes who children are, what they should become, how they are and should be treated, what counts as appropriate texts for them to read, how they learn, and what should be learned. Looking at how a single tale has changed across time and space, what has been altered and what has remained the same, highlights the socially constructed aspects of children and childhood. In both cases of the Great-aunt Tiger and Little Red Riding Hood, the emotional standard for children, and more specifically, the attitude toward children's fear, plays a permanent role in the retellings of the tales for children.

### **Picture Books about Bedtime**

Compared to the now still popular Great-aunt Tiger story in Taiwan, contemporary bedtime readings for young children in the United States look quite different. Contrary to the Great-aunt Tiger tale, which has been used to elicit fear from children who do not sleep at night, contemporary U.S. picture books about bedtime are created to soothe children's fear of sleeping alone in the dark. Picture books about bedtime are a sub-genre of picture books designated to read to children at the time of going to sleep. They usually have bedtime scripts that center on the process of going to sleep, bedtime rituals, and/or the transition from awake to asleep. The story often takes

place in a child character's bedroom. Picture books about bedtime are not to be confused with the broader term "bedtime stories." Many books can be read at bedtime, especially those with a slow-paced plot: they are often recommended to parents as good books for settling down, even though their contents are not necessarily about bedtime. Moreover, many picture books include a bedroom scene since it is often where a child protagonist begins or ends his or her day. Moebius (1991) in his study of bedtime scenes in picture books pointed out, "Not all picture books are bedroom material, but if their ultimate destination is the child who reads, they will have crossed the threshold of such a bedroom more than once" (p. 53). Picture books about bedtime, however, often have bedroom scenes throughout. They begin with a child's bedroom at nighttime and usually end in the last scene with the child sleeping in the room or, in some cases, waking up in the room after a night's sleep.

Classic examples of picture books about bedtime include titles such as *Goodnight Moon* (Brown & Hurd, 1947), *There's a Nightmare in My Closet* (Mayer, 1968), and *Bedtime for Frances* (Hoban & Williams, 1960). The last book, Russell Hoban and Garth Williams's (1960) *Bedtime for Frances*, is discussed more in detail in this section as a typical U.S. picture book about bedtime since it explores several important themes which can also be seen in many other picture books that belong to this sub-genre. In *Bedtime for Frances*, bedtime means a set time (7:00 p.m.) at which the child has to go to her bedroom. There is also a sequence of bedtime rituals or a bedtime script that the badger parents and child both seem to be very familiar with: a glass of milk, a piggyback ride to Frances' room, teddy bear and doll, kisses goodnight (twice), door left open, and

self-soothing to sleep. (Frances sang herself a little song about the alphabet.) Bedtime also means tension between parent and child, which is significant in *Bedtime for Frances*. Griffith and Torr (2003) point out that “sleep for children marks the beginning of a new set of activities for the adult from which the child is excluded” (p. 27). The adult is “keen to move to the period when the child is asleep” (p. 26), but “from the child’s point of view the adult can continue to play while the child must sleep” (p. 27). This is best illustrated on the seventh page opening where Frances went into the living room to tell her father and mother that there was a giant in her bedroom, only to find that her parents were watching television and having tea and cake. Frances attempted to be included in her parents’ evening life:

Frances said, “There is a giant in my room.  
May I watch television?”  
“No,” said Mother.  
“No,” said Father.  
Frances said, “The giant wants to get me.  
May I have some cake?” (n.p.)

After the cake, Frances was sent back to her room again to deal with the giant herself—her father told her to ask the giant what he wanted. The illustrations also show that the father is getting increasingly tired and losing his temper by Frances’ continuous troubles. Five times Frances was scared by the imaginary or real creatures in her room. The first four times she went to her father and mother, but hesitated to do so the fifth time. Frances was worried that she might get a spanking because by the fourth time, her father looked really unhappy about being awakened only because Frances was suspicious of the window curtains in her room. He threatened to give Frances a spanking if she did not go

to sleep immediately. As a result, Frances decided to deal with her fear of the strange noises coming from her window on her own. The text on the last page reads,

Bump and thump.  
 His [the moth's] wings smacked the glass.  
 Whack and smack!  
 Whack and smack made Frances think of a spanking.  
 And all of a sudden she was tired.  
 She lay down and closed her eyes so she could think better. She thought,  
 "There were so many giants and tigers and scary and exciting things before,  
 that I am pretty tired now.  
 That is just a moth, and he is only doing his job, the same as the wind.  
 His job is bumping and thumping, and my job is to sleep."  
 So she went to sleep and did not get out of bed again  
 until Mother called her for breakfast. (n.p.)

Stephens (1992) pointed out that mass-market picture books have the tendency to "reflect dominant social practices," "advocate values widely regarded as socially desirable" (p. 199), and "confirm parental authority within family hierarchy" (p. 165). The book *Bedtime for Frances* delineates the dominant bedtime practices and the socially-accepted bedtime behaviors for children in the United States; these include the practice of isolated sleeping arrangement, the set bedtime schedule, separated night lives between children and adults, the portrayal that children (or girls) are fearful, and the promotion of self-reliance. Although the book was first published in 1960, many of the elements can still be seen in some of the latest picture books about bedtime (as shown later in this study). There are several differences between the Great-aunt Tiger tale and *Bedtime for Frances* in terms of the above-mentioned elements. In the story of Great-aunt Tiger, the children share a bed or room with the great-aunt, and the adult and children go to sleep at the same time. Even today, many Taiwanese children share their nighttime

with parents and go to sleep about the same time as their parents do. In *Bedtime for Frances*, the little badger is expected to not only sleep alone but also be able to self-soothe to sleep. Moreover, although Frances seeks help and expresses her wish to stay with her parents several times when she feels scared, the resolution of the story still has Frances finally falling asleep on her own. This is different from the socialization goal in traditional Chinese culture. As discussed later in Chapter 2, interdependence rather than independence is one socialization goal identified in many Asian countries. The French story I translated for Taiwanese young children is similar to *Bedtime for Frances*. It is interesting, again, why this genre of picture books about bedtime has been translated into Chinese in Taiwan where parent-child co-sleeping is the norm.

This study seeks to disentangle the discrepancy through literature review and through analysis of three groups of picture books about bedtime. The literature reviews in Chapter 2 and 3 explore the context in which the U.S. picture books about bedtime were created. The three stories about bedtime in this introduction—the French story I translated, the story of Great-aunt Tiger, and the popular American picture book *Bedtime for France*—highlight four important elements relating to the different sleeping styles: separation, fear, coping, and adult-child relationship. Each of the elements is reviewed fully in the literature review. Chapter 2 gives historical accounts about the changing emotional standard for children and the new sleeping arrangement that emerged in the early 20th century among middle-class European Americans. The historical studies, together with cross-cultural studies about children's sleep and bedtime, put the genre of picture books about bedtime into context. Chapter 3 concerns adult-child relationships as

theorized by both children's literature scholars and attachment theorists in the field of child psychology.

The book analysis compares three groups of picture books about bedtime: popular picture books about bedtime in the United States, translated picture books about bedtime readily available in Taiwan, and picture books about bedtime created by Taiwanese authors and illustrators. Research shows that 70% of picture books on the Taiwanese market are translated from other countries, and the United States is the number one on the list (Hung, 2004). It is, thus, essential to first examine what kinds of picture books about bedtime are published in the United States. Through comparisons, this study explores the questions of what picture books about bedtime got selected for translation in Taiwan. If there are any picture books about bedtime or resemblances created by Taiwanese authors, this study also compares the similarity and differences between the Taiwanese books and the U.S. and translated books. Finally, children's picture books in Taiwan often come with a page of "words for parents" included in the book or a separate parents' guide. This study explores the questions of how picture books about bedtime are marketed in Taiwan and what attitudes toward children's fear and bedtime are suggested to parents through studying the notes or guides for parents.

## Chapter 2

### FEAR, SLEEP, AND TRANSITION

#### From Emotionally Sturdy to Emotionally Fragile Child

As shown in the story of Great-aunt Tiger, stories for children reflect what adults in a culture think about children and childhood. In her essay “Teach Them a Lesson: The Pedagogy of Fear in Fairy Tales,” Tatar (1992) pointed out how early fairy tales for children, such as those collected and edited by Charles Perrault and Brothers Grimm, and the 19th century picture books often use the threatening of violent punishments and even death of the child character as devices to frighten the child reader into obedience to the adult’s rules. One famous example is Heinrich Hoffmann’s *Struwwelpeter*, first published in 1844 in Germany. It contains several short stories in rhyme and accompanied illustrations done by the author. These stories graphically depict what happens to children if they do not obey what adults tell them to do. “Conard the Thumbsucker,” for example, gets his thumbs snipped off by the tailor with gigantic scissors because he does not listen to his mother and stop sucking his thumbs. It is not difficult for readers today to frown at the sight of the dropping blood from Conard’s small hand shown in the cruel illustration and by the fact that the book was originally created for the author’s three-year-old son (Zipes, 2001). Tatar (1992) suspects it is the parental behavior that creates a host of monsters which haunt young children’s imaginations. The purpose of these tales is to “discourage children from engaging in daredevil behaviors while also absorbing the blame [on its teller] for any prohibitions issued” (Tatar, 1992, p. 31).

Children's books have come a long way from the 18th and 19th century fear-eliciting texts to modern "fear-alleviating books," which are "designed to help children, psychologically and emotionally, by demonstrating how young characters overcome frightening situations" (Stallcup, 2002, p. 125). It is generally believed today that the overt depiction of violence toward the child character is inappropriate and would cause psychological damage to young readers. Instead, picture books with a theme about fear are created as tools to "coach" young children on how to deal with their terror. In the 20th century, the cruel punishment of disobedience and the pedagogy of fear are transformed into a more protective view of children in modern versions of the same tales (Shavit, 1983/1999). The treatment of fear in stories for children is in accord with the changing views of childhood across history. Major themes of children's fear, as depicted in picture books, include fear of dark places, imaginative creatures (e.g., ghosts, monsters), large animals, unfamiliar surroundings (e.g., thunder, a squeaking door), separation from parents, new experiences (e.g., moving, entering school), dental appointments, and bullies, to name a few (Barclay & Whittington, 1992; Clegg, 1996; Nicholson & Pearson, 2003). The focus of children's fear shifts as they grow older and it also changes between cohorts. Themes such as fear of violence, crimes, war, riots, or natural disasters were not common topics in picture books for children, but in recent years more and more books with reference to these issues have been created in the format for younger children (Chick, 2004; Nicholson & Pearson, 2003).

Since French historian Ariès' groundbreaking book *Centuries of Childhood* (1962), the history of childhood as a field of study has bloomed over the past forty years.

Several major views of children and childhood have been identified in North American and European history: the Puritan discourse, which sees childhood as a time of evil and wildness; Locke's "tabula rasa" (blank slate) discourse, which suggests childhood as a time of becoming; and Rousseau's romantic discourse, which views childhood as a time of innocence (Montgomery, 2003). The innocent view persists into the 20th century, and according to Zelizer (1985), children in the 20th century become economically worthless but emotionally priceless; their one contribution to the family is the fulfillment of an emotional yearning by parents for love and pleasure.

In his systematic studies of child-rearing manuals and columns in parenting magazines from 1850 to 1950 in the U.S., historian Peter Stearns (Stearns & Haggerty, 1991; Stearns, 2003) documents dramatic transitions in the emotional standards for children. A view of the vulnerable child and childhood fragility gradually took shape among middle class families around the turn of the 20th century. According to Stearns and Haggerty (1991), in Victorian era, fear was not something that received so much attention as in the 19th century parenting manuals. The attitudes toward fear and childhood were, in general, a view that children (especially boys) were emotionally sturdy. One prolific 19th century child-rearing author, for example, advised parents to "Train up your children to be virtuous and fearless. Moral courage is one of the surest safeguards of the virtue" (quoted in Stearns & Haggerty, 1991, p. 69). Boys' stories, correspondingly, were filled with tales of courage and bravery. The strategies to help boys conquer fear were simply presenting the standards and providing examples of appropriate reactions. Girls, though, advised not to be more fearful than necessary, were not required

to gain mastery over fear as were boys.

One issue, however, started to gain systematic caution in this era; there was a call in the manuals for mothers and servants not to use fear as a means of correcting children's misbehavior. Writers of parenting advice stressed that even though a mother's concern about her child's safety is well-intended, threatening the child with the boogeyman or the like who steals infants must be restrained, for it might "embitter the whole existence of her offspring" (Stearns & Haggerty, 1991, p. 66).

The belief that children had no natural fear changed at the beginning of the 20th century. Psychological research showed that infants might be terrified by the dark or animals even if their parents had done nothing wrong (Stearns & Haggerty, 1991; Stearns, 2003). In the 1920s, some behavioral psychologists claimed that children did have a few innate fears, which were often deepened and supplemented by parental behavior. Watson (1928; cited in Stearns & Haggerty, 1991), for example, suggested parents should help children avoid their object of terror and use gradual bribery: place a bit of candy or a toy in a darkened room, start with the object right at the door, then the next night a bit further into the dark, and so on; this would help children overcome their fears. By the 1930s, it had been well established that fear is a "problem" of childhood and needs parental attention and assistance. Dr. Spock wrote about strategies to deal with children's bad dreams and sleeplessness, "Don't be in a hurry to sneak away before he is asleep . . . this campaign may take weeks, but it should work in the end" (1946, quoted in Stearns, 2003, p. 25). Coping with fear, rather than simple insistence on courage, has become the new parental responsibility and goal.

The study of parenting guides over a hundred years and the increasing letters regarding children's fear written to parenting magazines witness an overall trend: "from encouraging children to embrace moral challenges to reducing fearful situations" and "replac[ing] an emphasis on mastery with one on avoidance" (Stearns & Haggerty, 1991, p. 64). The normalization of fear as a natural infant reaction was fully transformed in the 20th century and the main job for parents regarding children's fear was to prevent, avoid, and cope.

The trace of this changing attitude toward children's fear can be found in contemporary U.S. picture books for children. Greenstone (2005), for example, made connections between Stearns' historical studies of children's fear and the creation of one of the most popular characters in children's picture books—*Curious George*. Greenstone traces the biographical background of the Reys, the two creators of *Curious George*, who fled from Germany to Brazil, and finally to the United States during WWII. In the first two books of the *Curious George* series published in the 1940s, the monkey is portrayed as a mischievous and fearless creature who seeks adventure after adventure. The third and fourth books published in the 50s, however, start to show a more anxious attitude toward George's dangerous behaviors. Greenstone (2005) pointed out:

The first several volumes in the series portray a protagonist who eagerly, and almost entirely without apprehension, confronts some of the most profound childhood fears imaginable, including physical anger, illness, abandonment and exploitation by adults. The portrayal was neither an accident nor a mistake; in fact the early George's attitude toward the challenges put in front of him is an accurate reflection of the less anxious view of childhood that was common in pre-war America, and was more common still, in Ray's home country of Germany. (p. 221)

As Greenstone delineated in the article, the credited author H. A. Rey's first children's book was published in Germany before the war and it was about nine monkeys. One of the most mischievous monkeys became popular and H. A. Rey decided to create a book about him. The manuscripts of *Curious George* were then brought to the U.S. with the Reys, who arrived in the (sub)urbanized country which had a different view of childhood and fear. In their earlier books, "George's kidnapping and imprisonment are striking not so much because of the adventures themselves but because of the monkey's nonchalant response to them. Though he is unhappy at his predicament, he appears to have little fear during his adventures" (pp. 222-223). A dramatic change in the portrayal of George's character appears in the fifth book (published in 1958) of the George series, in which "curious" George now transforms into a timid George. The adventurous George who had no fear climbing a skyscraper and even accidentally becoming the first living creature who went up in space and came back is now scared when being blown away with a kite. What is also striking is the remarkable change of attitude the man with the yellow hat (the guardian and "kidnapper" of George) has toward the monkey. In the first two books, the man "seems unconcerned for George's safety and emotional well being" (p. 223) when George breaks his leg and is even hospitalized for several days. His only concern seems to be the commercial benefit he can get from filming the monkey. By the fifth book, however, the man attempts to rescue the flying monkey with a helicopter, and after George is saved, he says to George "I am so happy to have you back . . . I was scared, and you must have been scared too. I know you will not want to fly a kite again for a long, long time" (cited in Greenstone, 2005, p. 225). Greenstone accurately observes: "The

*George* stories have evolved from wild, vicarious thrills to a neutered, cautionary tale” (p. 225).

In the last *George* book created by the original authors, *Curious George Goes to the Hospital* (Rey & Rey, 1966), the Reys worked with the administrators in the Boston Children’s Hospital to create a book for children who need to visit a hospital. *George*, in this story, accidentally swallows a piece of jigsaw puzzle and needs an operation in the hospital. The ways to alleviate *George*’s fear and anxiety in this book include hugging his favorite toy, a big rubber ball, tightly and step-by-step explanations to *George* about the medical procedures. Most strikingly about this book is the comparison of this hospital scene with an earlier incident in the second book, where *George* breaks his leg and goes to the hospital for treatment. In that episode *George* does not seem to be afraid of being alone in the hospital; he even curiously sniffs a bottle of ether and gets hallucinatory. Compare this to the seventh book about the hospital where *George* is terrified and easily upset— he even cries twice in the book. Greenstone (2005) pointed out

The difference in tone in the two hospital visits encapsulates the transformation of *George*, from adventurous and bold to frightened and meek. This shift, of course, mirrors the transformation in American middle-class childrearing practices during the twentieth century, as chronicled by Stearns. (p. 226)

Greenstone’s study smartly follows a single child character’s evolvment in the 1940s to the 1960s and connects his analysis to a historical transition in attitude toward childhood, which both of *George*’s creators and many middle-class U.S. citizens went through, what Greenstone calls the pediatric-educational complex. This includes the wide sweep of Dr. Spock’s manual, the success of Dr. Seuss’s *The Cat and the Hat*, as well as the 1958

National Defense Education Act and the phonic movement (Greenstone, 2005).

Indeed, from today's standards, the earlier books of George might not be able to get published at all; i.e., George's fearlessness, engaging in dangerous acts (George even smokes a pipe), and the disturbing connection between George's being captured from the African jungle and shipped to the United States and the slavery history. Yet, George's successful transformation in character may be one reason for his continuous popularity even today. In the 2006 *Curious George* animation film (Howard, Kirschner, Shapiro, & O'Callaghan, 2006), George has been fond of and attached to the man with the yellow hat since the first sight and voluntarily follows the man back to the United States. The monkey is portrayed as emotionally vulnerable and in need of comfort and rescue from the man. George shows strong affection toward the man throughout the film. The father-son relationship is even stronger in this latest retelling.

The history of attitude toward childhood fear recounted by Stearns reflects the peculiar social and historical factors in the United States. It might not even be a general Western experience. Bakker (2000), for example, recounts a different history about children's fear in the Netherlands. It is thus reasonable to suspect that the meaning of fear in Taiwan might be different from the history Stearns delineated. In the case of Great-aunt Tiger, the popular song in chapter one shows that, at least in the 1980s at the time when the song came out, Taiwanese parents still used fear to threaten children who were not willing to go to sleep. In the latest picture book version, *Auntie Tigress* (Wang & Wang, 2006, English version published in 2006 by Purple Bear Books), the part about the brutal murder of a younger sibling is finally removed by having only one single child in

the story. The cover of the book, however, suggests that fear still plays an important role in this story. A figure takes up the whole cover of this new version: it is the Great-aunt Tiger wearing a hood (an interesting connection to Little Red Riding Hood). Her hood, which is the center of this picture, is decorated with golden bracelets taken from all the children eaten by her. Moreover, the little bones on the ground add to the frightening effect. Compared to more recent Little Red Riding Hood picture book retellings, where the wolf is not threatening, the book *Auntie Tigress* suggests an attitude toward children's fear quite different from its contemporary U.S. counterparts.

### **Children's Sleep Across Time and Space**

At the same time as the transitions of standards toward children's fear were occurring, the United States was also experiencing a historical change in children's sleep. Stearns, Rowland, and Giarnella (1996) trace the advice about children's sleep in parenting manuals from the middle of the 19th century to the 1950s, and mark significant shifts in patterns and attitudes of children's sleep. Throughout the 19th century, middle- and upper-middle-class children in the U.S. slept near parents or a nurse during infancy, and were then moved to share a bed with a sibling (sometimes in a room with other bedded pairs) thereafter. By the 1890s, however, patterns of and attitudes toward children's sleep started to shift. Increasingly, infants were placed in separate bedrooms and isolated from adults at night. Stearns et al. noted that parenting manuals in the mid 19th century "simply did not deal with children's sleep" (p. 345), but after the 1920s, "specific advice not only mushroomed in volume and urgency, but also increased the

amount of sleep held to be essential and the explicit scheduling required” (Stearns et al., 1996, p. 355). By the 1930s, the ideas of isolated sleep since infancy, regularized sleep in schedule and amount, as well as “the significance attached to sleep as a problem” (p. 349) had already been established in the United States. Stearns et al. discussed several possible reasons that caused these changes.

First, three traditional sources of assistance with children were declining: domestic help was becoming rare in middle-class homes; grandparents moved out from the household; falling birth rate and increased school attendance left fewer older children around to help. Second, there was a significant change in the fashion of children’s furniture: an increasing use of cribs instead of cradles. Stearns et al. (1996) pointed out,

Cribs fenced a young child in for sleep. They were relatively immobile, which made placement in a separate room seem both logical and essential; unlike cradles, cribs could not be moved about depending on where a parent was . . . The sleeping infant was now separated from parental activities . . . for an older infant, cribs provided safeguards from falling or wondering around. (p. 358)

This decline in helpers and the new fashion of cribs were reasons why mothers in the U.S. increased the desire to place a child in a separate room and a fenced bed and to put the child’s sleep on a schedule. This freed mothers for housework and moreover, for the adults’ own social life. Third, there was increasing noise in modern life, which was another reason to move the sleeping child away. Housework, such as using vacuum cleaners and sewing machines, more lighting, and new adult leisure activities in the evening, such as radio, home-based parties, and card games, all increased the noise and light at night. Fourth, there was an “increasing interest in pleasurable sex as a

fundamental part of marriage, along with the widespread belief that sexuality must be kept secret from children” and “growing focus on recreational aspects of marriage” which led to a new need for privacy for adults (Stearns et al., 1996, p. 359). All of the above reasons led to regular scheduling, predictable sleeping habits, and an increased amount of time children slept, which was more desirable from the adult’s point of view. Finally, there was a growing emphasis from experts on the child as an individual. New experts and psychologists reported that the presence of others at sleep time would make children’s sleep more difficult, and they encouraged self-reliance both in sleep and in character.

Stearns et al. (1996) specifically mentioned behavior psychologist John Watson’s childrearing advice which “heavily influenced popular advice” (p. 352) around the 1920s and 1930s. Watson emphasized the rigidity and regularization in children’s sleeping habits and advised parents to make the infant’s time-table fit their schedule. Stearns et al. summarized some of Watson’s theory and pointed out:

Children must be put to bed at set times with no coddling; any deviation would upset them and lead to new demands. Children had no natural fear of dark or of being alone; they needed no rocking or hugging. They did need ritual and quiet, and a set schedule was vital. Late afternoon was time for a tepid bath, with a fairly serious atmosphere and no toys or games. The 7 o’clock to bed, with a wake up call at 6:30 to relieve the bladder, followed by a half hour of play in bed. (p. 352)

Watson’s rigorous view began to be softened around the late 1930s when more and more parents complained about new problems caused by this strict schedule. A new idea of following an individual child’s own “self-demand” schedule took its place. Dr. Spock, for example, suggested to parents in the post-World War II era to “keep bedtime happy” and

let the child's own rhythms determine the schedule (Stearns et al., 1996, p. 353). Yet, the idea of scheduling and that each child has a natural fixed pattern of sleep remained. The concept and practice of a set schedule for sleep and regular bedtime persisted into later 20th century.

The view that children's sleep has problematic qualities also continued into subsequent decades. Magazines for women and family since the 1920s often had detailed discussion on how to deal with nightmares and night fears, whether to use night lights or not, what to do when a child gets out of bed, and how to arrange the sleeping environment (Stearns et al., 1996). Stearns et al. observed:

Told how important sleep was and how elaborate the necessary arrangements, urged additionally that adult health as well as successful childhood depended on sleep habits, parents naturally responded with frequent concerns and questions. . . . Sleeping issues seemed to be one of the real preoccupations of parents, particularly when children were young—and the concern both reflected and encouraged the frequent advice on the subject. (p. 355)

This is the case even today, albeit that the concerning “problems” may be different. A recent article that appeared in *The New York Times* quotes a child-sleep doctor in Los Angeles, who “charges \$350 for a two-hour sleep session” and has “a two-week waiting list,” as saying “Since we started in 1999, . . . we have seen thousands of families” (Green, 2007, March 1).

The changes in children's sleeping practices also resulted in a new picture of evening life in middle-class childhood in the United States. Stearns et al. (1996) delineated:

A number of family entertainments associated with the evening and with sleep demonstrably declined. Reading aloud by father or mother, for example, disappeared save as bedtime stories briefly recaptured the pastime. Middle-class families in the 19th century often whiled away evenings by family reading, during which children would grow sleepy, and sometimes actually fall asleep (without being whisked straight to bed by sleep- and regularity-conscious parents). This mood was gone, as adults increasingly sought greater separation from children after dinner. (pp. 359-360)

The picture book, *Bedtime for Frances* (Hoban & Williams, 1960) outlined in the previous chapter, for example, illustrates both the rigid schedule of a child's bedtime and the separate night life for the parents and child, which had already been established as normal practices by the 1960s. An ethnography on bedtime rituals showed that a typical bedtime sequence in U.S. families usually includes all or part of the following components in this general sequence: supper; play, homework, and/or television; bath; pajamas; play, television, and/or snack; teeth brushing; into the bedroom; bedtime story; display of affection; and finally go to sleep (Jencius & Rotter, 1998). The example of *Bedtime for Frances* shows that bedtime rituals are established as the fictional child's everyday routine and are used as settling strategies by parents. When "bedtime" is announced, the child knows what she has to do, no matter how unwillingly. Frances wants a piggyback ride to her room, asks for her teddy bear and doll, requests kisses and kisses again, and insists that the door be left open. The child's longing for body contact and connection to her parents at nighttime and her strategy to prolong the separation process is evident. More interestingly, the story specifies the child's bedtime is seven o'clock, which is in accord with Watson and many parenting manual writers' advice outlined in Stearns et al. (1996). In contrast, the story of Great-aunt Tiger depicts young

children bed-sharing with a family elder, who is in fact a stranger in the story, as a normal practice in Chinese culture. Even today many children in Taiwan still share a bed with grandparents especially when they are the primary caregivers of a young child.

There are no Taiwanese or Chinese studies that are compatible to Stearns et al.'s historical account of the attitudes toward children's sleep in the United States. Taiwanese historian Hsiung's studies (1995, 2005) on Chinese pediatric texts and biographical literature in late imperial China touch issues from newborn care, breastfeeding, weaning, to childhood illness; yet, children's sleep problems or sleeping arrangements are not included in these texts. Nor is children's sleep discussed in other historical studies about Chinese childhood (Chang, 1997; Kinney, 1995, 2004). This may be due to, as it is also the case for the U.S. parenting manuals in the early 19th century (Stearns et al, 1996), the fact that children's sleep was simply not perceived as a problem that needed to be written about. One historical study published in Mainland China does mention, on one page, some folkways to deal with infants' night cry in ancient China (Liu, 1997). For example, there was a short rhyme (containing five phrases) about a child's night cry, and it was a custom in some areas to write this song on a piece of paper and paste it outside the front door if a child in the household suffered night cry. People believed that if a passerby saw the note and read it aloud, the child would then sleep through the night. Other places also had the practices of worshipping the sun to cure a child's night cry.

Richter (2003) studied the concepts of sleep in three types of texts in early Chinese literature—the medical writing, political writing, and Daoist writing—and found at least three different views of sleep. Richter concluded:

Early Chinese texts of different persuasions share the treatment of sleep as a marginal subject. However, if this subject is mentioned, it always enhances the genuine characteristics of and contrasts between the different concepts of life and a person's role in society, which texts ascribed to the different so-called "school of thought" maintain. While the naturalist or cosmological perspective taken in medical writing results in an impartial treatment of human sleeping and waking, the political writings of Confucian, Mohist or Legalist provenance are generally partial: they explicitly favor waking and disregard or even despise sleep, as they view man in a social rather than cosmological perspective. The *Zhuangzi's* impartiality towards waking and sleeping appears to counter this widespread and dominant attitude on the philosophical as well as rhetorical level. (p. 39)

Although Richter's study does not focus on children's sleep, it confirms that sleep as a topic plays a marginal role in early Chinese texts. Moreover, it outlines some competing attitudes toward sleep in general that may still affect Chinese cultures today.

Contemporary cross-cultural research shows that wide variations exist in the parent-child sleeping arrangements across cultures and racial groups. In Chinese and Japanese cultures, for example, regular bed sharing is a common child-rearing practice even among school-aged children. A recent survey of school-age children's sleeping pattern undertaken in Jinan city, People's Republic of China, shows that 55.8% of the researched 7-year-olds share a bed with their parents, although the prevalence decreases with age with 7.2% among 11-to-13-year-olds (Liu, Liu, & Wang, 2003). As also mentioned in the first chapter, a recent parents-report study in Taiwan shows that 56.7% of the targeted 5-to-7-year-olds sleep with their parents (either in the same bed or in the same room), 30% sleep with their siblings, and 5.5% sleep with their grandparents or other adults (Li & Chen, 2003). It is also the case in the Japanese culture where traditional Japanese mothers are well known for rare separation with their young child.

Young Japanese children are carried on the mother's back for much of the time, sleep with her and bathe with her. Even older children continue to sleep in the same room as their parents and are easy to be taken into the parents' bed for comforting (Miyake, Chen, & Campos, 1985; Rothbaum, Weisz, Pott, Miyake, & Morelli, 2000; Takahashi, 1990). A cross culture study (Hobara, 2003), for example, shows that out of the 50 three-year-old children surveyed at Tokyo, only one child slept in his or her own room, whereas 33 (66%) of the sample 50 three-year-olds in New York always (seven days a week) slept in their own room and 34 (68%) of them had never slept in their parent's room.

Adult-child co-sleeping arrangement is also found in many other cultures, such as Gusii community in rural Kenya (Richman, LeVine, New, Howrigan, Welles-Nystrom, & LeVine, 1988), India (Shweder, 2003), Basque country (Crawford, 1994), and native Brazilian Bororo and Terena villages (Reimão, De-Souza, Medeiros, & Almirao, 1998; Reimão, Souza, & Gaudioso, 1999). An interview with middle class U.S. and Highland Mayan parents regarding sleeping arrangements found that all Mayan participants had their infants and toddlers sleep with their mothers until a new child was born—at this time, the elder child was moved to another bed in the mother's room or slept with another family member (Morelli, Rogoff, Oppenheim, & Goldsmith, 1992). None of the U.S. participants let their infants sleep in bed with their mothers on a regular basis as newborns, although most of the infants slept near their mothers until age 3-6 months, when most were moved to a separate room. The Mayan parents who valued the closeness with infants were very surprised at the practice of leaving an infant alone sleeping in an isolated room.

The prevalence of co-sleeping also varies across racial groups in the United States. Studies find that Black families report the greatest incidence of co-sleeping followed by Hispanic families and then White families (Medoff & Schaefer, 1993). Indeed, co-sleeping of mother and child is a widespread practice in most cultures, but it is not the norm among most European and European American cultures.

One argument is that the cultural difference is mainly a result of economics—the family cannot afford a separate room for the child. But, there is much more to it. Cultural psychologist Rochard Shweder (2003) and his colleagues found that the sleeping arrangement in a household involves moral values of the culture. They compared data derived from two groups of participants, middle-class European Americans and Oriya people from India, and found that there are different moral preferences in their choices of who should sleep with whom in hypothetical tasks. For Oriyas there are four important moral principles that the family sleeping arrangement should not violate: incest avoidance (sexualized unmarried males and females should avoid co-sleeping), protection of the vulnerable (children should not be left alone at night), female chastity anxiety (young unmarried girls need to be constantly chaperoned), and respect for hierarchy (sexually mature males should not co-sleep with each other). For middle-class European Americans, in contrast, there are three moral constraints for room sharing: incest avoidance, the sacred couple (co-habiting adults should sleep together and alone for the reason of emotional intimacy, interpersonal commitment, and sexual privacy), and autonomy (children should be encouraged to be alone at night so they can learn to be self-reliant and independent and to care for themselves). A preference conflict task also

showed that even when given the same space limitation, U.S. participants tend to place higher value on the “sacred couple” principle at the expense of the “autonomy” principle. In contrast, the “protection of the vulnerable” principle is seldom violated in the hypothetical tasks and is never violated in real Oriya households sleeping arrangement reports. Shweder (2003) concludes,

Who sleeps by whom is not merely a personal or private activity. It is a social practice, like burying the dead or eating meals with your family or honoring the practice of a monogamous marriage, which (for those engaged in the practice) is invested with moral and social meaning and with implications for a person’s standing in a community. (p. 72)

Many other reasons relate to the practice of co-sleeping or isolated sleep within a social group or a family, such as the practice of breast-feeding, intergenerational transmission of child-rearing practices, beliefs about health and disease, religious beliefs, and socialization goals. In terms of the last one, Japanese mothers, for example, center on socializing their child into interdependence with others, and thus they seldom separate with their young child at nighttime (Miyake et al., 1985). In contrast, the majority of European American mothers focus on promoting autonomy, individuation, independence, and self-soothing of the young child, and it is even a taboo for many parents to lie down with the child, staying with the child until he or she falls asleep, or rocking the child until asleep. Parents describe a sense of internal shame and transgenerational guilt when engaging in these behaviors. In their study about children’s bedtime ritual, Jencius and Rotter (1998) quote one middle class Caucasian parent’s response:

My mother goes nuts when she is visiting and one of us has to leave the room for

30 minutes to lie down with [the child]. She just doesn't seem to understand or accept it. She thinks that we are really messing up. (p. 99)

Although this may not be the reality for all U.S. families, this ideal of children needing to be trained to soothe themselves to sleep still prevails in many middle-class families. In the movie *Meet the Fockers*, Robert DeNiro says to his son-in-law, played by Ben Stiller: “Now remember, Greg, we're 'Ferberizing' him, so unless it's an emergency, under no circumstances, should you pick him up or cuddle him in any way when he cries” (cited in Ellis, November 15, 2005). Richard Ferber, the author of the popular parenting manual *Solve Your Child's Sleep Problems* (Ferber, 1985), is well known for his warning against co-sleeping and advocating the approach commonly called letting the child cry it out. The popular culture reflects the parental emphasis on self-soothing and on the individual in U.S. middle-class culture. Mitchell and Reid-Walsh (2002), in their discussion of the Hollywood and Disney movies, such as *Father of the Bride Part 2* and *Toy Story*, and the interior design publications such as *House and Garden*, also observe that “one material practice of the contemporary focus on individual—one child equals one bedroom” still remains in the “affluent, middle class imagination” (p. 122).

The European American cultures, however, have begun to reconsider about children's sleeping arrangement; for example there are groups that promote “family bed” or “attachment parenting” (e.g., Sears & Sears, 2003). This is also reflected in a recent British parenting guide published by DK Publishing, *Science of Parenting* (Sunderland, 2006). The author of the guide, in an interview with *Times*, is quoted saying:

There is a taboo in this country (Britain) about children sleeping with their

parents. . . . What I have done in this book is present the science. Studies from around the world show that co-sleeping until the age of five is an investment for the child. They can have separation anxiety up to the age of five and beyond, which can affect them in later life. This is calmed by co-sleeping. (n.p., Griffiths, 2006, May 14)

Even Ferber, in the new 2006 edition of his famous guide, also revises his cry-it-out technique and adds more flexibility in the method. However, in a recent review of seven bestselling parenting books on Amazon.com and Barnesandnoble.com, Connell-Carrick (2006) compares the parenting strategies scientific literature, including bedtime training and co-sleeping, to the findings in scientific literature. He concludes: “The current trend in the professional literature is toward more child-focused parenting, while most parenting recommendations in popular books remain otherwise” (p. 832). The author suggests that practitioners who work with parents need to equip parents with critical thinking skills when facing the abundance of parenting information available. As the European American cultures are starting to question the isolated sleeping and rigid bedtime practices, the translation and importation of picture books about bedtime in Taiwan become problematic and call for further investigation, since co-sleeping between parent and young child has been the traditional and common arrangement. As discussed in a later section of this chapter, picture books for children in Taiwan often come with a separate guide or a page of “words to parents” printed inside the picture book. This research attempts to take a close look at these reading guides for parents. What do these official guides say about children’s sleep and fear and how do they advise parents to deal with them? What is the suggested role picture books about bedtime should play in real children’s bedtime? These are the questions dealt with in Chapter 6.

### **Picture Books about Bedtime as Transitional Objects**

The shift from attachment to human body at bedtime to attachment to object, according to Stearns (1998), historically has its root in the perception of children's emotional fragility, the isolated sleeping arrangement, and the new consumerism in the U.S. since the early 20th century. Stearns maintains that the dependence on material objects since early in life "set a major new stage in consumerism's affective basis and its affective role" (p. 404). He pointed out:

[T]he fact was that children [in the early 20th century] were now put to sleep with far less human companionship than before. They lacked the assurance of a loving adult presence to rock the cradle, and then they slept independent of the raucous but often affectionate contact with siblings. This was the context in which a new array of sleep toys, beginning with cuddly dolls, made particularly good sense in providing surrogate, intensely emotional contact with things. . . . By the 1920s, then middle-class children began encountering implicit consumerism almost literally from birth. (Stearns, 1998, p. 404)

As mentioned earlier, Stearns et al. (1996) pointed out the invention of the crib as one of the reasons that infants were increasingly separated from adults for sleeping by the 1890s. Also associated with this isolated sleep are bedroom products created to both protect and stimulate infants who now sleep in a crib in a separate room. In their reading of children's bedrooms as cultural texts, Mitchell and Reid-Walsh (2002) observe:

The development of the crib and the idea of baby in his or her own room, separate from all the bustle of everyday life, also speaks to the development of two new product lines based on the needs of babies: the need for stimulation, and hence the development of hanging mobiles and the like (ranging from musical nursery rhyme artifacts to those that are more obviously inspired by popular culture), and the need for safety. This latter point has led to the development of bumper pads which fully surround the interior of the crib, offering protection from both head banging as well as the bars of the crib, Fisher-Price monitors so that the parents

can still be within hearing distance of the baby even if they are in another room, and so on. (p. 125)

Among the new furniture, toys, monitors and decorations, one object—books to read to young children at bedtime in order to help the separation process—is also created.

Story time may be part of the sleeping ritual among many culture groups. Yet, from the historical and cultural attitudes about children's sleep and fear reviewed in the above sections, the great amount of picture books created especially for bedtime can be said to be a product resulting from specific beliefs about children and childhood as well as the peculiar parent-child sleeping arrangement in European American and many European cultures. Bedtime for children in these middle-class families often includes a set of events and rituals. The purpose of bedtime ritual is to prepare the child for separation from parents and to create a safe rite of passage into sleep (Albeit, Amgott, Krakow, & Marcus, 1979). In a culture where bedtime means daily separation from parent and entrance into the transition state of sleep, ritual behaviors and objects are helpful for the transition. Bedtime reading or read-aloud is usually part of the ritual and is often the last thing before parents kiss the child and leave the room. Galbraith (1999) pointed out, "[B]ooks about bedtime commonly center on the transition from parental presence to the use of 'self-soothing' fantasy objects and rituals of protection. Further, the book itself often becomes a ritual object in this transition" (p. 173). Picture books designed to read at bedtime thus have transitional functions similar to soft toys or blankets, and play a part during the process from wake to sleep and separation from parents.

Winnicott (1971) theorized young children's first attachment to objects from the perspective of the development of self. According to his theory, the transitional object, be it a teddy bear, a doll, a soft or hard toy, plays vital roles in the "intermediate area of experience" (p. 2) that bridges an infant's object of the first relationship, usually the mother's breast, and the external reality made up of objects. This first "not me" possession allows an infant to apprehend, manipulate, and creatively use the object, helping in the gradual "disillusionment" process—the infant's gradual realization, through reality-testing, that the mother's breast is not part of the infant or under his or her magical control. Winnicott (1971) believes that the transitional phenomenon is universal and is crucial to healthy self-development. He specifically mentions that out of the transitional phenomenon "there may emerge some thing . . . that becomes vitally important to the infant for use at the time of going to sleep, and is a defense against anxiety, especially anxiety of depressive type" (p. 4).

Attachment theorist Bowlby (1969), however, believes that Winnicott's theory is open to question. He reviews research done around that time and pointed out "there is no evidence to suppose that the so-called transitional objects play any special role in a child's development, cognitive or other, a more appropriate term for them would be simply 'substitute objects'" (p. 312). For Bowlby, these objects are "substitutes" for the mother or caregiver when they are unavailable. They are subsidiary and can only partially fill the role of an important attachment figure. Bowlby, however, does not see the attachment to an inanimate object as an indication of insecurity in the child. Rather, he stated that these objects can have a comforting function and "can be combined with

satisfactory relations with people” (pp. 310-311). Bowlby also recognizes the cultural differences in the attachment to objects. He pointed out that “in the simplest societies, in which an infant may spend most of the twenty-four hours in contact with his mother, nonnutritive sucking and also clinging are directed toward the mothers’ body” (p. 309). For Bowlby, the attachment to a human figure, usually the primary caretaker, is of vital importance. It is the attachment qualities with a primary caregiver that may cause healthy or unhealthy development in children.

Indeed, cross-cultural findings question Winnicott’s assumption that the use of transitional objects is a universal phenomenon. Hong and Townes (1976), for example, studied mothers’ reports of children’s attachment toward inanimate objects in three groups (seven months to eight years old): U.S. children, Korean children reared in the U.S., and Korean children living in Korea. They found that the attachment to objects (blankets and pacifiers) were the highest (54%) among the U.S. group and the lowest in the Korean children in Korea (18%). The Korean children living in the U.S. were in the middle (34%). A more recent maternal report study compared the prevalence of children’s transitional object attachment in two groups of young children (two to four years old): Japanese children in Tokyo and Caucasian U.S. children in New York. The study found that 62% of the U.S. children developed attachment to transitional objects, while only 38% of the Japanese children used transitional objects (Hobara, 2003).

This is also the case for different cultural groups in the same country. Gaddini and Gaddini (1970) compare the use of transitional objects in three groups of Italian children: rural Italian children, children living in Rome, and Anglo-Saxon children living in Rome.

They found that only 5% of the rural children developed attachments to transitional objects, compared to the prevalence of 31% in the urban children and 61% in the Anglo-Saxon children living in Rome. Litt (1981) looked at two samples of U.S. children (two to five years old): White, middle- and upper-class children, and Black, lower- and lower-middle class children. She found that the incidence of object attachment was higher in the White children (77%) than the Black children (46%).

Transitional object attachment in general is more prevalent in European American and European cultures. Most of the research done in the United States found that 50% and 60% of middle-class children attached to a transitional object (Passman, 1987, 2001). Similar rates have also been found in studies conducted in New Zealand, Sweden, and Netherlands (Passman, 1987).

The above studies suggested that children's use of transitional objects and bedtime rituals is closely related to child-rearing practices at the time of going to sleep (Gaddini & Gaddini, 1970). Attachment to an inanimate object was found to be lower in cultures or social groups in which children receive a greater amount of physical contact, such as the practice of co-sleeping and breast-feeding (Hobara, 2003; Hong & Townes, 1976; Morelli et al., 1992). On the other hand, a child sleeping separately since infancy tended to have stronger attachment to transitional objects and engage in more complex bedtime routines (Hayes, Roberts, & Stowe, 1996). Moreover, comparisons of families within European American groups also show that whether an adult is present at the time a child actually falls asleep might be a factor on the bedtime use of an attachment object or thumbsucking (Green, Groves, & Tegano, 2004; Jencius & Rotter, 1998; Wolf & Lozoff,

1989).

The relationship between children's attachment to a transitional object and their security of attachment to the primary caretaker, however, is still inconclusive from current research findings. Several researchers have suggested that children probably need to first develop secure attachment to their mother before they can be redirected to attach to objects (Passman, 1987). Donate-Bartfield and Passman (2004)'s recent research with participants sampled from an urban area in the U.S. found that both secure children (children who use their mothers as a secure base for comfort or reassurance when distressed or in an uncertain situation) and insecure-avoidant children (children who avoid using the mothers as a secure base in stressful events, especially in those involving negative emotions) attached to blankets. When the use of blankets was studied in a laboratory separation situation, where mother-toddler dyads followed a series of separation and reunion procedures, the result showed that most secure children, whether attached to a blanket or not, chose to go to their mothers for comfort immediately after the mother left them alone in the room; whereas avoidant children, especially those highly attached to a blanket, tended to stay in the play room after the mother left the room and used their blankets for comfort (Donate-Bartfield & Passman, 2004).

Children's attachment to an inanimate object has received both positive encouragement and negative stigma in the past and present. Passman (2001) pointed out that in the 1940s, attachment to an object in childhood was considered by early psychoanalysts as fetish and as a reflection of pathology in the mother-child relationship. After Winnicott's idea of transitional objects had been popularized, the attitude toward it

has gradually been reversed. Some researchers, for example, suggest that the use of transitional objects might even be beneficial for children who need to face moderate distress situations, such as regular medical examinations (Ybarra, Passman, & Eisenberg, 2000). In a cross-cultural study, however, Japanese mothers made more negative comments toward children's attachment to particular objects than Caucasian American mothers (Hobara, 2003). Some Japanese mothers expressed their belief that transitional object use was a sign of children's insecurity, and a child did not need to attach to objects if the mother was available to him or her. More U.S. mothers, conversely, believed that children's attachment to objects was a natural phenomenon and a healthy way to deal with separation and their struggle toward independence.

Learning theorists propose that attachment to a special object may or may not be related to attachment to the mother (Passman, 2001; Donate-Bartfield & Passman, 2004).

Social learning theory states that the physical characteristics of (softness, warmth, fuzziness, etc.) can be rewarding per se. Furthermore, if the mother's nurturing and distress-reducing presence is associated with the inanimate object, attachment behaviors toward the object may ensue. Because the child is able to control a security object more readily than the mother, attachment to it should begin to develop relatively independently of the mother. (Passman, 2001, p. 563)

Mothers' active encouragement or discouragement of a child's attachment to objects may also be one reason the incidence of object attachment is higher or lower in a certain culture.

One goal of this study is to examine how the use of transitional objects is portrayed in picture books about bedtime published in the United States and in Taiwan. Do fictional children in both groups use transitional objects when facing night fear and

separation? Do these stories depict children's attachment to a special object as normal or even desirable? In *Bedtime for Frances*, Frances asks for her teddy bear and doll when her parents put her to bed. In *Curious George Goes to the Hospital* (Rey & Rey, 1966), George brings his favorite toy ball to the hospital when he needs to have a stomach operation. It is possible that more books in the U.S. group show children with transitional objects. This study also looks at the notes to parents or parents' guides that come with both translated books and books created by Taiwanese authors. What kind of attitude toward children's object attachment is shown in these guides for parents?

The use of picture books about bedtime during the transition period, however, was not discussed in this body of research outlined in this section. In fact, Winnicott (1971), in his theorizing of transitional object, included not only physical objects, but also a word, a tone, a song, or infant's babbling, for which he used a broader term "transitional phenomena" to include them. These kinds of "objects," however, are not included in the transitional objects research reviewed so far. How a picture book, as an object itself and as a story, functions as a transitional object is the interest of this study. Galbraith (1999), in her study of picture books about bedtime in the United States, pointed out the transitional functions of these picture books:

Reading shifts attention from the here-and-now situation of leavetaking to a fantasy situation in a book. By transferring the child's attention to a work of fiction, the book serves to direct the child away from the reality of the actual leavetaking and into a realm of fantasy presence. Indeed, many favorite picture books serve a double function: they describe and teach rituals of bedtime separation even as they are used in them. . . . The picture book offers the parent and the child a model of how to behave and what to feel, even as the separation is imminent. (pp. 173-174)

Galbraith's careful reading of *Goodnight Moon* (Brown & Hurd, 1947) reveals how this beloved and transgenerational classic picture book about bedtime is not as warm and cozy as it seems to be. The parallel of "the old lady whispering 'hush'" with other objects in the little rabbit's room, the fact that "the old lady whispering 'hush'" is rhyming with nobody and mush in the text, and the detail that the old lady is always pictured with the same position, all are examples of the literary and visual devices that are used to objectify the old lady and thus makes her disappearance from the child's bedroom inconspicuous.

Moreover, Galbraith pointed out:

the rhetorical purpose of the whole book [is] to distract and calm a child during separation from his family by personifying and humanizing his room and the objects in it, and by using repetition, rhythm, and rhyme to create a substitute form of familiarity, continuity, and stability. (p. 177)

Looking from this view, picture books about bedtime, together with other transitional objects such as teddy bears or soft blankets, which are often associated with warm, gentle feelings and memories of childhood, suddenly become something rather cruel and cold. Galbraith (1999) stated, "Perceived from this shifted perspective, these books become propaganda for a parental agenda" (p. 174); that is, an agenda to "reconcile children to separation from their parents at night" (p. 179).

In summary, drawing from Stearns' articles about the changing attitudes toward children's emotion and sleep in U.S. history and cross-cultural studies on children's sleeping arrangement and bedtime rituals, I argue that picture books about bedtime are cultural artifacts created from the peculiar sleeping arrangement in U.S. and European contemporary cultures and a view that children are emotionally fragile and their fear

needs to be alleviated. As Stearns et al. (1996) pointed out:

[I]t is impossible not to wonder if some vital comforts were lost in the process, particularly for toddlers now isolated not only in a separate room but in a fenced crib. Surely they cried more often, out of insecurity and loneliness, which is why so much advice was now needed about how to deal with such issues. (p. 360)

Picture books about bedtime are one of the products created to deal with this conflict. The current study looks at two levels of bedtime transition in picture books about bedtime.

First, in the story level, how do fictional characters deal with children's bedtime? More specifically, does a fictional child co-sleep with other human beings or sleep separately?

Is bedtime portrayed as a problem in the books? Do the characters use substitute objects to facilitate the transition? Second, picture books as children's literature are not only cultural artifacts but are also individual artistic expressions. On the literary and artistic level, what kinds of devices are used in the pictures and texts to facilitate the transitional process?

### **Picture Books for Children in Taiwan**

This chapter reviews the social and historical context in which U.S. picture books about bedtime are produced. To answer the question of why many U.S. picture books about bedtime have been translated into Chinese in Taiwan, in which the attitude toward children and their sleep is different from the U.S. and European cultures, it is necessary to understand the context and the history of picture books publishing in Taiwan. The history of picture books in Taiwan can be traced back to the 1960s; around that time, the first U.S.

and Japanese picture books were translated and introduced to Taiwan. It was also about the same time the government founded “Children’s Book Editorial Board” and promoted early creation of Taiwanese picture books for children. The board was established under financial assistance from the United Nations, and two U.S. children’s literature specialists, Leaf Muro and Helen R. Sattleley, were invited to Taiwan to give workshops and lectures. Hung (2004) pointed out that the contemporary concept of the genre of picture books in Taiwan is imported. It is evident in the diverse use of terms to represent pictorial books for younger children (preschool to early elementary ages). The term “picture book” was not used until 1978 by a publication of a series of picture books. Before then, picture books were mixed with illustrated storybooks and comic books under the category of pictorial storybooks. Also, a parallel term, *e-hon*, used by the Japanese to refer to picture books has been used by Taiwanese publishers since the late 1980s (a direct use of the written Japanese Chinese characters, pronounced as *hui-ben* in Chinese). A half of the picture book series published so far are named with the translated English term “picture book,” and the other half use the Japanese term *hui-ben*. This phenomenon, Hung (2004) pointed out, shows that picture books in Taiwan are a novel genre and do not have an established tradition to follow.

Even today, 70% of picture books on the Taiwanese market are translated from other countries (Hung, 2004). These books are mostly translated from United States and Japan, but in recent years, books from other European countries, such as France and Italy, have also been systematically introduced to Taiwan. After 1987 when the almost forty years’ Marshal Law, since Kuomintang (KMT) retreated to Taiwan in 1949, was finally

lifted, the translation and importation of picture books to Taiwan has bloomed. Picture books from Korea and Mainland China have also been introduced to Taiwan. The books that were selected to be translated into Chinese in Taiwan often have one or several of the following characteristics: award winners, created by highly acclaimed author/illustrators, Taiwanese culture related, government policy related, or innovated among similar topics. But most of all, the topics of books need to be attractive to parents or other adults who are the intended buyers of children's books. This is evident in the inclusion of a parents' guide with most picture books. To promote this new concept of picture books for children, most early picture book publishers used direct marketing and sold books in subscription sets (Bradbury & Liu, 2003). At this early stage of introducing this new genre of books for children to Taiwanese parents, door-to-door or direct mail were the best ways to sell books to parents. To increase the value of a high price book set for children, the publishers added a guide for parents, inviting specialists and experts to write several pages of activities or reading guide to each book in the volume (Yang, 1994/2000). Each book in a set was also assigned one or more functions, such as to promote cognitive development, information learning, interpersonal understanding, etc. One of the first book sets that included a "mother's manual" was published by Echomagazine in 1984. The book set "Echomagazine's Best Choice of Children's Picture Books" includes 24 picture books originally sold as trade books published in different countries. The books were categorized into psychological development and science education types. The mother's manual further outlines the theme for each of the 12 psychological development picture books, such as friendship, imagination, sympathy, cherishing, and loyalty. These

themes reflect the educational overtone in books for children in Taiwan; that is, each book has to have an educational function for children. Once a translated book becomes a part of a book set it cannot be purchased separately in a bookstore. Although many adult readers and children's literature practitioners complain about the inaccessibility of some classic English picture books (such as *Where the Wild Things Are*) because they are part of a set, direct sale of book sets is still one important channel in today's children's book marketing. A report shows that more than one third of the total book sale for Hsin-Yi foundation in 1999, one of the biggest children's picture book publishers, comes from direct sale (Anonymous, 1999, July 12).

It was not until the past two decades that more and more publishers started to publish books in the trade book format and sell them in bookstores. Many of the trade books, however, are still grouped into series and have the name of the series printed on the book spine and the copyright page, such as "I Can Love" series by Yuan-Liou publishing company. Although books in a series are now sold separately, they are more visible being displayed together as a series in a bookstore. Because of the early success of direct marketing of book sets, the inclusion of a guide for parents in picture books became a tradition. Even though today more and more picture books are sold individually through bookstores, most publishers still include a page of "words for parents" or reading guide either on the last page of the book or as an insert. A close look at these guides for parents in picture books about bedtime may reveal the society's attitudes toward children's bedtime and fear, the functions of bedtime books for children, as well as more general assumptions of who children are. This is the focus of Chapter 6.

### Chapter 3

#### THEORIZING PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

##### Adult-Child Relationship in Children's Literature

To better understand the research questions raised in this study, it is important to look at the idea of “children’s literature” as a whole. Unlike children’s art, which are artworks created by children, the term children’s literature in general means books created by adults for children. In most cases adults write, illustrate, edit, publish, market, review, select, and purchase books for children. They also teach and, in the case of the young non-reader, read them to children. Townsend (1971/1990) pointed out “the whole process is carried out at one, two, three, or more removes from the ultimate consumer” (p. 58), and “the result is that a children's book can go far on the road to success before a single child has seen it” (Townsend, 1980, p. 58). At each step, before a book reaches a child’s hands, adults make decisions according to their own images and assumptions of children and childhood. In fact, children’s literature (including adolescent literature) is the only literature that is defined by its audience, and in general children do not participate in the production of books for themselves. Rose (1984) stresses this strongly:

There is, in one sense, no body of literature which rests so openly on an acknowledged difference, a rupture almost, between writer and addressee. Children’s fiction sets up the child as an outsider to its own process, and then aims, unashamedly, to take the child *in*. (p. 2)

Because of this discrepancy between authorship and readership, children’s literature is a perfect site to look at this relationship: that is, the construction and imagination of the

child and its relation to adult. Literary criticism of children's literature often focuses their analysis and discussion on the constructed aspects of the meanings of childhood and being a child. One common position is outlined by Gupta (2005):

children's literature is a playing field that has little to do with children as reading subjects, but a great deal to do with 'children' as a politically efficacious category in the adult world. In broader terms, children's literature emerges from, and impinges upon, a nexus of social, political, and economic relations wherein adult desires are played out with "children" as a constantly and conveniently constructed category. No doubt these have material repercussions for children, but that occurs afterward, and generally outside, children's literature analysis. (p. 299)

This view, however, as I will discuss later, has the danger to push the categories of children and adults to binary opposites and neglect the similarity and continuation between the two.

Jacqueline Rose is among the first who pointed out that children's literature is about the relation between adult and child. In her influential work, *The Case of Peter Pan: or the Impossibility of Children's Fiction*, she wrote,

Children's fiction is impossible . . . in that it hangs on an impossibility, one which it rarely ventures to speak. This is the impossible relation between adult and child. Children's fiction is clearly about that relation, but it has the remarkable characteristic of being about something which it hardly ever talks of. (Rose, 1984, p. 1)

This impossible adult-child relation of children's fiction Rose talks about lies in that "the child characters in books written by adults for children will always be constructed out of adult wishes and desires" (Nodelman, 1996, p. 45). They are not real children but images created by adults to "secure the child who is outside the book, the

one who does not come so easily within its grasp” (Rose, 1984, p. 2). They are a means to “draw in”, “place”, and “frame” the child for adults’ own purposes (Rose, 1984, p. 2): that is, their needs, desires, and fantasy for the eternal child and childhood innocence. Using *Peter Pan* texts as examples, Rose argues that the child is a site of purity and origin that the society uses “to conceal the fractures” in language, sexuality, subjectivity, and existence that “trouble us all” (Rudd, 2004, p. 30).

Rose’s provocative claim that children’s fiction is impossible is among one of the most oft-cited works in children’s literature studies. Scholars after Rose seek to explore the possibilities of children’s literature. Rather than closing down the field, it opens up new directions and discussions among children’s literature scholars in the past two decades, as Rudd (2004) pointed out, by “marking a shift in paradigm towards a more culturally nuanced analysis...[,] more culturally sensitive notion of the constructed child and its literature” (p. 34) and “wider debates in cultural studies” (p. 30). Most of all, Rose opens up a continued conversation among children’s literature scholars concerning the relationship between adult and child.

Nodelman (1992) and Lesnik-Oberstein (1994), for example, elaborate and expand on Rose’s idea to different levels. Lesnik-Oberstein (1994) focuses her study on how critics and scholars of children’s literature often talk about children, their emotional reactions to and cognitive gains from books, as if they are something easily knowable and predictable and selecting books for them is simple. This statement of Rose’s is repeatedly cited in Lesnik-Oberstein’s many writings (e.g. Lesnik-Oberstein, 1994, 1998, 1996/1999, 2004a, 2004b):

Children's fiction rests on the idea that there is a child who is simply there to be addressed and that speaking to it might be simple . . . [;] that it represents the child, speak to and for children, addresses them as a group which is knowable and exists for the group, much as the book (so the claim runs) exists for them. (Rose, 1984, p. 1)

Following Rose, Lesnik-Oberstein (1994) argues that "criticism of children's fiction reduplicates this tactic" (p. 36); that is, linking children's books to a supposedly 'real child' who does not exist. She stated: "For the purposes of children's literature criticism, so closely involved with children's supposed emotions and states of mind, I am arguing that the 'child' is a construction, constructed and described in different, often clashing, terms" (p. 9) and "questioning whether the pursuit of 'knowledge', or determining the thoughts and feelings of childhood, is at all the aim we should be striving toward" (p. 17).

The purpose of most children's literature criticism, according to Lesnik-Oberstein (1994), is "to find the *good* book for the child" (p. 4). She writes:

All of children's literature criticism is in this sense an expression of intention with regard to children: it is saying, in so many different ways, 'this is what we want children to read or not to read so that we end up with the following results . . .'. This intention is even more the case in criticism than in children's fiction itself. (Lesnik-Oberstein, 1994, p. 4)

Children's literature critics create statements about the "child" and make book suggestions for this "unified child audience" in their minds (Lesnik-Oberstein, 1994, p. 4). Lesnik-Oberstein's observation on comments about children's books is still valid today and is especially relevant to the context of children's literature in Taiwan. As discussed in the last section of this chapter, Taiwanese picture books often come with notes or guides

for parents and teachers. How the child as a concept is discussed and communicated to the adult readers of picture books is an interest of this study.

Nodelman (1992) reads Rose's work as having the presumption that "children's literature is a form of colonization" (p. 29) and further parallels Said's idea of Orientalism—"a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (as cited in Nodelman, 1992, p. 29)—to the otherness of children and childhood, and suggests that there are many similar characteristics between the colonial relationship of different cultures and the adult-child relationship. Nodelman's analogy is very useful in reminding us of the potential power inequality between adult and child, the ideology of connecting children and childlike characteristics to immature and inferior, and the danger of a self-fulfilling prophecy—treating children like, and thus limiting them to, what adults imagine and believe them to be (see Nodelman, 1992; Nodelman & Reimer, 2003). There are, however, fundamental differences between adult-child relationships and colonial relationships of different cultures. In this same article, Nodelman himself stated this difference: "What distinguishes our thinking about childhood from other discourse about otherness is that in this case, the other does quite literally turn into ourselves" (p. 33). Similarly, Ramraj (2000) pointed out that "the actual colony, unlike the *colony* of childhood, has literal oppressive military forces, literal political prisoners; and the actual colony does not literally grow out of its colonial state as does the child" (pp. 263-64; emphasis original). More importantly, Galbraith (2001) notes that one essential difference that distinguishes childhood studies and other cultural studies is that "the emergence of babies and children as subjects must necessarily take

place within a dependent relationship to adults” (p. 189). Galbraith stated:

The central emancipatory question with respect to childhood is not how children can escape from adults, but how children and adults might enact dialogue with a relationship where one partner is intensely vulnerable and capable of suffering but developmentally dependent and relatively inarticulate. (p. 190)

Along this line, Stallcup (2002) rightfully suggests that “equating children with colonized subjects means defining adult power as essentially negative and oppressive,” and “defining adults as oppressors leaves no room for the acts of love and nurture that children absolutely must obtain in order to become fully empowered in our social system” (p. 142). Coats (2001) also makes a similar point that “one of the primary motivating emotions [in normal parent-child interaction] is love rather than a desire to exploit children’s resources, culture, and energy on behalf of capital;” moreover, “love is a material, effective force that cannot be assimilated into present discourses of power, identification, mourning, appropriation, or hybridization” (p. 143). She further stresses the importance of directing at, in children’s literature studies, this unique but often neglected positive force: “a focus on love’s adequacies and the attendant roles that joy, pleasure, and fun play in the development of human subjectivity” (Coats, 2001, p. 143). The current study is also an attempt toward this direction.

The field of critical children’s literature studies, as Galbraith (2001) pointed out, “is still permeated by the postmodern skepticism . . . found elsewhere in the humanities” (p. 191). Being still a relatively young and “marginalized” field of scholarship in departments of literature, a great deal of energies have been devoted to legitimize *kids’ books* as texts worth serious attention, and one way to do so is to explore them through

the lenses of “prevailing theories of literary study” (Coats, 2001, p. 143). This, of course, does not, by any means, intend to diminish the important contribution and insights post-colonialism brings into our understanding of the representation of ethnic groups in children’s literature as well as the power relationship between adults and children. Rather, apropos of theorizing the dynamic relations between adults and children, as Coats (2001) cautions, “a certain wariness with regard to the absolute applicability of any existing theoretical apparatus to the study of children’s literature is necessary if we are to be responsible and responsive to our subject” (Coats, 2001, p. 143). Galbraith (2001) also pointed out:

The postmodern critiques of adult representations of childhood have done a great service to the field by promoting methodological skepticism about “the real child” (Rose, Lesnik-Oberstein). Such critiques of adult interests in the portrayal of childhood must be returned to again and again in a childhood studies whose mission it is to investigate, describe, and critique the distorting interests of adults in communication communities. (p. 199)

The first years of the 21st century witness a shift in the theorizing of adult-child relationship in children’s literature: more and more attention is put to the view that the child is an active social being and the participant in the construction of childhood and the view that the relationship between child and adult is continuous rather than binary. Rudd (2005), for example, called for a hybrid view of children and childhood in the field of children’s literature, which stresses, “the child is necessarily both constructed and constructive” (p. 25) and “children’s literature occurs in the space between the constructed and the constructive” (37). Rudd defined his hybrid view of children’s literature as such:

Children's literature consists of texts that consciously or unconsciously address particular constructions of the child, or metaphorical equivalents in terms of character or situation... the commonality being that such texts display an awareness of children's disempowered status... it is how these texts are read and used that determine their success as "children's literature"; how fruitfully they are seen to negotiate this hybrid, or border country. (p. 39)

Johnston (2002), on the other hand, theorized children's literature as a form of communication between adults and children. Applying Bakhtin's idea of chronotope, which "refers to the relationship between people and events on the one hand, and time and space on the other" (Johnston, 2001), into the study of children's literature, Johnston (2002) pointed out:

In many children's books... I think the superaddressee—the person who, deeply and inherently, is a constitutive part of the whole utterance—may be neither the child nor the adult as such, but *the adult the child will become*. For it seems to me, if there is one particular distinctive characteristic of the chronotope of childhood in narrative, it is the creation of the present that has a forward thrust. (p. 146)

For Johnston, this "forward thrust in the midst of present concerns" or "future-in-the-present" (p. 149) is an important feature for many children's books and is what distinguishes literature for children from literature for adults. What is so important of this chronotope in children's literature is that it incorporates an ethics of hope in it. Johnston (2002) wrote,

In fact the whole *raison d'être* of teaching is to prepare children for adulthood; the equipping for "now" is part of this process. Here, then, over and above the present child there hovers another presence, a sort of incipient otherness, in the forthcoming future of the child, who is caught up in a process of continual "reaction" (Johnston, 1998). This shadowy presence is the adult who will actually have the agency to care for the environment, to respect indigenous rights, to take a

responsible social role. (p. 147)

Galbraith's (2001) emancipatory childhood study approach to children's literature also sees an ethic of hope in children's literature, albeit from a different perspective.

childhood studies in the models of the emancipatory approaches . . . focuses on childhood experience first and foremost for itself and assumes that childhood desires are both legitimate and admissible into the conscious human community. *In fact, this project assumes that finding ways to admit childhood desires, experience, and predicaments into all practices of the human community is the only path to human emancipation* (p. 194)

As quoted earlier, Galbraith pointed out the emancipation of childhood must take place within a dependent relationship to adults. In this view it is the adults who need to transform themselves and change their practices rather than the children. Galbraith proposed to look at each individual artistic expression of childhood predicaments in the context of children's literature and to focus on "different 'children' in the literary transaction who can be approached as individual beings who have left a verbal and artistic trail that can be studied: individual child characters, the unique childhood of the author, and the unique childhood of the critic" (p. 200).

Stallcup's study (2002) on picture books about fear also explores the continuum between the child and the adult. By looking at how the fictional child deals with his or her fear and how the adult plays a role during the process of coping, Stallcup (2002) distinguishes two different but not mutually exclusive approaches of adult-child relationships: to perceive the category of adults and children as different in *kind* or different merely in *degree*. The first approach is similar to Nodelman's (1992)

Orientalism approach to children's literature, which sees children as the Others who should maintain their dependent and childish status. The later approach sees the relationship as a continuum and captures the essence that children will eventually grow up to become adults who need the abilities to take full responsibility for themselves. Stories grounded in this later assumption "depict the possibilities (at varying levels) of a powerful alliance between adults and children" and delineate for child readers specific methods for dealing with their fears (Stallcup, 2002, p. 152). This second approach draws from Pratt's concept of "contact zone," which "emphasizes how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other" and "treats the relationships among colonizers and colonized . . . not in terms of separateness or apartheid, but in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices" (Pratt, 1992; cited in Stallcup, 2002). Stallcup (2002) proposed that there is a wide range of possibilities in which adults can share power with children and help them along their way from childhood to adulthood.

Stallcup's two approaches of adult-child relationships can be seen as focusing on two different, but interactive forms of power. Wartenberg (1990) differentiated "coercive power," the power of domination and control, from "transformative power," the use of power to benefit a subordinate agent. Wartenberg (1990) maintained that "the concept of power-over should not be identified with that of domination. . . . [Some] uses of power-over can be designated as "positive" in that they serve to benefit the agent over whom they exercised" (p. 183). He defined the transformative power as such:

In a transformative use of power, a dominant agent . . . exercises power over a

subordinate agent for the latter's benefit. In doing so, however, the dominant agent attempts to exercise his power in such a way that the subordinate agent learns certain skills that undercut the power differential between her and the dominant agent. The transformative use of power is a use of power that seeks to bring about its own obsolescence by means the empowerment of the subordinate agent. (Wartenberg, 1990, p. 184)

The approach that adults and children are different in kind sees the power adults have over children as negative and oppressive and is a kind of coercive power. The second approach, however, focuses on the positive use of power by adults to transform children into independent beings. Wartenberg (1990) also recognized how the dominant discourses in society influence adults' use of transformative power toward children. Wartenberg (1990) termed this "the superposition of a situated power relationship upon the practice of parenting" (p. 216). He explained further,

This means that the practice of parenting, which is one example of a transformative power relationship, takes place within a larger social context that is partially responsible for its nature. The larger social context alters the nature of the parenting relationship in a manner that fundamentally changes its orientation.... [T]here is a social alignment that uses the outcome of that practice as a means for determining the child's access to certain social goods. (Wartenberg, 1990, p. 216)

Stallcup's continuation approach may be closer to the nature of the relationship between adult and child than Nodelman's analogy to a colonial relationship; yet, there are two major problems in this approach. First, Pratt's idea of "contact zone" is still a theory of colonial relationships. Although the focus of attention is shifted to the many possibilities of power being shared between subjects, Stallcup is still making a parallel between children and colonized subjects. Stallcup is right at pointing out the need for

room to discuss love and nurture in the relationship. Her analysis, however, does not look further into this aspect, which is so essential to the adult-child relationship and distinguishes it from the relationship between different cultures. In the volume of a collection of essays, *Voices of the Other: Children's Literature and the Postcolonial Context*, Ramraj (2000) and Reimer (2000) both point out that the analogy between the child and the racialized other not only simplifies colonialism theories but also is reductive to the colonized experience. The reverse is also true: the analogy simplifies the complexity of the relationship between adult and child and cannot capture its uniqueness. Although the discussion of adult-child relationships in the field of children's literature benefit from postcolonial criticism, from which the domination power adults hold toward children are made more visible, children's literature studies need to also include research and theories that primarily focus on adult-child relationship, rather than interpreting the relationship only through theories concerning other kinds of relationships.

Second, discussing the adult-child relationship through postcolonial lenses misses the unique forms of transformative power that only exist in this particular type of relationship. Empowering children does not only mean teaching children how to deal with fear on their own or helping them to become independent and autonomous. What is missing in Stallcup's model of childhood and adulthood is the recognition that there is an attachment relationship between a child and the significant adults in his or her life. In light of attachment theory research in infancy and early childhood, building up a sense of security between a child and a loving adult is an important form of empowerment to the positive growth of a child.

Along this line, the current study proposes to bring an attachment theory perspective into the study of children's literature, and in the context of this study, picture books about bedtime. Attachment theory, an influential psychological theory in understanding infants and children's emotional development through the attachment bonds with primary caregivers in their early lives, has rarely been discussed in the field of children's literature, except Galbraith's (1999, 2001) works.

Galbraith's groundbreaking study on U.S. picture books about bedtime offers a lens for this study. Looking at the attitude of the fictional parent toward the child's nighttime attachment needs, Galbraith (1999) distinguished four categories of picture books about bedtime—dismissive, hostile, displacing, and unconscious acceptance, adopting from attachment theorist Ainsworth's taxonomy of parental attachment styles and an attachment style assessment tool for adults, "Adult Attachment Interview" (Ainsworth, Bell, & Stayton, 1991; Main & Goldwyn, 1985, both cited in Galbraith, 1999). According to Galbraith (1999), the dismissive type of book depicts a kindly, safe, but distant holding environment, in which attachment figures are dismissive of the child's need for physical contact at night. *Goodnight Moon* (Brown & Hurd, 1947) is a typical example. The hostile type of books, exemplified by *Where the Wild Things Are* (Sendak, 1963), presents the child as confined in his child-space and having to endure the abandonment or rejection of adults by fantasizing with toys or dream-figures. The displacing type of books often depict children sleeping with large furry animals, such as in *When I'm Sleepy* (Howard & Cherry, 1985). Finally, the unconscious acceptance type often shows the child finding her way into the attachment figure's bed or falling asleep in

the parent's arms while the parent is already asleep. An example of this type is *The Napping House* (Wood & Wood, 1984). This study categorizes books about fear and separation from both the fictional adult's attitude toward the child character and the child's attempt to use the attachment figure as a way of coping.

Galbraith looked at the adults' attachment styles in picture books about bedtime and categorized the parents' attitudes toward children's bedtime attachment need. The current study, however, adds to it by looking at the child characters' attachment styles; that is, how the child characters utilize adults as a secure base to cope with bedtime separation and fear.

### **Attachment Theory as a Theory of Emotion Regulation**

Attachment theory originally suggested by Bowlby in the 1960s, was fleshed out by Ainsworth in the 1970s, and tested, refined, and expanded by many contemporary psychologists in the past three decades. According to Ainsworth, attachment may be defined as "an enduring affectional tie that unites one person to another, over time and across space" (Thompson, 1998, p. 35). It is an emotional bond between two individuals based on the expectation of one (or both) members of the pair that the other will care for and provide protection in times of need. This affectional bond has long fascinated many theorists and psychologists. Psychobiological, learning, cognitive, and psychoanalytic theories have each offered explanations. Freud (1949), for example, believed that infants become attached to the person or object that provides oral satisfaction. Disagreeing with Freud's motivational theory, Bowlby (1969) and Ainsworth (1973) formulated an

alternative theory to explain the parent-child attachment bond. At the center of this theory is the secure-base phenomenon. In the first three years of life, according to Ainsworth, the presence of an attachment figure provides infants with sufficient security that they are able to explore the environment extensively and adaptively. Attachment figures provide infants with the secure base from which they can engage in interaction with other persons and explore the physical environment. Bowlby (1969) believed that such ties have an evolutionary basis and a biological and survival function. Infants use crying, gestures, or other signals indicating a desire to be held to attain and maintain proximity to or contact with attachment figures. These physical proximity seeking behaviors together with exploratory behaviors form an attachment-exploration balance in infants' every day interactions with caregivers (Lamb, Bornstein, & Teti, 2002). When the physical needs or psychological security are attained, the child can pursue other goals such as play and exploration. The exploration and manipulation of the physical world facilitate the development of cognitive competency, which is of great importance to the child's later life. One example of this secure-base behavior can be easily observed on the playground. When playing with mates or running around on the playground, young children regularly look back to check their caregivers' presence. In the face of distress, upset or unfamiliar situations, children seek the caregiver for comfort or look for cues of how to interpret the situation and what they should do.

Fear and separation as permanent factors in attachment theory is reflected in the tools used to assess attachment security and to describe different patterns of secure base behaviors among infants and children. In the opening chapters of *Patterns of Attachment*,

Ainsworth and her colleagues (1978) describe security of attachment as: ‘The opposite of feeling afraid (whether alarmed or anxious) is feeling secure or, according to the *Oxford Dictionary*, feeling “untroubled by fear or apprehension.”’ Thus, from the outset, the idea of linking attachment and emotions, at least one emotion, namely fear, played an important role in the development of the theory (Goldberg, 2000). Ainsworth observed different patterns of using the caregiver as a secure base among infants. The popular Strange Situation laboratory observation was thus developed as a tool of assessing attachment security and a classification scheme for describing different patterns of security. The Strange Situation procedure consists of eight brief, standardized episodes that take place in a playroom unfamiliar to the child (novel environment). The episodes include being with the mother, being confronted by a strange adult, being left with the stranger by the mother, being left entirely alone and being reunited with the mother. This is then followed by a second separation and reunion (for details see Ainsworth et al., 1978). An underlying assumption of the procedure was that being in a strange room with a strange person and experiencing separations from the attachment figure gives rise to fear or anxiety in 10- to 24-month-old infants. How the infant uses the caregiver as a resource for regulating the emotional discomfort that arises under these supposedly moderate stressful conditions is the key to identifying behavioral patterns of attachment. Ainsworth identified three patterns of attachment behaviors: securely-attached, insecure-avoidant, and insecure-resistant, and later Main and Solomon (1986, 1990) devised a new category: disorganized/disoriented. In fact, each of the patterns can be conceived as a strategy for regulating and expressing emotions (Goldberg, 2000). Secure

children have learned that expressing emotions, whether positive or negative, is acceptable to their parents. They know that signs of distress will alert their parents and elicit help and comfort, and as a result, they do not hesitate to show fear and anxiety. Similarly, they have learned that signs of joy and happiness will be reciprocated and therefore, feel free to express them. Avoidant children tend to have a history of repeated rejections of their emotional expressions. The caregivers are less responsive particularly to negative emotions, and as a result, the children develop a strategy of hiding any signs of distress, even though they may experience it as much as other children, in order to avoid being ignored or rebuffed. Resistant children have learned that their emotional expressions are responded to inconsistently and that the effects they produce are therefore unpredictable. Consequently, they develop a strategy of exaggerated expression to provoke their parents' attention. Finally, disorganized children lack a coherent behavior organization within the Strange Situation for coping with heightened stress; this is more common among abused and maltreated children. Although Strange Situation as a method of assessing attachment security elicited much criticism and several new tools were thus developed to test young and older children and in more natural settings, the most important point here is that attachment theory sees young children, even as young as newborns, as active agents in coping with and adapting to the caregiving environment to which they were born. In other words, the attachment classifications reflect different types of children's coping strategies in regard to their caregivers' parenting styles.

A more significant connection between children's nighttime fear and attachment theory is shown in a newly developed assessment tool which assess preschool children's

attachment internal working model with their narratives (Bretherton, Ridgeway, & Cassidy, 1991; Waters, Rodrigues, & Ridgeway, 1998; Sher-Censor & Oppenheim, 2004).

This story-completion task presents children with story beginnings, or “stems,” and asks them to complete the stories with dolls. The story stems represent familiar situations that are likely to elicit attachment themes. One story used is “Monster in the Bedroom.”

Researchers use the dolls to present the story stem as follows (Waters et al., 1998, p. 218; Bretherton et al, 1991, pp. 303-304):

Tester: “Look what happens now. Listen carefully.”

Mother: (Face mother toward child doll and move her slightly as she speaks.) “It’s bedtime. Go up to your room and go to bed.”

Father: “Go up to bed now.” (Same action as mother, deep voice.)

Child: “O.K., mommy and daddy, I’m going.” (Make child walk to bed.)

Tester: “Bobby (Jane) goes upstairs to his (her) room, and he (she) goes”:

Child: “Mommy! Daddy! There’s a monster in my room! There’s a monster in my room!” (Alarmed tone of voice.)

Tester: “Show me and tell me what happens now.”

The child’s attachment security is rated according to the coherence in the narrative as well as the competent representation of the child’s and caregiver’s behaviors as dealing with the issues in the content (Sher-Censor & Oppenheim, 2004). Similar to Ainsworth’s Strange Situation procedure, four types of children’s attachment styles have been found.

Using the categories developed from the Strange Situation procedure and the story-completion task discussed above, the current study looks at the different way fictional children utilize parents as a secure base at bedtime. However, there is one way the current study differs from the attachment studies. The attachment research reviewed above followed standardized procedures in observing children’s interaction with parents

or researchers, and identified each participated child's attachment pattern. The study on children's picture books about bedtime does not seek to determine each fictional child's attachment style. Rather, it is the coping strategies developed by children from different attachment histories that the current study focuses on. Since disorganized attachment style is more common among abused and maltreated children and it does not have a significant strategy to identify with, the current study does not include this category in the analysis. Thus, the current study looks at three types of coping strategies relating to children's use or lack of use of an attachment figure as the secure base in picture books about bedtime; namely, secure, avoidant, and resistant coping styles.

Different from some children's literature theorists' views which perceive the adult and child as two binary constructs outlined in the previous section, the adult-child relationship from an attachment perspective focuses on the adult-child as a dyad and a system for mutual regulation of affect. The child in this view is not a passive receiver of adult control or coercion, but an active being who actively copes with or adapts to the environment he or she was born to, no matter how poor the strategy may be. Studies show that as early as two to three months old, babies are not simply passive partners in adult-child interactions (e.g., Tronick & Cohn, 1989; Goodman, Brogan, & Fielding, 1993). In early face-to-face interactions, the adult assumes major responsibility for keeping the interaction going: babies coo or smile or stick out their tongues, and adults respond with similar actions. However, when their mothers adopt unresponsive "still-faces" instead of expressing their typical interactive fashion, two to three month old infants begin to respond with boredom, distress, or withdrawal. They attempt to regain

their parents' attention by smiling, express distress at the lack of responsiveness, and attempt to regulate negative emotion by looking away or sucking at their thumbs, all of which suggest an emergence of emotional understanding and regulation (Moore, Cohn & Campbell, 2001). Attachment theorists believe that parental sensitivity to these everyday synchronized and reciprocal interactions, attunement to infants' signals, and consistent responsiveness are key factors leading to secure attachment in infancy and early childhood.

In the field of developmental psychology, studies on socialization went from a unilateral perspective to a bilateral perspective, which acknowledged the transactional contributions of both parent's and child's behaviors, and to an ecological perspective. A "transactional model" (Sameroff, 1975) perceives the relationship between parent and child as ongoing, dynamic and mutually interactive. A child's fearful behavior, for example, may elicit certain reactions from his or her parent, and the child may then need to cope with the parental behavior, which leads to further response or lack thereof from the parent. Thompson (1998) pointed out that one important new theme in contemporary reflection on models of early sociopersonality development is a conceptual transition from socialization and constructivism to appropriation. She wrote,

The model of appropriation, based on Vygotskian theory, underscores how social interaction provides the medium by which socioemotional skills, understanding, and perspective are jointly created as the child participates with the adult in shared activity, whether consisting of face-to-face exchanges, collaborative play, or the soothing of fear or distress. It provides a context for understanding the sensitive scaffolding of shared activities by the caregiver, while remaining within the child's tolerances for stimulation and challenge, fosters new psychosocial capabilities (Vygotsky's zone of proximal development). It also provides a perspective for understanding how the child and caregiver jointly contribute to the

construction of shared meanings within the broader context of cultural values and beliefs about early development and the ecological context provided by the culture. (p. 27)

In Vygotsky's model, the soothing of fear and distress provides the child with a social context for emotional understanding and regulation, and the standards of which link to the larger context of cultural values.

The current study looks at the moment of attachment in picture books about bedtime found in both Taiwan and the United States. What kind of bedtime environments and cultural customs are provided to a fictional child? How does the child cope with the situation? Does the child utilize parents or other human beings as a secure base or does he or she use substitute objects? If the child seeks an adult to regulate his or her emotion, what is the adult's reaction to the child's attachment need? How, then, does the child react to the adult's reaction? These are the questions directing the book analysis in Chapter 5.

## **Chapter 4**

### **BOOKS COLLECTION**

Three samples of picture books about bedtime were collected in the United States and Taiwan: (a) popular picture books about bedtime in the U.S., (b) translated picture books about bedtime in Taiwan that had also been published in the U.S., and (c) picture books about bedtime by Taiwanese authors and illustrators. “Words for parents” that come with the translated and Taiwanese books were also collected with the books.

#### **Picture Books about Bedtime in the U.S.**

An initial search of English picture books about bedtime in WorldCAT database and Children’s Literature Comprehensive Database using Library of Congress subject headings shows more than 2,000 children’s fiction books relating to sleep or bedtime, not excluding books that have the same title but published in different formats (e.g., board books, different publisher editions). Due to limited time and resources, this study looks at a sample of 40 popular or acclaimed picture books about bedtime that are often mentioned across four different sources: most owned by libraries, recommended by popular children’s literature textbooks, all-time bestsellers, and recommended in professional catalog for book selection. Detailed information about the sources and criteria of selection are described below.

### *Most Owned by Libraries*

The WorldCAT is an online meta-catalog that can be used to search books that are owned by thousands of libraries worldwide (though predominately libraries in the United States). A list of most frequently owned (owned by more than 1,000 libraries) English picture books about bedtime was generated, using subjects such as bedtime, sleep, night, and fear as searching criteria and with a limitation to juvenile and fictional book materials. The top book in the list, for example, was *Don't Let the Pigeon Stay Up Late!* (Willems, 2006), which was owned by 2733 libraries at the day it is searched (November 12, 2006). These libraries were mostly elementary school libraries, regional public libraries, and university libraries in the United States, with a few exceptions of libraries in Canada and other countries, some of which were U.S. military base libraries.

### *Recommended by Popular Children's Literature Textbook*

*Children's Literature in Elementary Classroom* is one of the most popular and well-known children's literature textbooks in the United States. This study included the first through the ninth edition of the textbook (Huck & Young, 1961; Huck & Young, 1968; Huck 1976; Huck, Hepler & Hickman, 1987; Huck, Hepler & Hickman, 1993; Huck, Hepler & Hickman, 1996; Huck, Hepler & Hickman, 2000; Huck, Hepler Hickman, & Kiefer, 2004; Kiefer, Hepler, & Hickman, 2007). A search of picture books about bedtime recommended in each edition generated the second list of titles. Several sections in the textbooks were searched for recommended picture books about bedtime: a section about bedtime picture books for young children, a list of suggested best books to

read aloud, and a list of books recommended for different ages and stages, and the reference list after the chapter about picture books. Since the first edition was published in 1961 and the ninth in 2007, the list of recommended picture books about bedtime can be said to be fairly representative of this sub-genre in the United States.

### *All-time Bestsellers*

Two lists of all-time bestselling children's books were published in the February 1996 issue and the December 2001 issue of *Publishers Weekly* (Anonymous, 1996 Feb 5; Roback & Britton 2001, December 17). Ten titles of picture books related to the theme of this research were found in these two lists: *Goodnight Moon* (Brown & Hurd, 1947), *Dr. Seuss's Sleep Book* (Dr. Seuss, 1962), *The Berenstain Bears in the Dark* (Berenstain & Berenstain, 1982), *The Napping House* (Wood & Wood, 1984), *Love You Forever* (Munsch & McGraw, 1986) *The Berenstain Bears and the Bad Dream* (Berenstain & Berenstain, 1988), *What a Bad Dream* (Mayer, 1992), *Just Go to Bed* (Mayer, 1993), *Guess How Much I Love You* (McBratney & Jeram, 1995), *The Going to Bed Book*, (Boynton, 1982). Unfortunately, up to the year this research was conducted, a more updated list had not been produced.

### *Recommended in Professional Catalog for Book Selection*

This study also looked at the seventh through the 19th editions of *Children's Catalog* (H. W. Wilson Company, 1946, 1951, 1956, 1961, 1966, 1971, 1976, 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006), a catalog designed to aid librarians and school media specialists

to select books, magazines, and Web sources for children from preschool through grade six. The catalog is updated with a new edition every five years. The subject index in each edition was used to generate a pool of books related to the current study. Titles under subjects such as bedtime, sleep, night, and fear were used to produce the fourth list of books.

Titles mentioned in at least two of the above four sources form the sample of the English picture books about bedtime for this study. After eliminating books created by the same author and illustrator, forty books were found mentioned more than once in these four lists. Table 1 shows the bibliographical information of the 40 English picture books about bedtime.

Table 1

*Sample of Picture Books about Bedtime Published in the U.S.*

Title	Author	Illustrator	Year	Publisher
A Child's Good Night Book	Margaret Wise Brown	Jean Charlot	1943	Harper & Row
Goodnight Moon	Margaret Wise Brown	Clement Hurd	1947	Harper
The Moon Jumpers	Janice May Udry	Maurice Sendak	1959	Harper
Bedtime for Frances	Russell Hoban	Garth Williams	1960	Harper
There's a Nightmare in My Closet	Mercer Mayer		1968	Dial Press
Goodnight, Owl!	Pat Hutchins		1972	Macmillan
The Blanket	John Burningham		1975	Candlewick Press
Clyde Monster	Robert L Crowe	Kay Choroa	1976	Dutton

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Close Your Eyes	Jean Marzollo	Susan Jeffers	1978	Dial Press
Goodnight, Goodnight	Eve Rice		1980	Greenwillow Books
Who's Afraid of the Dark?	Crosby Bonsall		1980	Harper & Row
Moonlight	Jan Ormerod		1982	Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Books
The Berenstain Bears in the Dark	Stan Berenstain	Jan Berenstain	1982	Random House
Ten, Nine, Eight	Molly Bang		1983	Greenwillow Books
Henry and the Dragon	Eileen Christelow		1984	Clarion Books
The Napping House	Audrey Wood	Don Wood	1984	Harcourt Brace Jovanich
Half a Moon and One Whole Star	Crescent Dragonwagon	Jerry Pinkney	1986	Macmillan
Ghost's Hour, Spook's Hour	Eve Bunting	Donald Carrick	1987	Clarion Books
Can't You Sleep, Little Bear?	Martin Waddell	Barbara Firth	1988	Candlewick Press
Tucking Mommy in	Morag Jeanette Loh	Donna Rawlins	1988	Orchard Books
Where Does the Brown Bear Go?	Nicki Weiss		1989	Greenwillow Books
Go Away, Big Green Monster!	Ed Emberley		1992	Little, Brown
Going to Sleep on the Farm	Wendy Cheyette Lewison	Juan Wijngaard	1992	Dial Books for Young Readers
Asleep, Asleep	Mirra Ginsburg	Nancy Tafuri	1992	Greenwillow Books
Time for Bed	Mem Fox	Jane Dyer	1993	Harcourt
Guess How Much I Love You	Sam McBratney	Anita Jeram	1995	Candlewick Press
And If the Moon Could Talk	Kate Banks	Georg Hallensleben	1998	Frances Foster Books
10 Minutes Till Bedtime	Peggy Rathmann		1998	G.P. Putnam's Sons

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What! Cried Granny: An Almost Bedtime Story	Kate Lum	Adrian Johnson	1999	Dial Books for Young Readers
The Baby Beebee Bird	Diane Redfield Massie	Steven Kellogg	2000/1963	HarperCollinsPublishers
How Do Dinosaurs Say Goodnight?	Jane Yolen	Mark Teague	2000	Blue Sky Press
Good Night, Good Knight	Shelley Moore Thomas	Jennifer Plecas	2000	Dutton
Kiss Good Night	Amy Hest	Anita Jeram	2001	Candlewick Press
The Noisy Way to Bed	Ian Whybrow	Tiphonie Beeke	2004	Arthur A. Levine Books
Good Night, Harry	Kim Lewis		2004	Candlewick Press
Sleepy Cadillac, A Bedtime Drive	Thacher Hurd		2005	HarperCollins
Lights Out	Arthur Geisert		2005	Houghton Mifflin
Shhhhh! Everybody's Sleeping	Julie Markes	David Parkins	2005	HarperCollins
Russell the Sheep	Rob Scotton		2005	HarperCollins
Don't Let the Pigeon Stay up Late!	Mo Willems		2006	Hyperion

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### **Picture Books about Bedtime in Taiwan**

The search of picture books about bedtime in Taiwan sought to take a comprehensive approach. The sources searched included public and private libraries, chain bookstores, local individual children's bookstores, as well as online bookstores. The searched areas included Taipei (the capital, which is located in northern Taiwan), Taoyuan City (another highly populated city in northern Taiwan), Taichung City (the largest city in central Taiwan), and Taitung City (one major city located in southeastern

Taiwan). The following list shows the libraries and bookstores visited during three trips back to Taiwan in 2005 and 2006 and the online resources used to search picture books about bedtime.

### *Database*

The National Bibliographic Information Network is an online database that includes book collections in 77 libraries nationwide. The database was used to search titles of children's books relating to bedtime.

### *Libraries*

The following libraries were visited to look for picture books about bedtime in their collections:

*National Taitung University Library.* The university is where the Graduate Institute of Children's Literature is located. Its library pays special attention to the collection of Taiwanese children's books.

*Private (community) library.* Little and Big Book Club at Taichung City has a good collection of picture books for children and parents.

*Public libraries.* National Taichung Library, Taipei Public Library, and Taoyuan Municipal Library all have a separate room for their children's book collections.

### *Bookstores*

The following bookstores were visited to search for picture books about bedtime.

*Eslite Bookstore.* This is one of the biggest chain bookstores in Taiwan. It also owns several largest children's bookstores in the capital, Taipei City.

*Little Book Worm Kids Book Bookstore.* This is an individual children's bookstore in Taipei County that specializes in children's books.

*Books.com.tw.* This is one of the biggest online bookstores in Taiwan.

More than 40 translated picture books were found from the search. For comparison reason and to avoid over generalization, this study only looks at books that have also been published in the United States. Twenty-eight translated picture books about bedtime are included in this study (Table 2). Thirteen picture books created by Taiwanese authors and illustrators were collected (Table 3). The two lists, however, do not represent all the picture books about bedtime that have been published in Taiwan. This is due to the following reasons: some books had been checked out from the libraries at the time of visit; some books were out of print and could no longer be purchased from bookstores or be found in the libraries visited; and some books belong to a book set were not collected in the libraries visited and they could not be purchased individually.

Table 2

*Translated U.S. Picture Books about Bedtime found in Taiwan*

Book Title	Author/Illustrator	Original Country	U.S. Edition	Taiwanese Edition
Moonlight	Jan Ormerod	UK, 1982	Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Books, 1982	Echomegazine, 1986
The Moon Jumper	Janice May Udry & Maurice Sendak	US, 1959	Harper, 1959	Yuan-Liou Publishing, 1992
Goodnight Owl	Pat Hutchins	US, 1997	Macmillan, 1972	Echomegazine, 1993
What's Under My Bed	James Stevenson	US, 1983	Greenwillow Books, 1983	Hsinex International Corporation, 1993
Sleep Tight, Little Bear	Quint Buchholz	Germany, 1993	Grimm Press, 2000	Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1994
Mortimer	Robert N. Munsch & Michael Martchenko	Canada, 1983	Annick Press, 1983	Wisdom Cultural Medium, 1994
Can't you Sleep, Little Bear	Martin Waddell & Barbara Firth	UK, 1988	Candlewick Press, 1992	Hsinex International Corporation, 1996
Guess How Much I Love You	Sam McBratney & Anita Jeram	UK, 1995	Candlewick Press, 1995	Hsinex International Corporation, 1996
Papa!	Philippe Corentin	France, 1995	Chronicle Books, 1997	Formosan Magazine Press, 1996
Jessica and the Wolf: A Story for Children Who Have Bad Dreams	Ted Lobby & Tennessee Dixon	US, 1990	Magination Press, 1990	Yuan-Liou Publishing, 1998

When I'm Sleepy	Jane Howard & Lynne Cherry	US, 1985	Dutton Books, 1996	Taiwan Mac Educational, 1998
Sleep Well, Little Bear	Quint Buchholz	Germany, 1993	Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1994	Grimm Press, 2000
Good Night, Gorilla	Peggy Rathmann	US, 1994	G.P. Putnam's and Son, 1994	Hsinex International Corporation, 2001
Kiss Good Night	Amy Hest & Anita Jeram	US, 2001	Candlewick Press, 2001	Taiwan Mac Educational, 2001
Tim and the Blanket Thief	John Prater	UK, 1993	Atheneum, 1993	Hsinex International Corporation, 2001
And If the Moon Could Talk	Kate Banks & Georg Hallensleben	France, 1997	Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998	Taiwan Mac Educational, 2001
Nicky and the Big, Bad Wolves	Valeri Gorbachev	US, 1998	North-South Books, 1998	Taiwan Mac Educational, 2001
When Sheep Cannot Sleep: The Counting Book	Satashi Kitamura	UK, 1986	Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1986	3&3 International Institute, 2001
I Am Not Sleepy and I Will Not Go to Bed	Lauren Child	UK, 2001	Candlewick Press, 2001	Classic Communications, 2002
Goodnight Moon	Margaret Wise Brown & Clement Hurd	US, 1947	Harper & Row, 1947	Hsinex International Corporation, 2003
The Baby Who Wouldn't Go to Bed	Helen Cooper	UK, 1996	Doubleday, 1996	Children's Publications, 2003
The Napping House	Audrey Wood & Don Wood	US, 1984	Harcourt Brace Jovanich, 1984	Hsinex International Corporation, 2003
Under the Bed	Paul Bright & Ben Cort	UK, 2003	Good Nooks, 2004	Spring Pond, 2003 (bilingual)
The Monster Bed	Jeanne Willis & Susan Varley	UK, 1986	HarperCollins, 1987	Classic Communications,

				2003
Good Night Sam	Marie-Louise Gay	Canada, 2003	Groundwood Books, 2003	The Eastern Publishing, 2005
The Kiss that Missed	David Melling	UK, 2002	Barron's Eduactional Series, 2002	Alvita Publishing, 2005
When I Feel Scared	Cornelia Maude Spelman & Kathy Parkinso	US, 2002	Albert Whitman & Company, 2002	CommonWealth Magazine, 2005
Russell the Sheep	Rob Scotton	UK, 2005	HarperCollins, 2005	Global Kids Books, 2006

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Table 3

*Picture Books about Bedtime by Taiwanese Authors and Illustrators*

Title	Author	Illustrator	Year	Publisher
Night	Fei-Ju Chen	Yao-Cheng Chen	1981	Hsin-Yi Publications
Mouth Wide Open and Yawning	Nan-Heng Li	Cheng-Cheng Chang	1981	Hsin-Yi Publications
Da-Da's Blanket	Yueh Ling	Chun-Yen Tsao	1988	Hsin-Yi Publications
The First Time I Sleep Alone	Yung-Ling Sha	Huai-Lin Wang	1996	Tien-Wei Publishing
Black and White Mice: Chuang A-Pao Sleeps	Shu-Fen Wang	Hsiung-Sheng Huang	1999	Tien-Wei Publishing
Happy Say Goodnight	Ying-Hsueh Chao	Cheng-Tsung Lu	1997	Psychological Publishing
The Owl Who's Afraid of Dark	Tzu-Ping Chuang		1999	Mandarin Daily News
Not Afraid of The Dark	Shu-Ping Wang	Hsin-Tung	2000	Windmill Publishing
The Bat Who Is Afraid of the Dark: What to Do for Children Who Are Afraid of the Dark?	Hsiu-Yuan Wang	Tung-Hui Chou	2000	Go-Go Books
Ya-Ya's Big Monster in the Pond: What to Do for Children Who Often Have Nightmares?	Hsiu-Yuan Wang	Shu-Ju Liu	2000	Go-Go Books
I Can't Sleep	Chao-Lun Tsai		2001	Mandarin Daily News
The First Time I Sleep Alone	Hui-Fen Pan	Ho-Yuan Chuang	2001	Human Culture Enterprise
Summer Night	Huan Yang	Pen-Jui Huang	2005	Heryin Books

*Note.* Titles and the authors' and illustrators' names were translated from Chinese by me.

Table 4 lists the distribution of publication years in the U.S., translated, and Taiwanese groups. About two thirds of the translated books and about half of the books created by Taiwanese authors were published after the year 2000.

Table 4

*Year Distribution of the Three Groups of Picture Books*

Year	U.S. (1st U.S. edition year)	Translated (Translation year)	Taiwanese (1st edition year)
1940-1949	2		
1950-1959	1		
1960-1969	2		
1970-1979	4		
1980-1989	12	1	3
1990-1999	8	10	4
2000-2006	11	17	6
Total	40	28	13

### Notes and Guides for Parents

As mentioned in Chapter 2, it is a tradition in Taiwan that picture books for children often include a page of note to parents at the end of the book. If the books are sold as a set, the notes to parents are usually put into a separate volume in the format of a parents' manual or reading guide. The guides for parents were collected at the same time and places as the aforementioned collection of Taiwanese books. There are various

formats for book guides: a page in the book (usually the last page); in the cases of books marketed as a set, the guide for parents is printed as a separate book; recently, several publishers also use the format of a separate poster or insert that is packaged with the book. In the later two situations, because the guides are separated from the books, it increases the difficulty to collect them. The inserts, for example, are no longer with the books once a book becomes a library book. This is also the case for book sets. In the library system, a separate reading guide for a book set sometimes is not physically placed near by or has the same classification or code as the children's books they refer to. Nineteen guides for the translated books and 10 for the Taiwanese books have been collected. They are the subjects of analysis for Chapter 6.

## **Chapter 5**

### **BOOKS ANALYSIS**

By close looking and comparing three groups of picture books about bedtime, those published in the U.S., translated into Taiwan editions, and created by Taiwanese authors and illustrators, this study seeks to explore four main questions: What are the similarities and differences between the three groups of books? Who is the intended audience of these books? What are the strategies fictional children and adults employ when dealing with bedtime, fear, and separation? Are there any changes or trends across time in each of the groups?

From the literature review, several elements are of special interest to this study: the sleeping arrangement, the rituals of bedtime, the use of transitional objects, the coping strategies employed by both the parents and children, and the similarities and differences between the three groups of books. To be more specific, the following questions drive the analysis of the research: Do these books see children's sleep and bedtime as "problems," as Stearns et al. (1996) discussed in the historical study of children's sleep? Do these books reflect a view of children as vulnerable and emotionally fragile or as resilient and sturdy (Stearns & Haggerty, 1991; Stearns, 2003)? What books about bedtime got selected to be translated into Chinese in Taiwan? What is the arrangement of sleep in the books? How are the rituals of bedtime depicted in the book? Do fictional children use transitional objects at bedtime? What are the attitudes toward children's use of these subjects? How do fictional children use their parents as a secure base to cope with

bedtime separation and fear and how do the adults react to the children's emotional demands? Many Taiwanese picture books come with a "Note to Parents." This study also takes a close look at these official guides included by Taiwanese publishers. What kinds of strategies do these guides suggest adults use to deal with children's sleep and night fear?

Chapter 5 deals with general patterns in the fictional text and the illustrations. The chapter is mainly structured into three parts. The first part gives a more detailed discussion of a Taiwanese book. The second part offers a descriptive account of the 71 books collected in United States and Taiwan. The third part is an analytic discussion focusing on the coping strategies used by the fictional parents and children as well as suggested in the structures of the books. Chapter 6 takes a close look at notes for parents that come with both the translated books and books created by Taiwanese authors and illustrators.

### **Picture Books about Bedtime in Taiwan: An Illustration**

"This is not fair. You get to sleep in the same room with mom, but I have to sleep alone. Why can't I have a young brother so that he can stay with me? I won't be afraid if someone sleeps beside me." (p.17, in *Happy Say Goodnight*, Chao & Lu, 1997)

My analysis starts with a close look at one of the books created by a Taiwanese author and illustrator—*Happy Say Goodnight* (Chao & Lu, 1997). Strictly speaking, this book does not fit the definition of a picture book. It contains only 10 illustrations across the 42 pages of the main text, and should be best described as an illustrated storybook. It

is, however, presented here as the first book of discussion for it is the best book to illustrate the whole analysis in this chapter, since it includes all the elements that are discussed in this chapter of books analysis.

To begin with, the protagonist of the story is a boy named little Jian, who is at the age of attending kindergarten. In Taiwan, kindergartners usually include children from three to six years old. Little Jian does not like night. When the sun goes down, everything in the house becomes huge and dark, and strange shadows and sounds are everywhere. The thought that after dinner he has to get a bath and go to sleep alone makes his heart pound. Even though Jian needs to go to the bathroom, he does not want to go alone. It feels better to be able to be with his father in the living room. When it is bedtime, if he could be reading with his mother, he does not want to go to his room alone. He wants to be with his parents; being around adults makes him feel less frightened. Jian lives in a remote wooden house surrounded by woods. It is part of the faculty housing: both his parents are professors in the college. Jian's relatives envy his house. His cousin, Kang-Kang, lives in the big city Taipei. Their apartment is crowded and close to the street. Jian, on the contrary, envies Kang-Kang, for his neighbors living so close to his family. Moreover, the neon light from the street can easily be seen from Kang-Kang's room window—there is a big bird from Sesame Street on a signboard just outside Kang-Kang's window. This makes the room less dark and less frightening. Jian shares a bed with Kang-Kang whenever he visits. How he wishes that Kang-Kang and the big bird could accompany him to sleep every night. Jian also envies his classmate Wang Yun-Min. Wang has two brothers; thus he always has someone to share a bed with.

Jian's grandfather passed away towards the beginning of the story. After coming back from his grandfather's funeral, Jian finally reveals his fear to his parents by resisting being alone in the night. Jian asks to take a bath with his father and sleep with his parents. His father says, "You are already grown up. Big children sleep on their own" (p. 14). His mother, however, notices his fear. The parents let him leave the night light on and stay with him until he falls asleep that night. Starting from the next day, Jian and his parents start a "counter-fear project" (the word to word translation would be "broom up fear project"): His father promises to teach him how to take the fear away. The strategies his parents use in this story include six steps.

*Read picture books.* First, they select several picture books from Jian's collections. These include *The Owl Moon* (Yolen, 1987/1993), *What's Under the Bed* (Stevenson, 1983/1993), and *Nana Upstairs and Nana Downstairs* (dePaola, 1973/1998). After reading the books, Jian feels only a little bit better. He thinks that story characters live in the pictures, not in his world, and if only he can live in Kang-Kang's apartment, he will not be scared.

*Pretend play.* In the daytime, Jian's mother pretends the night is here. She has Jian change into pajamas, and they even have some "night snacks" in the kitchen. Jian sits on the bed, and his mother asks him what scares him most. They go through everything Jian is afraid of, such as his grandfather's ghost, the sound when the wind blows through the bamboo bush, and a kidnapper hidden under his bed. The mother leads Jian to look at everything in his bedroom and tells him to remember that these objects are all things he is familiar with. She tucks Jian in and says to him:

Daddy will come to your room with you every night, and will read you a story, one of your favorite stories. After that, your father will kiss your forehead or lips and say goodnight to you. The blanket that you like to hold since you were little is here. You will grab the blanket with your hands, and you will turn to your side. At the mean time, you might hear strange sounds from outside the window. What are those? Are those from the bamboos bent by the blowing wind? Are there shadows moving on the curtain? They should be the shadows of flowers projected by the road lamp. You will always hear sounds, but listen again, are those cats meowing? Or could they be mice or geckos? Daddy will buy a tape for you next time, and you will learn to recognize all kinds of sound of creatures. And you know that your mom and dad's room is right next to yours and the door is never locked. You will feel safe and slowly fall asleep. (Chao & Lu, 1997, p. 26, my translation)

The mother promises that she and his daddy will often talk to Jian like this until he can really feel safe.

*Scientific Information.* As promised, Jian's father bought a tape that has different animal sounds on it, and a world globe and a flashlight. He teaches Jian how to tell the different cries from the night animals and also how the motion of the sun and the earth creates night and day. The parents then take Jian to the movies and the mother teaches him how the eyes can gradually see things in the dark after getting used to it. Jian also learns that his little cousin, Kang Kang's baby sister, who is only an infant, needs more sleep than he does. Adults need about eight hours of sleep a day, but children need more than that.

*Make a list and record it.* Jian's mother also makes a list of the things they have been talking about and he has learned so far. Jian can only read a few words, so his mother reads the list with him several times and records it on a tape. She tells him to listen to it or recite it by heart before sleep or when he wakes up in the middle of the

night.

*Peers' help.* During Lunar New Year holidays Kang-Kang comes to stay with Jian. Jian's parents tell Kang-Kang that Jian is learning to not be afraid of the dark, and they ask Kang-Kang not to laugh at him. Kang-Kang shares the bed with Jian, but Kang-Kang suggests to turn all the lights off and to close the door. At first, Jian is not used to the dark in the room, but since Kang-Kang does not seem to be scared and he is just beside Jian, this makes Jian feel less frightened. One night, which is the Lantern Festival (the first full moon of a lunar year), they go out to the woods with homemade lanterns. Jian notices that other children do not seem to be afraid of the dark, either. They join Jian and Kang-Kang and play hide and seek in the dark woods.

*Stopwatch game.* After the winter break, all Jian's relatives have gone back to their homes. Jian feels scared again and requests to sleep with his parents. The parents say, "Didn't we agree you will learn not to be afraid of the dark?" (p. 40). They read the list the mother made for Jian several times, and they play a "stopwatch game". The father gives Jian a stopwatch and teaches him to record the period of time he can stay in the room alone while his father goes away to brush his teeth. Together they make a chart, and every night Jian has a new goal—to be able to stay in the dark room longer than his previous record. Several nights later, the father adds one more task; he asks Jian to try to leave the door closed while he is away.

The father's goal is to help Jian to be able to sleep in his room alone and still feel safe. At the end of the book, Jian has not yet reached this goal. He would stare at the door when it is closed and listen to his father's and mother's voices outside the door.

Fortunately his father always comes back in. He tells Jian that it is okay for Jian to take it slowly, there is still time. Jian hopes when summer vacation comes and Kang-Kang comes to visit again, he will not need Kang-Kang to sleep beside him anymore.

In this story, the readers learn that Jian is in kindergarten and he can read several Chinese words; this suggests that Jian is probably five or six years old. In light of the cross-cultural studies reviewed in Chapter 2, in many cultures, including Taiwan, even children at Jian's age still share a room or bed with parents. In one study, 56.7% of the five-to-seven year old Taiwanese children still sleep in the same room with parents, only less than 8% of children sleep on their own (Li & Chen, 2003). In fact, in many ways Jian may not represent the majority of children in Taiwan; for example, Jian is the only child, his family lives in a wooden house surrounded by woods, and both his parents are college professors. This suggests that Jian may represent more of a child from a privileged social class than the majority of children in Taiwan. What stands out from even the first two pages of the book is that Jian seems to be the only person who sleeps alone and is afraid of the dark in this book. His cousin Kang-Kang, who is older than him, sleeps alone too. Yet, the readers learn that Kang-Kang's family lives in a crowded apartment building where the noises and lights from the neighbors can easily be heard and seen. Even Jian's classmate, Wang Yun-Min, always shares a room with his brothers.

It is unclear why Jian's parents insist that Jian has to sleep alone in his own room. The story starts with the beginning of winter and concludes at the end of a winter break; this suggests the duration of two to three months, during which both Jian and his parents struggle to get Jian to sleep alone in his room with the door closed. Jian has already slept

alone since the beginning of the story, but it is unclear since what age he has slept separately from his parents. There are two incidents where Jian requests to sleep in his parents' room. His father replies: "You are already grown up. Big children sleep on their own" (p. 14), and "Didn't we agree you will learn not to be afraid of the dark? If you sleep with us every night, you will never learn" (p. 40). The story never gives a reason to Jian or to the readers why a boy at Jian's age has to sleep alone. The parents go to great trouble—months of training and all kinds of techniques and strategies—in order to reach this goal. There seems to be an assumption from the author that this age and gender role expectation is desirable, although in reality fewer families practice separate sleeping with children at Jian's age.

A key question raised here is: What is the average age a child is expected to be able to sleep alone? More specifically, when is the time a boy should be able to sleep on his own? Two other Taiwanese books collected in this study have the same title, *The First Time I Sleep Alone* (Sha & Wang, 1996; Pan & Chuang, 2001). Both books portray boys' fear and struggle at the first time they separate from parents and sleep alone. The boy in Sha and Wang's book, similar to Jian, is five years old. The age of the boy in Pan and Chuang's story, however, is not specified. Pan and Chuang's book also suggests that the boy might be an only child just like Jian. This portrayal of an only child struggling with the separation from parents at night might be due to the dropping birth rate in Taiwan. Some children now may not have a sibling to share a room with. Together with the globalization of U.S. ideas, such as the individualism and the separated sleeping arrangement, the meaning of bedtime for children in Taiwan seems to be different from

the past. For children who have always slept near by the parents or other adults since birth, one can imagine that their fear of separation at night might be even bigger than children who sleep separately from parents since infancy. This is probably one reason these books were created.

Also noticeable is the gender portrayal of the mother's and father's roles in their "counter-fear project" with Jian. The father is the one who teaches scientific information to Jian, including how to tell the sounds from different night animals and how the earth and sun move. He is also the one who systematically times Jian's progress in his ability to stay in the room alone. Jian's mother, on the other hand, plays a more nurturing role. She says the gentle words into Jian's ears during the pretend play (relaxation technique) and makes a list of some reassuring facts with Jian and records it (positive self-talk), so that Jian can listen to it when he wakes up in the dark. She is also the one who lectures the importance of sleep to Jian.

This book is a hybrid of U.S. and Taiwanese cultures in many senses. First, the story shows that Jian's imagination of the creatures in the dark come from both U.S. and Taiwanese cultures. These creatures include mummies, vampires, kidnappers, murderers, and ghosts. The sources of his imagination include comic books, movies, TV news, ghost stories his friend told him, and the ghostly spirit figures he saw in a temple fair parade. Second, the picture books read to Jian as their first step for the "counter-fear project" are all translated books, and, curiously, they all happen to be created by U.S. authors and illustrators. Moreover, in the author's afterword, the author stated that the strategies used in the story are based on a book *Monsters Under the Bed and Other Childhood Fears*:

*Helping Your Child Overcome Anxieties, Fears, and Phobias*, (Garber, Spizman, & Garber, 1993), in which four steps of coping—imagination, information, observation, and exposure—are suggested to parents to deal with their children’s fears. One of the strategies that is of special interest to this study is the use of objects attachment as a source of comfort when dealing with fear. The mother names all the objects in Jian’s room during the pretend play, and she specifically mentions a blanket Jian likes to hold since he was little. Moreover, both the content and the mother’s voice, which Jian listens to repeatedly on the tape and is even able to recite, function as transitional objects in Winnicott’s (1971) sense. Yet, from Bowlby’s perspective, all these objects, be they physical objects, thoughts or voices, function as “substitute objects” at the time when an attachment figure is not available. As reviewed in Chapter 2, several studies show that the use of transitional objects is less found in cultures where parent-child co-sleeping is the norm. Ironically, the series editor’s (a psychologist) note at the end of the book, which takes up the last seven pages of the book, states that one purpose of this bibliotherapy series is to invite Taiwanese authors to create stories which are attuned to the Taiwanese culture so that children can easily identify with them. The strategies Jian’s parents used to deal with Jian’s fear of dark, however, follow a U.S. parenting manual which does not seem to show sensitivities toward the diverse parenting goals and practices among cultures.

The author of the book, Chao Ying-Hsuch, is a well-known professional children’s writer in Taiwan, who has numerous children’s novels and picture books published. This book is a collaboration between the author and the Psychological

Publishing Company, a publishing house focusing on psychology, counseling, and education related professional books, as well as assessment tools. As the discussion below shows, two of the translated books about children's fear found in Taiwan are authored by American child specialists, and two Taiwanese books are also created by a child specialist. The idea that children's books are useful tools to alleviate children's fear and to teach emotion management is a recurring theme throughout the Taiwanese and translated books. This is evident in the question and answer section included in the book after the story. This section is called "brain exercise time" which contains the following eight questions:

1. What problem does Jian encounter in this story?
2. What is Jian afraid of at night? Do you feel scared at night just like Jian? What are you afraid of at night?
3. Do you think the things Jian is afraid of are real? Are the things you are afraid of real too?
4. What do you think of the ways to "sweep away fear" Jian and his parents use?
5. If you have a similar problem, do you want to have a "counter-fear" operation? What would you do?
6. When you see your friend is scared while listening to a ghost story, being his good friend what would you do?
7. Do you like to live in a house like Jian's or Kang-Kang's? Why?
8. Do you think if Jian moves to an apartment like Kang-Kang's, he will be less afraid? Why? (Chao & Lu, 1997, pp. 44-50, my translation)

Many Taiwanese and translated books often include a page of "notes for parents" or a separate reading guide for parents, in which some activities for children similar to this one are included. This is discussed in the next chapter. This chapter looks at many of the elements mentioned in this example; these include: the theme of the book, age and gender of the characters, the sleeping arrangement, and the coping strategies the fictional parents

and children use at bedtime.

### **Themes in Picture Books about Bedtime**

This section intends to give an overview of the content in the three groups of picture books about bedtime collected in the United States and Taiwan. This is done by describing the major themes found across the stories. A first look at the U.S. group and the translated group found four types of themes in both groups. Since there are ten titles that overlap between the two groups, the first part of this section puts the two groups together and uses books from both groups as examples to give descriptive information on each type. The books in the Taiwanese group can also be categorized with these types. They are discussed separately after outlining the four categories using the U.S. books (U.S. plus translated). A comparison of how each of the three groups contains the four types of books is discussed in the last part of this section.

Three of the four types portray children's sleep and bedtime as problems, which is in accord with the "problematized" view of children's sleep reviewed in Chapter 2 (Stearns et al., 1996). Children's sleep has been viewed as full of problems and difficulties and has been a big challenge to many parents since the mid-20th century. Considering the problems needed to be solved in the story, the books about children's sleep problems can be classified into three categories: "resist going to bed," "cannot sleep," and "fear of the dark."

The fourth type does not focus on problems of bedtime. This category consists of

books that have lullaby qualities and are designed to read at bedtime to soothe young children to sleep. The description below starts with looking at some of the characteristics that make this category, which I call the “going to sleep” type.

### *Going to Sleep*

The texts in this type are mostly in rhyme or structured with rhythm and repetition. For example, Fox and Dyer’s (1983) *Time for Bed* starts with “It’s time for bed, little mouse, little mouse, / Darkness is falling all over the house” (n.p.), and the second double-spread goes on: “It’s time for bed, little goose, little goose, / The stars are out and on the loose” (n.p.). Each page opening depicts a different animal parent with its offspring. The author carefully chose the last word in each sentence to rhyme with the animal’s name. These texts are designed to be read aloud, and the repetition in the sentence structure invites the young audience to join in after listening to the parents reading the book again and again. The language and illustrations seek to create both a calm and peaceful mood. Together they answer a child audience’s curiosity over what the night is like outside the bedroom.

A recurring pattern in this group is the telling of how animals sleep (e.g., *A Child’s Good Night Book*, Brown & Charlot, 1943; *Going to Sleep on the Farm*, Lewison & Wijngaard, 1992; *Close Your Eyes*, Marzollo & Jeffers, 1978; *When I’m Sleepy*, Howard & Cherry, 1985/1998), where they go to sleep (e.g., *Where Does the Brown Bear Go?*, Weiss, 1989; *The Noisy Way to Bed*, Whybrow & Beeke, 2004), or whether they are already asleep (e.g., *Asleep, Asleep*, Ginsburg & Tafuri, 1992). In *Going to Sleep on the Farm* (Lewison & Wijngaard, 1992), the boy asks his father how different farm animals

go to sleep: “How does a cow go to sleep—tell me how? / How does a cow go to sleep?” (n.p.). With the father answering how each animal sleeps, the illustration on the next page presents that the animal is falling asleep. At the end, the father asks the boy “How do you go to sleep—tell me how? / How do you go to sleep?” (n.p.), and the last image shows the boy asleep in his bed tucked under a comforter that has all the farm animals quilted on it. In *Where Does the Brown Bear Go?* (Weiss, 1989), it is the voice of a parent putting a child to sleep who is asking: “When the night in the forest / Disguises the trees, / Where does the brown bear go, honey? / Where does the brown bear go?” (n.p.). The answer is always “They are on their way. They are on their way home” (n.p.). The last two illustrations picture a child asleep in the bed with all the prior mentioned animals surrounding him (or her)—they are in fact all the child’s stuffed animals. The repetitions of the questioning and answering of each animal’s whereabouts build up to the conclusion of each book, where the focus of the last few pages of a book always shift back to the human child. All the aforementioned books have a very similar last image: a human child soundly asleep in the bed. All animals are asleep now, and the child in the book is asleep. It is time for the child reader to go to sleep, too.

Several books still have the recurring pattern of connecting the nightlife inside and outside a child’s room, even though they do not focus solely on how different animals sleep. In *And If the Moon Could Talk* (Banks & Hallensleben, 1998), the poetic text and illustration work together to create rhythm for the book. The first page opening begins with depicting some actions in a girl’s bedroom at twilight, and the second double-spread shifts to what the moon sees in the world outside her house. Each alternate

double-spread then follows this pattern of shifting between indoor and outdoor, which weaves scenes of far away animals resting at night into the child's bedtime sequence. Another book *Goodnight, Goodnight* (Rice, 1980) sets the scene in a busy town. It tells how a kitten still wants to play while everyone in the town is saying goodnight to each other and ready to go home. The policeman says goodnight to the fireman, a man says goodnight to his parrot, and a woman says goodnight to her dog. Everybody is going to sleep. Finally, the mother cat finds her kitten, and they, too, say goodnight to each other. A more recent, book *Shhhhh! Everybody's Sleeping* (Markes, 2005), also sets the scene in a town. People in this whole town have all gone to sleep. The teacher, librarian, policeman, fireman, doctor, grocer, postman, farmer, baker, gardener, and even the president have finished their job and are all soundly asleep now. On the second to the last double-spread, the narrative and the illustration reveal that it is a mother's voice telling this story to a little boy, who first appears on the front cover. The text reads: "And you know who should be sleeping just like the sun?" (n.p.). Everyone in the town has already been sleeping; it is time for the boy, and his mother, to go to sleep, too.

The connection between animals' sleep and children's sleep is an interesting feature in the books grouped in this category. There is also an overtone of a unitary sleeping habit suggested in many of the books: everyone sleeps at the same time and with the same sleeping arrangement. This is discussed later under the analytic section about coping strategies.

### *Resist Going to Bed*

The “resist going to bed” type describes the settle down period before the fictional child is finally willing to lie in the bed. Typical examples in the translated group include *The Baby Who Wouldn't Go to Bed* (Cooper, 1996/2003), *I Am Not Sleepy and I Will Not Go to Bed* (Child, 2001/2002), and *Good Night, Gorilla* (Rathmann, 1994/2001). Each book gives a different reason why the character does not want to go to sleep at the time he or she is supposed to go to bed or, in the case of *Good Night, Gorilla*, at the place he or she is supposed to sleep. The child in *The Boy Who Wouldn't Go to Bed* (Cooper, 1996/2003) still wants to play, Lola in *I Am Not Sleepy and I Will Not Go to Bed* (Child, 2001/2002) is not sleepy at all, and the gorilla in *Good Night, Gorilla* (Rathmann, 1994/2001) resists sleeping in its own cage—it is the zookeepers' bed it wants to sleep in.

Two books in the U.S. group do not give specific reasons why the characters resist going to bed; instead, it shows all kinds of resistance one might expect to see at a child's bedtime. In *How Do Dinosaurs Say Goodnight?* (Yolen & Teague, 2000) readers are told that when bedtime is announced, a dinosaur does not “slam his tail and pout,” “throw his teddy bear all about,” “stomp his feet on the floor,” “swing his neck from side to side,” or mope, moan, sulk, sigh, or cry (n.p.). Instead, dinosaurs behave themselves well: they give kisses to their parents, tuck their tails in, turn out the light themselves, and say “Good Night!” The humor of this book lies in both the narrative and the illustrations. Yolen's careful choice of words to describe the dinosaurs' movements and behaviors and their connection to a resistant child at bedtime create vivid imagery in the readers' mind. Teague's illustrations put the images into context. Full-scaled dinosaurs replace human children in the middle-class American boys' (mostly) bedrooms. More interestingly,

however, the parents remain human.

In *Don't Let the Pigeon Stay up Late!* (Willems, 2006), the author/illustrator invites the child reader to play the parental roles—he or she has to put a resistant pigeon to sleep. This book is a sequel to Willems' successful picture book *Don't Let the Pigeon Drive the Bus* (2003), in which a bus driver asks readers to keep a pigeon from the bus when he is away. Readers familiar with the first book can recognize the bus driver from the title page of the sequel, who now asks them to put the pigeon to sleep when he goes away to brush his teeth. As expected, the pigeon attempts to stay awake just as he attempts to drive the bus in the first book. He gives all kinds of excuses to persuade readers that it is not yet time for him to sleep; for example, he wants to have a hot dog party, to watch TV, and to have a chat with the reader. He even brings up studies that say pigeons hardly need any sleep and the fact that it is the middle of the day on the other side of the earth. The illustrations, however, betray the pigeon by showing him displaying more and more big yawns. (The gender of the pigeon is never revealed in the book. I use “he” to refer to the pigeon for the purpose of writing.)

### *Cannot Sleep*

The “cannot sleep” type usually takes place after the young protagonist is already in bed or at least in the bedroom. The problem is how to make the transition from being awake to being asleep. Some examples in the U.S. and translated group include *Sleep Well, Little Bear* (Buchholz, 1993/2000), *Good Night, Harry* (Lewis, 2004), *When Sheep Cannot Sleep: The Counting Book* (Kitamura, 1986/2001), *Russell the Sheep* (Scotton,

2005), *Goodnight, Owl!* (Hutchins, 1972), *The Baby Beebe Bird* (Massie & Kellogg, 2000). There are some interesting similarities and connections between the books.

Both *Sleep Well, Little Bear* (Buchholz, 1993/2000) and *Good Night, Harry* (Lewis, 2004) are about a stuffed animal who cannot sleep. In *Sleep Well, Little Bear*, the stuffed bear is still awake after his owner, a little boy, has already gone to bed. “And when little bears are not tired” says the text, “they scramble quietly out of their beds and build themselves a staircase . . .” (n.p.) to the window where the moon is shining outside. The little bear looks out from the window and thinks about all the things he saw and did outside with the boy during the day, and he thinks about what they will do tomorrow. Then he gives the moon, which is still shining, a goodnight kiss, and he goes to sleep. Although the text does not mention this, the last two illustrations show the boy waking up. He gets the bear from the windowsill and cuddles him to sleep.

Harry the stuffed elephant in *Good Night, Harry* (Lewis, 2004) is also sleepless after his two stuffed animal friends, Ted the teddy bear and Lulu the sheep, are already soundly asleep. Harry tries different things to get himself tired and sleepy. He reads himself bedtime stories, cleans his room, runs around, and changes sleeping positions, but he cannot get himself to fall asleep. Harry starts to worry that sleep may never come to him. He tosses and turns in the bed, and that wakes up his two friends. Ted and Lulu comfort Harry, and the three friends sit shoulder by shoulder, with Harry in the middle, looking at the night world outside the window. They sing a song, count the stars, hear the owl hooting, and feel the dew of the night. Finally, Harry’s eyes get heavy, and he gives a big yawn. The last scene has the threesome fall asleep, cuddling together. In both toy

stories, cuddling seems to be the way to get a sleepless stuffed animal to sleep. This seems to confirm the cuddly nature of the stuffed animals and encourage readers to cuddle their stuffed animals to sleep too.

Both *When Sheep Cannot Sleep: The Counting Book* (Kitamura, 1986/2001) and *Russell the Sheep* (Scotton, 2005) are about a sheep who cannot sleep. Woolly the sleepless sheep in *When Sheep Cannot Sleep* decides to take a walk in the meadow. Along the way he sees one butterfly, two ladybugs, three owls, and four bats. As indicated in the title, this is also a counting book. Kitamura plays with the old “counting sheep to sleep” cliché and makes the object being counted become the subject who counts. The text does not indicate the number of objects in each picture. The readers are invited to use their fingers to count the objects in the pictures, especially when the number gets higher. The turning point of this book is when Woolly sees ten flying saucers in the sky. He is scared and runs fast down a hill until he reaches a house. Woolly does different things in the house: He draws pictures, makes dinner for himself, takes a bubble bath, puts on pajamas, and lies down in a bed. Finally, what gets Woolly to fall asleep is when he starts to “think” about each and every family member and his friends. Sheep Russell in *Russell the Sheep* (Scotton, 2005) faces a similar problem. All his family has already fallen asleep; only Russell is still wide awake. He tries everything, from changing sleeping places to counting the stars. He finally falls asleep by counting his family and himself. The counting sheep spell remains: even the sheep has to count sheep to fall asleep.

Both *Goodnight, Owl!* (Hutchins, 1972) and *The Baby Beebeebird* (Massie &

Kellogg, 2000) are about animals who cannot sleep because of the noises made by surrounding animals. The owl in *Goodnight, Owl!* tries to sleep in a tree hole during the day time, but some bees, a squirrel, and all kind of birds—crow, woodpecker, starling, jay, cuckoo, robin, sparrow, and dove—all come to rest on the tree branches and make different noises. The owl cannot sleep. When night falls, and it finally becomes quiet, the owl comes out and screeches. Now all the animals in the tree cannot sleep. Diane Redfield Massie and Steven Kellogg's *The Baby Beebe Bird* (2000) is a newly illustrated version for Massie's 1963 text. The story takes place in a zoo. When a new member—the baby beebe bird—joins the zoo, he sings “beebeebobbibbi” all night long and disturbs all the animals' sleep. In the morning, the bird finally takes a nap, and the tired zoo animals decide to carry out a plan: They sing “beebeebobbibbi” all day long so it is the baby beebe bird's turn to not be able to sleep. When night arrives, the baby bird is just as exhausted as the other animals. The zoo is finally quiet and all the animals are fast asleep, including the baby bird. The ending lines read: “. . . at night there is never a sound. Nighttime is really best for sleeping . . . especially for very little birds” (n.p.). To juxtapose these two stories, the didactic message in the later book becomes even more visible and unpersuasive. Strangely enough, there are no nocturnal animals in this zoo.

### *Fear of the Dark*

The “fear of the dark” type also takes place after the child character goes to bed. The primary quest for the characters in this group is to fight what inhabits the dark (of the room and of their heart). Books in this type can be further categorized into two kinds

according to the realistic or fantasy treatment of the subject of children's fear. A more realistic portrayal usually shows that the ghosts, monsters, or strange noises in the night a fictional child is scared of are nothing scary at all. They are just, for example, shadows of furniture or creaks caused by the wind. Books of this kind include titles such as *The Berenstain Bears in the Dark* (Berenstain & Berenstain, 1982), *Henry and the Dragon* (Christelow, 1984), and *Ghost's Hour, Spook's Hour* (Bunting & Carrick, 1987) in the U.S. group, and *What's under My Bed* (Stevenson, 1983/1993), *Nicky and the Big, Bad Wolves* (Gorbachev, 1998/2001), *Good Night Sam* (Gay, 2003/2005) in the translation group. The boy in *Ghost's Hour, Spook's Hour* (Bunting, 1987), for example, figures out on his own that the black, snaky things pouncing on the window are just tree branches swaying in the storm, and the horrible shapeless whiteness moving toward him in the dark is merely his reflection on the mirror. Mary Ann and Louie, the sister and brother in *What's Under My Bed* (Stevenson, 1983/1993), help their grandfather figure out, while recounting his own childhood sleepover experience, that all the strange noises he heard that night had rational explanations: They are from, for instance, the big grandfather clock in the hall or some cats jumping on garbage cans.

The second kind agrees that monsters are real and do exist but there is nothing scary about them. Instead, monsters are even afraid of human children. *Clyde Monster* (Crowe & Choro, 1976) in the U.S. group and *Papa!* (Corentin, 1995/1996) and *The Monster Bed* (Willis & Varley, 1986/2003) in the translation group all tell the story from the monsters' perspective. While the monster parents in *Papa!* and *The Monster Bed* reassure their children that there is no such thing as human beings, the monster parents in

*Clyde Monster* explain to their boy that monsters and people had a deal a long time ago that they would not scare each other. Mayer's (1968) classic book *There's a Nightmare in My Closet* is the earliest book in the U.S. group that deals with the topic of fear of monsters. In this book, the boy's nightmare is concretized as a big monster with bat-wing-like ears and round green dots all over his body. When the boy shoots the monster with a toy gun, the big monster just sits on the floor and does not stop crying. The boy has to comfort him by tucking him in his bed and sharing the bed with him. In *Go Away, Big Green Monster!* (Emberley, 1992), the voice of the text is the reader who tells a big green monstrous face to go away. With each page turned, one face feature of the monster is taken away until it is all gone. On the last page, the text says: ". . . and DON'T COME BACK! Until I say so" (n.p.). Again, the monster is not portrayed as frightening or horrible; rather, it can even be called back by the child reader if he or she wants.

### *Overlaps in Categories*

There are overlaps between categories since fear of the dark and/or monsters is one important reason many fictional children cannot sleep or resist going to sleep. Jan Ormerod's wordless book *Moonlight* (1982/1986), for example, pictures the whole bedtime sequence, before and after the child lies down in bed—from supper, bath, story time, to the child's inability to fall asleep after the light is off and her search for parental comforts. On the ninth page opening, the illustrations show the girl awake in the dark and frightened, but even after her father comes to lie down beside her, she is still unable to

sleep. Since this is a wordless book, the reason why the girl cannot fall asleep is never stated. Thus, this book can be categorized as either one of the three “problem” categories. Another example is *Can't You Sleep, Little Bear?* (Waddell & Firth, 1988/1996).

Although the title suggests that the book is about a little bear who cannot sleep, it is clear in the story that the reason he cannot fall asleep is his fear of the dark surrounding him.

There is also one overlap between the “going to sleep” (not about problems) and “resist going to bed” type. In *Close Your Eye* (Marzollo & Jeffers, 1978), the author Jean Marzollo’s rhyming text is similar to many of the stories in the “going to sleep” category, especially to the book *When I’m Sleepy* (Howard & Cherry, 1985/1998). Both books imagine for the child readers what it is like to sleep in different places or sleep like different animals. The illustrator, Susan Jeffers, however, weaves a sub-plot into the illustration. The pictures depict how a father takes a child to get a bath and put on pajamas, and how the child resists being put to bed by hiding from the father, crying, and throwing a tantrum. All of these, however, are not in the text. Although the book is categorized into the “going to sleep” type, the sub-plot in the illustrations can also be categorized into the “resist going to bed” type.

Table 5 and 6 show books under each category in the U.S. and the translated groups. A second category is also given to some books if they can be assigned to more than one category. The gender of the main child character, if revealed, is also presented in the tables. Many books have animals as the main character, thus the “species” of the protagonist in each book is also listed. Titles with starred marks indicate books that are included in both U.S. and translated groups.

Table 5

*Types of U.S. Picture Books about Bedtime*

Going to Sleep					
Title	Author & Illustrator	Year	Species	Gender	2nd Type
A Child's Good Night Book	Brown & Charlot	1943	Human	M & F	
*Goodnight Moon	Brown & Hurd	1947	Rabbit	M	Cannot
*The Moon Jumpers	Udry & Sendak	1959	Human	M & F	
Close Your Eyes	Marzollo & Jeffers	1978	Human	N/A	Resist
Goodnight, Goodnight	Rice	1980	Cat	M	Resist
Ten, Nine, Eight	Bang	1983	Human	F	
*The Napping House	Wood & Wood	1984	Human	M	
Half a Moon and One Whole Star	Dragonwagon & Pinkney	1986	Human	F	
Where Does the Brown Bear Go?	Weiss	1989	Human	N/A	
Going to Sleep on the Farm	Lewison & Wijngaard	1992	Human	M	
Asleep, Asleep	Ginsburg & Tafuri	1992	Human	F	
Time for Bed	Fox & Dyer	1993	Human	N/A	
*Guess How Much I Love You	McBratney & Jeram	1995	Hare	M	
*And If the Moon Could Talk	Banks & Hallensleben	1998	Human	F	
The Noisy Way to Bed	Whybrow & Beeke	2004	Human	M	
Shhhhh! Everybody's Sleeping	Markes & Parkins	2005	Human	M	

Sleepy Cadillac: A Bedtime Drive	Hurd	2005	Human	M	
Resist Going to Bed					
Title	Author & Illustrator	Year	Species	Gender	2nd Type
How Do Dinosaurs Say Goodnight?	Yolen & Teague	2000	Dinosaur	M	
Good Night, Good Knight	Thomas & Plecas	2000	Dragon	M & F	Cannot/ Fear
*Kiss Good Night	Hest & Jeram	2001	Bear	M	Cannot
Don't Let the Pigeon Stay up Late!	Willems	2006	Pigeon	N/A	
Cannot Sleep					
*Goodnight, Owl!	Hutchins	1972	Owl	N/A	
The Blanket	Burningham	1975	Human	M	
Tucking Mommy in	Loh & Rawlins	1988	Human	F	
10 Minutes Till Bedtime	Rathmann	1998	Human	M	
What! Cried Granny: An Almost Bedtime Story	Lum & Johnson	1999	Human	M	Resist
The Baby Beebeebird	Massie & Kellogg	2000	Bird	M	Resist
Good Night, Harry	Lewis	2004	Stuffed elephant	M	
*Russell the Sheep	Scotton	2005	Sheep	M	
Fear of the Dark					
Title	Author & Illustrator	Year	Species	Gender	2nd Type
Bedtime for Frances	Hoban & Williams	1960	Badger	F	Cannot/ Resist
There's a Nightmare in My Closet	Mayer	1968	Human	M	
Clyde Monster	Crowe & Chora	1976	Monster	M	
Who's Afraid of the Dark?	Crosby Bonsall	1980	Human	M	
*Moonlight	Ormerod	1982	Human	F	Cannot/ Resist

The Berenstain Bears in the Dark	Berenstain & Berenstain	1982	Bear	F & M	
Henry and the Dragon	Christelow	1984	Rabbit	M	
Ghost's Hour, Spook's Hour	Bunting & Carrick	1987	Human	M	
*Can't You Sleep, Little Bear?	Waddell & Firth	1988	Bear	M	Cannot
Go Away, Big Green Monster!	Emberley	1992	Monster	N/A	
Lights Out	Geisert	2005	Pig	M	

\* Title included in both U.S. and translated groups.

Table 6

*Types of Translated Picture Books about Bedtime*

Going to Sleep						
Eng Title	Author & Illustrator	Orig/trans Year	Species	Gender	2nd Type	
*The Moon Jumper	Udry & Sendak	1959/1992	Human	M & F		
*Guess How Much I Love You	McBratney & Jeram	1995/1996	Hare	M		
When I'm Sleepy	Howard & Cherry	1985/1998	Human	F		
*And If the Moon Could Talk	Banks & Hallensleben	1997/2001	Human	F		
*Goodnight Moon	Brown & Hurd	1947/2003	Rabbit	M		Cannot
*The Napping House	Wood & Wood	1984/2003	Human	M		
Resist Going to Bed						
Eng Title	Author & Illustrator	Orig/trans Year	Species	Gender	2nd Type	
Mortimer	Munsch & Martchenko	1983/1994	Human	M		
Good Night, Gorilla	Rathmann	1994/2001	Gorilla	N/A		

*Kiss Good Night	Hest & Jeram	2001/2001	Bear	M	Cannot
I Am Not Sleepy and I Will Not Go to Bed	Child	2001/2002	Human	F	
The Baby Who Wouldn't Go to Bed	Cooper	1996/2003	Human	M	

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#### Cannot Sleep

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Eng Title	Author & Illustrator	Orig/trans Year	Species	Gender	2nd Type
*Goodnight Owl	Hutchins	1972/1993	Owl	N/A	
Sleep Well, Little Bear	Buchholz	1993/2000	Stuffed bear	M	
When Sheep Cannot Sleep: The Counting Book	Kitamura	1986/2001	Sheep	M	
The Kiss that Missed	Melling	2002/2005	Human	M	Resist
Sleep Tight, Little Bear	Waddell & Firth	2005/2005	Bear	M	
*Russell the Sheep	Scotton	2005/2006	Sheep	M	

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#### Fear of the Dark

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Eng title	Author & Illustrator	Orig/trans Year	Species	Gender	2nd Type
*Moonlight	Ormerod	1982/1986	Human	F	Resist/ Cannot
What's Under My Bed	Stevenson	1983/1993	Human	M & F	
*Can't you Sleep, Little Bear	Waddell & Firth	1988/1996	Bear	M	Cannot
Papa!	Corentin	1995/1996	Monster	M	
Jessica and the Wolf: A Story for Children Who Have Bad Dreams	Lobby & Dixon	1990/1998	Human	F	
Nicky and the Big, Bad Wolves	Gorbachev	1998/2001	Rabbit	M & F	
Tim and the Blanket Thief	Prater	1993/2001	Human	M	
The Monster Bed	Willis & Varley	1986/2003	Monster	M	

Under the Bed	Bright & Cort	2003/2003	Human	M	
Good Night Sam	Gay	2003/2005	Human	M	Cannot
When I Feel Scared	Spelman & Parkinso	2002/2005	Bear	M	

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\* Titles included in both U.S. and translated groups.

### *Taiwanese Books*

Three Taiwanese books also have a theme similar to the “going to sleep” category which describes animals going home as night falls: *Summer Night* (Yang, 2005), *Night* (Chen, 1981), *Mouth Wide Open and Yawning* (Li, 1981). Huan Yang’s poem “Summer Night” was created in the 1950s. Yang was among the first who created poems for children in Taiwan and has a special standing in Taiwanese literary history. “Summer Night” is one of his most famous poems. Two newly illustrated versions were published in 1988 and 2005 in picture book format. The poem starts by describing that the butterflies, bees, cows, sheep, and the sun go back home, and the night climbs slowly down from the hill and the coconut palms. The chickens and the ducks sleep inside the fence, and the children close their eyes and go to dreamland after listening to the grandmother’s tales. The poem goes on to depict the things that are still awake on the summer night: Only the pumpkin vines outside the window, the green river, and the night wind are still awake. The wind comes out from a bamboo bush and travels joyfully with fireflies in a beautiful summer night. Strictly speaking, this poem is not so much about children’s bedtime as it is about celebrating the beauty of a summer night. The latest picture book version of this poem is included in the Taiwanese group for its similarity to many of the translated and U.S. books categorized in the “going to sleep” type. This book, too, describes the animals going home when night falls and parallels children’s sleep with

the night scenery in the outside world.

The book *Night* (Chen, 1981) does not have a rhyming text, but the use of repetition in sentence structure and a short sentence on each double-spread are similar to many of the American books in the “going to sleep” type. Each page opening contains a sentence that starts with “night is”. For example: “Night is / the time when the sun goes home to rest.”; “Night is / the time when the fireflies turn on the light and the frogs practice chorus”; “Night is / the time when neon light are racing” (n.p.). The night scenes described shift from the field to a city, and to two children’s home. Night is the time to take a bath, to have dinner, and finally to sleep. The book *Mouth Wide Open and Yawning* (Li, 1981) also uses repetitions. The poem-like text creates a unique playful pattern: the last phrase on one page opening becomes the first phrase of the next page opening. For example, on the fourth double-spread, the text reads: “The blinking lights / are fireflies. / Little fireflies, / bottoms glimmering at night, / live in the grass of the wild.” (n.p.). The fifth page opening then continues: “Living in the grass of the wild / is a grasshopper. / Grasshopper, grasshopper / is an athlete, / with big and long hind legs, / who jumps far and high.” (n.p.). Each double-spread describes the characteristics of a different animal, although these features do not necessarily relate to the animal’s sleep habits. The last double-spread finally connects, from a big hippopotamus, to a child’s bedtime: “Mouth Wide open and yawning, / who else can it be? / It’s you little baby! / The time is late, / little baby! / Close your eyes / and have a good night sleep.” (n.p.).

Three books are categorized into the “cannot sleep” type. One Taiwanese book *Black and White Mice: Chuang A-Pao Sleeps* (Wang & Huang, 1999), similar to *When*

*Sheep Cannot Sleep* (Kitamura, 1986/2001) and *Russell the Sheep* (Scotton, 2005), also has an old counting sheep to sleep theme, but with a new twist. “Chuang A-Pao Sleeps” is the title of one of the three stories in this illustrated storybook *Black and White Mice*. Chuang A-Pao is the name of a boy who is lying in his bed, but cannot fall asleep. His mother tells him to count sheep, so he starts to count. What is worth noticing here is that in the Chinese language, both sheep and goats are called “yang”. As A-Pao counts “One yang, two yang, three yang . . .,” the illustration shows goats, instead of sheep, jumping over his head. The text, too, indicates the “yang” A-Pao is counting to sleep are goats. When A-Pao counts to ten, an old goat comes to protest. “You are the millionth person who counts yang to sleep tonight,” says the old goat angrily. He asks A-Pao to count something else instead, and do not disturb the goats anymore. But, whatever A-Pao counts comes to protest. Finally, A-Pao decides to count himself, but at this moment it is morning already.

*Da-Da’s Blanket* (Ling & Tsao, 1988) is about a blanket-attached little boy who needs his blanket to go to bed. This book is discussed more in detail in the section below about transitional objects. *I Can’t Sleep* (Tsai, 2001) is a book about dream or imaginary night adventure. The story depicts a young boy who cannot fall asleep at night, so he sets out to explore the night world outside his room with his cat. He rides his tricycle across the street, plays on the swings in the park, plays basketball on the court, sings with cats and dogs on the fence, and goes to a haunted house where a witch teaches him how to make potions. He then takes a paper airplane to look for his house beneath the sky and goes to the forest and dances with animals. Finally, he falls asleep on a small boat drifting

on a quiet lake. The next morning, his mother knocks on his door and wakes him up for school, but the boy is still sleepy because he just came back from a secret night adventure.

Seven out of the 13 Taiwanese books are categorized into the “fear of the dark” type. Four of them are about getting a child to sleep alone: *The First Time I Sleep Alone* (Sha & Wang, 1996), *The First Time I Sleep Alone* (Pan & Chuang, 2001), *Not Afraid of the Dark* (Wang & Hsin, 2000), *Happy Say Goodnight* (Chao & Lu, 1997). Sha and Huang’s (1996) *The First Time I Sleep Alone* tells a story about a boy, brave Ah-Lun, who is not afraid to do anything but to sleep alone. Ah-Lun used to share a bed with his mother, but on his fifth birthday his mother says, “Ah-Lun is five years old now; Ah-Lun is a big boy. Big boy should sleep alone, right?” (n.p.). Brave Ah-Lun has to nod his head. That night after the mother’s kiss goodnight, Ah-Lun projects his fear to his stuffed panda. Ah-Lun tells his bear, rather than himself, not to be scared. He protects his panda by fighting the monsters in his bedroom and in the toilet. “Now we can go to bed safely,” Ah-Lun tells his bear. “There is nothing to be scared of to sleep alone; I am here for you” (n.p.).

Pan and Chuang’s (2001) *The First Time I Sleep Alone* tells a similar story, although the boy’s age is never revealed in the story. This book is more realistic than Sha and Huang’s book in the sense that the boy’s struggle and the fictional parents’ effort in the transitional process are more realistically portrayed. Three times the boy is scared in the middle of night and goes to the parents and stays in their bed. Different strategies are employed by the parents: the mother helps the boy decorate his own room, stays with the

boy until he falls asleep, and finally the father does monster hunting together with the boy and that helps him, for the first time, sleep through the night alone in his own room.

Two books are about children's fear of the dark: *The Owl Who is Afraid of the Dark* (Chuang, 1999), *The Bat Who Is Afraid of the Dark: What to Do for Children Who Are Afraid of the Dark?* (Wang & Chou, 2000). Strictly speaking, these two books are not so much about children's bedtime as they are about fear of the dark, since night is not the time for a bat and owl to go to sleep. The two books, however, are included in this study because, similar to other books in this group, they are created to read to children who are scared of the dark at night. The author of *Ya-Ya's Big Monster in the Pond: What to Do for Children Who Often Have Nightmares?* (Wang & Liu, 2000), who is a parenting manual writer, is also the author of *The Bat Who Is Afraid of the Dark*. Both books belong to a series of 24 books, all created by the same author. The series is called "child psychology series." Each book, as the title suggests, is created for the purpose of helping parents to deal with one childhood "problem". "One story solves one problem" is the title of the parenting manual for this series. The two books included here are the ones that are related to children's bedtime problems.

Different from the U.S. and translated books about bedtime fear, none of the Taiwanese books suggest monsters actual exist. In the Taiwanese book, *Ya-Ya's Big Monster in the Pond*, for example, the mother duck tells Ya-Ya that when she was a little duckling, the version of the story she heard about the water monster describes it as a cute and playful monster. Yet, the story never reveals whether the monster actually exists or not. One significant pattern in the Taiwanese books is the predominance of male

characters as the protagonist, especially in books that portray bedtime as a problem.

Beside *Ya-Ya's Big Monster in the Pond*, all of the books about problems have a male as the main character.

Table 7

*Types of Taiwanese Picture Books about Bedtime*

Going to Sleep					
Title	Author & Illustrator	Year	Species	Gender	Type
Night	Chen & Chen	1981	Human	M & F	
Mouth Wide Open and Yawning	Li & Chang	1981	Human	F	
Summer Night	Yang & Huang	2005	Human	M & F	
Resist or Cannot Sleep					
Title	Author & Illustrator	Year	Species	Gender	Type
Da-Da's Blanket	Ling & Tsao	1988	Human	M	Resist
Black and White Mice: Chuang A-Pao Sleeps	Wang & Huang	1999	Human	M	Cannot
I Can't Sleep	Tsai	2001	Human	M	Cannot
Fear of the Dark					
Title	Author & Illustrator	Year	Species	Gender	Type
The First Time I Sleep Alone	Sha & Wang	1996	Human	M	
Happy Say Goodnight	Chao & Lu	1997	Human	M	
The Owl Who is Afraid of the Dark	Chuang	1999	Owl	M	
Not Afraid of the Dark	Wang & Hsin	2000	Human	M	
Ya-Ya's Big Monster in the Pond: What to Do for Children Who Often Have Nightmares?	Wang & Liu	2000	Duck	F	

The Bat Who Is Afraid of the Dark: What to Do for Children Who Are Afraid of the Dark?	Wang & Chou	2000	Bat	M
The First Time I Sleep Alone	Pan & Chuang	2001	Human	M

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### *Themes in Three Groups*

More books categorized under the “going to sleep” type are found in the U.S. (17/40, 43%) group than in the translated (6/28, 21%) or Taiwanese group (3/13, 23%). On the other hand, more books about “fear of the dark” are found in the Taiwanese (7/13, 54%) and translated groups (11/28, 39%) than the U.S. group (11/40, 28%). Since several of the books can be categorized into both the “resist going to bed” and “cannot sleep” type, and the two types are more similar to each other than to the other two groups, the comparison here combines the two groups together. The translated group (11/28, 39%) have more books about resist or cannot sleep than the U.S. (12/40, 30%) or Taiwanese (3/12, 23%) books.

This finding suggests that children’s fear of the dark seems to be the issue that concerns most Taiwanese adults. Moreover, Taiwanese publishers translate more books about bedtime problems than the lullaby-type books to Taiwan. There may be several reasons for this phenomenon. One of them is that how to more effectively transition older children from co-sleeping to isolated sleeping is a more important concern for Taiwanese parents than reading lullabies to get young children to sleep.

### **Suggested Reading Age**

Since many of the books have animals, or even stuffed animals and monsters as main characters, it is difficult to define each fictional child's age. Moreover, if the child character's age is not already indicated in a story, to point out the age of a child character according to the plot and illustrations involves a researcher's assumptions and generalizations about children. Therefore, this study looks at the suggested reading age for each book recommended in the professional review journals. Three journals were used as the sources of age suggestion: *The Bulletins of the Center for the Books*, *Horn Book Guide*, and *School Library Journal*. These journals constantly review children's books published in the United States. Each book review usually includes a suggested age level for the book. Both online databases and actual hard copies of the journals are used to locate the reviews for each book in the U.S. group. The databases used include the *Horn Books Guide Online*, *School Library Journal Online*, *Children's Literature Comprehensive Database*, *ProQuest*, and *EBSCO* database.

Table 7 shows the age range suggested by the reviews for each book in the U.S. group. The three journals categorize and organize their suggested age level differently. *The Bulletins of the Center for the Books* assigns the age range more freely, whereas the *School Library Journal* only gives two kinds of age levels: preschool and kindergarten to third grade. Because not all books were reviewed by the journals and because the range of years covered by each journal is different, it is difficult to compare the suggested age levels by the three journals. Yet, when more than one journal has reviewed the same book, the assigned age ranges for the book are usually different from journal to journal. For example, *Time for Bed* (Fox & Dyer, 1993) is suggested for children from two to five

years old in *The Bulletins of the Center for the Books*, but it is suggested for preschoolers to second graders in the *School Library Journal*. The differences may reflect different reviewers' views of children.

Another factor that may influence the age suggestion is the format of books. Several of the books have been published into different formats. For example, *Time for Bed* (Fox & Dyer, 1993) is categorized for children from kindergarten to third grade in the *Horn Book Guide*, but when referring to a 1997 board book edition, the review is placed under the category of books for preschoolers, even though the content of the two editions is almost the same (no title page and dedication page images in the board book version). This is also the case for *Guess How Much I Love You* (McBratney & Jeram, 1995), *Can't You Sleep, Little Bear?* (Waddell & Firth, 1988) and *The Napping House* (Wood & Wood, 1984). When referring to different editions of the same book—board book, pop-up book, miniature size, or book and play set format—the guide categorized their reviews in the preschool section. The suggested reading age listed in Table 8 includes only reviews referring to regular picture book editions, either the first U.S. edition or a reissued edition in the picture book format.

In general, picture books about bedtime are for children from one year old to fourth grade, which is basically the range of the reading age for most picture books. Books that portray bedtime as problems, generally speaking, are for older children compared to the intended readers of the “going to sleep” books. This is also evident when considering that many of the books in the “going to sleep” category also have board book editions, which are intended for younger children. On the other hand, two books

originally published in “I Can Read” or “easy reader” format, which are books designed for beginner readers to read by themselves, are in the categories of bedtime problems. These two books are *Who's Afraid of the Dark?* (Bonsall, 1980) and *Good Night, Good Knight* (Thomas & Plecas, 2000). Taken together, a reviewer’s assumptions about who children are and the characteristics of books for them may be two factors that influence the suggested reading age of a book.

Table 8

*Suggested Reading Age for U.S. Books*

Going to Sleep Type				
Title	Edition	Bulletin	HBG	SLJ
A Child's Good Night Book	1943/1992		K-3	
Goodnight Moon	1947, 1977	2-5 yrs		Ps-2
The Moon Jumpers	1959			
Close Your Eyes	1978	3-5 yrs		Ps
Goodnight, Goodnight	1980			Ps-1
Ten, Nine, Eight	1983	2-4 yrs		Ps-1
Half a Moon and One Whole Star	1986	K-2		K-2
Where Does the Brown Bear Go?	1989	1-3 yrs		Ps
Going to Sleep on the Farm	1992	1-3 yrs	K-3	Ps-1
Asleep, Asleep	1992		Ps	Ps
Time for Bed	1993	2-5 yrs	K-3	Ps-2
Guess How Much I Love You	1995		K-3	Ps-K
And If the Moon Could Talk	1998	3-5 yrs	Ps	K-2
The Noisy Way to Bed	2004	2-4 yrs	Ps	Ps-1
Shhhhh! Everybody's Sleeping	2005		Ps	Ps-K
Sleepy Cadillac, A Bedtime Drive	2005	3-6 yrs	Ps	Ps-2

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 Resist and Cannot Sleep Type

Title	Edition	Bulletin	HBG	SLJ
Good-Night, Owl!	1972	2-5 yrs		
The Blanket	1976, 1994	2-4 yrs	Ps	Ps-1
Tucking Mommy in	1988	4-6 yrs		Ps-2
10 Minutes Till Bedtime	1998	3-6 yrs	Ps	Ps-2
What! Cried Granny: An Almost Bedtime Story	1999	5-8 yrs	K-3	K-3
The Baby Beebee Bird	2000		Ps	Ps-2
How Do Dinosaurs Say Good Night?	2000	3-6 yrs	Ps	Ps-K
Good Night, Good Knight	2000	K-2	K-3	Ps-2
Kiss Good Night	2001		Ps	Ps-K
Good Night, Harry	2004		Ps	Ps-K
Russell the Sheep	2005	4-6 yrs	Ps	Ps-1
Don't Let the Pigeon Stay up Late!	2006	3-6 yrs	Ps	Ps-2

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 Fear of the Dark Type

Title	Edition	Bulletin	HBG	SLJ
Bedtime for Frances	1960, 1995		K-3	K-3
There's a Nightmare in My Closet	1968			K-3
Clyde Monster	1976	4-7 yrs		Ps-1
Who's Afraid of the Dark?	1980	3-6 yrs	K-3	Ps-1
Moonlight	1982	2-5 yrs		Ps-1
The Berenstain Bears in the Dark	1982			Ps-2
Henry and the Dragon	1984	K-2		Ps-1
Ghost's Hour, Spook's Hour	1987	4-7 yrs		Ps-2
Can't You Sleep, Little Bear?	1992	4-7 yrs	K-3	Ps
Go Away, Big Green Monster!	1992	2-5 yrs	Ps	Ps
Lights Out	2005	4-8 yrs	K-3	Gr. 1-4

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 Ps=Preschool, K=Kindergarten, Gr. 1-4=Grade 1 to Grade 4

The suggested reading age for books published in Taiwan proved to be difficult to

collect since there are no professional review journals for children's books in Taiwan. Some publishers do print suggested reading levels on book covers, but many do not. Out of the 13 books created by Taiwanese, only one book, *Summer Night* (Yang & Huang, 2005), has reading levels printed on the back cover: The book is suggested for children age five to ten to read with their parents and for children older than ten years old to read by themselves. Two Taiwanese books, as mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, specify the child character's age in the story. Jian in *Happy Say Goodnight* (Chao & Lu, 1997) is in kindergarten, and the boy A-Lun in *First Time I Sleep Alone* (Sha & Wang, 1996) has just passed his fifth birthday when his mother requires him to sleep in his own bedroom. Two books published by Mandarin Daily News are award winning books—*I Can't Sleep* (Tsai, 2001) and *The Owl Who is Afraid of the Dark* (Chuang, 1999). The Reed Pipe Award selects the best children's picture book manuscript submitted each year. The award winners are then published by Mandarin Daily News. One of the requirements for the manuscripts is that they are for preschoolers to third graders.

Two best children's books lists, "Good Books That Everyone Should Read" and "Recommended Children Books for High Schools and Elementary Schools," include suggested age levels for each book being selected. The first one is a list of children's books selected by a committee sponsored by both governmental and non-governmental organizations since 1991. The selection covers both translated and Taiwanese children's books published every year. Each book in the list is assigned a combination of reading levels, from preschool, lower grade, middle grade, higher grade, to junior high school. The second one is sponsored by the Government Information Office of the Executive

Yuan. Each year a committee is selected to review all the children's books published that year, and, again, each recommended book is also assigned a reading level. Five Taiwanese books have been selected by one or both of the two best book lists (Table 9).

Table 9

*Suggested Reading Age for Taiwanese Books*

Title	Year	Good Books	Recommend	From the Book
The First Time I Sleep Alone	1996		Gr. 1-2	5 yrs
Happy Say Goodnight	1997		Gr. 3-4	Kindergartener
The Owl Who is Afraid of the Dark	1999		Gr. 1-4	Ps-3 (Reed Pipe Award)
I Can't Sleep	2001	Ps-6	Gr. 1-2	Ps-3 (Reed Pipe Award)
Summer Night	2005	Gr. 1-2	Gr. 3-4	5-10 yrs (back cover)

Fourteen translated picture books about bedtime have also been selected by either of the two aforesaid Taiwanese best book lists. Table 10 compares the recommended age levels for the same title from the Taiwanese sources and the U.S. sources. In general, picture books about bedtime are suggested for similar ages in both countries. Three books, *The Napping House* (Woods & Woods, 1984/2003), *Sleep Tight, Little Bear* (Waddell & Firth, 2005/2005) and *Russell the Sheep* (Scotton, 2005/2006), however, are recommended for higher grade children in Taiwan than in the United States. Taking together Table 8 through Table 10, the Taiwanese tend to suggest a higher age level for picture books about bedtime.

Table 10

*Reading Age for Translated Books Suggested in Taiwan and in the U.S.*

English Title	Taiwan		U.S.		
	Good Books	Recommend	Bulletin	HBG	SLJ
<b>Going to Sleep</b>					
And If the Moon Could Talk	Ps		3-5 yrs	Ps	K-2
The Napping House	Ps-4		K-2	Ps	Ps-1
<b>Resist and Cannot</b>					
Sleep Well, Little Bear		Ps-2		K-3	Ps
When Sheep Cannot Sleep	Ps-2				Ps-2
I Am Not Sleepy and I Will Not Go to Bed	Ps-2			PS	Ps-1
Goodnight Moon	Ps		3-5 yrs	Ps	Ps-1
The Boy Who Wouldn't Go to Bed		Ps	3-6 yrs	K-3	Ps-1
Sleep Tight, Little Bear	Ps-2		3-5 yrs	PS	Ps-K
<b>Fear of the Dark</b>					
Can't you Sleep, Little Bear		Gr.1-2	4-7 yrs	K-3	Ps
Nicky and the Big, Bad Wolves	Ps	Gr.1-2		K-3	
Tim and the Blanket Thief	Ps-2			K-3	Ps-1
When I Feel Scared		Ps-2		Ps	Ps-1
Good Night Sam	Ps	Ps	3-5 yrs	Ps	Ps-1
Russell the Sheep	Gr.1-4	Ps-2	4-6 yrs	Ps	Ps-K

Ps=Preschool, K=Kindergarten, Gr. 1-4=Grade 1 to Grade 4

### **Sleeping Arrangement**

None of the books collected in the U.S. and translated groups show co-sleeping

(bed or room sharing) between parent and child as a regular sleeping arrangement. The book *Guess How Much I Love You* (McBratney & Jeram, 1995) may be said to be a book that depicts co-sleeping. Unlike most of the books where animal characters are humanized and live in a house or equivalent, the big and the small hares in *Guess How Much I Love You* are depicted more closely to real animals by having them live in their natural habitat. Pictures of animals sleeping close to each other, as mentioned earlier, are often seen in picture books about bedtime. More humanized animals co-sleeping in a bedroom are only found in three picture books, *Henry and the Dragon* (Christelow), *Nicky and the Big Wolves* (Gorbachev, 1998/2001), and *Ya-Ya's Big Monster in the Pond* (Wang & Liu, 2000), from the U.S., translated, and Taiwanese group respectively. In all three books the parents share a bed with children only after there is a problem—the children are afraid of the monsters. Henry the rabbit sleeps in his parents' bed, although the parents are unhappy about it. Nicky's mother, after failing her first attempt to get the children back to sleep, sleeps in the children's bed right in the middle among Nicky and his four rabbit siblings. Ya-Ya's mother, however, willingly lies down beside the little duck after learning that she is afraid of a water monster in the pond.

Incidents of human parent and child co-sleeping in a bed are found in two U.S. books: *Moonlight* (Ormerod, 1982) and *Ghost Hours, Spook's Hours* (Bunting & Carrick, 1987). Again, in both books, the parents stay in the girl's bed (*Moonlight*) or let the boy share the parents' bed (*Ghost*) only because the children are afraid. Two Taiwanese books share the same title *The First Time I Sleep Alone* (Pan & Chuang, 2001; Sha & Wang, 1996). The two books, however, tell a story different from the above-mentioned

co-sleeping incidents in the U.S. and translated groups. In both books, parent-child co-sleeping is the original sleeping arrangement, and the new goal is to transition the child to isolated sleeping. In Pan and Chuang's (2001) *The First Time I Sleep Alone*, three times the boy is scared in the middle of night and goes to the parents' room and stays in their bed.

Sibling room-sharing is a more common practice in all three groups. Three translated books *Nicky and the Big Wolves* (Gorbachev, 1998/2001), *I Am Not Sleepy and I Will Not Go to Bed* (Child, 2001/2002) and *Good Night Sam* (Gay, 2003/2005), and three U.S. books, *The Moon Jumper* (Urdu & Sendak, 1959), *The Berenstain Bears in the Dark* (Berenstain & Berenstain, 1982), and *Tucking Mummy In* (Loh & Rawlins, 1988), show same sex or hetero-sex siblings sharing a room as a regular sleeping arrangement.

Bed-sharing among hetero-sex human siblings, however, is only found in the Taiwanese books. Two illustrated books for Huan Yang's poem *Summer Night* (Yang & Huang, 2005; 1998) both show a brother and sister sharing one bed as their grandmother reads or tells them a story. Another book, *Night* (1981) depicts a brother and sister standing in front of one bed saying goodnight to their parents, although the book does not clearly indicate whether they share the same bed or not. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, same-sex peer bed-sharing is seen in *Happy Say Goodnight* (Chao & Lu, 1997); Jian and his cousin Kang-Kang share a bed when they visit each other.

Regular bed-sharing with a pet is found in three U.S. books: *Who's Afraid of the Dark* (Bonsall, 1980), *Ghost Hour, Spook's Hour* (Bunting & Carrick, 1987), *Good Night Sam* (Gay, 2003/2005). In all cases, it is a boy sharing the bed with a pet dog. Two books

*Goodnight, Gorilla* (Rathman, 1994/2001) and *The Napping House* (Wood & Wood, 1984) also show human and animal bed-sharing. In *Goodnight, Gorilla*, a gorilla, a mouse, a zookeeper, and his wife share a bed in the last scene. In *The Napping House*, a grandmother, a boy, a dog, a cat, a mouse, and a flea share a bed for a moment. These two books can also be read as portraying adult-child co-sleeping, as Galbraith (1999) categorized these two books into the “unconscious acceptance” category, which is defined as a child sleeps with an unconscious attachment figure who has already fallen asleep before the co-sleeping takes place.

Besides the books mentioned in this section, all the other books either depict an isolated sleeping arrangement or do not clearly indicate the sleeping arrangement. Books about real animals, such as *Goodnight Owl* (Hutchins, 1972), or zoo animals, such as *The Baby BeeBee Bird* (Massie & Kellogg, 2000) are not included in this discussion, since they do not include a bedroom scene. Children who sleep with stuffed animals or a blanket are further discussed in the next section.

Taken together, incidents of parent-child co-sleeping in picture books about bedtime usually depict bed-sharing as a temporary strategy to deal with children’s fear. In the case of two Taiwanese books, *The First Time I Sleep Alone*, co-sleeping is portrayed as an undesired practice that, after a certain age, children need to outgrow. Finally, in the case of *Goodnight, Gorilla* and *The Napping House*, co-sleeping is portrayed as an unconscious practice. Bed-sharing between same or hetero-sex siblings is not uncommon in Taiwanese books, but it is less often seen in U.S. and translated books. Humans bed-sharing with animals, however, is only found in U.S. and translated books.

### **Rituals and Transitional Objects**

The next two sections focus on the kinds of strategies that are employed in the story by both the child and adult characters to deal with the aforementioned bedtime “problems.” The use of bedtime rituals and transitional objects is discussed in this section, while the use or lack of use of an attachment figure as a secure base to deal with fear and separation is discussed in the next section.

#### *“It is Bedtime!”—Rituals of Bedtime*

Close examination of the text and illustrations in both the U.S. and the translated books suggests that bedtime rituals are often established as the fictional child’s everyday routine and a kind of settling strategy used by parents. In accord with the seven o’clock bedtime suggested by Watson and many other parenting manual writers in the earlier decades of the 20th century (Stearns et al., 1996), bedtime in two earlier books *Goodnight Moon* (Brown & Hurd, 1947) and *Bedtime for Frances* (Hoban & Williams, 1960), is set at seven o’clock for both the little rabbit and the badger, although by the time they actually fall asleep it is already way past the set schedule. The first illustration in *Goodnight Moon* shows a little rabbit sitting on his bed in the “great green room.” The clock on his bedside cupboard shows exactly seven o’clock. It is unclear whether the rabbit is looking at the clock or looking out from the picture to the readers. Throughout

the book the little rabbit stays on his bed and says goodnight, one by one, to the things in his room, while “the old lady whispering ‘hush’” knitting on a rocking chair at the other end of the room. In the last illustration, the room is dark, but the reader can still tell the hands of the clock indicating ten minutes past eight. The little rabbit is confined to his bed throughout the one hour and ten minutes. The book *Bedtime for Frances* begins with the following sentences: “The big hand of the clock is at 12. / The little hand is at 7. / It is seven o’clock. / It is bedtime for Frances” (n.p.). The illustration shows a big clock indicating seven o’clock. The clock is placed at the top of the picture, while the lower part is much busier with three characters each doing different things—the mother is holding a water bottle and waiting for little Frances drinking up a glass of water till the last drop, and the father is reading the newspaper on an armchair—the big clock, bigger than Frances’ head, against a white background calls the reader’s attention to it. The clearness of the hands and numbers on the clock face invites a parent reading the book to a child to teach the child to recognize the symbol of bedtime. Yet, in the story, Frances stays awake until even after his parents have long been asleep.

Even in the monster’s world, a child has to follow the human’s bedtime rules. In *Clyde Monster* (Crowe & Chora, 1976), the monster boy’s room also has a big clock similar to the clock in the human world which has twelve scales with the number twelve on the top and six on the bottom. The two hands indicate eight when Clyde, the little monster who is afraid of the human children in the dark, refuses to enter his cave. After his parents spend less than twenty minutes explaining to him that people will never hide in the dark and scare monsters just as this is something a monster will not do, Clyde is

ordered by his parents to “off to bed”, “And no more nonsense about being scared by people” (n.p.). Clyde, cuddling his stuffed monster, “stumbles” into his cave. The last double-spread illustrates the little monster sleeping alone in his room overseen by two big round circles: one big yellow moon lighting up half of the cave from the rock door Clyde requested his parents to leave open “just a little” before he entered his windowless cave, and the round monster face of the clock, as big as the moon, with eyes looking right at the little monster in the bed from the shadowy part of the cave. A full moon as the substitute of the mother (mom) is often seen in the American picture books about bedtime, Galbraith (1999) discussed about this device used in *Goodnight Moon* and *Can't Sleep* (Raschka, 1995). The last scene in the *Clyde Monster*, however, also puts the round clock at a significant position in association with the moon. It is twenty past eight when Clyde falls asleep.

Most of the books published after the 1970s do not indicate the child's exact sleep time, although the German born illustrator Georg Hallensleben, who now lives in France, still includes a big frog clock indicating seven o'clock in the girl's room in *And If the Moon Could Talk* (Banks & Hallensleben, 1998). Another exception that shows a rigid bedtime is author and illustrator Arthur Geisert's *Light Out* (2005). On the first page of the book, readers are told by the protagonist, a piggy boy: “My parents make me turn off the light at eight. They know I'm afraid to go to sleep unless the light is on. They said, ‘If you can figure something out—go ahead.’ So I did” (p. 3). The whole book then goes on to show how he manages to meet this bedtime rule on his own while his parents, like Frances' parents, are having tea and cake and watching television in the living room.

The best time a child should be put to bed was not a consensus among experts any more after WWII, as many experts, including Dr. Spock, contended that children should follow their “self-demand” schedules (Stearn’s et al., 1996). Although the exact time a child goes to bed may vary, the stress of a fixed sleeping schedule for each child has remained. Many books in the collections still advocate the idea that children should be trained to follow a set schedule and bedtime routines. In Peggy Rathmann’s *10 Minutes Till Bedtime* (1998), when the father announces “10 minutes till Bedtime,” the little boy has to go through a sequence of bedtime events all by himself; these include teeth brushing, putting on pajamas, bedtime story, bath, sitting on the toilet, a glass of water, and finally on to his bed and ready for his father to come in to give the goodnight kiss. In this almost wordless picture book, the father’s countdown words are put in large speech bubbles with the remaining minutes boldfaced and in red. Within the ten minute countdown, which is supposedly the duration of the story, the father has not taken his eyes off the newspaper or left his armchair until after his last word “Bedtime!” is announced in big red letters. He does not seem to notice, or need to notice, what the boy is doing during these ten minutes. Both the parent and the child already have an unspoken consensus about the meanings behind the word “bedtime.”

Even rigid bedtime rituals can be found in German author/illustrator Quint Buchholz’s *Sleep Well, Little Bear* (1993/2000). The text begins with describing a little stuffed bear’s bedtime ritual, which to a certain extent, seems obsessive:

In the evening, the little bear took off his apple trousers  
and put on his star pajamas.  
He had said a small prayer.

He had hummed along with little sleep song.  
He had gotten five kisses.

But he still needed a drink of water from the blue cup,  
because suddenly he was very thirsty,  
just like he was every evening.  
Then he had to put on his red sleeping socks,  
because he had forgotten them.  
Then he wanted someone to blow warm air under the covers, because he felt so cold.

And only then could the light be turned out in his room. (n.p.)

There are also books depicting less rigid and more flexible bedtime routines. These books portray bedtime as a playful and warm period of time in a child's day. In Ormerod's wordless picture book *Moonlight* (1982), the pictures unfold a series of family night events surrounding a little girl's passage to sleep. The story starts from the picture on the front endpaper where a little girl seems to be helping with preparing the supper. The pictorial text then illustrates a sequence of night events: the family dinner; the little girl playing with a rind of melon while the father washes dishes; bath time and playing in the bathtub; the mother helping the girl put on pajamas and combing her hair; the child's pretend play with her doll and stuffed bear in her room; the father settling the child in her bed and reading a story book to her; and the father kissing the girl and turning off the light. In Lauren Child's *I Am Not Sleepy and I Will Not Go to Bed* (2001/2002), the brother, Charlie, assumes the parental role and helps settle his younger sister, Lola, who claims she is "not slightly sleepy at 6 or 7 or 8" and is "still wide awake at 9 and not at all tired at 10, 11, and 12, and...will probably still be perky at even 13 o'clock in the morning" (n.p.), to sleep. Charlie plays with Lola in her imaginary world and, at the same, time goes through a series of night routines, such as a bedtime drink (Lola's favorite

strawberry milk), teeth brushing, bath, pajamas, and finally hopping into bed.

The U.S. picture books about bedtime are part of the bedtime ritual and often function as models of what a bedtime should look like for both the child and parent readers (Galbraith, 1999). They also offer strategies of how to deal with a child's reluctance to sleep and resistance to be separated from the parents. None of the 13 books found in Taiwan, however, delineate strict bedtime routines or indicate the actual time a fictional child goes to sleep. The only book that has a feature close to its U.S. counterparts is *Night* (Chen & Chen, 1981). The book depicts a traditional family night, where the mother prepares the family meal and waits for the working father to come home. This is depicted in the line "Night is / the time when daddy comes home and has dinner with us" (n.p.). The illustration shows the family, a father, a mother, a boy, and a girl, sitting together at a table with three dishes on it, and the mother is handing a rice bowl to the father. The night sequence for the two children starts with bath first, then dinner, and maybe some TV time after the meal, as one line in a page reads "Night is / the time when we turn the TV down a little bit" (n.p.). The father, who is sitting on a living room sofa, is the one who announces bedtime to the two children who are playing on the floor near by: "Night is / the time when father says 'It's time to sleep!'" (n.p.). The two lines on the last two page openings suggest that the book is created to teach children the "good habits" of nighttime: "Night is / the time when we remember to go to the toilet before sleep. // Night is / the time when we say 'Good Night' to daddy and mommy before going to bed" (n.p.). These routines include remembering to go to the bathroom before sleep and having good manners—to greet the parents before going to bed. The

sentence structure—defining what the night is—transforms what might be a family convention into the law of nature. This is even evident in that the same sentence structure is also used to describe natural scenery earlier in the book, such as: “Night is / the time when the sun goes home to rest” and “Night is / the time when the fireflies turn on their lights” (n.p.). Nevertheless, this book is different from many of the U.S. books or the book *Happy Say Goodnight* discussed at the beginning of the chapter. In this early Taiwanese picture book, a child is never seen being left alone at any moment in the night. The last illustration shows the brother and sister standing with their backs toward a bed, which has two pillows on it, and saying goodnight to the parents who are not visible to the reader from the picture. This picture implies that the two children share not only a room, but possibly also the same bed with each other.

*When Everything Fails, Hug Your Teddy Bears*

Besides establishing a bedtime routine, another strategy used the most by both fictional parents and children are substitute objects: stuffed animals, blankets, toys, and pets. Most of the fictional children in the U.S. and the translated groups take at least one object to bed, and among them the most used are stuffed animals. One of the most striking scenes found in the U.S. picture books about bedtime, often on the last page of a book, is a sleeping child surrounded by animals, stuffed or real, or pictures of animals. This is often seen in the “going to sleep” category, but can also be found in some of the books about bedtime problems. These books include *Close your Eyes* (Mazollo & Jeffers, 1978), *Where Does the Brown Bear Go?* (Weiss, 1989), *Half a Moon and One Whole Star*

(Dragonwagon & Pinkney, 1986), *Going to Sleep on the Farm* (Lewison, 1992), *10 Minutes Till Bedtime* (Rathmann, 1998), *The Noisy Way to Bed* (Whybrow & Beeke, 2004), and two translated books *When I'm Sleepy* (Howard & Cherry, 1985/1998) and *The Baby Who Wouldn't Go to Bed* (Cooper, 1996/2003).

In *Where Does the Brown Bear Go?* (Weiss, 1989), as mentioned earlier, the narrator's voice in this book is a parent's voice asking the child where each animal goes. Readers learn at the end that all the animals are the child's stuffed animals, and they are all going to the child's bed. One can easily imagine a parent reading this book to a child, who would also mimic the story and put the stuffed animals one by one on the child's bed and surround the child. In *Going to Sleep on the Farm* (Lewison, 1992), the boy asks his father how farm animals go to sleep. On the last image, all the farm animals appear again on the comforter the boy is tucked under. The book *The Noisy Way to Bed* (Whybrow, 2004) also follows this pattern, but there is one difference in this book: there is no trace of the boy's parents in either the pictures or the text. In fact, the child is the only human being who appears in this book. The narrative voice in the book is a third-person narrator telling the story of a little boy who goes back home when it is approaching bedtime. The illustration shows the boy playing outside under a tree. Along his way back home from the field, he meets different barnyard animals: a duck, a horse, a sheep, and a pig. The boy allows the animals to come along and they all follow him home. The last scene depicts the boy sleeping in his bed, cuddling both the stuffed rabbit he carried through the story and the duck. Other animals sleep close to each other on the floor by the foot of the boy's bed. Interestingly, even real animals are depicted cuddling stuffed animals to sleep:

The pig is cuddling a stuffed bear, and the sheep is cuddling a cowboy figure. This is also the case in *Good Night, Gorilla* (1994/2001). All the animals in the zoo have a stuffed animal which looks just like them in their cage.

The image of a child sleeping alone and cuddling a stuffed animal prevails over the U.S. books. The celebration of this unitary sleeping arrangement is best illustrated by *Shhhhh! Everybody's Sleeping* (Markes & Parkins, 2005). In the book every person, albeit each has a different profession, sleeps the same way and at the same time. A teacher sleeps by a stuffed owl, a doctor hugs a bandaged stuff bear to sleep, a farmer has a sheep as his pillow, and a baker has a stuffed bear with chef hat sleeping beside her. None of the people in the town (a night landscape of a town is shown on the dedication page) sleep by another person; rather, all of them are portrayed sleeping alone with a stuffed animal or real animal. The last two pages, again, shift the focus back to the child. A mother tucking a boy in is telling him that he “SHOULD” be sleeping just like the sun. The child, too, has a stuffed rabbit to sleep with. The book propagates a unitary sleeping habit that everyone goes to bed at the same time and sleeps with one stuffed animal, and the child should do the same.

The illustrations in *How Do Dinosaurs Say Goodnight* (Yolen & Teague, 2000) also depict a uniform sleeping arrangement. The book includes ten children's bedrooms in different families. In each room, a huge dinosaur occupies the human child's bed, though the parents remain human. The children's rooms are very similar to each other, with toys and stuffed animals everywhere and very similar wooden furniture, albeit the parents' features suggest that they are from different ethnicities. Moreover, each family

always has one pet dog. Again, the book suggests that all children/dinosaurs sleep alone in their own room. Most importantly, at bedtime children/dinosaurs do not do what dinosaurs are supposed to do: slam tails, stomp feet, throw things about, or roar.

The parallel between animals and children is another striking feature in the collection of picture books about bedtime. About half of the books in the U.S. group have non-humans as the main character. Thirteen books use animals, four books use dinosaurs, dragons, or monsters, and one book has stuffed animals as the protagonist. The translated group is similar; fourteen books have animals, stuffed animals, or monsters as the main character. Nodelman and Reimer (2003) pointed out one reason why so many children's books have animals as characters:

Parents often call good children “little lambs” or gluttonous ones “little pigs.” The common name for children in the contemporary society is “kids”—so common that many people forget that the word originally referred to young goats. . . . It seems that adults now tend to think of “kids” as basically animal-like beings who must be taught how to act like civilized humans. Not surprisingly, then, many characters in children's literature are animals—animals who represent the animal-like condition of children. (p. 194)

Many books in the “going to sleep” category do seem to suggest to children that they should behave like the animals who go to sleep when the night falls. One way, however, that children are different from animals in these books is this: while the animals in each double-spread sleep physically close to each other, if not cuddling together, the human child is always depicted as sleeping alone in his or her own bed. Dyer's illustration for Fox's (1993) rhyming text *Time for Bed*, for example, pictures on each page opening one baby animal and one parent going to sleep closely together, but not the human child at the

end. Similar to the animal pairs, the second to the last page also pictures the human mother putting her baby to bed, but the last picture shows only the child alone in the bed. Fox's text, as well as the text in many other "going to sleep" books, does not indicate an isolated sleeping arrangement for the human child. The text on the last two double-spreads says, "The stars on high are shining bright. Sweet dreams, my darling, sleep well...good night!" (n.p.). From the discussion in Chapter 2 about the diverse sleep habits in different cultures, one cannot help but wonder whether the illustration would look different if the same text were illustrated by an artist who came from, or illustrated for, a culture group where parent-child co-sleeping is the norm.

No matter how unpersuasive the messages conveyed in these books are, the parallel between animals' sleep and children's bedtime seems to become a formula for U.S. picture books about bedtime. Galbraith (1999) discussed another similar book, *When I'm Sleepy* (Howard & Cherry, 1985/1998), where the child character imagines what it is like to sleep like different animals in their natural sleeping positions and locations. Unlike Fox and Dyer's book, the illustrations in this book visualize the human child sleeping among and in close bodily contact with different animal parents. Galbraith stated, "Because of these strikingly sensual pictures, the punch line 'I'm so glad I can go to sleep in my very own bed' is even more unconvincing than the usual contrived ending" (p. 178).

One purpose of many of the books discussed in this section is to naturalize the isolated sleeping arrangement and the use of substitute objects. A message repeated in the books is this: a child, though alone and confined to his or her bedroom, is in fact

connected to the outside world through the substitute objects surrounding him or her. The book *And If the Moon Could Talk* (Banks & Hallensleben, 1998), for example, has many of the elements mentioned above: the depiction of animals resting or sleeping, the mention of objects in a child's room, the scene of a child cuddling a stuffed animal to sleep, and the picture of the child surrounded by stuffed animals and objects. The book follows a pattern of alternation between scenery inside and outside a child's room. The odd number double-spreads describe the objects in a girl's room and the sequence of her bedtime routines: a pair of shoes under a chair, a ticking clock, a glass of water on the table, a turning mobile. The father reads to the child, and the mother tucks her in and gives her a stuffed rabbit. The even number double-spreads narrate and illustrate what the moon sees in the outside world: a lizard going home, some nomads and their camels crouching in the desert, a crab resting on the beach, and some birds nesting on a tree. The things that connect the outside and inside scenes are the objects in the child's room. For example, the text and picture on the seventh double-spread call the reader's attention to the objects on the girl's bedside cupboard. Besides the glass of water, there are a starfish and a wooden boat. The next page then shifts to a peaceful night on the beach and some boats and a crab resting near the dock. The mention of an object, be it a starfish or the father's story, is what connects a child's sleep to nature. By interweaving the natural scenery into the child's bedtime routine and by making connections between the real animals and the substitute objects in her room, the book naturalizes this isolated sleeping arrangement and the use of bedtime routines and substitute objects. The alternating pattern of inside and outside finally breaks down in the child's dream. In her dreams, she

dreams of all these animals, stuffed or real, that has appeared in the previous pages.

The prevalence of stuffed animals in the U.S. picture books about bedtime is high. However, stuffed animals, similar to many children's toys, are never a neutral thing.

Reading stuffed animals as a text, Putnam (2003) asks this question:

[W]hat happens when the transitional object, such as a stuffed lion, tiger or bear, is also a transcultural object? Does it matter that the object substituted for the most primal of objects, a mother's breast, has emerged from a different cultural space? How can it not be significant that the earliest animal figures in a child's life, alongside pets or farm animals if such exist in the household, is probably a stuffed version of wildlife, probably taken from a colonial space of reference? (¶ 27)

Considering the place where most of the stuffed animals are manufactured, this question becomes even more complicated when these picture books, which encourage children to attach to stuffed animals, are translated into Chinese.

The earlier establishment of a child's relationship with a substitute object—being able to use a soft object to self-soothe to sleep—enables the child to use the attached object later when facing the fear of imaginary creatures in the dark. As discussed earlier, the “going to sleep” books in general are for younger children. Yet, several of the “fear of the dark” books also encourage children to use the imaginary protection from the stuffed animals as a way to cope with their fear. In *Jessica and the Wolf: A Story for Children Who Have Bad Dreams* (Lobby & Dixon, 1990/1998), Jessica has recurring bad dreams about being chased by a big wolf. Her parents are often awakened in the middle of night by Jessica's scream. They decide to help Jessica make a plan to chase the bad dream away. The book is written by a psychotherapist, and, similar to *Happy Say Goodnight*, is created with the idea that parents can use this book to help children deal with their fear; thus, the

strategies employed by the fictional parents are supposed to be the main point of the book. The book includes a page of Introduction for Parents. For the “problem” of a recurring bad dream, the introduction suggests that parents should use the opportunity to help children learn self-reliance and take pride in their own abilities to solve the problem. By using the strategy in the book, the child character successfully “transforms a painful episode into a positive experience” (n.p.). This, then, is the outcome parent readers should hope to reach with their own children. The parents’ task, according to the notes, is to draw out the child’s own ideas about how to solve the problem. In this book, the girl proposes that “magic” is what might solve her problem. She also recalls that to hug tight her stuffed bear, Sarah, is what she usually does when she feels scared. The parents make a plan with Jessica according to these two ideas she proposed herself. The second day Jessica practices her magic words with a magic wand in one hand, and her stuffed bear in the other. Her mother reminds her before going to sleep: “When the wolf gets close, stop running and turn around. If you get nervous give Sarah a hug. That’s what friends are for, to help when you need it” (n.p.). That night, as one might expect, Jessica successfully chases the wolf away with this strategy. The parents’ role in this story is to scaffold the child, making a plan with her according to the strategies she already has in her repertoire. What is interesting here, however, is that the child does not propose to the parents to let her stay with them. When the mother asks Jessica what she usually does when she is afraid, she replies that she hugs her stuffed bear tight. Seeking parental comfort to regulate her fear at night does not seem to be a strategy in Jessica’s repertoire. This may be related to the U.S. culture of valuing independence from parents.

Although the introduction for parents acknowledges different ways parents use to help children when they cry out in the night, such as giving a kiss or a hug, sitting with the child for a while, bringing the child into the parents' bed for the rest of the night, singing a lullaby, or offering a glass of milk. The strategy the specialist suggests to parents, as portrayed in the story, is to use substitute objects and to teach the child to face the fear on her own. Self-reliance is the parental goal for Jessica. Even though the introduction points out that bad dreams, one-time scary dreams, recurring nightmares, or night terrors may all be normal childhood experiences, the book does not seem to treat Jessica's bad dream as a normal part of childhood, which will disappear itself one day with parental company. Rather, the book suggests it is something parents might want to deal with and turn into a learning opportunity for self-reliance. Other strategies, such as letting the child stay with the parents until the bad dream does not recur anymore, are not chosen as the desired parenting strategies to use in the story. The purpose of this book is to promote this strategy and idea to parents as it is suggested on the cover—"books to help parents help their children."

Attachment to stuffed animals or other objects is found less in the Taiwanese books. Only two books with the same title and theme, *The First Time I Sleep Alone* (Sha & Wang, 1996; Pan & Chuang, 2001), portray the child using stuffed animals to deal with nighttime separation for the first time. Another book *Da-Da's Blanket* (Ling & Tsao, 1988) is also about the attachment to an object. This book is discussed in the next section. In fact, children's rooms in the Taiwanese books are usually depicted with fewer objects in them, as compared to the translated or the U.S. books. Taiwan is a highly populated

island, and not all families can afford a separate bedroom for each child. Moreover, the weather of the island is hot and humid most of the year. Stuffed toys are usually not recommended by pediatricians, because they are easy to become the bed of dust mites, which is the number one cause of allergy for both children and adults in Taiwan. Curiously, two “going to sleep” books translated into Chinese in Taiwan, *When I’m Sleepy* (Howard & Cherry, 1985/1998) and *And If the Moon Could Talk* (Banks & Hallensleben, 1997/2001), both picture in the last scenes a child character surrounded by stuffed animals. There are 24 stuffed toys encircling the sleeping girl in *When I’m Sleepy*, and 13 stuffed animals in the little girl’s bedroom in *And If the Moon Could Talk*.

In summary, many American picture books about bedtime justify the replacement of stuffed animals to human body at nighttime. Stuffed animals, soft toys, or teddy bears serve as protection objects for children who have a separate night life from the adults. These books show that bedtime separation routine is part of how the world works. They are as natural as the how the sun and moon move in the sky. That children need sleep may be a universal fact; children’s sleeping habits and the location of sleep, however, are highly tied to the cultural practices and parental goals for childrearing. A child’s bedroom can be regarded as a cultural text (Mitchell & Reid-Walsh, 2002). A separated bedroom for a child in many of these picture books about bedtime represents a certain social class who can afford to give a child his or her own bedroom and fill the room with toys and stuffed animals and who have time to read these books to children at bedtime.

*When Even the Secure Blanket Is Gone...*

Substitute objects, transitional objects, or secure objects, depending on which perspective one subscribes, had a negative connotation around the 1970s, because people believed that attaching to them was associated with a child's insecurity (Passman, 2001). The idea gradually shifted in the 80s and 90s. It is generally agreed today in the United States that object-attached children are no more or no less insecure than children who are not attached to objects. There may be other factors at play in a child's attachment to objects, such as childrearing practices, but the specific mechanics are still unclear (Passman, 2001). This section looks at the attitude toward blanket-attached children in three books.

Three books have a theme relating to when a child's attachment object is gone. The object in all three books happens to be a blanket, and the protagonists all happen to be boys. More interestingly, each of them expresses a different adult attitude toward children's attachment to a blanket. These three books are *The Blanket* (Burningham, 1975), *Tim and the Blanket Thief* (Prater, 1993/2001), and *Da Da's Blanket* (Ling & Tsao, 1988). They each belong to the U.S., the translated, and the Taiwanese group, respectively.

British author and illustrator John Burningham's *The Blanket* (1975) is a small and simple book about a little boy who cannot find his blanket at bedtime. The story is told from the little boy's perspective; he starts the story by telling the reader: "When I go to bed I always take my blanket" (n.p.). But one night the little boy cannot find his blanket. The illustration shows that he goes to the living room and tells this news to his parents who are watching television. The parents and the boy start to look for it

everywhere—the bathroom, the cupboard, and under the bed—but they cannot find it. The parents go on to look in the laundry basket and in the car, but the boy finds the blanket under his pillow and he goes to sleep. The last illustration shows the little boy cuddling his blanket into a pillow and he is sound asleep. The book depicts the blanket as necessary for the child to go to sleep; having it, the child can go to sleep easily and on his own. The parents do not seem to need to get the child to bed at bedtime, as the first picture shows him alone and content with his blanket in the bedroom, and he is taking off his shoes and getting ready for bed. The last scene also suggests the same.

The Taiwanese book *Da-Da's Blanket* (Ling & Tsao, 1988) is also a small book. The book is told from a third-person's perspective, and it spends the first four page openings describing Da-Da's relationship with the blanket. Da-Da likes to take the blanket with him when he sleeps and plays. The next two page openings shift to describe how the blanket becomes torn, dirty, and stinky. The dog bites the blanket when playing with the boy. Da-Da knocks over the juice onto the blanket, and he also wets on the blanket. The mother's attitude toward the blanket is shown on the next double-spread: The mother wants to take away the blanket when Da-Da takes a nap because the weather is too hot, but Da-Da insists on sleeping under the blanket. The turn of the story is when one day the mother takes Da-Da to his grandmother's house, and they did not bring the blanket. The grandmother gives Da-Da another new blanket, but Da-Da wants his own rag. He cries and phones his father and asks him to send the blanket through the mail. The postman comes the next day, but it is not the blanket. It is a box of books. Da-Da's grandmother reads to Da-Da that night. The postman comes again the next day, but this

time Da-Da does not want his blanket anymore. He wants to listen to the stories!

The attitude toward the blanket in these two books intended for younger children is notably different. In *The Blanket*, the secure blanket is portrayed as necessary for the child to go to sleep. There is no negative attitude toward it or any necessity to explain the relationship between the blanket and the boy. When the blanket is lost, the parents look everywhere to get it back. The boy falls asleep at once when he finds the blanket, while his parents are still looking for it. In *Da Da's Blanket* the attachment to the blanket is not desirable, and the book suggests that it should be replaced with a more desirable object—books. *Da-Da's Blanket* portrays the blanket as negative and unhealthy, and the child's attention can be easily distracted from it with books. This attitude is clearly stated in a paragraph of the editor's "words for parents" in the last page of the book.

Many children have bad habits, such as sucking a pacifier or cuddling a blanket, and it is not easy to wean them. This story tells children that the rag is dirty and smelly, and it is unhygienic to cuddle the blanket to sleep at warm days. It also tells children that during the two days when Da-Da does not have that ragged blanket, he can still sleep. Moreover, listening to the grandmother's story is clearly much amusing than hugging a blanket to sleep. If you follow the clever plan in this book to train your baby, maybe it will work. Why not give it a try? (n.p.)

Attachment to the blanket is described as "bad habits" and unhygienic in this note.

The translated book *Tim and the Blanket Thief* (Prater, 1993/2001) is the cruelest book among the three: The child who relies on a substitute for parents even has to be afraid that his substitute object may be stolen away by a monster! Tim is a timid boy who does not like excitement like other children. All he wants to do is to be quiet and be left alone with his soft blanket, which he takes with him everywhere. Other children would

sing the “Blanket Thief Song” to tease him:

Look out! Beware the blanket thief  
 Who creeps around at night,  
 And steals away your favorite things  
 If you don’t hug them tight!  
 They say he can be frightened off  
 If you put up a fight!  
 But none of us would ever dare  
 Face such an awful sight. (n.p.)

At night, just as one would expect, the blanket thief comes. Tim wakes up in the middle of the night to find his blanket is gone. “He let out a little cry, which grew bigger and bigger, and bigger . . . until he yelled at the top of his voice ‘Come back, you thief! Give me back my blanket!’” Tim chases the thief into the night street, the dark woods, the precipitous mountains and the rough sea, until he reaches the monster’s cave. The thief becomes a big black monster and threatens Tim with a terrible scream. However, Tim is determined to get his blanket back; he stares at the monster and does not move by the awful sight. The monster gradually disappears and finally becomes only a curl of smoke from the fire. Tim gathers all the blankets, teddy bears and best-loved toys and takes them back with him. Children await Tim on the seashore, and they cheer Tim as the “bravest boy ever.” The last page shows Tim sleeping soundly with his blanket, and the text reads “But even the bravest boy ever still cuddled his blanket for just a little longer” (n.p.).

This book may be the author’s attempt to change the general attitude toward a boy’s attachment to soft objects. As the study shows, parents may restrict their boys from taking their secure object outside the house after a certain age (Hobara, 2003). This is evident in the story since Tim is the only child in the story that still carries a blanket

around in public. The ending also shows that in fact, many children about Tim's age still attach to a soft object, although they do not show it or dare to get it back when it is stolen. If not for Tim, the other children may not be able to get their secure objects back. The last scene, where the boat is full of blankets and children cheering for getting their beloved blankets back, normalizes children's attachment to inanimate objects. Even though the book has the message that carrying a blanket does not mean being cowardly, the last sentence, however, reconfirms the boy code: a boy has to grow out of his blanket one day in order to be a real boy.

Even an inanimate object is unreliable since it might be stolen or lost. Not only does Tim cling to his blanket to regulate his emotion, he also has to fear that a monster might come to take his blanket away. Tim's world is only he and his blanket. There is not a single adult who appears in this book. Similar to the book *Jessica and the Wolf* (Lobby & Dixon, 1990/1998) discussed in the previous section, this story promotes self-reliance and has the message that once one faces his or her fear, one will figure that it is nothing unbearable: Your fear fears you even more.

Taken together, the three books demonstrate three attitudes toward object attachment: 1) necessary and normal for children's sleep, 2) undesirable, and 3) not only normal, but vitally important to a child—a timid child can even become brave when he loses it. The U.S. and translated books see the attachment to an inanimate object as normal and even desirable, whereas the Taiwanese books published in the 1980s discourage children's attachment to objects. Although the book is a single incident, the translation of the book *Tim and the Blanket Thief* to Taiwan, plus the fact that it is

published by the same publisher of *Da-Da's Blanket*, may mark a shift in attitude in Taiwan toward children's attachment to objects. Like *Da-Da's Blanket*, the translated book also has a "words for parents," written by the translator. The note, however, does not center on the child's use of a blanket, but focuses on the meaning of being brave. Yet, whenever Tim's beloved blanket is mentioned in the notes, there is no negative attitude toward it.

### **Attachment Categories for Emotional Regulation**

This section explores how fictional children utilize adults as a secure base at the time of fear or distress, with a focus on adult-child as a dyad of emotion regulation and a focus on the transactional process—how the adult and child react to each other's reactions. Three styles of coping relating to the way a child utilizes an attachment figure to cope with fear or separation are identified from attachment research outlined in Chapter 3 and are adopted for this analysis: secure style, avoidant style, and resistant style coping strategies (Table 11). Secure style coping is defined as a child character confidently showing his or her fear or distress (e.g. cannot sleep) to a parent or another character in the story, and getting consistent comfort and help from the person. With the parent's care and attention, the child successfully regulates his or her aroused emotion and gains emotional understanding. Avoidant style coping is characterized as a child character who not only avoids seeking comfort or help from parents, but also avoids showing his or her emotion to the parents. Resistant style coping is defined as a child exaggerates his or her emotion in order to evoke attention and reactions of the parents.

The parents may or may not react to the child's heightened expression since unpredictability is one feature characterizing the parents of resistant children. Books that show typical examples of each coping style are discussed below.

Table 11

*Categories of Children's Attachment Coping Styles*

Type	Description*
Secure style coping strategy	Secure children have learned that expressing emotions, whether positive or negative, is acceptable to their parents. They know that signs of distress will alert their parents and elicit help and comfort, and as a result, they do not hesitate to show fear and anxiety.
Avoidant style coping strategy	Avoidant children tend to have a history of repeated rejections of their emotional expressions. The caregivers are less responsive particularly to negative emotions, and as a result, the children develop a strategy of hiding any signs of distress, even though they may experience it as much as other children, in order to avoid being ignored or rebuffed.
Resistant style coping strategy	Resistant children have learned that their emotional expressions are responded to inconsistently and that the effects they produce are therefore unpredictable. Consequently, they develop a strategy of exaggerated expression to provoke their parents' attention.

\*Summarized from Goldberg (2000).

*Secure Coping Strategy*

The wordless book *Moonlight* (Ormerod, 1982) is one example of using secure base to cope with fear. The little girl in *Moonlight* seems to be scared after being put to bed by her father. She seeks her parents three times to fulfill her attachment need. The

first time her mother gives her a glass of water and insists she go back to bed. The second time the little girl's father stays with the child and falls asleep in her bed. The third time the mother lets the little girl sit beside her on the sofa and they each read their own book. This night episode shows the transactional interaction between the parents and the child. The girl's attachment need is not fulfilled the first time, but her mother's insistence does not stop the child from continuing to seek her parents for comfort. The second time when the little girl shows secure base behavior toward the mother, she does not insist on the separation but lets the child stay by her side. The short episode of the parent-child interaction sees into the dyad's past attachment interaction—the child's trust and expectation on both the mother's and father's acceptance to her proximity seeking behavior.

Not all fictional children who seek to use the parents as secure base to regulate their fear receive positive reactions. In *Papa!* (Corentin, 1995/1996) and *Clyde Monster* (Crowe & Choraio, 1976), both monster children are sent to bed after the parents told them, unpersuasively, that there is no such thing as humans. Being denied the fear that is real to him, the little monster in *Papa!* cuddles the human child to sleep in the end. The attachment episode in this story shows how a fictional child learns about his parent's emotional availability to his fear at bedtime. It also witnesses how a fictional child shifts from a secure style coping strategy to an avoidant coping strategy. This is also the case in *Bedtime for Frances* (Hoban & Williams, 1960). The little badger seeks comfort from her secure base four times until she is threatened with a spanking. That stops her from using her secure base the fifth time.

There are also cases in which the child character is not willing to show his or her fear to the secure base, but with the attachment figure's help, the child gains understanding in his or her emotion. The book *Ghost's Hour, Spook's Hour* (Bunting & Carrick, 1987) is an example.

### *Avoidant Coping Strategy*

Three books are typical examples for the avoidant coping strategy. Mercer Mayer's classic *There's a Nightmare in My Closet* (1968) is among the first picture books that portray children's fear of monsters in the bedroom. The narrator of the story is a little boy who describes how he has gotten rid of the nightmare that used to live in his closet. Before going to bed, he always closed the closet door, and he did not even dare to turn around and look. But one night he decided to come face to face with his nightmare. The illustration shows the boy sitting on the bed with a helmet. He has a rifle in his hands and he hides behind his pillow. In front of the pillow are two toy soldiers and a toy tank. The boy turns on the light and catches the nightmare sitting at the foot of his bed. "Go away, Nightmare, or I'll shoot you," the boy says (n.p.). He shoots the nightmare with his toy gun, and surprisingly, the big nightmare begins to cry. To stop the nightmare's cry, which may wake up the boy's parents, the boy takes the monster to his bed and tucks him in. He shares the bed with the monster, who almost took over the whole bed, to sleep. Galbraith (1999) pointed out that this book in many ways recalls Maurice Sendak's (1963) *Where the Wild Things Are*, which was published five years earlier than *There's a Nightmare in My Closet*. These include: "the placement of door, window, and bed in the child's room;

the absence of parents; the presence of monsters; and the implication that the child can overcome trauma by himself through the use of fantasy” (p. 178). Also noticed is the moon that can be viewed from the bedroom window, and the use of crisscross short fine lines to create shades in the pictures. In both books, the moon changes from a crescent moon to a full moon. Moreover, in both books the boys are confined to their own room, and in the imaginary world they play the role of an authority figure. Max, the boy in *Where the Wild Things Are*, sends the monsters to bed without supper. The no-name boy in *There’s a Nightmare in My Closet* comments to the nightmare “be quiet or you’ll wake Mommy and Daddy” (n.p.). While, however, Max leaves the wild things and goes back to his own room, the no-name boy takes the nightmare to his bed and “offers it the parenting he is missing” (Galbraith, 1999, p. 178). The boy does not use his parents as a secure base to deal with the fear this big; moreover, he is unwilling to even wake his parents up with cries. In the end, the boy embraces the nightmare and transforms his fear into something he sleeps with.

Another good example is Arthur Geisert’s (2005) almost wordless picture book *Lights Out*. As also quoted earlier when talking about bedtime schedules, this book has only four lines of words on the first page opening: “My parents make me turn off the light at eight. They know I’m afraid to go to sleep unless the light is on. They said, ‘If you can figure something out—go ahead.’ So I did” (p. 3). The rest of the book then uses only pictures to show how the elaborate machinery the little pig designed works in order to maintain the light in his room even after he officially “turns off” the light. This gives him about 25 minutes to fall asleep before his room finally turns dark. At eight o’clock,

the little pig pulls the “light cord” near the head of his bed and lies down to sleep. The light cord triggers a domino effect, which involves 28 steps of actions that go from the attic, to the roof, the yard, the basement, the other side of the house, and finally link to the light switch of a lamp in his room. The clock shows 8:22 when his room turns dark, and at this moment the little pig has already fallen asleep. During the time all this is happening, his parents are watching television in the living room downstairs from his bedroom.

The book *Tim and the Blanket Thief* (Prater, 1993/2001), discussed in the previous section about secure blanket is one example of the use of this coping strategy; as mentioned earlier, there are no adults appearing in this book. The parents are nowhere to be seen. Seeking help from the parents does not seem to be a strategy in little Tim’s coping repertoire. When he realizes that his blanket is gone, Tim lets out a small cry, and the cry becomes bigger and bigger until Tim yells out with all his strength; yet, interestingly, this does not wake up his parents. Tim yells to get the strength to jump out of the window and run after the monster on the dark street, rather than to wake his parents. In all three cases, the three boys do not attempt to use the parents as the secure base to deal with their fear.

### *Resistant Coping Strategy*

Three moments in the collected books can best be used to illustrate the exaggeration of emotion in order to fulfill the attachment goal—to gain attention and care from an attachment figure and to maintain physical proximity. In *The Monster Bed*

(Willis & Varley, 1986/2003), the monster child is afraid of the humans who might hide under his bed. His mother reacts to his fear by offering him his teddy bear and denying to him that humans exist. The little monster reacts to this in a pretty strong and hostile way—he “fasten his fangs round her warty old nose” and “tied up his toes in a knot around her knees” (n.p.). He does not let go until his mother promises to help him to carry out a plan—to sleep under his bed so that the humans would not find him. In *Nicky and the Big, Bad Wolves* (Gorbachev, 1998/2001), the rabbit Nicky has a bad dream, and he cries for help to his mother. In order to keep his mother in the room, Nicky exaggerates his nightmare: “Wolves . . . A hundred of wolves were chasing me!” To this, his mother replies: “A *hundred* wolves? . . . Are you sure?” (n.p.). With the mother’s questioning, Nicky replies that maybe it was *fifty* wolves. The mother questions Nicky four times with the same “are you sure”, and each time Nicky has to lessen the number of wolves but he still attempts to exaggerate how frightful it is. Finally the mother tells Nicky it is just a bad dream and that Nicky should go back to sleep. The mother turns out the light and leaves the room. The third example is *Mortimer* (Munsch & Martchenko, 1983/1994). In this strange case of sleeping arrangement, the little boy Mortimer has 17 brothers and sisters, but he still has to sleep alone in a room upstairs while everybody, including his parents and all his 17 siblings, are downstairs. Being confined in this lonely space, Mortimer’s only connection to his family is to hear the footsteps coming up the stairs. Five times Mortimer makes loud noises in his room in order to gain attention—to have someone come up to open his door and angrily yell at him.

Table 12 through Table 14 show the main child character’s strategy of using a

secure base to deal with fear or distress in the three groups of books. Only books that include scenarios in which a child character's attachment need is activated are listed in the tables. The finding shows that avoidant coping strategy is one strategy often used by the child characters besides secure coping strategy.

Table 12

*Attachment Coping Strategies in U.S. Picture Books*

Title	Author & Illustrator	Year	Gender	Attachment Coping
*Goodnight Moon	Brown & Hurd	1947	M	Avoidant
There's a Nightmare in My Closet	Mayer	1968	M	Avoidant
Who's Afraid of the Dark?	Crosby Bonsall	1980	M	Avoidant
10 Minutes Till Bedtime	Rathmann	1998	M	Avoidant
Lights Out	Geisert	2005	M	Avoidant
*Russell the Sheep	Scotton	2005	M	Avoidant
Good Night, Good Knight	Thomas & Plecas	2000	M & F	Resistant
Don't Let the Pigeon Stay up Late!	Willems	2006	N/A	Resistant
*Moonlight	Ormerod	1982	F	Secure
The Berenstain Bears in the Dark	Berenstain & Berenstain	1982	F & M	Secure
Henry and the Dragon	Christelow	1984	M	Secure
*Kiss Good Night	Hest & Jeram	2001	M	Secure
Good Night, Harry	Lewis	2004	M	Secure
Ghost's Hour, Spook's Hour	Bunting & Carrick	1987	M	Avoidant/Secure

*Can't You Sleep, Little Bear?	Waddell & Firth	1988	M	Avoidant/Secure
Bedtime for Frances	Hoban & Williams	1960	F	Secure/Avoidant
Clyde Monster	Crowe & Choraio	1976	M	Secure/Avoidant

\* Title included in both U.S. and translated groups.

Table 13

*Attachment Coping Strategies in Translated Picture Books*

Title	Author & Illustrator	Year	Gender	Attachment Coping
Sleep Well, Little Bear	Buchholz	1993/2000	M	Avoidant
Good Night, Gorilla	Rathmann	1994/2001	N/A	Avoidant
Tim and the Blanket Thief	Prater	1993/2001	M	Avoidant
*Goodnight Moon	Brown & Hurd	1947/2003	M	Avoidant
*Russell the Sheep	Scotton	2005/2006	M	Avoidant
Mortimer	Munsch & Martchenko	1983/1994	M	Resistant
Nicky and the Big, Bad Wolves	Gorbachev	1998/2001	M & F	Resistant
The Monster Bed	Willis & Varley	1986/2003	M	Resistant
*Moonlight	Ormerod	1982/1986	F	Secure
What's Under My Bed	Stevenson	1983/1993	M & F	Secure
*Kiss Good Night	Hest & Jeram	2001/2001	M	Secure
I Am Not Sleepy and I Will Not Go to Bed	Child	2001/2002	F	Secure
The Kiss that Missed	Melling	2002/2005	M	Secure
Good Night Sam	Gay	2003/2005	M	Secure
Sleep Tight, Little Bear	Waddell & Firth	2005/2005	M	Secure
When I Feel Scared	Spelman & Parkinso	2002/2005	M	Secure

*Can't you Sleep, Little Waddell & Firth Bear	1988/1996	M	Avoidant/Secure
Jessica and the Wolf: A Lobby & Dixon Story for Children Who Have Bad Dreams	1990/1998	F	Avoidant/Secure
Papa! Corentin	1995/1996	M	Secure/Avoidant

\* Titles included in both U.S. and translated groups.

Table 14

*Attachment Coping Strategies in the Taiwanese Picture Books*

Title	Author & Illustrator	Year	Gender	Attachment Coping
Black and White Mice: Chuang A-Pao Sleeps	Wang & Huang	1999	M	Avoidant
The First Time I Sleep Alone	Sha & Wang	1996	M	Avoidant
The Bat Who Is Afraid of the Dark: What to Do for Children Who Are Afraid of the Dark?	Wang & Chou	2000	M	Avoidant
I Can't Sleep	Tsai	2001	M	Avoidant
Da-Da's Blanket	Ling & Tsao	1988	M	Secure
Not Afraid of the Dark	Wang & Hsin	2000	M	Secure
The First Time I Sleep Alone	Pan & Chuang	2001	M	Secure
Happy Say Goodnight	Chao & Lu	1997	M	Avoidant/Secure
Ya-Ya's Big Monster in the Pond: What to Do for Children Who Often Have Nightmares?	Wang & Liu	2000	F	Avoidant/Secure

## Chapter 6

### NOTES FOR PARENTS

Paratext is a term used by Gérard Genette (1987/1997) to describe the material features that surround a book author's main text, including the preface, afterword, note, dedication, table of content, excerpts from reviews, etc. It is the "thresholds" between "the literary and printerly conventions that mediate between the world of publishing and the world of the text" (Macksey, 1997, xvii). Paratext is the publish part of a book, and it gives the context of the production of a book. This chapter studies one kind of paratext that is not included in the book published in its original language; that is, the note to parents in translated picture books about bedtime. An analysis of the paratext offers insights into the context of a book's publishing, how a book is packaged, marketed, and advertised, as well as the intended readers or buyers of the books.

The notes to parents are usually one or two pages and are printed in the picture book before or after the main story. For books that belong to a book set, there is usually a separate parents' manual or reading guide for parents included in the book set. This separate volume contains information about each of the books in the set. Eighteen guides or notes for the translated books and 11 for the Taiwanese books have been collected. The information about the notes or guides for the translated books is displayed in Table 15 and 16, separated by the format of the guide. The notes to parents for Taiwanese books are listed in Table 16 after the discussion of the translated books.

The length of the notes to parents included in a picture book is usually one or two

pages and is placed after the story (Table 15). Two exceptions are *Jessica and the Wolf* (Lobby & Dixon, 1990/1998) and *When I Feel Scared* (Spelman & Parkins, 2002/2005). Both books were created by child or family therapists and include an original author's note to parents. When the books were translated and published in Taiwan, more notes have been added to the books. In the case of *When I Feel Scared*, three more notes by Taiwanese experts have been added to the book.

Table 15

*Notes to Parents in Translated Books*

Book Title	Orig/Trans Year	Title of Notes to Parents	Pages	Expert Background
Goodnight Moon	1947/2003	Words for Fathers and Mothers	2	Domestic science/home economics professor
The Napping House	1984/2003	Happy Go to Sleep	1	Children's literature critic and translator
Mortimer	1983/1994	Words to Parents	1	N/A
I Am Not Sleepy and I Will Not Go to Bed	2001/2002	Use Imaginary Language to Converse with Children	1	Children's literature critic and translator
The Baby Who Wouldn't Go to Bed	1996/2003	The Gentleness and Power in Goodnight	1	Children's literature critic and translator
When Sheep Cannot Sleep: The Counting Book	1986/2001	Guide Reading: What Do You Do When You Can't Sleep?--Counting Sheep!	2	Writer & translator

The Kiss that Missed	2002/2005	He Only Needs You to Stay Just a Short While	2	Publishing company chief editor
Sleep Tight, Little Bear	2005/2005	New Parent-child Partnership	1	Children's literature critic and translator
Tim and the Blanket Thief	1993/2001	Words to Fathers and Mothers	2	Writer & translator
The Monster Bed	1986/2003	Child, Under the Bed, and Monster	2	English professor specializing in children's literature
Good Night Sam	2003/2005	Everywhere the Delights of Childhood	2	Early childhood education professor
<hr/>				
Books by Specialists				
Jessica and the Wolf: A Story for Children Who Have Bad Dreams	1990/1998	*Introduction for Parents	1	Author of the book
		Words for Parents	2	Child psychiatrist
When I Feel Scared	2002/2005	*Note to Parents and Teachers	1	Author of the book
		Emotion Management, Learn with the Children	2	Professor of psychology
		Making Good Use of Story Is the Magic Key for Childrearing	3	Professor of counseling
		Face the Fear Together	3	Professor of early childhood care

\* Original author's introduction or note.

The length of the information for each book in a parents' manual ranges from three to nine pages (Table 16). Separate manuals for book sets allow more space to

include even more parenting information and activities, which usually contain the following sections: plot summary, author information, expert analysis, theme extension and/or follow-up activities.

Table 16

*Notes to Parents in Separated Manuals*

Book Title	Orig/Trans Year	Title of Notes to Parents	Pages	Expert Background
When I'm Sleepy	1985/1998	1. Plot Summary	1	N/A
		2. Thoughtful Words to Parents and Teachers	1	N/A
		3. Expert Analysis: A Warm and Fun Journey to Sleep	1	Early childhood education professor
		4. Theme Extension: Forming Good Sleeping Habits, Not Difficult at all!	2	Pediatrician
And If the Moon Could Talk	1997/2001	1. Author Information	1	N/A
		2. Plot Summary	1	N/A
		3. Expert Analysis: Before Closing the Eyes	1	Senior illustrator
		4. Theme Extension: Grandpa Sun Has Gone Home to Sleep	2	Parenting education worker
Goodnight Owl	1972/1993	1. Author Information	1	N/A
		2. Ingenious Forest Comedy	1	Publishing company chief editor
		3. Dr. Owl's Mailbox	3	Editor and translator

Moonlight	1982/1986	1. Words of Recommendation	2	N/A
		2. Author Information	1	
		3. Content Analysis	5	
		4. Nighttime Schedule Questionnaires	2	
		5. My Day: chart your day	1	
What's Under My Bed	1983/1993	Treat Fear with Understanding	3	N/A
Nicky and the Big, Bad Wolves	1998/2001	1. Author Information	1	N/A
		2. Plot Summary	1	N/A
		3. Expert Analysis: Use Cheerfulness to Overcome Fear	1	Elementary school teacher & children's book award committee
		4. Theme Extension: Use Children's Ways to Soothe Their Fear	2	Children's book author

Ten Taiwanese picture books include a note to parents at the end of the books (Table 17). Two books written by the same author and published in a same series, *The Bat Who Is Afraid of the Dark* and *Ya-Ya's Big Monster in the Pond*, include both a note to parents in the books and a separate activity book for children. The book *Summer Night* has an insert, which includes information about the poet's background and excerpts from two analytical articles published elsewhere about the poet's works. This insert is not included in this analysis since it is not a note for parents but a triple fold leaflet about the poet.

Table 17

*Notes to Parents in Taiwanese Books*

Book Title	Orig/Trans Year	Title of Notes to Parents	Pages	Expert Background
Night	1981	Words for Parents	1	N/A
Mouth Wide Open and Yawning	1981	Words for Parents	1	N/A
Da-Da's Blanket	1988	Words for Parents	1	N/A
Black and White Mice: Chuang A-Pao Sleeps	1999	You Can Make Another Story	1	N/A
I Can't Sleep	2001	Raise the Curtain of Night, the Show is Quietly on	1	Children's book author/illustrator
The First Time I Sleep Alone	1996	Words for Parents	1	N/A
The First Time I Sleep Alone	2001	Words for Parents	1	N/A
Happy Say Goodnight	1997	Brain Exercise Time	7	N/A
		Afterword	1	Author of the book
		Words for Adults: How to Use Story Reading to Help Children's Psychological Development	7	Professor of special education
Ya-Ya's Big Monster in the Pond: What to Do for Children Who	2000	What to Do for Children Who Often Have Nightmares?	2	*Author of the book

Often Have Nightmares?	Activities in a separated guide: Q&A, Draw Your Dreams	3
The Bat Who Is Afraid of the Dark: What to Do for Children Who Are Afraid of the Dark?	What to Do for Children Who Are Afraid of the Dark?  Activities in a separated guide: Q&A, Draw Your Fear, Draw the Night	2  3

\*Author of the book

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\* The note is anonymous, but it is probably written by the author.

Taken together, these notes or guides are written by “experts,” including: parenting education workers, elementary school teachers, children’s book writers, illustrators, translators, chief editors, pediatricians, psychiatrists, and college professors in domestic science, English as a second language, early childhood education, psychology, and counseling. Some of the notes are anonymous. Book editors are usually the contributors in these cases. One notable difference between the translated books and the Taiwanese books is that, most notes or guides for the translated books are written by experts, whereas the notes in the Taiwanese books are mostly written by the editors (anonymous contributors).

### **Who Children Are**

A note to parents in a picture book about bedtime usually contains one or more of the three elements: first, some statements about the characteristics of children and/or how these characteristics may be the cause of bedtime or sleep problems; second, how parents

can use the fictional character's strategy or other ways outlined in the note to deal with children's problems; third, statements about the merits of the book, which are usually connected to the characteristics of children, and how these merits can help in a child's development. Three examples below show some of the statements about the characteristics of children:

Children need sleep, but they are mostly reluctant to do so. This is a very difficult problem for adults and keeps them wondering: why children just won't go to bed even when they are exhausted? Maybe this is because going to bed means losing the freedom to play around. How boring can it be to be confined in a fixed space and having nothing to do? Children hate being bored! (Ke, 2003, notes in the Taiwanese version of *The Napping House*, my translation)

In children's point of view, imagination and reality are often mixed together. Thus they travel between the two worlds freely and naturally. They create imaginary friends when they feel lonesome, or go to *Where the Wild Things Are* when they are angry. (Ke, 2002, notes in the Taiwanese version of *I Am Not Sleepy and I Will Not Go to Bed*, my translation)

Don't think little of children's bedtime; there are several complex emotions involved in the process, especially the fear of dark and unknown space under the bed and the possibility of monsters that the children saw, heard or created hiding inside. Children's insistence and fear of monsters under the bed seem to be universal. You can see them in the American illustrator James Stevenson's *What's Under My Bed* and the French illustrator Philippe Corentin's *Papa!*; they all express children's unsettled emotion toward the monsters under or on the bed. In *The Monster Bed*, again we witness British children's author Jeanne Willis and illustrator Susan Varley work together to show children's reaction to the monster under the bed. (Liu, 2003, notes in the Taiwanese version of *The Monster Bed*, my translation)

One striking feature of the notes for the translated books is the use of a fictional child's characteristics, which are fictional creations by U.S. (or other North American or European) authors and illustrators, to show Taiwanese parents what children's true nature

is: children are imaginative, creative, playful, curious, energetic, and psychologically vulnerable. Children cannot tell imagination from reality. They hate being bored, and their resistance to sleep is because they do not want to be parted from the exciting and interesting world. As two of the above examples show, other picture books translated from the U.S. (or other North American or European countries) are often cited in the notes to support the experts' views of the universal characteristics of children and childhood. This intertextual referencing to other translated picture books is also seen in *Happy Say Goodnight* as discussed in Chapter 5. Interestingly, this connection—using a fictional child's characteristics to demonstrate who children really are—is not seen in the notes for Taiwanese books.

### **Children's Bedtime and Sleep as Problems**

Not all guides or notes to parents focus on children's bedtime or sleep; some focus more on describing how imaginative children are. Yet, when children's bedtime or sleep is discussed, it is described as a problem. These notes first problematize children's sleep by describing how challenging it is for parents to get children to sleep and then go into length to give guidance on how to form good sleeping habits and rituals with children or how to use bedtime stories to help children settle down. This is best illustrated in the guide for the translated book *When I'm Sleepy* (Howard & Cherry, 1985/1988). The authorless plot summary for *When I'm Sleepy* in the separate parents' guide states in the first paragraph:

Some children are lively and active ever since they were born. They start their energetic day once they open their eyes in the morning. Rest is never needed, and they hate to sleep. It is never an easy job for parents to get this kind of children into bed. If your child is one of them, you can read this book together. (Anonymous, 1999, p. 74, my translation)

Two pages later, in a pediatrician's "theme extension" for the same book, the text begins:

After playing around for a whole day, your baby really should go to sleep. A good night sleep will recover the tire of their body and mind so that they will be energetic again in the second day. However, you should beware that this seemly natural thing is not as easy for children as it may seem. (Chu, 1999, p. 76, my translation)

This two-page article goes on to describe the three challenges for parents to get children to sleep. The first challenge is to get a resisting child to bed. According to the expert, most children are fighters against sleep. For children, there are too many interesting and exciting things in their surroundings, and sleep bores them. Unless they are really exhausted, they are not willing to close their eyes. The task for parents, in this stage, is to get children to bed. Even when the parents successfully put a child to bed, there comes the second challenge. Children usually do not know how to relax themselves or settle down from an excited state. Younger children might struggle and scream and older children might demand some water or to go to the restroom. They want their parents to scratch their back or to stay by their side. As a result, it often takes a long time before a child falls asleep. To avoid these two challenges, the expert stresses, it is important to have a fixed sleeping schedule and to build up bedtime rituals with children.

A child's sleep time should not be decided by himself. It should be decided after the parents consider the need of themselves, the child, and other family members.

After a reasonable bedtime is determined, it needs to be strictly followed, so that everyone can get an appropriate amount of rest. (Chu, 1999, p. 77, my translation)

“Bedtime ritual,” the expert explains, is a fixed sequence of preparations for sleep. An example is given by the expert: “go to the toilet→take a bath→change to sleepwear→brush the teeth→drink some water→go to bed→listen to the mother’s story→say good night→turn off the light” (Chu, 1999, p. 77, my translation). More importantly, once the habit is established, it should work like a chain reaction. When the first event in the routine is initiated, a child always follows through the sequence. A child would even protest if one step is skipped or the sequence is not in the right order. This is described by the expert as the ultimate goal of this training. The parents do not even need to announce the bedtime.

The last challenge is to get children to actually fall asleep. Some children want patting, rocking, or rubbing the mother's ear. Although the expert suggests that this does not matter if the parents do not feel annoyed, but the ideal case is for a child to fall asleep without the parents’ help. The expert points out that most children, although they may toss and turn in the bed, usually fall asleep after a short while. Some children like to huddle up in a corner of the bed, some like to hold a favorite blanket or towel, and some suck their thumb to sleep. Once this self-soothing habit is established, it saves parents many troubles. If the children wake up in the night, they do not need to awaken the parents. They are able to go back to sleep on their own.

While the expert’s words for the Taiwanese edition of *When I’m Sleepy* stresses the challenges for parents at children’s bedtime, the picture book itself does not portray

bedtime as a problem. As discussed in the previous chapter, books in the “going to sleep” category do not directly focus on bedtime problems as opposite to the books in the other three types. The book is about a little girl who imagines what it is like to sleep like different animals, and she concludes that her bed is the best place for her to sleep. The book does not show the little girl resisting going to sleep, having trouble falling asleep, or waking up at the middle of night. Although the expert’s note makes no connection to the picture book, the book set editor’s inclusion of this piece in the guide helps create the context and need for this book. In fact, the expert’s note foregrounds the ideas and context behind the creation of picture books about bedtime. To solve these problems, the expert suggests that a fixed sleep time, bedtime rituals, and self-soothing with substitute objects are advantageous bedtime practices. Bedtime routines and substitute objects help in the process of daily separation from parents at night. Reading picture books about bedtime is part of the ritual. As Galbraith (1999) has pointed out that many bedtime picture books “serve a double function: they describe and teach rituals of bedtime separation even as they are used in them” (p. 174). As also discussed in Chapter 5, many “going to sleep” books, including *When I’m Sleepy*, use different devices to naturalize and normalize the isolated sleeping arrangement and to encourage object attachment. For example, the ending image of the book shows the little girl surrounded by 24 stuffed animals. The expert’s promotion of self-soothing with objects reinforces this last image of substitute object use in the picture book. The translated picture book about bedtime, together with the guide, promotes to Taiwanese parents the U.S. ideas and practices of daily nighttime separation.

Notes to parents in the Taiwanese books also depict children's bedtime or sleep as problems. The author's introduction to *Ya-Ya's Big Monster in the Pond: What to Do for Children Who Often Have Nightmares?* outlines the problematized view toward children's sleep. According to the author, children's sleep is full of troubles along each step of their development. Infants' sleep is irregular. They often wake up several times during the night, and this is a great challenge for parents, both physically and mentally. Beginning from the second year after birth, young children sometimes have night terrors. They cry and/or scream in the middle of the night, or sleep unstably. Four to five years old is the peak for bad dreams. The frequency and intensity of night terror tends to increase around this age. Nightmares for children of this age are usually about fantasy, such as devils, monsters, ghosts or beasts. School age children's bad dreams, however, usually have something to do with their own troubles. Children's bad dreams often disturb adults' sleep; however, as the note points out, they also have upsides. Since bad dreams sometimes are an indication of children's psychological well being, adults may discover the difficulties children encounter in daily life through exploring with them the probable problems that lead to a bad dream. "One Story Solves One Problem" is the subtitle for this series written by the author Wang, who is a parenting manual writer. Children's bedtime or sleep problems, whether they are about resistance, sleeplessness, or nightmares, can be solved by reading books.

### Suggestions on How to Deal with Children's Bedtime Problems

Solutions to children's nighttime problems are related to the source of the problem.

Table 18 lists some examples about how to deal with bedtime problems suggested in the book guides and notes to parents.

Table 18

#### *Examples of Suggestions for Dealing with Bedtime Problems*

Title	Suggestion about How to Deal with Bedtime Problems
<b>Going to Sleep Type</b>	
Goodnight Moon	Parents should give children a stable home and spaces of their own. Familiarity is one important factor for feeling secure.
The Napping House	The book makes going to bed become fun and imaginative. After reading this book children will feel that the house is becoming cheerful and energetic after a good night sleep. It must be the same for people too.
And If the Moon Could Talk	Children should avoid exciting activities before sleep. Regular routines and more static activities are helpful for settling children down. Telling stories with soft background music is one of children's favorite activities.
*Night	Do not use the children's fear of unknown in the dark to quiet children down. Instead, teach children to enjoy the beauty of the night, such as the moon, the stars and the sounds of frogs or insects.
<b>Resist or Cannot Sleep Type</b>	
Mortimer	The reason why children do not go to bed is they want some love, attention, and tolerance from parents. Love can be expressed through hugs and kisses. Tolerance

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	means allowing children to sing or listen to a story before sleep. This is much more effective than threatening or roaring.
I Am Not Sleepy and I Will Not Go to Bed	Use imaginative language, just like the brother in the story does, to communicate with children, and guide them step by step to finish the bedtime missions: brush teeth, bath, and go to bed.
The Baby Who Wouldn't Go to Bed	Being patient with children's need while maintaining a sense of humor will help children fall asleep while feeling assured.
When Sheep Cannot Sleep: The Counting Book	Count the things in the book with children. Do what the sheep do in the book: draw, eat, bath, think about family and friends, and observe stars.
*I Can't Sleep	If children can find the guiding light in the dark, such as this book, they might not be scared anymore, because they know that someone is keeping them company.

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Fear of the Dark Type

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Tim and the Blanket Thief	Instead of asking children to act brave, parents should rethink their definition of being brave and help children face their own fear.
Good Night Sam	Children need adults' help to face their own fear and their unsettled emotions. The best way is to stay with them and keep the promises you have given them.
Jessica and the Wolf: A Story for Children Who Have Bad Dreams	Through the story adults can guide children to see how people develop and use resources and inner strength to deal with their own problems and fear. Children will realize that everyone has fear and bad dreams, and it is possible to deal with them.
What's Under My Bed	The role exchange allows children to face the fear from a different point of view, because before they find an answer for the grandpa in the story, they have to first persuade themselves that there is nothing to be afraid of.

Nicky and the Big, Bad Wolves	In children's imagination, the objects they fear have been exaggerated. The best solution is the companionship. When a child screams, the most important thing for adults is to stay calm. Smart parents enter the inner worlds of children, find out their source of fear, and deal with it in an easy and peaceful family atmosphere.
*The First Time I Sleep Alone (1996)	First, empathize with children's feeling. This is much more useful than arguing with them with rationality. Children will feel more secure with someone by their side. You can then explain to them that the monsters are only their imagination.
*The First Time I Sleep Alone (2001)	Empathize with children's fear. Let them know that parents will always be by their side when they are afraid. At the same time, let children realize that the monsters are just ordinary things in the house.
*Ya-Ya's Big Monster in the Pond: What to Do for Children Who Often Have Nightmares?	Bad dream reflects children's inner disturbance. Parents can ask children to describe the bad dream and find the source of it in real life. The fastest and most effective way is to teach children to face what they fear and imagine themselves overcoming the difficulty.
*The Bat Who Is Afraid of the Dark: What to Do for Children Who Are Afraid of the Dark?	The most important thing that parents should know is never to discipline children by scaring them. If your children talk to you about their fear, help them with care and support. Preaching does not help at all. Parents can turn the things children fear into interesting experiences. Ask them to make up their own stories and imagine how the characters solve their problems.

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\* Books by Taiwanese authors and illustrators

Taken together, to settle children to sleep, the following strategies are suggested to parents: create a quiet environment for sleep; give children their own space; set a regular

sleeping schedule; follow bedtime rituals; form good habits; talk about rules; let children self-soothe to sleep; avoid exciting activities; read stories to children; choose calm stories for bedtime reading; read imaginative, fun, and humorous stories to let children fall asleep happily; be imaginative and creative in communicating with children; teach children to count sheep or other things to sleep; say positive words to children; show love, care, and support; give hugs and kisses; and stay with children for a while.

The strategies suggested to parents for dealing with children's fear of the dark or monsters can be categorized into emotion-oriented or problem-oriented solutions, but usually the strategy is a combination of both. Strategies that focused more on children's emotions include: listen to children's fear; empathize or identify with children; comfort children's feeling; stay by children's side; keep promises; give them warm hugs; give children care and support; reassure children that the parents will protect them; let children know that feeling scared is normal and everyone has fear, including the parents; teach children how to relax; teach children to have positive and optimistic thoughts and believe in their ability to solve problems

Problem-focused strategies usually mean to find out the causes of children's fear and directly deal with the source of the problem. More specific instructions in the notes to parents include: explain to children the reality of their imagination (face the fear); let children understand that night is a natural phenomenon; teach children to see the beauty in the night; pretend to fight the monster (see children's world from their eyes and use children's way to deal with fear); help children imagine possible ways to deal with their fear (role play or turn children's fear into stories and imagine with children how fictional

characters overcome their fear); and concretize children's fear by drawing it or giving it a name.

Several notes also seek to communicate to parents about what the proper attitude toward children's fear should be. For example, parents should stay calm and avoid being angry or scolding children, because parents are the role models for children. Direct reasoning or didactic words usually do not work, since children around this age cannot tell fantasy from reality. Adults should also avoid laughing at children's fear. If children do not have the opportunities to express their fear and thus overcome their fear, this may have negative effects on their psychological and physical well being. Most importantly, parents should not use fear of monsters as a means to threaten children into obedience. Several notes to parents specifically mention Great-aunt Tiger (e.g., the author's introduction to *The Bat Who Is Afraid of the Dark*) and the old parenting practice of using a child's fear of ghosts or monsters to stop the crying child (e.g., the words to parents in *Night*).

For the problems about bedtime or sleep, some writers of the notes or guides refer to what the fictional characters do in the story. For example, in the note for the translated book *When Sheep Cannot Sleep*, the author suggests that children can do what the sheep do if they are sleepless. Other writers, on the contrary, do not make a connection to the story. For example, the note in the Taiwanese book *The First Time I Sleep Alone* (Sha & Wang, 1996) suggests parents use empathy, physical comfort, and explanation to solve children's fear of the monsters. In the story, however, the little boy Ah-Lun hugs his panda and fights the monsters on his own the first night he sleeps alone. These guides, in

general, adopt a warm approach toward children's fear and encourage parents to help children when they feel scared, even though the story itself may depict otherwise. It is curious, then, how reading the book may help solve children's problems.

Children's sleeping arrangement—whether children should co-sleep with adults or sleep separately, or at what age a child should start to sleep alone—is not discussed in any of the notes or guides for the 29 books included in this chapter. Although many of the translated books depict the child character sleeping alone, none of the experts or editors seem to be concerned about this portrayal.

### **Literature or Tool Books?**

Another significant feature of these notes for parents is that books by child specialists and books by children's authors are treated indifferently. Many books that have high literary quality are packaged or discussed as tool books for parents. In the “mother's manual” for the book set that includes the book *Moonlight* (Ormerod, 1982/1986), for example, besides some information about the author and an expert's introduction, there is a page-by-page analysis for this wordless picture book. The analysis is a big three-column table across five pages. The first column is thumbnails of each double page-spread; the second column includes a sentence or two summarizing what is pictured on that page; the third column lists questions parents can ask their children on each page. The following are some examples of the questions relating to bedtime, sleep, and fear:

- A. What clothes is the little girl putting on? Do you wear pajamas before going to bed? Can you put on clothes yourself? (For the sixth page opening)
- B. Look, the little girl puts her arms around her father's neck tightly, and her legs also surround her father's back firmly. Does she fear that her father will leave her? The father now lies down in the bed with the little girl; does she still feel scared? (For page opening 10.)
- C. Wow! The father has fallen asleep but the little girl has not. Is she being a good girl doing so? (For page opening 11.)
- D. The little girl tosses and turns all night and cannot fall asleep; are her father and mother tired out keeping her company? Every night, your father and mother put you to sleep; do they get so exhausted just like the little girl's father and mother? (For the last page opening.)

As shown here, the page-by-page analysis does not focus on the artistic or literary aspect of the book, such as how the author uses only visual narrative to convey a story, but focuses more on the child readers—their comprehension of the story or the connections between the story and their own lives.

Following the page-by-page analysis are two activities. “Goodnight Time” includes checklists about what children like or do not like to eat at supper time, what they like or do not like to do at bath time, what they do that makes their mothers most unhappy at dinner and bath time, what they do before going to bed, and why they cannot fall asleep. “My Day” is an activity to chart out the time spent with a child's everyday routines. Mothers and their children first record in a table the things children do in a day, such as eating, sleeping, and going to school, and the time spent with each routine. The next step is to turn the table into a pie chart. The instruction to mothers for each activity states the purpose of these activities: to help children develop good sleeping habits, to improve understanding between mothers and children, to train children since early stages to regulate their daily lives so that they can adapt to the group life in schools and in

society more easily in the future. The pie chart can, hopefully, according to the instruction, teach children to cherish and use their time more wisely. Mothers can also use this chart to observe the routines in children's everyday lives so as to better regulate their time spent in each activity. Again, these follow-up activities are not about the book itself, but about the child readers' night routines and about putting children's daily lives on a schedule. In fact, out of the nine pages about *Moonlight* in the "mother's manual," only one paragraph in the introductory "words of recommendation" mentions the artistic techniques used by the author in the book. The book set that *Moonlight* belongs to was published by Echomegazine. It was among the first book sets that included a "mother's manual" (Yang, 1994/2000). Because of the early success of this model, many publishers have followed this way of packaging and marketing translated picture books.

Only one "words to parents" focused the discussion on the literary and artistic aspects of the book. In the translated book *The Monster Bed* (Willis & Varley, 1986/2003), the expert's note talks about the portrayal of the character in the story, the picture-text relationship, and the use of intertextuality in the book. Moreover, this is the only words to parents that ended with a question. The expert puzzled about why monsters had been repeatedly depicted as real in picture books even though in the story the parents promise again and again that they do not exist.

## Chapter 7

### DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Nighttime separation is an anxiety-inducing situation for children in cultures in which bedtime means physical separation and mandatory isolation. This is evidenced by the practices of various bedtime rituals such as lullaby singing, story telling, and using stuffed animals or dolls as companions. The multitude of picture books created specifically for bedtime is a product of this parenting tradition. Looking from this perspective, the importation and translation of North American and European picture books about isolated bedtime to a culture where co-sleeping is the norm becomes problematic. This study set out to explore the three groups of picture books about bedtime: popular American picture books about bedtime; translated picture books about bedtime found in Taiwan, which have also been published in the United States; and picture books about bedtime created by Taiwanese authors and illustrators.

Taken together, the U.S. picture books about bedtime and the translated books can be mainly categorized into two groups: books that portray bedtime as a problem and books that are created to facilitate the transitional process, which I call “going to sleep” type (a more proper name may be transitional books). This type of book uses devices, such as making connections between children’s sleep and the nature or portraying uniform sleeping arrangements, to naturalize the isolated sleeping arrangement. Moreover, children (or the equivalents) are often portrayed as sleeping with substitute objects, mostly stuffed animals. In some books, the stuffed animals and other objects in a child’s

room are what connect a child, who is confined to his or her bed, to the outside world. These books normalize and even encourage objects attachment among young children. Books about bedtime problems, which are in general suggested for older children, tell stories about how children use substitute objects, rather than attachment figures, to deal with fear and distress.

The Taiwanese books can also be categorized into books about problems and books about going to sleep. Yet, the three Taiwanese “going to sleep” books do not promote isolated sleeping, nor do they encourage children to attach to objects. In fact, one Taiwanese book shows a discouraging attitude toward children’s attachment to blankets. The “going to sleep” type is also less often found in the translated books. Picture books about bedtime, both translated and created in Taiwan, focus more on the problematic aspects of children’s sleep. The “fear of the dark” type outnumbers all other types of books. This finding shows Taiwanese adults (at least the publishers and experts) concerned about children’s fear. It may reflect a changing attitude toward the emotion standard for children. As the analysis on the notes to parents also shows, several experts mentioned the old practices of using Great-aunt Tiger to scare children who do not go to sleep and suggested that parents alleviate the children’s fear.

After the year 2000, nearly two thirds of the translated picture books about bedtime were published in Taiwan. This is very likely to be related to the promotion of reading by the Ministry of Education in the year 2000 (Children’s Reading Year) and the education reform policy, which has started to impact elementary schools since 2001 (Hung, 2004). Rather than focusing exclusively on children’s cognitive development,

educators, parents, and publishers began to pay more attention to the aspects of children's everyday life. Concepts such as EQ (emotion quotient) or frustration management became popular terms in education, and this was when picture books about fear of the dark and other emotionally related topics were largely translated into Chinese in Taiwan.

Since picture books are an imported concept and have been marketed directly toward adults (especially parents), it is not surprising that picture books for children in Taiwan have a strong educational undertone. This is especially true when looking at the great amount of parenting information that comes with the books. As argued throughout this study, picture books about bedtime are products of U.S. nighttime practices. These guides, however, use the U.S. imagination to teach Taiwanese parents about who children really are. Moreover, most of the content in the notes and manuals is about children and how adults should deal with children's bedtime or fear rather than about the book itself. While the information may be useful to parents, it focuses only on the lessons taught in the book and the child readers outside the book, but not the artistic and literary aspects of the story and illustrations. This suggests that these books have been treated more as tool books for parents and less as literature for both adult and child readers. Genette (1987/1997) stated,

[T]he paratext in all its forms is a discourse that is fundamentally heteronomous, auxiliary, and dedicated to the service of something other than itself that constitutes its *raison d'être*. This something is the text. . . . [T]he paratextual element is always subordinate to "its" text. (p. 12)

Paratext is the space used by the publisher and/or the author to communicate to the readers about the book. What distinguishes the notes for parents in children's books from

the paratext in other literary books Genette talked about is that these notes are probably the only existing paratexts that are used to communicate to a group of readers about another group of readers, rather than about the book itself.

Sell (2002) theorized that children's literature is a form of communication; he wrote,

[T]he role of literary scholars, critics and teachers themselves can be seen as one of mediation, between particular real authors and particular real readers . . . , or in the case of children's literature between authors and the parents or teachers of particular real readers. (p. 3)

From this viewpoint, children's literature is both a communication between the authors and the parent readers with the mediation from the experts/critics who wrote the notes and a communication between the authors and the child readers with the mediation from the parents. Particular real authors of the U.S. picture books about bedtime communicate to particular real child readers about the social standards for bedtime. The finding that avoidant coping strategy (avoid expressing negative emotion and avoid seeking contact with a secure base at the time of fear or distress) is one strategy often used by the child characters in the U.S. picture books suggests that the particular real authors also communicate to particular real child readers what they can do to cope with the situation where parents are not emotionally available at nighttime. This is also evident in that fewer books show the child characters exaggerating their emotions to maintain the contact with an attachment figure. This strategy might not be a useful way in the isolated sleeping context.

When U.S. picture books about bedtime are translated into Chinese in Taiwan,

where the childrearing practices and goals are different, the lack of attention to the differences in children's sleeping arrangement is striking. Not only do the writers of the "notes to parents" use the U.S. books to communicate to parent readers about who children really are, but the publishers also place higher value on the translated books by adding more experts' notes into them, as compared to more editors' notes in Taiwanese books. Moreover, picture books by Taiwanese authors and illustrators have been greatly influenced by the U.S. books. The book *First Time I Sleep Alone* (Sha & Wang, 1996) is a good example. Li and Chen (2005) theorized that the attachment relationship between parent and child in a co-sleeping culture may be different from the relationship in an isolated sleeping culture. A child's first sleep-alone may be his or her first separation from the attachment figure at night. Sha and Wang's book portrays the little boy A-Lun cuddling his stuffed panda and fighting the monsters in his room, and he successfully overcomes his fear on his own the first night of separation. This book recalls many U.S. picture books about bedtime in which a child character uses stuffed animals rather than a secure base to cope with fear (avoidant coping). Yet, these books are created from and for children/adults in a culture where isolated sleeping since infancy is the norm. The book *Happy Say Goodnight* (Chao & Lu, 1997) has a more nuanced portrayal of the child's and the parents' struggle to get the boy to fall asleep in his room on his own. Their "counter-fear" training continues for more than two months. Yet, the ambiguous parental goals and the use of strategies from a U.S. parenting manual suggest the identification with the "advanced" U.S. culture norm.

Galbraith (personal communication, April 4, 2005) asks: What is the purpose of

picture books about fear—is it to tell a truth about a child's predicament and show his or her ways of coping in the absence of parents or to suggest to parents correct ways of handling fears? The child reader is stuck with the parents she or he has, so if the parent is not there for the child, what solace can the picture books offer? For children whose parents are not available for their fear at night, these books may have transitional functions, which serve as a substitute for the comfort from an attachment figure. Moreover, children's literature is not only a cultural artifact but also the author's individual artistic expression. An author's own struggle in childhood may play a role in his or her creation of a picture book about bedtime. This is evident in that picture books about bedtime problems analyzed in this study do not portray a uniform coping strategy; rather, all three types of attachment coping styles were found in these books. Child readers who are facing a similar struggle may see themselves in a story which portrays childhood predicaments more honestly.

This study encourages Taiwanese adults (e.g., parents, teachers, experts, publishers, authors, illustrators) to think more critically about literature for children in their selecting, criticizing, using, or creating process. More culturally sensitive critiques and more attention to the literary and artistic merits of children's literature are needed. This study also speaks to children's literature scholars around the world to take a closer look at how colonization is manifested in daily practices through children's literature. Children's literature studies today are still predominated by North American and European children's literature. Less attention has been paid to children's literature outside these countries. This is evident in that, in the 2005 International Research Society for

Children's Literature conference hosted at Dublin, Ireland, only ten percent of the presented papers focused on children's literature other than English or European languages. More studies taking a detailed look at how children's literature from dominant cultures have been translated, introduced, and treated in other cultures are in urgent need.

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