

AN EXPLORATION OF PRE-CENSORSHIP OF CHILDREN'S BOOKS:
PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF CANADIAN AUTHORS AND
ILLUSTRATORS

by

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Abstract

There is little documentation of pre-censorship of children's literature. The discussion of pre-censorship is often submerged within more general censorship discussions and not specifically identified. It is addressed in snippets of information revealed in interviews and responses to questionnaires concerning censorship.

This study was designed to examine in detail the phenomenon of pre-censorship as experienced by Canadian children's and young adult authors and illustrators. A qualitative, naturalistic methodology was selected to explore participants' experiences through in-depth interviews with open-ended questions designed to encourage participants to speak at length and share thoughts, feelings, and insights.

Seventeen Canadian authors and illustrators, who self-identified as having experienced pre-censorship, participated in this study. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with all but one of the participants, whose interview was conducted by telephone and a follow-up in-person meeting. Most participants requested confidentiality, wishing to keep their names and the titles of the books undisclosed.

Participants provided concrete examples of how pre-censorship was experienced by authors and illustrators. Types of pre-censorship were identified. Reasons given for pre-censorship make clear that marketing and sales concerns as well as a fear of censorship after publication are dominant motivating factors.

The incidents of pre-censorship discussed can be distilled down to several common threads that help to identify the essence of the experience. The main criterion that separates participants' pre-censorship experiences from normal or acceptable editing is the feeling of loss of intellectual freedom or freedom of expression in having to make the changes. Almost all of the participants now self-censor in anticipation of censorship.

When participants' experiences are compared to documented instances of pre-censorship of children's and young adult authors in the U.K. and U.S., similarities can be seen in

certain types of pre-censorship and self-censorship. Further investigation is needed to determine if there are certain types of pre-censorship that are common to countries such as Canada and the U.S. that share a similar culture and language, and if so where do they originate. Further investigation is also needed to determine whether Canadian children's and young adult books are being Americanized at the cost of Canadian culture or simply evolving into a more global literature.

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Dedication

To my husband who encouraged me to embark on this adventure and who has supported me every step along the way and to our faithful dogs, Max, Dante, and Lucy, who have spent many late nights in the office warming my feet.

CHAPTER 1 Introduction

I first became interested in the topic of pre-censorship while taking a children's literature course in the Department of Language and Literacy Education (LLED) at the University of British Columbia. Having completed several children's literature courses and having spent time working as a children's and young adult librarian, I thought I was reasonably familiar with the area. This course mirrored much of what I had learned in library school and in previous education courses.

Americans authored the text for the class that featured discussions of American books, and contained American spelling throughout. The children's books I borrowed from the public library to complete my assignments were mainly U.S. publications. I noticed that some books that I would have expected to contain British or Canadian spelling, such as a Dorling Kindersley reference book on the human body, contained American spelling. It struck me as unusual and I asked about this at the reference desk of my local library branch. I was told that both types of spelling are considered acceptable in books purchased by the library; it seemed that cost and accessibility were the deciding factors.

The LLED course also contained this dichotomy: While our text was American, a great portion of class time was spent discussing the importance of teaching with Canadian books and instilling a sense of Canadian heritage and cultural identification in school age children. This discussion was often accompanied by a vocalized frustration with the American children's publishing market and the effect it was having on Canadian children's books. The professor stressed the importance of differentiating Canada from the U.S. in the eyes of the rest of the world.

It was in this course that I learned of the book *A Little Piece of Ground* written by Elizabeth Laird, and the efforts to censor it. The book tells the story of a twelve-year-old Palestinian boy living under Israeli occupation and how he and his family are impacted by the Palestinian/Israeli conflict. Macmillan, the book's publisher, received requests to

reconsider releasing the book including one from bookseller Phyllis Simon¹, co-owner of *Kidsbooks* in Vancouver (NPR, Day to Day, Tuesday September 30, 2003, <http://www.npr.org/programs/day/transcripts/2003/sep/030930.brand.html>). Critics such as Linda Silver, of *Jewish Book World* in the U.S., spoke out about the depiction of Israelis in the book. In a National Public Radio interview, Silver asserted that the depictions were “untrue” and made Israelis appear to be “just mindless killing machines” (NPR, Day to Day, Tuesday September 30, 2003).

The class discussion concerning efforts to block this book’s entry into the North American market fascinated me. I looked for information about the censorship of this book on the Internet and in news sources. I found that it had received little media coverage in the United States. Even more alarming than the lack of attention was the fact that the book was not available for purchase through major U.S. bookstores in person or online.² A search of WorldCat revealed that only four U.S. libraries held the title, and these were university libraries. I was surprised to learn that the efforts to censor this book prior to its North American release received very little media attention and occurred essentially under the radar of many intellectual freedom associations. This realization made me wonder how many children’s books had been successfully censored before publication in the United States. I also wondered why, given its insidious nature, this form of censorship was not a major issue for intellectual freedom proponents, especially librarians.

During this time I began attending events sponsored by the Vancouver Children's Literature Roundtable such as Authorfest and Serendipity. Both events featured children’s authors, illustrators, and often editors. Some came from as far away as England and Australia. At these events I began to hear comments from Canadian authors about

¹ A letter was posted to Hasafran website, the electronic discussion forum of the Association of Jewish Libraries, which is purported to be a copy of the letter sent by Ms. Simon to MacMillan, urging the publisher “in the strongest possible terms to take a second look at *A Little Piece of Ground* before you take the irreversible step of releasing such a damaging book” (Hasafran, July 25, 2003, <http://www.mail-archive.com/hasafran@lists.acs.ohio-state.edu/msg00285.html>).

² In an article in the April 2004 edition of *The Looking Glass: New Perspectives on Children’s Literature*, Elsa Marston comments that the book, which was recently published in Britain, is “still obtainable in the U.S. only through Canada.”

how they would “slip in” Canadian content, and how changes had to be made to illustrations and content for the global market or specifically for the American market. One Canadian author, who spoke at Authorfest, complained about stereotypes related to Canadian children’s books such as their having to be about hockey. The mention of changes to Canadian and other English-language children’s books prior to publication began to deepen my interest in pre-censorship.

I enrolled in a course offered through my School titled, Writing, Publishing and the Book Trade for Children, to learn more. In this class, taught by Maggie DeVries, a children’s book editor for Orca Book Publisher, I learned that it was common practice to Americanize the spelling of Canadian children’s books in order to increase sales in the United States, which is an important market for Canadian children’s book publishers. During this class I also learned from other students, many of whom were teacher-librarians, that Canadian “branch plants” of U.S. publishers such as Scholastic Canada offered American books through the schools’ book clubs at prices that were so low that many Canadian publishers could not compete.

The course highlighted the problems that Canadian children’s publishers face when competing in the Canadian and global market against U.S. and British publishers who can afford to produce books more cheaply due to print runs related to greater population size. Although Canada is a vast country in terms of geographical area, its population is approximately one tenth that of the United States. Thus there are fewer possible purchasers of books within the country. This means print runs are smaller and the cost per book generally is higher than that for similar U.S. children’s books. This makes it both riskier and less profitable to publish books designed specifically for the Canadian market. In an effort to offset these risks, the Canadian government offers some forms of financial assistance to qualifying publishers, but the market remains a risky one.

During this time I began to read the limited number of articles available concerning censorship of children’s books prior to publication and of the market pressures that contribute to it. This form of censorship was identified in the literature as “pre-

ensorship.” While voices speaking out against pre-censorship of children’s books in print were limited, some were discussing it. I began to hear anecdotal evidence from university scholars of complaints by children’s authors and editors concerning the need to produce titles geared to the American market and its stifling effect on creativity. Though some authors were willing to discuss the matter informally, they were reticent to have their words made public for fear of negative repercussions. This fear is one that has been voiced in several other works discussing censorship and writers (Hentoff 1977, Blume 2001, West 1997). I believe it is this fear that has kept the issue of censorship prior to publication from being widely discussed. This lack of discussion, in turn, prevents pre-censorship from being viewed as a major intellectual freedom issue. It is also the reason that I think research, which has been scant in this area, is desperately needed to bring this problem to light and affect change in this area.

Another factor limiting the discussion of pre-censorship is that little research has been done on the topic. Actions comprising pre-censorship, when discussed, tend to be undifferentiated from other forms of censorship and glossed over. In general, pre-censorship incidents have not been subject to close scrutiny. The different meanings writers ascribe to pre-censorship adds to the confusion.

1.1 Pre-censorship

1.1.1 As Defined Within Library Science

A thorough search of library and information science related literature revealed an article entitled “Pre-censorship,” which appeared in *School Library Journal*. The article, by Gerhardt (1993), concerned the actions of the publisher of Madonna’s book *Sex*. Gerhardt references the following actions of the publisher: not submitting any advance review copies of the books to reviewing agencies, having wholesalers to libraries sign agreements not to ship examination copies, swearing printers to secrecy, shrink-wrapping the books and refusing returns if the wrappers had been opened (4). Gerhardt asserts that these actions amount to pre-censorship by the publisher “as a marketing strategy.” She

calls upon librarians to refuse to allow these sorts of actions in the name of intellectual freedom (Gerhardt 4).

The Online Dictionary for Library and Information Science (2004-6) provides another definition of pre-censorship:

The restriction of materials from a library collection during the selection process by a collection development librarian or other person authorized to select, based on conscious or unconscious bias. Although the *Library Bill of Rights* of the American Librarian Association (ALA) charges librarians to “provide materials and information presenting all points of view on current and historical issues,” some studies have found that librarians tend to avoid selecting potentially controversial books and media. The prefix “pre” added to the term “censorship” indicates that restriction occurs *before* library materials are made available to patrons.

Both of the above definitions of pre-censorship seem case specific and differ from one another. Gerhardt’s assumes pre-censorship is on the part of publishers in order to gain profits and the ODLIS identifies pre-censorship as an activity engaged in by collection development librarians in order to forestall controversy. Neither definition embraces the term as it has historically been used, nor as it is used in the literature of philosophy, law, journalism and media. It seems that the definitions available within the library science arena are unduly narrow and conflicting, and they must be seen as additional possible meanings for the term rather than the ones which define it.

1.1.2 As Defined Historically

A review of how pre-censorship has been defined historically assists in laying the foundation to understand how this concept is currently defined in relation to the written word. Though censorship existed in Roman times, documentation of systematic pre-censorship of writing appears to spring, at its earliest, from the Catholic Church, as far back as the fifth century. It can be traced to the days before the printing press when the Catholic Church prohibited, confiscated, and destroyed hand-produced books, scrolls, and other written materials that it deemed “pernicious” (Wiest xiii). Submission of

materials to the Catholic Church for approval prior to distribution, “pre-censorship,” was done “on a voluntary basis” (Wiest 1). After the twelfth century the practice was “obligatory” but was not enforced on all church members until the fifteenth century and the appearance of the printing press, which made books more widely available (Wiest 1). Pope Leo XII, in 1897, reorganized the church law governing pre-censorship to address books more specifically (Wiest 1).

The Catholic Church’s censorship culminated in a list of books that Catholics were prohibited from reading. The *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, or the *Index of Forbidden Books*, was a compendium of titles that the Church pre-censored for the “‘treating of lascivious or obscene subjects’ The primary targets [of the Index] were impiety and heresy” (Heins 18). The *Index of Forbidden Books* has been described as “the most successful censorial device of modern times.” It was “abolished by the Vatican in 1966 . . . [because] it had outlived its effectiveness” (Karolides 170).

The Catholic Church was not alone in efforts to pre-censor written materials. The practice of pre-censorship was given legal force by the English Parliament in 1643. In that year, Parliament enacted a licensing order that created official censors to whom authors had to submit their work before the material could be printed. It was the passage of this law that inspired John Milton’s famous speech entitled, *Areopagitica*, in which he argued for intellectual liberty and freedom of publication (Sabine ix).

These early examples, rooted in religion and moral control, have much in common with the type of pre-censorship many children’s authors experience today. While not all publishers act as censors, and there is a difference between editing and censorship, the pressure of special interest groups, the fear of challenge or of bad publicity, and the economic bottom line are having an effect on what publishers are willing to ask authors to change in their works. There is disagreement among writers and publishers as to what constitutes pre-censorship and whether changes made in response to the above-mentioned pressures constitutes pre-censorship.

Historically pre-censorship has been identified with the prohibition, confiscation, and destruction of materials deemed pernicious by those with religious and/or legal power. It has also been identified with the requirement of submission for approval of writings before publication (Wiest). This second meaning is shared by definitions found in philosophy.

1.1.3 As Defined Philosophically

In a tome devoted to censorship and free speech, P. G. Ingram (2000) identifies pre-censorship as a form of censorship “where publication of offending information or opinions is prevented in advance” (7). He notes that pre-censorship may be of two kinds. The first occurs “where material for publication in any way is submitted for clearance beforehand” (Ingram 7). Ingram designates this type of pre-censorship “formal pre-censorship.” This would include approval needed from editors and publishers for publication as well as the approval historically required by the Catholic Church. It would also address the type of censorship enacted by the English Parliament that Milton so passionately opposed.

Ingram goes on to explain that “if formal pre-censorship is thoroughly effective, it naturally leads to the second, more informal kind, namely voluntary self-censorship” (8). In this type of pre-censorship “a writer of a book simply avoids giving information or expressing opinions which he knows will not be allowed to see the light of day.” Ingram explains that it is “this kind of informal pre-censorship that gives real effect to social restrictions, which for the most part lack operative sanctions” (8).

1.1.4 As Defined Within Publishing

Dorothy Briley, Editor-in-Chief, Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Books and Vice President, William Morrow & Company (1982) would appear to disagree with Ingram. When asked the question “Are editors guilty of precensorship?” Briley responded,

I have always believed that writers have a right to expect me to point out potential problems in a manuscript that might lessen its chances for success.... It is important for both author and publisher to know what they are doing when they publish a book together, especially if the book contains material that some part of the marketplace is apt to find objectionable.... The word “censorship” should not be defined so broadly that it includes any and all accommodations one might make in order to appeal to the widest possible audience. (Briley 114 - 115)

It seems clear from Briley’s comments that though she does not agree that the above-mentioned actions should constitute pre-censorship, she is aware that others have identified these actions as pre-censorship.

Other editors describe the process of editing children’s books in terms of guidance and collaboration. Phyllis Fogelman (1993), former president, publisher, and editor-in-chief of Dial Books for Young Adults sees editing children’s books as a process through which she guides the author, taking into consideration the market (including who buys books for children), book design, and, in the case of picture books, the accompanying illustrations. She focuses on the role of editors as discoverers of authors’ and artists’ potential, evaluators of manuscripts’ chances of success, and editors of text who focus on making stories more interesting with subjects who appeal to the age groups for whom they are intended. Kathleen Horning (1997) sees the role of a children’s book editor as that of a nurturer of authors’ and illustrators’ talents. She does explain though that “generally the author has very little say about the illustrations [in a book] other than factual content” and that others such as copy editors, designers, and members of production departments make many decisions that shape the manuscript into its final book form (Horning 5-6).

One writer who would disagree with Briley’s statements about editing and pre-censorship is Iram Khan. In an article for the online magazine *Canadian Content*, Khan (1999) identifies pre-censorship as acts “committed by publishers who attempt to avoid censors through pre-censoring.” She provides the example of Robert Munsch’s *The Paper Bag Princess*, explaining that Munsch was asked by Annick Press to write “a softer version” for publication. Annick Press feared that there would be objections to the main character punching the prince in the nose (Khan Par. [6]).

Khan provides examples of pre-censorship of illustrations by publishers. She references Laszlo Gal's original front cover to Margaret Crawford Maloney's re-telling of Hans Christian Andersen's *The Little Mermaid*. "The cover, which had featured a bare-breasted mermaid, was not accepted in the United States because it would not have been good for sales in the 'Bible Belt.' Gal had to cover the breasts with hair. . . . [In another case,] Roger Pare's illustration for a nudist in Naples [in *The Annick ABC*], had to have clothes on when it was released in the United States" (par. 7).

Lynda Hurst (1993) provides examples similar to Khan's, showing pre-censorship of children's literature by publishers hoping to sell their books in the United States. She uses instances of publisher-requested changes along with comments made by Canadian children's writers to illustrate what censorious actions go on before publication. Hurst cites the example of Patricia Quinlan's American publisher's insistence that she change "a dark place" to "a cold place" so as not to seem racially insensitive to African Americans (46). Hurst notes that many who supported the movement to bring more racial diversity and gender equality to literature "now say the pendulum has swung too far and that they are confronting a literary version of journalism's libel chill" (46).

Canadian young adult writer Paul Kropp is quoted by Hurst on censorship in publishing. Kropp asserts that since the 1980s writers have been losing ground. He states,

You have the need of publishers to stay alive in a shrinking market, one that is largely determined by schools and librarians. You have pressure on authors to write books that are "acceptable" to them, not to the actual readers. You've got legitimate requests from editors, then you've got political correctness, and then you've got self-censorship. (Hurst 46-47)

Hurst's article references struggles of writers of historical fiction who report that they are "often pressured to portray female characters as 1990s strong and liberated when their books are set 100 or more years ago." Author Pat Hancock, former president of the Canadian Society of Children's Authors, Illustrators, and Performers says she has heard "a lot of complaints . . . that the pendulum is swinging crazily, that we're substituting one

stereotype for another.” David Booth, educator and author of *Censorship Goes to School*, asserts that the end result is that “children's books ... often portray a saccharine world where all is as it should be, not as it is” (Hurst 46-47).

More recent comments by Ann Rider (2001), senior editor at Houghton Mifflin, seem to support the complaints made by children's authors in Hurst's article. Rider expresses an awareness of the censorship imposed by some editors. Addressing the issue almost two decades later than Briley, Rider has a different perspective on the industry and how editors function in it. She explains that independent publishers are growing rare and large corporations are reshaping publishing. These industry changes are influencing how editors deal with children's authors and illustrators. She notes that expectations are raised for the works produced and these pressures encourage editors to think in the short term, focusing on first year sales (Rider 529).

According to Rider, editors are tempted to “direct the book in a certain way so it is more likely (we think) to succeed. We feel perhaps more tempted to feed our ideas to authors and illustrators to produce books we suspect will appeal to the market” (530). She notes that this is unfortunate and can stifle creativity and drive. Her suggestion to resolve the problem is to lower the economic expectations and allow editors to practice more restraint in editing (Rider 530-531).

Echoing some of the sentiments of Rider is Richard Jackson, a longtime editor who has worked with Judy Blume, Paula Fox, Virginia Hamilton, and others. In a telephone interview with Pat Scales (2001), Jackson admitted that he thinks about censors when editing. This influences his actions and the changes he requests of writers. To illustrate the point of how censors influence the editing process, Jackson related the story of a writer who used the word *devil* in a children's book. Jackson asked the writer if she would change it to an *imp* “to sidestep the religious issue and the religious censors.” He noted that she was “annoyed” and explained to him why “devil” was the precise term she wanted to use. Ultimately she agreed, “or gave in to me, because I was citing the practical,” notes Jackson (Scales 52). He goes on to ponder the incident stating,

Why deprive kids in some parts of the country of what is, essentially, a story about a dog who cleverly helps her master? So, is this censorship? One might say it's making an adjustment to reality. But I regret the reality, that's for sure. I leave the final decision about accommodation to the writer, and hold my breath. (Scales 52)

Both Jackson and Rider acknowledge the effect that these types of changes have on books, and they lament the situation. When one compares Briley's comments of almost twenty years prior to those of Rider and Jackson, it seems that the problem of pre-censorship in children's literature is both enduring and market-driven. The pre-censorship incidents cited in the Khan and Hurst articles appear to add a global element as well. They demonstrate incidents of pre-censorship of Canadian content in anticipation of the desires of the American market.

1.1.5 By Pressure Groups

Pressure groups affect the children's book market, and thus are liable to influence editors, publishers, and authors. Jackson mentions religious censors as a group that concerned him in the publishing of a children's book containing the word *devil*. Given the great strides that organized religious censorship groups have made in changing the content of school textbooks, his concern is not without merit (Noble 1990, Ravitch 2003). Historian Diane Ravitch has documented how pressure groups have succeeded in establishing guidelines for educational publishers that result in bowdlerized texts and watered down literature from which students are expected to learn (Ravitch 2003).

Intellectual freedom activist and children's author Nat Hentoff took issue with the criteria for judging books established by the Council on Interracial Books for Children Inc. (CIBC), a group Hentoff accused of attempting to pre-censor children's books. He argued against requiring literature to meet certain specifications asserting that,

when you impose guidelines like theirs [CIBC] on writing, you're strangling the imagination. And that means that you're limiting the ability of children to imagine. If all books were "cleansed" according to these criteria, it would be the equivalent of giving them nothing to eat but white bread. (Hentoff 28)

Hentoff provides insight into the limits such criteria have on authors. He notes that none of the children's writers he spoke with in preparing his article on publisher's guidelines wished to disclose their identities. At least one writer expressed the fear the CIBC would "go after" him if his comments were identified (28).

The censure imposed by pressure groups leads some writers to self-censor. The writer fearful of having his work - and possibly character - publicly attacked by a certain pressure group may consciously or unconsciously shape his writing with the group's criteria in mind. Hentoff explains that this "is another chilling effect" of censors' placing restrictions on what and how authors write. He concludes, "at base, whatever the reasons of the expungers, all censorship is the same. It is suppression of speech and creates a climate in which creative imagination, the writer's and the child's, must hide to survive" (28).

1.2 Justification of the Study

Some authors, educators, and scholars, including those cited by Khan (1999) and Hurst (1993) above, have complained of the changes made to foreign English-language children's books that enter or may potentially enter the U.S. market. Among the chief concerns regarding the changes made is that often they remove cultural content, watering down the stories so that they appear to be American books and/or that they could have taken place anywhere. They have expressed concern that these changes made in anticipation of the American market are unnecessary, overly restrictive, and lead to self-censorship on the part of authors and illustrators.

The changes made to cultural content can be seen as a form of cultural censorship. Canadians and Britons are part of "Western Culture," a designation that lumps the unique cultures of many different countries together. While sharing a common language, both countries' unique cultures are dulled to fit a monolithic image that is projected globally. This image largely reflects a commercialized and generic image of U.S. life and culture.

To a large degree Britain's culture is sheltered by Britain's distance from the United States, its history as an imperial power, and its venerable body of children's literature that has influenced both Canadian and American children's literature (Egoff 1972, 248). Without these buffering elements, Canada and its unique culture risks being overshadowed by the global marketing of U.S. culture. Canada's proximity to the U.S., its population size, and, in many respects its overlapping cultural influences make it more vulnerable to being viewed synonymously with the United States on the global stage, and therefore, the Canadian/ U.S. relationship regarding pre-censorship is fertile ground for examination.

1.2.1 Cultural Censorship and Silencing

Part of the difficulty with cultural censorship is that this type of censorship is often silent. This has generally been the case for pre-censorship of children's literature. The significance of this form of silence in shaping the social and political landscape has largely been overlooked. One researcher who has investigated cultural censorship is Robin Sheriff (2000), who asserts that because cultural censorship is "so under-theorized, anthropologists and other social scientists might fruitfully examine cultural censorship from a variety of mutually illuminating angles and approaches" (115). Though Sheriff's research is concerned with "experiential or phenomenological bases of silence" among poor African Brazilians, her work can be used as a guidepost in studying the bases for the silence of many children's authors and illustrators (115). Sheriff explains that "one of the central features of cultural silence is that it tends to be, in rather paradoxical terms, simultaneously recognized and concealed" (115). The same tends to be true of pre-censorship.

Sheriff conducted ethnographic research in Rio de Janeiro between 1990 and 1992 to "investigate how the contemporary meanings associated with race, racism, and decocracia racial are culturally constituted" (Sheriff 116). She noted that cultural silence regarding racism in Brazil appears to be "an unexpressed understanding among all elements of the population not to discuss the racism situation, at least as a contemporary

phenomenon” (115). She narrated personal encounters and found that people recognize their own silence. Her conclusion was that “the relationship between political censorship and cultural censorship appears to be indirect, rather than a casual, one” (117).

Sheriff finds silence to be “something of a conundrum in terms of both ethnographic observation and theory building” (117). She asserts that it is difficult to define and that “theories of censorship . . . cannot account for silence in the absence of coercion or identifiable agents who police discourse” (117). This last part of her assessment is worthy of investigation as it applies to pre-censorship of children’s literature, the question of whether or not editors and publishers are agents who police discourse. The writings of editors and authors indicate a difference of opinion on this issue. Perhaps the real question lies in how the term *police* is defined.

Frederick Schauer (1998), a legal and political scholar, asserts that “speech can inhibit speech” and explains that “general environmental cues about who is important and who is not, . . . whose ideas are picked up and whose are dropped are powerful determinants of who speaks and who remains silent” (152). This psychological phenomenon can be seen by looking at who speaks about the changes made to books – editors and publishers. It is they who hold the power to publish and their words on the topic are the ones that reach librarians at important venues such as American Librarian Association conferences.

The issue of cultural silencing as a contributor to pre-censorship must be addressed. Those concerned in the academic, educational, and library communities in Canada have not been able to change the American accommodation that continues to occur in their children’s books. This is due in part to dependence on the United States market, but the bigger issue is that this problem remains largely hidden.

1.3 Significance of the Research

The opinions of editors and publishers on the issue of whether the removal of cultural content prior to publication is editing or pre-censorship are known. The voices of editors hold power and appear in print, at annual library conferences, and in other venues that connote authority. What is lacking in the investigation of this issue is the position of those who are subject to these accommodations and changes. The thoughts, feelings, and opinions of Canadian children's authors and illustrators must be sought and examined to determine whether these changes represent editing or cultural censorship.

If the responses of those concerned indicate that pre-censorship is indeed cultural censorship, the exploration of this question provides a platform to present the issue to the larger audience of North American librarians, educators, publishers, and others who seek to uphold intellectual freedom rights. We have heard from editors and publishers on the topic (Briley 1982; Rider 2001; Scales 2001). In order to have a true understanding of the issue we must understand both sides. The significance of the proposed research is that it will provide an examination of the issue of pre-censorship from the position of those censored. This information will provide a more complete picture of the issue. This area of research is significant and deserves exploration because cultural censorship in the form of pre-censorship impacts not only those who are silenced but the global community who are clandestinely deprived of the writings that depict unique cultures.

CHAPTER 2 Literature Review

The literature review begins with research studies in three different countries: England, the United States, and Canada. A separate section will also examine research addressing the American view of children's books domestically and abroad. This research is important because this perception impacts publishing decisions including the pre-censorship of foreign English-language children's books. Changes in the North American book publishing market will also be reviewed as many of these changes affect what books are published. A section on globalization is included to situate the American book market within the global publishing community and to identify international influences on the American market. Cultural identification is also a part of this discussion because of the role cultural content plays in children's books as a means of children's cultural identification and as a part of nation creation and identification.

2.1 England: Pre-censorship Examined

2.1.1 PEN (International Writers Association) Study

A thorough search of the literature combined with queries to PEN writing associations in Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and the International PEN Centre revealed only one study specifically addressing the issue of pre-censorship of children's books. This research is most closely related to the proposed study and therefore will be examined in depth. This study, conducted by the PEN Committee on Censorship at the English Centre of International PEN (1993), looks directly at the issue of pre-censorship by editors and publishers of children's literature. The study was sparked by complaints of editorial interference and concern that writers' freedom of expression was being subjugated to "political correctness" (PEN, par. 1-2). Over a period of three months in 1992, the committee sent questionnaires to 428 children's authors, from whom they received 105 responses, which represents a response rate of almost twenty-five percent.

The questionnaire contained five questions related to censorship. Authors were asked if they had ever experienced censorship and whether it was prior to publication. One

question addressed requests for textual changes after publication. Authors were asked about the nature of the censorship and were given six categories from which to choose: words; ideas; attitudes towards minorities; attitudes towards women; abortion; and any other form of verbal manipulation (known as “political correctness”). Authors were also asked whether they were willing to provide details that might be incorporated into a report. Finally, authors were asked if they thought some action should be taken to prevent censorship and, if so, what (Questionnaire).

In addition to sending questionnaires to children’s authors, the Committee spoke with a selection of people working in some of the largest publishing firms in the U.K. The publishers interviewed did not offer written guidelines or policy documents indicating how editorial decisions are made on avoiding offense in children’s books. It was noted that changes were a matter of “editorial discretion” and were “to be sorted out within the author-editor relationship” (PEN, *The Publishers’ View*, par. 24). Ravitch’s investigation of the textbook situation in the U.S. ten years later revealed that some textbook publishers do have lists or guidelines that are not publicized.

U.K. publishers did acknowledge that economic pressures lead to publishing more mainstream material, leaving less opportunity to experiment (*The Publishers’ View*, par. 30). These publishers of children’s books emphasized that their situation is unique in publishing because “the reader is *not* the person who buys the book; *adults* screen children’s fiction.” They expressed “a deep sense of responsibility” for influencing the minds and views of their readers (PEN, *The Publishers’ View*, par. 29).

The Committee also spoke to “a cross-section of school head teachers and librarians, public librarians, local authorities and national bodies” concerning pre- and post-publication censorship (PEN, *External Pressures*, par. 35). Among this group, few provided written policy documents. Interviewees tended to emphasize the importance of personal discretion in selecting books.

Of the 105 authors who responded, 62 reported experiencing censorship. Fifty-one of those experiences occurred prior to publication. Eighteen authors were asked to make textual changes post-publication. The largest number of changes requested concerned attitudes about minorities, 34 requests. This was closely followed by changes requested concerning women, 33 requests. There were 27 word change requests and 19 requests to change ideas. The 34 remaining change requests concerned politics (10), religion (4), age (2), class (3), homosexuality (2), animal sex (2), smoking (2), violence (4), and supernatural/horror (5). A total of 147 examples of requested changes was cited in the report.

The responses provided by authors to the Committee's questionnaire contained examples of pre-publication censorship concerning a number of topics including race. The pre-censorship ranged from cautions regarding the use of euphemisms "to avoiding metaphorical blackness" (PEN, Author-Editor Dispute). Canadian Patricia Quinlan's American publisher made a similar request concerning imagery of darkness (Hurst). The Committee's research highlighted the claim that many editors take language out of context. Research also showed that some agents and publishers were requesting books with black children in them. "One author showed a list 'of suggested names for ethnic characters his publishers (Heinemann) had sent him; another, writing for Macmillan Educational, was given a percentage quota of ethnic characters that had to appear in illustrations." Writers also complained about being rejected for lacking the "'direct personal experience' of being a minority" (PEN, The Publishers' View, par. 27).

The study found that, in the early 1990s, there was still pressure to redress gender stereotypes. Issues of class were a concern for editors as well (PEN, Gender). Some authors complained that stories concerning the middle class were rejected for having characters appearing too wealthy.

Concern was also expressed that trends in the United States might be replicated in Britain. People that PEN committee members spoke to were wary of the replication of external pressures on writers such as those that have occurred in the United States

exhibited by parents, librarians, and publishers to influence textbook selection in schools. They noted that legal action surrounded some of these attempts and were wary of similar actions (PEN, Situation in the United States, The American Situation).

The Committee posited that there may be “a disproportionate degree of paranoia in the publishing houses about the extent to which offence may be caused. This, worryingly, may lead to censorship of new titles considered likely to offend even the smallest minority.” The Committee added that one leading publishing house “said they did not come under direct pressure from minority interests, but were aware that they would if they ‘let anything through’” (PEN, par. 17).

Some in the British writing community were concerned about the alarming rise and influence of Christian fundamentalist pressure in the U.S., noting that there is “accelerating pressure in America on publishers to sanitize their lists.” The Committee went on to add that “many authors who spoke to us had been asked to make textual changes to suit the American market” (PEN, par. 19).

The Committee’s research indicates that publishers and authors experience social pressure from schools, libraries and local authorities (PEN, par. 33). The report went on to note that among authors “there is still a strong feeling that despite the influence of pressure groups, publishers are creating social obstacles where few exist.” One author questioned whether publishers were “responding to popular sensibilities, or trying to form them... by censorship, by preventing the subject even coming up?” (PEN, par. 41).

The Committee is concerned that “a number of external agencies (agents, publishers, librarians, teachers and booksellers) impinge on writers’ freedom of expression.” Author responses indicate that many respondents feel editors and publishers are censoring their work in an effort to present a politically correct “bland, idealized and unreal world” (PEN, par. 46(iv)). The Committee would like to see the issue more widely discussed (PEN, par. 47 (v)).

This study clearly addresses the issue of pre-publication censorship of children's literature. It is unique in separating the issue of pre-publication censorship from general censorship issues. Its value lies in the information and opinions solicited from children's authors in conjunction with publishers, editors, librarians, and others involved in the publishing and selection of children's literature in Britain. Through author responses and opinions, this report establishes that there have been multiple incidences of requested or mandated pre-publication changes that authors and the International PEN association deem to be infringements on intellectual freedom.

Though this study is groundbreaking, it is somewhat dated. The study, conducted in 1993, represents a snapshot of children's publishing. In the intervening years, mergers and buyouts of many publishing houses by international conglomerates have brought about significant changes in the publishing industry (Hade 2001). Additionally, the questionnaire response rate was just below twenty-five percent. Such a low response rate makes it difficult to draw any conclusions about the frequency of pre-censorship of children's literature in Britain.

The wording of the questionnaire assumes a general understanding of the term "censorship." An example is given, but the phrasing leaves it to the author to decide whether or not the requested or mandated change was censorship. It is also unclear from the report what amount of detail was provided concerning the censorship incidents. To some degree, the study also seems limited by its focus on censorship actions related to "political correctness." This categorization of types of censorship actions may have unduly restricted the type and amount of responses received.

The study is not replicable because its methodology is unclear. It lacks specifics concerning who was contacted in the publishing field and exactly what questions they were asked. The same is true of the cross-section of school head teachers, librarians, local authorities, and national bodies mentioned in the report. There is also no mention of whether the interviews were conducted in the same or similar manner or how they were

conducted. What is provided through English PEN is essentially a summary report that documents authors' concerns about editor and publisher-requested changes. It provides examples of the types of censorship experienced by British children's authors, along with their statements indicating that they feel it is an infringement on their freedom of expression. It validates the existence of the problem. However, the report lacks the depth of explanation to critically judge the validity and veracity of the study undertaken.

2.1.2 Whitehead's Documented Changes

Jane Whitehead has also studied the problem of pre-censorship of British children's literature. Whitehead interviewed authors and publishers and documented changes made to British books to suit the American market in two articles (1996, 1997) for *Horn Book Magazine*. In these articles, published four to five years after the PEN report, Whitehead asserts that books undergo a "sea-change" as they move from Britain to the U.S. They are "Americanized" for the U.S. market (Part I, par. [1]).

Whitehead cites several examples of books whose texts were changed for their publication in America; these include Janet and Allen Ahlberg's *Peepo!*, which was "radically altered" for the U.S. version (Part I, par. [3]), and Amanda Vesey's book, *The Princess and the Frog*, which was so changed in its American version that Vesey inscribed a copy with the statement "This is NOT what I wrote" (Part I, par. [3]). Other British children's books have suffered title changes; for example, Diana Hendry's *Dog Dottington* became *Dog Donovan* because the original title was deemed "too British-sounding" (Part I, par. [14]).

To determine why British children's books have undergone substantial changes, Whitehead interviewed editors including Mary Lee Donovan, senior editor of Candlewick Press, an offshoot of British Walker Books. Candlewick's books, which are approximately sixty percent British in origin, are Americanized in an effort to maximize marketability (Part I, par. [6]). According to Donovan, the guideline is "'the younger the child, the heavier the hand'" (Part I, par. [7]). Things that may be changed during the

Americanization process include: titles, settings, character names, culturally specific allusions, spelling, punctuation, vocabulary, and idiom.

Whitehead notes that the books are often “re-edited according to a different set of conventions” (Part I, par. [8]). Donovan points out that this is done because it is a tough market for children’s books and “Britishness” is not always favorably reviewed. She does stress the “primacy of the author’s wishes and the need to treat every book as a separate case” in determining what changes should be made (Part I, par. [6]). Even with these considerations, some authors do not feel that their wishes are heeded. Martin Waddell thought some of the changes Donovan proposed for his book *Mimi at the Picnic*, “damaged the rhythm of his prose.” After many transatlantic faxes, they worked out “a satisfactory compromise” (Part I, par. [9]).

Among the changes made in an effort to Americanize children’s books are the shortening and tightening of texts, the Americanization of spelling and punctuation, and vocabulary changes. According to Susan Pearson, editor-in-chief at Lothrop, Lee and Shepard, “leaving in Briticisms adds an unnecessary level of confusion and detracts from the story’s universality” (Par. [10]). Pearson’s view is not one that enjoys universal support from authors. Author Garry Kilworth’s impression of American editors is that “‘they feel they to have earn their bread’ by assertive – and sometimes heavy-handed – interference” (Part II, Par. [8]). Kilworth jokes that he should include the U.S. edition of his book, *The Electric Kid*, as a translation (Part II, par. [14]).

The pressure to make children’s books appealing to the international market is felt by illustrators as well as authors. Illustrators are pressured to “avoid details that will signal foreignness to their readers” because the high cost of picture books means that co-editions must be viable. To be viable to American publishers, the artwork must generally not need any substantial alteration. (Part I, par. [16]). Whitehead quotes Lisa Riley of Walker Books in explaining some of the pressures on British illustrators. The pressure for sales in the American market means that “everybody drives down the center of the road now” (“Part I” par. [16]). Whitehead goes on to explain that whole categories of imagery

do not travel well between England and the U.S. For example, Halloween is far less commercially developed in the U.K. and the rest of Europe than in the United States ([par. 15]). In the U.S., Thanksgiving is in November, while in Britain, Guy Fawkes Day is celebrated that month.

In her second article (1997, Part II), also resulting from her interviews with authors and editors, Whitehead focuses on reasons given for Americanizing texts as well as authors' opinions of the move to Americanize British children's books. Whitehead writes of "two linked anxieties" spurring the move to Americanize children's texts. The first is "the fear that reading is an endangered activity" in American culture. The second is "that foreignness is a barrier that can stop the reader from getting involved in a book, or cause her or him to lose interest" (Part II, par. [1]).

According to Viking editor Deborah Brodie, reading is subject to steep competition from other entertainment sources such as CD and audio media (Part II, par. [1]). Brodie's point is supported by the writings of Daniel Hade, an educator who asserts that big media corporations see reading as just another form of consumption. Hade (2001) explains that,

Children today are viewed by the large corporations who make children's books not as readers of books, but as consumers of ideas. The time the child spends reading, from their point of view, is little different from the time spent watching television. Each is an opportunity to sell their branded synergized wares to the child, an opportunity to expand their brand's presence beyond story time into nearly every part of a child's life. (Hade 2001a, 164)

Whitehead notes that many British authors whose works have been subjected to heavy annotation and revision worry about the effort required to Americanize British children's books. They question whether these changes are really necessary and whether American children are not being "overprotected" and shielded from different cultures unnecessarily. "They suspect that booksellers and publishers collude to present shorter, simpler texts to American children than are available to their peers in Britain and the rest of Europe" (Part II, par. [13]). This difference between the original British manuscript and the desired American version is worrisome because of the growing economic necessity for

transatlantic co-editions that increases the pressure on British authors to conform to the expectations of the American market.

Some authors perceive the cultural accommodations to be all one-sided. Author Amanda Vesey writes, “‘U.S. publishers ... do not need British sales, so that when they sell a book to a British publisher no demands are made for changes.’ (Part II, par. [18]). Market realities mean that the “pressure toward homogeneity” identified by Walker Books’ Lisa Riley “is felt more strongly by British authors than by their American counterparts.... Publishers increasingly push authors to produce ‘a package geared for the American market right from the concept book.’ ‘You are aware of market forces,’ says author Mary Hoffman” (Part II, par. 19).

Whitehead’s interviews and analysis are informative on this topic as they represent the best of a very limited number of publications to address the issue of censorship prior to publication. For purposes of investigating the phenomenon of Americanization/ pre-publication removal of cultural content, specifics regarding how many editors were contacted, who agreed or declined to speak with Whitehead, and in what context the discussions were conducted would have been helpful. Eight editors or publishers were mentioned in the first article. Four additional editors or publishers are mentioned in the second article, along with comments from or concerning three editors previously mentioned. These editors/ publishers were mostly American though a few British ones were included who discussed the importance of the American market.

Approximately thirty children’s books are discussed, including two titles that represent series. Some discussions include comments from the authors. In the first article, the works or opinions of fifteen children’s authors are discussed. In the second article, the work or opinions of six additional children’s authors are discussed, including those of one American concerning Anglicization of a story, and one Australian living in England who works with co-publication in mind. This sampling is interesting and useful in pointing out changes made to certain works for American publication as well as the pressure, and in certain cases violation, some authors experience concerning changes made to or

suggested for their works. However, it would have been helpful to know how many authors Whitehead spoke with, the context in which that communication took place, whether certain authors refused to discuss the alterations made to their books, and what role the editors played in making this information accessible. These contextual critiques aside, the summary of her research into Americanization provided in these articles includes a nice sampling of editor/publisher and author comments on pre-publication alteration of texts and illustrations.

The opinions expressed in the Whitehead (1996, 1997) articles buttress the findings of the PEN Committee on Censorship at the English Centre of International PEN (1993). All three provide examples of British children's authors' comments concerning alterations to their writings made by editors. The PEN report addresses the issue of pre-censorship from a broad perspective, providing general categories and answers to the types of pre-censorship experienced by British children's writers and their feelings about it. The PEN report and Whitehead articles share a common thread of authors' opinions that editors have overstepped their editing responsibilities to substantially alter authors' works. The Whitehead articles add the specificity of names of authors and editors that is lacking in the PEN study. These articles provide direct quotes that give insight into the way pre-publication changes affect authors and how editors rationalize their changes. The opinions expressed within these articles add another layer of legitimacy to the assertion made by authors such as Iram Kahn that pre-publication changes that remove cultural content represent pre-censorship. As such, they are infringements on the intellectual freedom of children's and young adult authors that deserve further investigation.

2.2 The U.S.: Pre-censorship Examined

2.2.1 West Interviews

One of the most relevant texts to discuss pre-censorship of American children's fiction under the general heading of censorship is Mark West's, *Trust Your Children: Voices Against Censorship in Children's Literature* (1997). This book presents a series of

interviews with authors, publishers, and anti-censorship activists concerning children's literature in the United States. The author acknowledges that it represents only one side, the anti-censorship side of the censorship debate.

Although West does not address pre-censorship as a specific topic within his book, he does note that before the 1970s "most censorship activity took place in an author's study or an editor's office" [i.e., pre-censorship] (vii). He goes on to explain that children's literature has had many restrictions placed upon it such as a prohibition on the use of curse words, references to sexuality or controversial topics (vii-viii). West explains that if authors chose to address these taboos in their writings "their editors would strongly recommend revising the offending passage" (viii). He goes on to explain that this type of censorship continued through the late 1960s. It was around that time that books covering topics such as menstruation, drugs, divorce, and racism began to be printed.

The 1970s saw the backlash to these books organized by conservative political and religious organizations. According to West, this was the time when "overt censorship had emerged as a major problem in the field of children's literature" (viii). West goes on to chronicle censorship in the 1980s and 1990s though this discussion focuses on post-publication censorship. West's book contains fifteen author interviews, three publisher interviews, and seven activist interviews. Interviews contained within this book also describe incidents of censorship by selection, which is sometimes also identified as pre-censorship.

Katherine Paterson, a two-time Newbery Medal winner and author of several young adult novels including *Jacob Have I Loved* and *The Great Gilly Hopkins*, admits to self-censoring her work in response to the religious-based attacks her works have suffered. When asked about how her censorship experiences have influenced her writing, Paterson explains "now, when I put a word in a book that I think might offend somebody, I take a second look at it. I no longer write as naively as I once did" (8).

Phyllis Reynolds Naylor, an author whose books have been a target for censors since the 1980s, explains her books are subject to the type of pre-censorship that is occasionally mentioned in library literature - that done by librarians and teachers. For example, Naylor explains that she has been told not to mention her Alice series books in schools. She adds that one librarian requested she not mention the Alice series because the school was “in the Bible Belt” and “underwear” is mentioned in the books (16).

Gail E. Haley, picture book author and winner of the Caldecott Medal and the Kate Greenaway Medal, admits that she has self-censored in light of censorship attacks several of her other books have endured. While working on *Sea Tale*, Haley decided against portraying the mermaids bare-breasted and acknowledges that “looking back on it ... I think I was engaging in a bit of self-censorship” (27).

A veteran of the censorship wars and outspoken intellectual freedom supporter, Judy Blume has experienced censorship attempts on several of her books. A prolific writer of children’s and young adult fiction, she has experienced formal pre-censorship by her editor, who advised her to remove a section of her book *Tiger Eyes*. The section dealt with masturbation, which her editor deemed controversial. The decision to remove the passage is one that Blume regrets. She explains, “if all of us who write begin to worry about censorship, it is our readers who are going to wind up losing” (50). In discussing the incident later with Foerstel (2002) Blume states, “I’m sorry that I took it out, and I have done nothing of that sort since then” (138).

Norma Klein, a young adult author and contemporary of Blume, has been subjected to formal pre-censorship. Klein, whose books deal with topics such as abortion, conception, and lesbian parents, explains that pressures from editors can be extreme. She recalls that the first editor to whom she sent *Mom, the Wolf Man and Me* to wanted the mother to be divorced rather than unmarried and did not want the mother to have a boyfriend who “slept over.” Klein had to find another editor to tell the story she wanted. She notes that “all along, up to the present, publishers have been nervous about my books.... They are still worried and frequently ask for changes.” Klein explains that she has had to “look

hard for the few editors who really believe” in what she is writing and that even editors that she sees as “more open than many librarians, are frightened” (63).

Robert Cormier has also been subjected to the pressure of pre-censorship. One publisher offered Cormier a five thousand dollar advance, along with promises of substantial sums to be spent on the promotion of *The Chocolate War*, if he would change the ending to be more “upbeat” (69). Cormier explains that what concerns him most are the forms of censorship that do not make headlines. He explains,

There is the censorship that goes on before books are even published. I know an author whose book wasn't picked up in paperback because of some controversy surrounding it. “From now on,” he says, “I'm writing squeaky clean books.” It's terrible when authors start to feel they are under this kind of pressure. It's a form of censorship that nobody talks about, but it's happening all too often. I feel this is the worst kind of censorship because it aborts ideas and stifles the creative act (77).

Betty Miles, author of *Maudie and Me and the Dirty Book*, understands the problem of pre-censorship from both an author's and an editor's perspective. Miles first became interested in the subject while working as an editor. She explains that “even minor complaints make publishers nervous --- especially the reprint publishers who run the school book clubs. And sometimes they overreact, anticipating problems before they occur” (81). Miles relates a personal story in which one of her books was to be reprinted but the editor wanted to look for “red flag” words or sentences. The editor found a passage on interracial marriage and asked Miles to remove it. When Miles protested, the decision went to the editorial board that elected not to publish the book at all (81). Miles notes that book club editors are fearful of four letter words and references to sex. “They are under pressure from highly organized would-be censors” (82). Miles concludes that editors sometimes give in, anticipating problems that may not exist.

Author Harry Mazer has also given in to an editor's pressures to change his stories to meet book club ideals and has regretted it. Mazer believes that complaints about language often mask other objections. He thinks this is a way that censors try to control authors

and force them to present the type of “predictable, sugar-coated world ... that never was and never will be” (94).

Author Daniel Keyes, who had his own story edited by textbook publishers without his knowledge, takes Mazer’s position a step further. He asserts that such actions suggest that “there is a movement afoot to bowdlerize the stories of textbooks without the public knowing it and sometimes without the authors knowing it” (120). He is troubled by the changes made by editors and publishers fearful of censors.

Richard W. Jackson, Judy Blume’s publisher, explains in his interview that the censorship attacks on Blume’s other books directly influenced the editing of Blume’s book *Tiger Eyes* (143). Publisher Stephen Roxburgh explains that the move to censor children’s books has had a serious effect on publishers.

All too often, publishers, editors, authors, and illustrators are making decisions in anticipation of objections from some unknown and vaguely threatening other.... The fear of controversy makes the people involved in producing children’s literature more conservative. (West 160)

Although West’s interviews focus on censorship and children’s literature more generally, the above-mentioned interviewees paint a personal picture of pre-censorship in publishing that is rarely discussed. It is interesting also to note the famous name authors who have been subject to censorship and to requests by editors to make substantial changes prior to publication. The book also provides a discussion of this issue from the perspective of the authors as well as editors, which is not often seen. Typical discussions of censorship focus on the issues of access, the rights of readers, the groups censoring, and issues unrelated to the personal effect it has on authors. These interviews are useful in providing a glimpse at how authors view censorship attempts and editors’ efforts to censor prior to publication to avoid controversy. This is of particular interest because it goes to the issue of whether such changes are merely editorial or whether they represent a form of pre-censorship: Blume, Klein, and others in West’s book appear to endorse the latter view.

2.2.2 *Blume's Author Essays*

A book along the same lines as West's is Judy Blume's *Places I Never Meant To Be: Original Stories by Censored Writers* (2001). This text, published several years after West's, is a compilation of stories by children's and young adult writers who have had materials censored. Each story is followed by a short essay on the topic of censorship, many of which address the issue of pre-censorship by self-censoring or publisher/editor request. A few of the authors interviewed by West also appear in Blume's compilation.

Blume introduces the topic of censorship with an account of the efforts to censor her book, *Are You There God, It's Me Margaret?* She grounds the discussion by referencing how censorship has changed over the years. She notes that censorship began increasing in the 1980s. "Following the presidential election [of Ronald Reagan] ... the censors crawled out of the woodwork" (5). Blume discusses the power of the "religious right" and the impact of challenges on schools. She also discusses attacks on her books, *Blubber* and *Superfudge*. She addresses the issue of pre-censorship in recounting how she was asked by her editor to take out a section referring to masturbation. The issue boiled down to economics and Blume took the passage out (7). She explains that the effect of the climate of censorship is "chilling," and it leads a writer to "second-guess everything you write" (8). Blume's own experiences led her to join the National Coalition Against Censorship (NCAC). She writes poignantly that,

In this age of censorship I mourn the loss of books that will never be written, I mourn the voices that will be silenced – writer's voices, teacher's voices, student's voices – and all because of fear. How many have resorted to self-censorship? (Blume 11)

Norma Fox Mazer expresses the impact censorship has had on her writing. She explains that it affects her thoughts as she sits to write. "Where once I went to my writing without a backward glance, now I sometimes have to consciously clear my mind of those censorious presences. ... Censorship is crippling, negating, stifling" (35).

Julius Lester expresses similar views. He notes the impact censorship experiences can have on the writing process. "Sometimes it is difficult to write knowing there are forces

waiting to seize upon what they consider to be an ‘objectionable’ word, scene or character in something I’ve written. Sometimes it is difficult not to censor myself and not write a particular scene because of an anticipated fight with an editor or publisher who’s worried that sales might be affected adversely” (52).

Katherine Paterson states that she tries not to let censorship affect her work. She knows that self-censorship can damage a story. Paterson asserts, “when our chief goal is not to offend someone, we are not likely to write a book that will deeply affect anyone” (71). She concedes that knowing the frequency with which her works are challenged, she looks more closely at certain words and paragraphs that might be troublesome in school settings. She notes, “I try to make sure that any potentially troublesome parts of my work are absolutely necessary to the sense and power of what I am trying to say” (71).

Harry Mazer also acknowledges that censorship has an effect on him. He explains that he struggles everyday not to let the fear of censorship “poison” his writing. He adds, “where the censor rules, a dull sameness creeps into books” (97).

Walter Dean Meyers discusses “censorship by omission.” He references the limiting of ideas that will be published and asserts that this keeps the “evils of censorship hidden” from the general public and writers (113).

Paul Zindel explains that there has always been someone who has wanted to censor him since he started telling stories. He explains that the censoring began from within his own family with his mother and father not wanting too many secrets to slip out (162).

Blume concludes her collection of stories and essays with a story from Norma Klein and a tribute to her. Blume recalls being on a censorship panel with Klein and learning from Klein of “writers who’d grown so discouraged, they’d given up and left the field of children’s books altogether, and others who’d backed off to escape the fallout of the censors” (196). Klein refused to follow in their footsteps.

Although some of the material in this edition appears to be a repackaging of information presented in West's book, it is a useful resource as it documents factors and elements involved in pre-publication changes, and it shows the impact of pre-censorship on writers. It is useful in understanding how censorship efforts act as a stifling force on some writers' creativity. It provides a foundation for further contemplation of how such actions on a larger scale might affect the types of books available to children and the freedom and number of authors available to create them. Further, it provides a more focused look at self-censorship in response to prior censorship attempts which is another aspect of pre-censorship not fully developed in the West interviews. As this book is a more recent publication, it is useful also for its continuing coverage of the issue and for the recognition of how censorship affects writing prior to publication.

Both West's and Blume's author interviews and essays provide first-hand accounts of pre-censorship experienced by American children's and young adult authors. Their works represent important documentation on a subject that has remained largely hidden and one that is of concern to authors. In both of these works, however, the issue of pre-censorship is secondary to the discussion of censorship in general. Part of the problem in calling attention to this issue is that it is rarely discussed, and when discussed, it is often subsumed within a larger discussion of censorship.

2.3 Canada: Pre-censorship Examined

No studies specifically focused on the topic of pre-censorship of children's literature were uncovered after a thorough review of literature related to censorship, publishing, and children's literature in Canada. Informal conversations with scholars in the area of Canadian children's literature uncovered no published studies focused on pre-censorship. An inquiry to PEN Canada about possible censorship studies did not produce any studies or articles on the topic of pre-censorship in Canadian children's books. However, a topic related to pre-censorship, cultural identification, was the subject of a number of scholarly articles in Canadian educational publications. Although these discussions touch upon some pre-censorship issues, cultural identification is not the primary focus of my

research. Therefore these publications will be discussed in a following section that focuses on Canadian cultural identification and how this issue is interrelated to pre-censorship in Canadian children's books and publishing.

2.3.1 *PEN Canada*

PEN Canada provided documentation on a series of cases it was monitoring. One of them may be construed as a pre-censorship incident related to the play *If Men Had Periods* (1993), written by then eighteen year old Katherine Lanteign. The play includes frank discussions of sex among teenagers. It was rejected for an arts scholarship based upon a finding by the Abbotsford, BC school board trustees that the play was inappropriate for student audiences. Though not able to find an audience in school, Ms. Lanteign's play was published by the *Vancouver Sun* newspaper, broadcast on Vancouver radio station CKNW, and performed in a Vancouver theater (PEN Canada, Oct. 2006).

This is but one of the cases that PEN Canada monitored. In some censorship cases PEN Canada wrote in support of school board policies that supported selection and intellectual freedom. The cases and response to my query provided by PEN Canada evidence its anti-censorship stance and concern with the issues of censorship and pre-censorship.

2.3.2 *News, Education, and Children's Literature Articles*

Although large scale studies on the topic have not been carried out, this lack is partially filled by Iram Khan (1999), Lynda Hurst (1993), and to a lesser degree Patsy Aldana (2001), Margaret Mackey (2005), and Marilynne Black and Ronald Jobe (2005), whose journal articles address the issue of pre-censorship of Canadian children's literature. As mentioned earlier in the Definitions section, Khan identifies pre-censorship as acts "committed by publishers who attempt to avoid censors through pre-censoring" (par. [7]). The examples she provides of pre-censorship are within the context of Canadian children's books, most of which are bound for the American market.

The same is true of Hurst's examples, which focus on pre-publication changes demanded by American publishers of Canadian children's and young adult writers to meet the social mores of Americans. Hurst's article takes the issue of pre-censorship one step further than Khan's in adding authors' discussions of self-censorship derived from the changes being demanded prior to publication and the censorship received after it.

Patsy Aldana (2001), the former owner, and current publisher, of Greenwood Books, discusses pre-censorship within the context of changes made by Canadian publishers to compete in the American market. Since the middle to late 1990s, Canadian children's book publishers have moved into direct sales in the United States. This was done in response to the waning interest of U.S. publishers in obtaining the purchase rights to Canadian children's books along with decreasing domestic sales (Saltman "Publishing" 2005). The situation is further exacerbated by pressures being exerted on Canadian children's publishers by the growing monopoly created by the Chapters/Indigo bookstores in Canada (Aldana 676).

Aldana explains that to compete, Canadian publishers have "almost unconsciously" begun to shape their lists to the tastes of the U.S. market (677). Margaret Mackey (2005), Marilynne Black and Ronald Jobe (2005) also note the pressure exerted by American buyers and sales representatives to present more generic content (Mackey, *The Publishers*, par.2; Black and Jobe par. [5]). This shaping has resulted in the removal of much Canadian content as Hurst and Kahn documented. Although not specifically termed *pre-censorship*, Aldana's discussion of Canadian children's publishing lists being shaped to make them "palatable to the American market" seems appropriately placed with discussions of the specifics of these changes identified by Khan and Hurst (See examples section I, A, 4) (677).

The writings of Khan (1999), Hurst (1993), Aldana (2001), and Black and Jobe (2005) document Canadian concern about the pre-censorship of Canadian content. Khan and Hurst provide author accounts of pre-censorship. Khan even labels the actions of editors and publishers to alter texts as pre-censorship. Aldana, Black and Jobe provide context

for such pre-censorship. Kahn and Hurst detail the existence of pre-publication censorship, but Aldana, Jobe and Black make more explicit the case that pressures of the American children's book market affect what changes are being requested of authors. Taken together these writings provide a fuller picture of the pressure Canadian children's authors and illustrators experience and the reasons for that pressure.

2.4 American View of the International and Domestic Children's Book Scene

Freeman and Lehman (2001), in their analysis of the situation of international children's books, point out that British and American publishing dominates children's book markets worldwide. Part of this dominance is due to multinational companies (Freeman and Lehman 9). The authors reference Stan's *The World Through Children's Books* (1999) in acknowledging that imported literature from the U.K. and U.S. sometimes stifles local writing and publishing. They go on to note that reciprocity is "largely absent" because the "dominance of American publishing has left little room for a perceived need for international (especially translated) children's books by readers in the United States" (Freeman and Lehman 5-6). Adding to the scarcity of imported children's books in the United States are "the different standards that authors from other countries may hold regarding such issues as strong language, sexuality, and bodily functions" (Freeman and Lehman 63). Yamazaki (2001) comments on the scarcity of books in translation in the United States and Britain and cites the large number of English-language books available as a factor making it "difficult to find commercial and cultural incentives to publish translated books" (60).

Both Tomlinson (1998) and Stan (2002) analyzed international children's books for the United States Board on Books for Young People, the U.S. section of the International Board on Books for Young People. Tomlinson explains that researching international children's literature in the United States can be difficult because "no U.S. agency officially tracks such information" (12). In discussing what types of changes some international books undergo to be sold in the U.S., Tomlinson explains that foreign

authors and editors are often tempted to self censor because they are “influenced by their perceptions of what will and will not be accepted” in the United States (19). He goes on to explain some foreign books are “‘Americanized’ to make them more marketable” because certain editors believe that children “only want to read about people who are just like themselves” (19). White (2004) comes to the same conclusion in her longitudinal study of recommended translated children’s books 1990-2000 (Conclusions 30). Adding to the pressure to make changes to foreign children’s books bound for the American market is the belief that publishers “must sometimes consider the potential for censorship” in the United States, especially of books addressing topics such as sexuality, religion, or nudity (19-20).

Stan (2002) concludes that “it is often the adult, not the child, who is wary of the unfamiliar” (32), and as the English PEN Committee on censorship points out in their report, adults, not children, are the primary purchasers of children’s books. Therefore, adult resistance to the unfamiliar is a factor publishers must consider in determining the marketability of a book. According to Stan, this rejection of the unknown is not tied to national boundaries. She asserts that “national borders are arbitrary distinctions and that it is our cultures -- customs, traditions, beliefs, behaviors – that distinguish communities of people from one another” (41). Moser, an experienced illustrator, creator of books, and a critic of the American children’s book publishing industry thinks that “the overall dumbing of America has affected children’s book publishing” and pushed it to be a business that is running toward “mediocrity and schlock” while being focused on the bottom line (Moser 2003 pars. 5-9).

The writings of Freeman and Lehman (2001), Tomilson (1998), Yamazaki (2001), Stan (2002), and White (2004) all explore to varying degrees the situation of foreign children’s books in the United States. Freeman and Lehman explain that the U.S. and U.K. dominate international children’s book publishing and that part of this dominance is due to multinational corporations along with the generous importation of American and British books that occurs in countries such as Canada (9). They go on to note that liberal importation can stifle local writing and publishing. Freeman and Lehman, along with

Yamazaki (2001), comment on the scarcity of children's books from other countries imported into the U.S. and U.K. Tomlinson (1998) explains that the desire to enter the American market often tempts foreign authors and editors to self-censor in anticipation of the desires of U.S. consumers (19). White (2004) comes to the same conclusion in her longitudinal study of recommended translated children's books 1990-2000. All of these writers make clear that the U.S. is a difficult market for foreign children's book authors to penetrate. What is unclear from their writings is to what degree requests for changes from editors and publishers aid or hinder the success of foreign English-language children's book authors in the American market.

2.5 *Changes in North American Book Publishing*

2.5.1 *United States*

Publishers have always prided themselves on their ability to balance the imperative of making money with that of issuing worthwhile books. In recent years, as the ownership of publishing has changed, that equation has been altered. It is now increasingly the case that the owner's *only* interest is in making money and as much of it as possible. (Schiffrin 5)

Little information concerning the issue of censorship prior to publication is available in writings about the publishing industry. This dearth of pre-censorship information in publishing is part of the lack of information resources covering publishing in general. "Very few general histories of American publishing exist and these are generally broad surveys. There are few memoirs ... a handful of biographies of famous American and British publishers, and a few corporate histories" (Schiffrin 4). Publishing news sources and articles in venues such as children's literature, educational, and library and information science journals provide insights into the pressures exerted on editors, and the reasons and methods by which changes are made to books in children's publishing.

Schiffrin's Insider's Memoir

Andre Schiffrin's book (2001), a partial memoir, recounts how the publishing business has changed in recent years. He discusses the changes from the point of view of an

insider having worked for thirty years at Pantheon, the publishing house built by his father. In addition to his experience at Pantheon, Schiffrin worked for the New American Library, and even opened his own small press. It is from his experiences that he garners his knowledge (Schiffrin 5).

Schiffrin provides a frame of reference for the financial power of the multi-media conglomerates taking over publishing. He points out that in the United States annual book sales average twenty-three billion dollars. These sales are “becoming increasingly engulfed in a corporate media structure, where individual companies are worth more than the entire book market” (Schiffrin 2). Schiffrin notes, “hardly a week goes by without a new takeover or amalgamation” (2). In addition to being financial giants, these conglomerates are applying their profit-driven business models to publishing, which is changing the criteria for selecting books to publish.

According to Schiffrin, these new corporate owners are focused on immediate profits and are rejecting many new writers because “new ideas and new authors take time to catch on” (104). This problem is compounded by an uneven playing field for independent publishers who lack the money and large staffs available to conglomerates to ensure the books they publish get attention. Books produced by these corporate giants are more visible to the public.

Schiffrin adds that the editorial procedures at the larger firms are “affecting the demise of ‘challenging’ books” because the decision of what to publish is made by publishing boards that focus on finance and marketing (105). If it does not appear that a book will sell a certain number of copies, usually 20,000 in the larger firms, it will not be “taken on” (105-106). Schiffrin explains that this is usually the case for new novels or serious works of fiction. Potential sales figures are determined by the sales figures of an author’s earlier books. This leads to “marked conservatism, both aesthetic and political, in what is chosen: a new idea, by definition has no track record” (Schiffrin 106).

Schiffirin explains that this focus on profits and boards has left editors “less willing to gamble on a challenging book or new author” (107). Publishers such as Knopf are now rejecting books in areas that they used to accept. Schiffirin notes that corporate interests are an important force in censoring the circulation of ideas in publishing (131). He adds that “the major houses have pretty much abandoned well-argued left-of-center books, which are now the preserve of a few independent and alternative houses” (136).

The new mindset dominating American publishing makes it more difficult for new and emerging authors to get their books into the marketplace. It also acts as a pressure to shape the content of books. The conservatism that Schiffirin speaks of is likely to make Canadian content more difficult to sell to American publishers.

Radway’s Ethnographic Look Inside

Janice Radway’s ethnographic study of the Book of the Month Club, *A Feeling for Books* (1997), is useful in shedding light on the mergers and dramatic restructuring that have taken place in publishing in the past quarter century. The fears, considerations, and decision-making that she documents in her study of the BOMC as it was acquired by Time-Life, Inc. provide a window into the changes that have reshaped publishing and the effect it has had on what books are published and the content of those books. For these reasons it is worth close examination.

Radway uses employee interviews and records to reconstruct the club’s original standards, mission, and the club’s function in influencing the reading tastes of middle class Americans. As an observer in the offices of the Book of the Month Club for periods of time between 1985-1988, Radway was able to examine its role as a cultural institution. Through interviews, conversations, and observation, Radway was able to uncover some of the pressures editors experienced when the BOMC was acquired by and integrated into Time-Life, Inc. Comments made by BOMC editors to Radway expressed their awareness of the changing face of American publishing. One editor explained that some corporations “are just merciless,” and if a book did not make money from the beginning, it was unwanted (Radway 46).

While Radway's study is not strictly on point, it is useful in understanding how multimedia conglomerates' absorption of publishing houses affected the books they published and the editors themselves. It is also useful in showing a rarely glimpsed, behind the scenes, in-progress, view of a take-over in publishing. Radway acknowledges that she did not have access to the BOMC's financial records and that she was affected by her own views on the club, having been a member prior to the study. Even acknowledging these limitations, the access she provides to the inner workings of a publishing house at such a pivotal time is extremely useful.

2.5.2 Canada

The topic of Canadian publishing, like that of American publishing, is covered in few sources from which one can glean an understanding of the inner workings that lead to pre-censorship. One book, however, that is extremely useful in providing a concise overview of publishing in Canada, including touching briefly on children's publishing, is *The Perilous Trade* by Roy MacSkimming (2003). This book is particularly useful because an understanding of Canada's dependence on the United States for books as well as consumers is necessary to understanding the present state of Canadian book publishing.

MacSkimming provides a window into the situation in which modern Canadian publishers find themselves. Based upon interviews with more than one hundred Canadian publishers, writers, and professionals in the book industry between 1998 and 2002, MacSkimming was able to discern the major issues concerning Canadian publishers today. He points out that the small Canadian population means that Canadian publishers must underprice their books to compete with cheaper imports. Publishers offset these losses by "profitably distributing American and British lines" (11). Canadian publishers have also begun to export books in record numbers.

MacSkimming delves into the history of Canadian publishing by looking at the Massey-Levesque Commission's report on Canadian cultural life. The Commission, appointed in 1949, found that the nation was "struggling to be itself" and had an excessive dependence on American textbooks and learning materials at all levels of the educational system (23-24). The report found that "out-of-print Canadian books were treated better in the United States than in their home country" and that "the three best collections of print Canadiana" were at U.S. libraries (24). The impact of the Commission's report brought about changes. Around this same time, the Canadian Association of Children's Librarians began presenting an annual award to the best children's book in English assisting in the promotion of Canadian children's literature (82).

The 1950s were a time of bookstore openings in Canada. This period also marked the beginning of Canadian inroads in scholarly publishing. Before 1950, "English-Canadian scholars had to go outside of the country to publish their research in the form of a book," especially to Yale (89). This began to change with the founding of the Canada Council in 1957 (90). By the 1970s, the success of Canada's publishing industry was gaining the unwanted attention of American corporations, which began to take over Canadian publishing houses (112-113). Measures were put in place by the Canadian government to prohibit foreign take-overs.

Additional support measures were put in place including the institution of the Canadian Book Publishing Development Program. This program, which has been renamed over the years, has contributed greatly to financially sustaining Canadian publishers (216). Over time, some Canadian publishers began building international alliances to survive (227). This also assisted with their viability.

In 1971 there came a published outcry for books for children with Canadian content. Margaret Tyson submitted a brief to the Ontario Royal Commission on Book Publishing asking for picture books evoking the Canadian landscape, ABC books without foreign propaganda, and stories about Canadian children's everyday experiences in Canadian cities (273). Prior to the 1970s there were few native Canadian children's books. The

1970s brought the formation of a number of Canadian children's publishing houses such as Groundwood Books, Annick Press, and Owl Books. The development of Canadian writing and publishing for children is addressed in greater detail by Egoff (1972, 1990) and Saltman (1987, 1990). This was also a time of children's book store openings. By the late 1990s, Canadian children's book publishers were desperately reaching beyond the Canadian market, seeking inroads to the American market in order to remain profitable (359).

MacSkimming states that Canadians are trying to capture a piece of the \$20 billion dollar U.S. book industry and that they have discovered that to do so they must masquerade as Americans. He states, "Penetrating the American marketplace means adopting an American orientation" (358). He explains, for example, that American spelling has been adopted by Owl Books, Groundwood Books, Kids Can Press, and Tundra Books so their titles will not appear foreign to teachers and librarians in the United States (358).

MacSkimming echoes Aldana in asserting that Canadian children's books have suffered economically due to the transformation of the bookstore industry in Canada. Many independents have gone out of business and the Canadian bookstore industry is now dominated by Chapters/Indigo Bookstores, who demand wholesale discounts and return large percentages of books, thereby making a risky business even riskier for publishers. Schiffrin (2001), Radway (1997) and MacSkimming (2003) provide insight into the changes that have occurred in North American book publishing within the last twenty years. Schiffrin (2001) provides first hand knowledge about the significant and substantial change that occurred in publishing, the massive publishing house takeovers by international conglomerates. He explains that these corporations' foci are on making profits and they employ business models in an effort to achieve their goals. This new model focuses on predicting profits likely to be generated from new books based on the success of earlier books the same author (Schiffrin 105-106). This model leaves little for the inclusion of new authors or challenging books. Janice Radway's (1997) ethnographic study of the Book of the Month Club captured the views of insiders about how the

mission and focus of a publishing house changes once it is taken over by a multimedia conglomerate.

While Radway's ethnographic study supports Schiffrin's account of the changes that have recently taken place in publishing, MacSkimming's book shows the Canadian view of these changes. It highlights the history of Canadian publishing and explains the recent Canadian publishing obsession with the American market and the efforts made to break into it by Canadian publishers. Taken together, these three main texts show how the recent changes brought about by corporate takeovers have affected Canadian and American book publishers.

2.6 Globalization

One might wonder how it is that America has come to dominate the English-language children's book market. Globalization provides us with the answer. Globalization has been defined as "the process that is transforming the world into the proverbial 'global village', rapidly shrinking distances, [and] compressing space and time" (Sardar and Van Loon 2001, 161). Roger Sauve (1994) noted, in his comparative overview of demographic and socio-economic conditions of Canada and the United States, that the U.S. is number one in competitiveness on the world stage (144-149).

The term globalization has come to signify the removal of community, state, and national boundaries (Robbins 1997, 12). According to Sardar and Van Loon (2001), this has been precipitated by an economic liberalization that began in the 1980s and grew exponentially after the fall of communism. "Markets became free from all state constraints and capital could now move across borders with ease. Multinational corporations could move from country to country in their quest for cheap labour and tax exemptions" (Sardar and Van Loon 161). This economic liberalization has weakened state powers and made territorial boundaries along with law and regulation enforcement more difficult to maintain (Sardar and Van Loon 162).

Robbins (1997) asserts that “globalization is about growing mobility across frontiers – mobility of goods and commodities, mobility of information and communications products and services, and mobility of people” (14). He asserts that this process is about “the increasing transnationalization of economic and cultural life.” He notes that this is “frequently imagined in terms of the creation of a global space and community in which we shall all be global citizens and neighbours” (Robbins 12).

2.6.1 Media Conglomerates

Sardar and Van Loon comment on the difficulties caused by the new multimedia conglomerates. “The ever-increasing tendency on the part of the global networks to speak on behalf of their home base – particularly the USA and Britain – involves the perpetuation of the dominance of the West and subordination of the small, poorer nations” (161). They add that “the trend towards the universalization of Western culture has been aided by Hollywood, television, satellite, pop music, fashion and global news networks” (Sardar and Van Loon 163). To this list should be added the large multinational corporations that own the largest children’s book publishers: Viacom, Pearson, News Corporation, Bertelsmann, Scholastic, Vivendi Universal, Von Holtzbrinck, and Reed Elsevier (Hade 2001a, 159-160; Hade 2001b, [pars. 1-12]).

The corporations place emphasis on selling books rather than on whether the books are worthy of dissemination (Hade and Edmonson 2003, 136). This trend manifests itself in multimillion dollar royalties paid to celebrities and in the increasing synergy, or cross-promotion, among various industries. (Hade 2002, 514). “Book publishing reflects the branding and corporate interest of media giants” (Hade and Edmonson 2003, 137). The goal is to expand brands worldwide (Hade 2001a, 158). Children’s books are used by corporate owners to create brands which are then turned into multimedia assets (Hade 2002, 512).

Cultural Studies scholars have noted the negative aspects of globalization's effect on culture. Some assert that "globalization tends to maintain the well-known patterns of Western economic and cultural imperialism. It promotes a dominant set of cultural practices and values – one vision of how life is to be lived at the expense of all others" (Sardar and Van Loon 164). This domination is present even within Western countries, as Canadian and English cultural content is removed from many children's books to present an Americanized version of children's literature with a view to tapping into the vast American book market. The result is the stifling of local Canadian and English culture.

It seems that globalization is spreading American as opposed to multinational views. The resistance to the depiction of cultures other than American in books for children sold in the U.S. seems to be in opposition to globalization, as defined by Robbins. While American culture is radiating out, the boundary to letting other cultures in appears to remain firmly in place. Evelyn Freeman and Barbara Lehman (2001) assert that the dominance of American publishing has resulted in an industry perception that there is little need for international children's books in the U.S. (6). Patsy Aldana (2001) comments that she was told by someone in publishing in the U.S. that she does not go to the international book fairs anymore because she feels that she has "nothing to learn from them" (Aldana 2001, 679).

2.6.2 Global Producers and Publishers

According to Lorimer (1997), "global products are exercises in manufacturing products with universal appeal and marketing them around the world, translating and adapting only as much as is necessary for success" (*Vibrant* 194). He explains that certain countries have become successful global producers in international publishing because of the size and international role of the producing country. He places the U.S. and the U.K. in this category.

British translator of children's books, Anthea Bell (2001), agrees with his assessment of the U.K. She attributes part of Britain's dominance in children's publishing to the

“existence of the very flourishing tradition of English children’s literature” (Bell 24). She notes that there is an “inborn British insularity” (Bell 25). She explains that one difficulty with foreign language children’s books is the additional expense involved in translating. There is also the prospect that the publisher does not read the language and must rely on a reader to determine whether the book is good and will be able to make a profit.

This explanation perhaps partially explains why British and American books thrive. There is not the additional expense of translation, particularly for sales into markets such as Canada. This advantage, combined with the widespread teaching of English as a second language in many countries, makes it easy to see how books written in English might have an edge over the competition in terms of entering foreign markets. Margaret Meek (2001) adds that English has become a powerful language due to colonial conquests, American film and TV, and its position as the predominant language for global transactions (Meek xiii). The power of the English language has resulted in the translation of many books written in English, while books written in other languages have not been translated as extensively. Meek explains that this is the case because “in all children’s literature the dominant factor is the economics of production and distribution” (Meek 1-2).

These comments help to explain the situation in Canada. The dominance of United Kingdom and American publishing in Canada is partly due to the fact that books from these countries do not require translation. These countries also have larger populations that facilitate larger native markets for their products, and hence larger publishing industries. Lorimer explains that in the U.K. and the U.S., “authors and publishers address questions as if the world was an extension of them” (*Vibrant* 189). This assists them in producing a literature that has mass appeal.

Both the U.K. and the U.S. represent distinct cultures on the global scene. England has a defined history as a colonizer, the reason for the spread of the English language globally. The United Kingdom’s long history as a world power and producer of culture, literature

in particular, is known around the world. America's rise to power occurred later, but its dominant economic and entertainment position makes its cultural production of interest around the world. The revolutionary beginnings of the U.S. also separate it distinctly from other English colonies. Its rebellion and active efforts to separate itself from England have produced a separate and distinct identity from the U.K. and from other former colonies.

The United Kingdom's dominance in publishing in Canada also stems from Canada's roots as a colony and a Commonwealth country. Former Commonwealth countries have a longer history of allegiance to Britain and a desire to maintain the British connection, which has been the case for Canada. Along with these ties came a focus on English history and literature. This cultural connection with Britain among the English-speaking Canadians assisted in the British domination of publishing.

It is through an economic connection that the U.S. gained dominance in Canada's publishing industry. Lorimer notes that "between the end of World War II and 1965 American branch plant publishers ... established themselves as a dominant business form in the English-language book publishing market in Canada" (Lorimer 1991, "Book Publishing" [par. 5]). This was facilitated by trade agreements and a lack of protective legislation to offset dominance at the time. Although some measures have been put in place since then to nurture local publishing, this initial entry established the American dominance that has caused financial hardship to many Canadian publishers, especially those who publish children's literature.

In addition to the factors mentioned above, the U.S.'s break with British rule, which occurred about ninety years earlier than Canada's official independence, has allowed more time for the U.S. to develop its publishing industry. This, combined with the greater population size, allows for larger and more profitable runs of books to be produced in the United States than in Canada. It makes the U.S. books that flood onto the Canadian market cheaper and more plentiful than Canadian books.

Roland Lorimer asserts that, with a few exceptions, Canadian book publishers have generally “not been able to build themselves into global publishers on the basis of their lists (and authors)” (Lorimer 1997, 189). He explains that “not many people around the world care about what happens in Canada” while “everyone cares about the US” and “many still care about London” (Lorimer 1997, 189). This interest assists the U.S. and U.K. in producing global products that will have mass appeal.

Part of the difficulty for Canada’s publishing industry is world expectations. Lorimer states that “size and current international role of the producing country is also important to international publishing” (Lorimer 1997, 191). The inequalities of population size and international role between Canada and the United States, combined with their close proximity, have increased the difficulties for Canada to establish itself as a global producer. Lorimer explains that “the world tends to look to Canada for our northern identity,” and to Canada and Australia for “their sparse populations intermingled with the indigenous populations” (Lorimer 1997, 191). These expectations can hinder cultural products from attaining mass appeal.

2.6.3 Impact on Children’s Book Authors and Illustrators

The impact of globalization on children’s writers and illustrators has been positive in some respects. It has given them the ability to sell their books in an international market and thus the opportunity to gain name recognition internationally as well as earn more money. While the U.S. has tried to Americanize many children’s books, Canadian content in children’s books is still valued as a salable quality at the international book fairs in Bologna and Frankfurt (Aldana). The extended American market has also acted as a haven to some newer generation writers who feel at odds with the Canadian canon (Wright 2001, 10, 33).

The position of children’s writers and authors feeling the pressure to Americanize their works is a difficult one. Globalization has offered another venue for sales to offset sometimes shrinking domestic markets. This is the case for children’s books in Canada

(Lorimer 1991). At the same time, globalization is responsible for the invasion of big box bookstores, foreign titles to compete with domestic ones, and limited shelf space in bookstores for Canadian authors to present their books. It has also assisted in the reduction of independent bookstores. It is both a boon and a burden to children's book authors and illustrators. They must decide whether competing in this global market is robbing them of their culture or whether it is allowing them to link to the power of American culture to spread across borders.

2.6.4 Canada and Globalization

Some recent articles and books discussing Canada and globalization praise Canada as a model for making positive steps in the global arena. Govind Rao (2004) sees Canada as a society that has been adapting to globalization for a much longer time than most others. He asserts that "Canada was arguably the first country to 'go global'" if the criteria are "the large-scale movement of people and the bloom in diversity that follows, the Americanization of culture, the increasing economic integration, and fewer absolutes and homogeneity" (Rao 28). He adds that "many of the cultural items that we associate with globalization started out as American cultural products [and that] Canadians of all ages have grown up taking America's dominance for granted" (Rao 28). He, along with others who will be discussed below, see Americanization spreading across the globe "as a driving force of globalization." As opposed to some of those of an earlier generation, Rao does not see the global spread of Americanization as a negative. He sees it as a means to spread Canadian cultural production which, he notes, has for some time, "piggy-backed" on the American form and has enjoyed considerable success doing so (Rao 28).

Globalization provides a key piece in the puzzle to answer the question of how the United States has come to dominate children's book publishing. According to Lorimer (1997) the U.S. has become a successful global producer. U.S. authors and publishers "address questions [in their published writings] as if the world was an extension of them" (Lorimer

1997, 189). This assists them in producing a literature that has mass appeal which translates into economic dominance. Globalization has given children's authors and publishers the ability to sell their books in an international market providing greater opportunity to earn money and gain name recognition. Globalization has also offered another venue for sales to offset sometimes shrinking domestic markets as is the case for Canada (Lorimer 1991). It has also brought greater competition in domestic markets. Some scholars, such as Rao (2004), see benefits to globalization and believe it is a means of spreading Canadian cultural production. Others fear the loss of Canadian culture in the effort to compete.

2.7 Cultural Identity

Cultural content plays an important role in children's cultural identification as well as in the identification of nations, separate and autonomous from other countries. The removal of foreign cultural content from children's books in the United States, pre-censorship, affects more than just American readers. According to Paul DuGay (1997), culture is now a global business. He asserts that this is evidenced at a number of different levels including "the way in which global entertainment corporations, such as Sony, Time-Warner, Bertelsmann, Disney and News Corporation, whose business is the production and distribution of 'cultural' hardware and software – such as music, film, television, print media and computer games – have become amongst the most powerful economic actors in the world" (DuGay 5).

Within DuGay's sphere of "culture" lie an increasing number of goods and services that he deems "cultural goods." These are defined as goods and services that are "deliberately inscribed with particular meanings and associations as they are produced and circulated in a conscious attempt to generate desire for them amongst end users" (DuGay 5). This means that with the increasing importance of culture in the global economy, it becomes imperative that Canada distinguish itself from the U.S. in publishing so that Canada can define its own cultural goods.

According to Sarah Corse (1997), there is a political need for national difference as well as an economic one. She asserts that for Canada to proclaim cultural independence, it must differentiate itself from the United States and England (Corse 9). Corse, a sociologist, explains that “national literatures have become identified within both national and international communities as an essential characteristic of nation states” (Corse 24). Corse goes on to note that “a viable national literature is one of the clearest signs of cultural independence” (25). Therefore, as an indicator of independence, Canada must distinguish its literature, including its children’s literature, as distinct from literature produced in the U.S.

English-speaking Canada must distinguish itself from Britain for the same reason. This is in some ways more difficult as the Anglophone majority “were possessed of a strong sense of British imperial identity” until fairly recently in Canada’s history (Corse 35). Britain may be thought of as the parent country while the U.S. has long been the border country that has threatened Canada’s political autonomy and cultural distinctiveness. French Canada, on the other hand, does not struggle to define its differences from either Britain or the U.S. As its links are to France, its canon development has been separate from that of English Canada.

2.7.1 National Cultural Identity

The concept of national cultural identity in children’s literature is multi-layered. The constructs of national cultures and literature must be addressed when considering the concept of cultural identity in children’s literature. Children’s literature can then be situated within the larger realm of national literature. In the discussion that follows, national cultural identity and literature will be explored to ground the discussion of cultural identity in children’s literature. Cultural identity in children’s literature will then be explored from an international perspective and a Canadian perspective.

Corse, who writes on the topic of nationalism and literature, asserts that “national literatures are the cornerstones of national cultures” (1). She explains that they are social constructions designed to perform cultural work and that the connection between nationalism and literature is relatively recent (Corse 3, 7). The reason for this connection, according to Corse, is that “the naming and development of a national literature is one process by which disparate populations can be symbolically ‘woven’ into one” (23). It has also “become identified within both national and international communities as an essential characteristic of nation states” (Corse 24). Thus, the creation of a national literature is a necessary step toward cultural independence (Corse 25).

Corse’s hypothesis is that national literatures exist because they are “an integral part of the process by which nations create themselves and distinguish themselves from other nations” (Corse 7). It would seem that others share her point of view. Carol Fox (2001) identifies literature as “a major medium for nation-defining” (43). Joyce Bainbridge and Brenda Wolodoko (2002) assert that “a nation’s literature has traditionally been seen as a reflection of the values, tensions, myths, and psychology that identify a national character” (Bainbridge and Wolodoko 21).

Margaret Meek (2001) notes that national identity is linked to language and therefore writing. She explains that our modern notions of national identity stem from the “writers of ... early texts because we discern continuities in the word meanings” (Meek ix – x). According to Bainbridge, literature is also “a powerful vehicle for the transmission of national culture and national identity” (Bainbridge 2002, [par. 1]). It is not surprising therefore, that there is a great deal of concern about the role of national identity in literature for children.

2.7.2 In Children’s Literature

The importance of nurturing and preserving cultural identity in children’s books was of great importance to Jella Lepman. Lepman (1969), the founder of the International Youth Library in Munich and the woman who launched the International Board on Books for

Young People (IBBY), saw children's books "as a means to international understanding and so peace among the nations" (Lepman 7). Her library grew from a vision of providing German children with literature from other nations and of providing German publishers and educators with books from the rest of the world following the destruction of German publishing, education, and children's literature caused by World War II.

Inspired by Lepman's work, Anne Pellowski (1968) sought to further the study of international children's literature while working as a Fulbright scholar at the International Youth Library (Pellowski 1). Building on an earlier study, Pellowski brought together research sources for those interested in the study of international children's literature. What resulted was the most comprehensive, although now woefully out-of-date, research tool on the topic of international children's literature. In her book, Pellowski states that internationalism in children's literature includes concern "with the development of children's books in countries which heretofore have had few printed materials of interest to the young. ... [It] involves the commercial exchange of children's books from one country to another, either in translation or in the original" and it involves "the depiction of different cultures in children's books" (9). Pellowski advocated that "one of the first rights of children is the right to an identity – personal and national" and to achieve this, some portion of materials for children in every country must be "indigenous to the country or region in which the child grows up" (11).

Pellowski also called upon publishers to assist less developed countries to develop their own children's literature. She asked these publishers to "spend more effort in locating and encouraging talent among the peoples of other nations" to advance the goals of international understanding (13). These statements stress the importance scholars of children's literature place upon the preservation of national cultural identity in books for children, and their belief that international cooperation is necessary to assist in the preservation of cultural identity in children's books from all nations. Organizations have emerged over time to assist in these goals and to further the study of international children's books. These organizations include national branches of IBBY such as IBBY Canada and USBBY (U.S. Division), the International Bureau of Education in Geneva

that has an interest in international library work with children, UNESCO, the Libraries for Children and Young Adults Section of IFLA (International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions), and the United Nations Children's Fund.

More recent scholarly writings on the topic of national cultural identity in children's literature echo the importance placed upon identity by Lepman and Pellowski in their writings from the 1960s. Margaret Meek supports their views noting that "picture books are windows on a cultural context" (xiv). In 2001, she stressed the renewed importance of national identity in children's books explaining that "in the generation of children born after the great conflicts of the twentieth century" there is a struggle to define national cultures (xv). In times of war, it was easier to differentiate cultures, it was "the classic version of 'them and us'" (xvi). Today things are more difficult with globalization and mobility between borders. Meek goes on to explain that with immigration a factor in many countries such as Canada, France and England, there is "instability of notions of what is 'national' for those who are at home in more than one country" (1).

Gillian Lathey (2001) elaborates on the different views of national identity that are held by immigrant children's writers. She notes that immigrants' moves from one country to another bring into question whether "language, geography, or thematic content [are] the touchstones by which the national allegiance of a work should be measured" (4). She acknowledges that the concept of national literature is problematic in a changing population.

Another scholar, Maria Nikolajeva, defines the term *national* as geographical because of people's mobility, the immigrant experience, and the fact that national experience is different for each person. "What defines nationality in literature for her is geography" (Meek quoting Nikolajeva 4). In this same vein, it can be argued that there is a body of literature that "transcends national boundaries," written by immigrants who incorporate their connections to both current and former countries of residence.

The difficulty in defining national identity in children's books is a multinational concern. Carol Fox (2001) notes that "in England ... the quest for a recognizable national identity is provoking some anxiety" (43). She explains that England's acknowledgment that it is now a pluralist society "means adding 'texts from other cultures' to the English canon at every stage" (Fox 43).

Francis Marcois (2001) comments on the difficulty of establishing national identity in French children's literature today. He explains that because of Church and State regulation, French children's literature in the past reflected a clear sense of national identity (Marcois 53). He adds that "in the second half of the nineteenth century the question of national identity: how the French differed from the English ... was a pre-eminent source of inspiration for writers" (Marcois 53). The situation has changed as a result of immigration, decolonization, and reconciliation among European countries following World War II. He explains that today "nation" is a negative word (Marcois 53), that the concept of "France reappears not as a nationalism but as a place where people meet other people" (56), and that "France is now presented differently, and the French have to find their roots in their other diversities, in the provinces" (56).

In commenting on the idea of national identity in children's literature, Carla Poesio (2001) uses Calvino, a famous novelist who retells Italian folktales, as an example. She explains that "by bringing together stories from different regions, dialects and storytelling traditions, Calvino shows how tales that are at the root of all popular culture become, in the written form, a literate-literacy consciousness, which then becomes 'national' when a nation claims it" (71). Poesio adds that what makes versions of the Calvino folktales Italian is that they are narrated by people from Italy, and her comments reinforce the idea that cultural identity is created, to some degree, by ownership of the content by a particular country.

2.7.3 Canadian Cultural Identity in Children's Literature

How much and what kind of Canadian cultural identity is present in children's literature is a topic of concern to many Canadians including educators, publishers, writers, illustrators and academics. Canadian cultural identity has changed over the years in response to factors such as independence, immigration, and globalization. Some scholars wonder whether Canadian cultural identity is sufficiently and accurately reflected in the material that children read and whether Canadian children are reading their national literature in schools (Jobe 2003; Brimer 1982; Davis 1983).

The subject of "Canadianness" in Canadian children's books has been studied by Jobe (2001), Diakiw (1997), Bainbridge and Fayjean (2000), and Pantaleo (2000). Ron Jobe (2001) concluded that there were not enough representations of Canadianess in realistic picture books for Canadian children, while Joyce Bainbridge and Janet Fayjean, building on the elements of Canadian culture identified by Jerry Diakiw, found that there are more images of Canadian culture present in children's literature since the 1990s than there have been in the previous fifty years. All researchers agreed that it was important for Canadian children to see images that they could identify with in Canadian children's literature. They did not all agree on what those images were and whether they were sufficiently present in the literature.

Ron Jobe (2003), formerly a professor of Language and Literacy Education at the University of British Columbia, feels that there is a lack of Canadian content in children's literature in Canada. He asserts that Canadian children need to see their country's culture portrayed in picture books in order to have a sense of their country's identity and of their own distinctiveness (Jobe 79). According to Jobe, "all children should have the right to see themselves reflected in the books they read" because this is crucial for developing a positive self-concept and a sense of nationality (Jobe 80). Both Jobe and Meek advocate the same philosophy concerning how children develop a sense of self explaining that "identity... includes notions of the self that imply our historical-cultural being. These tokens of identity are circumscribed by whatever meaning we give to 'national'" (Meek viii). As an example, Meek explains how children establish their identity through

geographic location, identifying themselves first in relation to the town or village in which they live; then within the state, country, and continent; and finally in relation to the world.

Jobe, along with many others, believes that picture books can help children to establish their cultural identity, but he questions whether Canadian children are getting this opportunity because many Canadian children's books are internationalized or homogenized in text and illustration to fit into any country. Jobe maintains that Canadian children's books have undergone this change in order to be successful in the American market where many children's book publishers sell over 50% of their books (80).

Between 1998 and 2000, Jobe undertook a study to examine Canadian picture books and the "visual and textual markers" of Canadian culture, focusing on the realistic picture books recommended by juries of the Canadian Children's Book Centre for their annual publication, *Our Choice* catalogue. Within this group he immediately eliminated 84.4% of them for not being set in Canada. Jobe was looking for the presence of textual markers including place names and landmarks, Canadian expression, prominent flora and fauna, and notable societal groups (81-82). He also looked for visual markers including landscape features specifically represented, and Canadian icons such as flags, logos, artifacts, prominent Canadian sports, impact of weather, and multiculturalism (82). Jobe was disappointed to find that only 10 realistic fiction books contained any of the cultural markers he sought, a mere 9.6% of his sample.

As a result of his study, Jobe concluded that Canadian children are not able to establish a cultural identity through realistic picture books available to them because "the majority could have been published anywhere by any publisher and set anywhere" (Jobe 82). Jobe believes that the current situation, of Canadian publishers selling directly into the U.S. market, has resulted in too many Canadian identifiers being removed and he calls upon Canadians to recognize their heritage because Canadian "imaging is crucial for developing a positive self-concept of being a Canadian in the world" (85).

Jobe provides a forceful argument, but the criteria he uses for judging the Canadianess of children's books do not appear to distinguish between icons and stereotypes. Using his criteria would seem to discount books written by immigrants that portray Canadian sensibilities but set outside of Canada, along with books written from Canadian viewpoints in which precise locations are unnecessary. Additionally, his view is more limited than that of Robert Wright (2001) and Govind Rao (2004), two Canadian critics who assert that changes in literature are due to Canadians' changing vision of what nationalism means. Wright maintains that Canada seems to be "living in the last days" of nationalism and "at the end of the era in which literature, perhaps more than the other arts, has the power to represent 'national identity'" (8-9). Rao supports this position, stating that Canadians must continually question what Canadian culture is because it is something that is evolving. He adds that "mild confusion about Canadian identity and national symbols is not all bad. . . . It allows for greater openness and flexibility about what it really means to be Canadian" (Rao 31).

Jerry Diakiw (1997), a former school superintendent and education professor at York University, agrees with Jobe that children's literature can play an important role in affirming Canadian culture and identity and acknowledges the importance of children's literature as a tool for promoting cultural identification. He sees "commonplaces," things that Canadians share as important for cultural identification, and believes that stories and literature are venues to explore them (Diakiw 36). He adds that because "the culture and identity we all share is multi-faceted, and not dominated by any one group," it is important to convey an identity that is inclusive of all (37).

Diakiw says that Canadians can approach national identity by the commonplaces where culture is accessible to all and that Canadian culture is linked by the following elements that Canadians take pride in:

1. The idea of Canada as a wilderness nation
2. Canada as a country of diverse and distinctive regions
3. As "a democratic, multi-faith nation with remarkable freedoms"
4. Having a strong sense of social welfare
5. With deep roots in First Nations
6. Canada as a nation of immigrants

7. Founded initially on the cultures of France and England
8. As a country with enormous resources, a vibrant, inventive economy and
9. With cultural traditions in the arts, sports, and popular culture
10. As peace-keepers for the world (42-43)

Diakiw stresses the importance of having these cultural identifiers, “commonalities,” in books for children because “national identity or lack of it is largely fixed by the end of elementary school” (44). His “commonplaces” have been adopted by a number of other writers on this topic as means for exploring the presence of cultural identity in children’s books.

Among those who have built upon Diakiw’s work is Joyce Bainbridge. Bainbridge, a professor in the Department of Elementary Education at the University of Alberta, has considered the topic of cultural identity in Canadian children’s literature independently, and then, in subsequent years, in conjunction with others such as Janet Fayjean and Brenda Wolodko. In “Seeing Oneself in a Book: The Changing Face of Canadian Children’s Literature,” Bainbridge and Fayjean (2000) explore why it is important that Canadian children read Canadian children’s literature and what children identify with in that literature. They do this by focusing on Canadian picture books and analyzing the responses received by Perry Nodelman (1997) to the question “what’s Canadian about Canadian children’s literature?” These responses (from professors, authors, editors, librarians, and booksellers) are compared to responses Sylvia Pantaleo (2000) received to the same question from students in grades 3 and 5. They then look at recent Canadian picture books that express Canada’s “regionality, history, ethnicity, landscape, religion, and community” and reflect upon growth of Canadian picture books in the past twenty years (Bainbridge and Fayjean [par. 19]).

Bainbridge and Fayjean assert that “it is generally held that when children read a work of fiction, they identify in some way with the character, the setting or the events of the story” ([par. 37]). They rely on Diakiw’s “commonplaces” as a means for children to explore Canadian cultural identity in Canadian children’s books. They cite his opinions concerning the importance of exploring cultural identity through children’s books adding that this is critically important because the content of Canadian children’s books has

changed over the years. Bainbridge and Fayjean point out that “much of the literature read by children in Canada in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s was predominantly British” and that the images in Canadian children’s books continued to be white and middle class well into the 1980s ([par. 5]). In examining the content of Canadian children’s literature Bainbridge and Fayjean find that “it is now possible for more Canadian children to see themselves reflected in our literature than ever before” (Bainbridge and Fayjean [par. 13]). They note that

Recent picture books provide examples of how the quality of Canadian children's literature has improved over the years, and how the books reflect current diverse Canadian contexts: regionality, history, ethnicity, landscape, religion, and community. They also ably demonstrate the integral relationship of pictures and text in depicting Canadian identity. (Bainbridge and Fayjean [par. 19])

Bainbridge, with Brenda Wolodko (2002), builds on her earlier assertions in an historical analysis informed by theories of nation building that analyzes the changes Canadian picture books have undergone following World War II. Bainbridge and Wolodko highlight the development of aboriginal voices, immigrant voices, and transcultural voices in modern Canadian children’s picture books (22-26). They assert that “contemporary Canadian authors and illustrators present their own stories to the world, and in the process, they celebrate the diversity and uniqueness of their heritage” (Bainbridge and Wolodko 26). Canadian children’s picture books have changed with the times and now serve as a tool to help children understand what it means to be Canadian today (Bainbridge and Wolodko 27).

Sylvia Pantaleo (2000) considered the matter of identity in Canadian children’s books in her research with Grade 3 and Grade 5 students. She built upon the responses received to Perry Nodelman’s (1997) question “what’s Canadian about Canadian children’s literature?” Forty-four professors, educators, librarians, authors, and others involved in children’s book publishing responded to Nodelman’s question: 75% of respondents identified a geographical aspect, approximately 33% commented on history, and around 50% “mentioned how Canadian children’s literature reflects Canadian ‘experiences’” [Pantaleo, “Exploring” [3, 4,5)]. Pantaleo asked the same question of twenty-eight students in Grade 5. After being read Canadian children’s books and exploring the

question, the students provided answers similar to those given to Nodelman with twenty-four of the twenty-eight students indicating that it was important for students to read Canadian literature (Pantaleo, "Exploring" [par. 27]). The responses documented in the study showed students' cultural identification and support of Canadian content. Pantaleo (2000) performed a similar study with twenty-nine Grade 3 students, the majority of whom responded that "it is important for Canadian students to read books written by Canadian authors" (Pantaleo, "Grade 3" [par. 39]). These results support Pantaleo's assertion that using Canadian materials in the classroom can show students what it is like in other provinces. Pantaleo stresses that it is important for teachers to know about the literature and for them to foster a sense of understanding and appreciation of it in students (Pantaleo, "Exploring" [pars. 27-28]).

Pantaleo echoes the sentiments of Virginia Davis (1983) concerning the importance of teachers knowing about Canadian children's literature. Davis called for more teacher-training to emphasize Canadian children's literature and cited two studies that tested teachers' knowledge of Canadian children literature in support of her position. The first, Alixe Hambleton and Ron Jobe's (1981) study, included teachers from three provinces who were asked whether they had heard of, read, or used 124 Canadian children's books that were recommended by *Our Choice* catalogue in 1979. The results showed that only 28% of the titles were familiar to teachers, and that they had read a mere 10% of the titles, and used only 7% in classrooms (Davis 16).

Ann Brimer (1982) repeated Hambleton and Jobe's study the following year using titles recommended in the 1981 *Our Choice* catalogue and questioning seventy-seven teachers and librarians in summer classes in Nova Scotia along with forty-two trained school librarians. The difference in familiarity with Canadian children's books between the two groups was significant. Approximately 50% of the summer class participants were familiar with the titles, had read 29% of the books, and used 24% of them (Davis 16). The trained school librarians, were familiar with 98% of the titles, had purchased 60% of them, had read more than 35%, and used 29% in teaching (Davis 16-17). This difference

showed the importance of teacher librarians in keeping Canadian children's literature in the schools and in the hands of Canadian students.

Although these studies are dated, discussions held during the session "Distinctly Canadian? Balancing Canadian Resources in a Global Society" at the Canadian Library Association conference in Calgary, Alberta on June 16, 2005, suggest that the problem of lack of teacher and teacher-librarian awareness of Canadian children's books and how to use them in classrooms persists. The problem, as explained in the session, has been exacerbated by the massive lay-offs of Canadian teacher-librarians and the cutting back of hours that school libraries are open, along with reduced budgets. The lack of funding has created a vacuum at the connection point for Canadian students to be introduced to this material in schools.

2.7.4 Future of Cultural Identity in Children's Books

According to Corse (1997), "National literatures are not reflections of the national character, but manifestations of the 'invention' of nation, of the strategies used to create national identities" (74). Based upon this premise, it can be argued that the large scale domination of the Canadian book market by other countries, and the Americentric changes demanded for publication of Canadian children's books in the United States are destroying a vital section of the documentation of Canada's nationhood. In essence, publishers in North America, by removing the Canadian aspects of the literature and by demanding these changes on a large scale to mimic American literature, are removing part of Canada's identity as a separate and autonomous nation. These actions validate Sauve's assertion that "many Europeans and Americans, and even some Canadians, believe that we are merely a mini-U.S.A." (7).

Whether this is actually happening remains a disputed matter. Robert Wright (2001), who analyzed the responses of four hundred Gen X³ Canadians, sees changes in Canadian literature to be more reflective of the generational gap between the Baby Boomers and

³ *Gen X* is a term which refers to someone "who came of age in the late 1980s and the 1990s" (Wright 2001, 2).

the younger generations. Wright concludes that these younger generations are not as nationalist as the Boomers, and that “young writers, publishers and readers, now appear to have achieved the kind of critical mass not only to voice their objections to the hegemony of the traditional canon, but, in fact, to nudge the mainstream in new directions” (Wright 218). He adds that “young Canadians ... do not feel the least bit compromised for selecting books and authors from among the world of choices available to them.... One may reject the Canadian canon out of hand and not feel any less Canadian” (Wright 218).

This dichotomy of opinion raises the question of whether the vision of Canada’s national identity is different among the different age groups. Perhaps some of the changes in content within Canadian children’s books are the influence of the post Baby Boomer generation’s visions of Canada and what it means to be Canadian. As Bainbridge points out, the view projected in Canadian children’s trade and textbooks in the 1980s was different from the view being projected today. “The assumption [then was] that all readers were white, Christian, and native speakers of English or French” (Bainbridge [par. 12]). Today there is cognizance of other groups, the immigrant experience of nearly 20% of the population, and an effort to represent the history of other groups.

That the vision of what it means to be Canadian is not static is clear from history. That some members of the younger generations disagree with the traditional canon of Canadian literature and do not feel a need to show nationalism in the same manner in which it has been displayed in the past is also clear. As Wright has pointed out, younger Canadians do not feel constrained to uphold the canon, but, as they reject this literature they feel no less Canadian. Some, such as Rao, see similarities between Canada and America as an opening for mainstream Canadian culture to be widely distributed through piggybacking on the spread of Americanization. Other Canadians see the situation more globally and are no longer defining their culture by national borders [i.e., rejecting the notion of geography]: “in a postmodern, globalized world of seemingly infinite choice, the idea of the nation as the defining element in Canadian literature appears to have had its day” (Wright 218).

How much and what type of Canadian cultural content is present in books for children remains an issue upon which there is no agreement. Bainbridge, Fayjean, and Diakiw view the number of Canadian identifiers present in Canadian children's books differently, and more optimistically than Jobe. All agree on the importance of Canadian children's seeing their culture reflected in books, but not all agree on the reasons that Canadian children may not be getting this opportunity. Jobe (2003) attributes diminished opportunities to see Canadian culture in children's literature to Canadian publishers stripping Canadian identifiers from books to sell directly into the U.S. market. Pantaleo (2000) and Davis (1983) point to the need to train teachers and teacher-librarians on how to incorporate Canadian children's books into their classrooms and curricula. Davis references the studies of Hambleton and Jobe (1981) and Brimer (1982) that point to a lack of awareness on the part of teachers and teacher-librarians about Canadian children's literature and a reliance on the literature of England and the United States as a reason why Canadian children are not seeing themselves and their country reflected in the books they are reading. Though the Davis (1983), Hambleton and Jobe (1981), and Brimer (1982) studies are dated, taken together with Pantaleo's study, they show a pattern of concern about Canadian teachers' lack of awareness and use of Canadian children's books.

2.8 Summary

A review of the literature has shown that there is little documentation of the problem of pre-censorship of literature for children and young adults. When pre-censorship is discussed, it is often submerged within more general discussions of censorship and not specifically identified. Even when it is addressed, it is only in snippets of information that are revealed in interviews and responses to questionnaires concerning censorship. Because this type of censorship generally occurs before publication, there is little documentation of the problem, and consequently, few studies on the topic. When the topic is addressed in library and information science, it is predominantly from the perspective of librarians pre-censoring books that are already in publication and fails to address the issue of censorship prior to publication. This narrow definition of the term

pre-censorship, as identified in the library and information science literature, is not in accord with the definitions of the term commonly found in publishing, history, and philosophy.

The literature revealed that only one major study directly addresses the topic of pre-censorship of English-language children's books. The PEN England Report (1993) is groundbreaking in its identification of the problem of pre-censorship and in the diversity of feedback researchers received to questions concerning the type of pre-censorship children's authors in England received as well as the impact the U.S. market has on requests for changes that respondents deemed to be pre-censorship. The report, while highly useful, is a generalized summary of the major areas of pre-censorship and fails to provide detailed accounts of how pre-censorship affects those subject to it.

Small scale interviews have been conducted that address pre-censorship while not always directly identifying it. Whitehead's two articles, along with the interviews conducted by Hurst and Khan, highlight the pre-censorship experienced by English-language children's and young adult writers whose works have been altered in anticipation of the desires of the American market. These documents present instances of pre-publication demands for changes placed upon authors and provide a firm foundation for exploring this issue in-depth using a phenomenological approach to understand how pre-censorship affects Canadian English-language children's authors.

Responses to questionnaires and interviews in the literature provided recurring concerns by authors that their works were being censored in anticipation of their entry into the American market rather than in response to it. Several authors noted how being censored influenced the writing they did and how concerns about future censorship impacted them during the creation and writing processes. Both Canadian and British authors expressed dissatisfaction with the changing of language to "Americanize" texts and expressed feelings that the works had been materially altered. A recurring concern in the responses of authors, as well as in the statements of some publishers and editors, was that editors and publishers were stifling intellectual freedom in response to pressure to gain greater

sales in the United States. Support for this assertion was present in the literature addressing publishing and changes in the publishing market since the 1980s.

The examined literature also shows a deep concern on the part of Canadian educators and scholars that Canadian children see their culture reflected in the books they read. What is missing in the literature is agreement of what represents Canadian culture in children's literature and whether there is a sufficient amount of it present in the books that Canadian children read. Conflicting opinions about the impact of globalization and the power of the American market on Canadian culture have also been revealed by the literature review. The literature also points to the possibility of a generational change in view concerning Canadian nationalism. There is some indication that the post-baby boom generations are not as nationalistic as their predecessors and perceive more opportunities in the American market.

The scarcity of studies about pre-censorship, combined with the strong concern expressed by authors in the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States, highlights the importance of further investigation in this area. The deep concerns expressed by scholars, particularly Canadian children's literature scholars, about cultural identity and globalization point to a need to more closely and fully examine the issue of pre-censorship of children's literature. The literature review reveals that the pre-censorship of children's and young adult authors' writings has a ripple effect, affecting culture, education, and according to some, children's cultural identification.

CHAPTER 3 Methodological Framework

3.1 *Phenomenology Study*

This study examined in detail pre-censorship as experienced by Canadian children's and young adult authors and illustrators. A qualitative, naturalistic methodology was selected to explore participants' experiences including the feelings, thoughts, and effects of the experience. Phenomenological methods were investigated and deemed the best choice to reveal the complexities of thought, feelings, and actions stemming from the pre-censorship experience. In-depth interviews with open-ended questions were used to encourage participants to speak at length and share thoughts, feelings, and insights that might not be revealed in more structured data gathering methods.

3.1.1 *Approach and Aims*

Canadian children's and young adult authors and illustrators pre-censorship experiences are examined using a phenomenological approach. This exploratory approach requires the researcher to "suspend all judgments about what is real – the 'natural attitude' – until they are founded on a more certain basis" (Creswell 1998, 52). Creswell builds on the ideas of Field & Morse (1985) in explaining the philosophical understanding that a researcher needs when applying a phenomenological approach to study a shared experience.

- The researcher needs to understand the philosophical perspectives behind the approach, especially the concept of studying how people experience a phenomenon. The concept of epoche is central, where the researcher brackets his or her own preconceived ideas about the phenomenon to understand it through the voices of the informants (Field & Morse, 1985).
- The investigator writes research questions that explore the meaning of that experience for individuals and asks individuals to describe their everyday lived experiences.
- The investigator then collects the data from individuals who have experienced the phenomenon under investigation. Typically this information is collected through long interviews . . . with informants ranging in number from 5 to 25 (Polkinghorne 1989; Creswell 1998, 54).

Creswell explains that a phenomenological study is one that “describes the meaning of the lived experiences for several individuals about a concept or *the phenomenon*” (Creswell 51). “Researchers search for the essential, invariant structure (or essence) or the central underlying meaning of the experience” (Creswell 52). Creswell’s preferred approach, the psychological approach, was followed in this study. Creswell explains that this approach “focuses on the meaning of experiences but has found individual experiences, not group experiences, central” (Creswell 53). He cites Clark Moustakas in explaining the aim of phenomenological studies. “The aim is to determine what an experience means for the persons who have had the experience and are able to provide a comprehensive description of it” (Moustakas 1994, 13; Creswell 1998, 53-54).

Adding to the understanding of the psychological approach is the guidance provided by Creswell (1998), building on the ideas of Moustakas (1994) and Polkinghorne (1989), explaining that

All psychological phenomenologists employ a similar series of steps. The original protocols are divided into statements or horizontalization. Then the units are transformed into clusters of meanings. . . . Finally, these transformations are tied together to make a general description of the experience, the textural description of what was experienced and the structural description of how it was experienced. . . . The phenomenological report ends with the reader understanding better the essential, invariant structure (or essence) of the experience, recognizing that a single unifying meaning of the experience exists [a composite of the experience]. For example, this means that all experiences have an underlying “structure” (grief is the same whether the loved one is a puppy, a parakeet, or a child). The reader of the report should come away with the feeling that “I understand better what it is like for someone to experience that.” (Polkinghorne 1989, 46; Creswell 54- 55)

A philosophical tenet of phenomenology is “the refusal of the subject-object dichotomy. This theme flows naturally from the intentionality of consciousness. The reality of an object is perceived only within the meaning of the experience of the individual” (Creswell 53). Following the phenomenological approach therefore means that the experience of pre-censorship is examined from the point of view of those experiencing it. It is their words and feelings that provide the reality of the experience.

A phenomenological study was conducted which relied on Creswell's statements concerning the philosophical understanding of the application of the phenomenological approach, his description of a phenomenological study, and the guidance and protocols provided by Creswell (1998), Moustakas (1994), and Polkinghorne (1989) to guide the research. The work aimed to describe the meaning of the lived experiences for a small group of Canadian authors and illustrators of books for children and young adults about the phenomenon of pre-censorship. The research explored how pre-censorship affects Canadian children's authors and illustrators in a selected sample population⁴. All types of and reasons for pre-censorship were sought. The literature review revealed that the dominant reason for pre-censorship was the anticipation of book sales in the American market.

The phenomenological study method was selected because it focuses on the experiences of individuals and utilizes in-depth open-ended interviews as the main means of data collection. This allows for exploration of the thoughts, feelings, and opinions of those whose works have been changed. Through an investigation of their lived experiences, this method provided a means for those subject to pre-censorship to explain in their own words and in the manner they see fit how this has impacted their written work, how it affects future creative endeavors, and how they viewed such changes. Because pre-censorship is sometimes characterized as editing for the market, a routine and seemingly emotion-free process, it was important to understand how such editing affects those whose works were altered. Their perceptions, feelings, and the impact such censorship has upon their future creative endeavors is important to know.

The experiences of authors and illustrators were solicited rather than those of editors and publishers because many of the opinions of editors have already been expressed. Their opinions have been printed in professional journal articles and they have spoken at annual library conferences (Briley 1982, Rider 2001, Scales 2001, ALA Conference 2006). They speak from a position of authority and access. What was lacking in the investigation of

⁴ The research was expected to be limited to Canadian English-language authors but respondents included two Canadian French-language authors who granted this researcher English-language interviews.

this issue was the position of those who are subject to pre-publication changes, the authors and illustrators without whom the books would not exist. It was necessary to seek and examine the thoughts, feelings, and opinions of Canadian children's authors and illustrators to begin to determine the perceived extent of the pre-censorship phenomenon in Canadian children's book publishing.

Examinations of the interviews conducted by West, Kahn, Hurst, and Whitehead show that, when allowed to explain the experience in their own words, authors and illustrators provide rich descriptions that underscore the violation of intellectual freedom they feel when editors overstep in the editing process. A comparison of these responses to those obtained by the English PEN committee for their survey on pre-censorship supports a view that open-ended in-depth interviews provide a richer source of information for analysis than would a questionnaire, the method utilized by English PEN.

A method that requires fewer participants is preferable when securing participation may prove difficult. For this study securing participation was perceived to be difficult because authors and illustrators of children's literature, as they have in the past, fear that they will not be published again or that their work will be targeted for negative attention if they discuss pre-censorship incidents that they have experienced (Hentoff 1977). Publishers (and by extension, authors and illustrators) may also be reluctant to share information related to this issue for fear of inciting the anger of pressure groups and of losing lucrative contracts, especially for textbooks (Ravitch 2003).

Creswell (1998) explains that for a phenomenological study, "the process of collecting information involves primarily in-depth interviews with as many as 10 individuals" (122). Using in-depth interviews to obtain data in this study was preferred because in addition to the limited number of participants anticipated, participants were likely to respond more fully to questions about their pre-censorship experiences in an intimate setting where they felt comfortable and could maintain confidentiality. For these reasons, conducting in-depth interviews was the optimal method of gathering data for this study. As will be discussed below, this reason was verified by the number of authors and

illustrators who wished to keep their identities confidential while participating in this study.

Another difficulty in investigating this issue was that there is no way to know how many have suffered pre-censorship because of the secretive nature of the issue. It is not possible to determine how many authors and illustrators have suffered pre-censorship so there is no means of determining a fixed group number of all authors and illustrators who have suffered pre-censorship to use for comparison with those who responded to the initial query for participation.

3.1.2 Sampling and Recruitment Strategy

Creswell's advice was followed on purposeful sampling and utilizing several different methods to locate participants who have experienced the phenomenon of pre-censorship imposed by themselves or by others. These methods included the use of the "snowball or chain" method of sampling, where cases of interest were identified from people who know others also connected with the research issue (119). Participants and others were queried about specific pre-censorship incidents concerning authors and illustrators who they knew, or knew of, who might be willing to discuss this issue.

The names of Canadian English-language authors cited in the Hurst and Kahn articles were examined for possible participants but due to ethical considerations authors and illustrators identified through this medium were not contacted. In an effort to recruit participants, in accordance with the requirements of the University of British Columbia Behavioural Research Ethics Board, participants were asked to pass on the advertisement and contact information for this study to others they believed may have experienced pre-censorship and might be willing to be interviewed. When potential subjects contacted this researcher, they were advised of the criteria for participation in the study and a consent form was given to those expressing a desire to participate.

In late August 2007, Maggie DeVries, an author and editor of Canadian English-language children's books, submitted queries along with copies of the advertisement for the study on this researcher's behalf to CANSCAIP, the Canadian Society of Children's Authors, Illustrators and Performers' listserv and to CWILL, the Children's Writers & Illustrators Association of British Columbia. This advertisement was also posted to Child-Lit, a listserv created at Rutgers University, with the permission of the list's owner Michael Joseph. In early September a request was made to SCBWI Canada East, Society of Children's Book Writers and Illustrators – Eastern Canada Chapter to pass this advertisement on to any of their members who might be interested in participating. Lizann Flatt, SCBWI Canada East Regional Advisor distributed the advertisement to members. In addition, a notice of this study and its advertisement were sent out by Stephanie Gregorwich, Executive Director of the Young Alberta Book Society. It was through her efforts that two French-Canadian authors contacted this researcher and agreed to participate.

In mid-October 2007 Kathryn Shoemaker, a well-known Canadian illustrator, forwarded a second call for participation in this study to Canadian listservs for Authors and Illustrators of children's books on this researcher's behalf. Word was also spread by Canadian author Ann Walsh, and by librarian and UBC School of Library, Archival, and Information Studies student Janet Mumford. Through the combined efforts of Canadian writers and those associated with children's books, 17 participants were interviewed. This number of participants met and exceeded expectations for a phenomenological study which, according to Creswell (1998) "involves primarily in-depth interviews . . . with as many as 10 individuals" (122).

3.2 *Research Questions*

The questions guiding this phenomenological investigation of pre-censorship were:

1. What is the relationship between intellectual freedom and the removal of content prior to publication?
2. How do authors/illustrators of children's and young adult material feel about being asked to alter aspects of their work?
3. How has pre-censorship been accomplished?
4. Do authors pre-censor/self-censor their work in anticipation of requests by editors for changes?
5. How do authors/ illustrators define pre-censorship?
6. Is the inclusion of cultural content important to contemporary Canadian children's authors/illustrators?
7. What are the reasons given for pre-censorship?
8. Are the experiences of Canadian authors exposed to pre-censorship substantially similar to the documented experiences of British and American children's authors?

3.3 *Participants*

A total of seventeen authors and illustrators participated in this study. Seven of the seventeen participants agreed to full disclosure. Most requested confidentiality, wishing to keep their names and the titles of the books undisclosed. Reasons given for this request included: not wanting to damage relationships with Canadian publishers due to the small national market, concerns about identifying individual publishers or editors, and not wanting to be recognized as having experienced this type of censorship. In order to preserve the continuity of responses throughout this thesis, while keeping identities confidential, those who participated confidentially have been identified by numbers that correspond to the order in which they interviewed.

Eleven of the participants were English-Canadian authors. Two participants were English-Canadian authors who also illustrate. Two English-Canadian illustrators who

have also published as authors participated and two French-Canadian authors participated in this study. Participants were garnered from the provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Ontario, and Quebec. One English-Canadian illustrator who participated currently resides in Western Europe. Three men and fourteen women participated in this study. All of the male participants were authors or authors who also illustrate.

Figure 3.1 Types of Participants

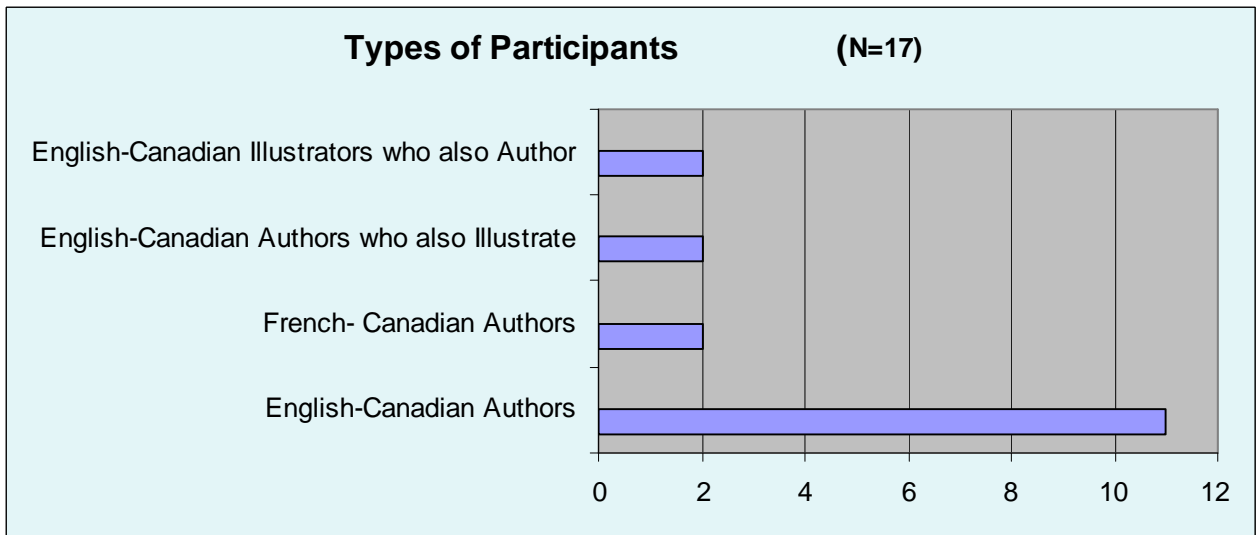
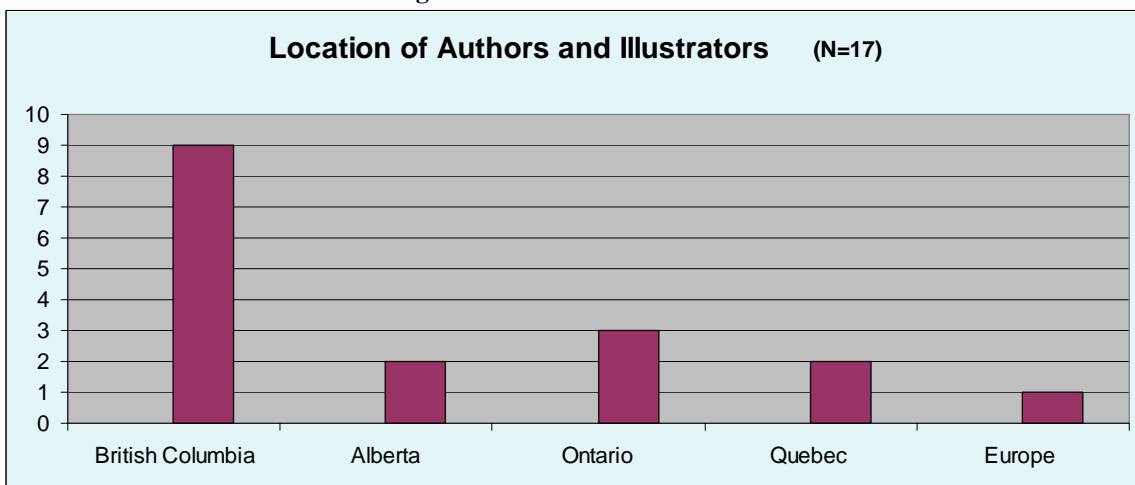
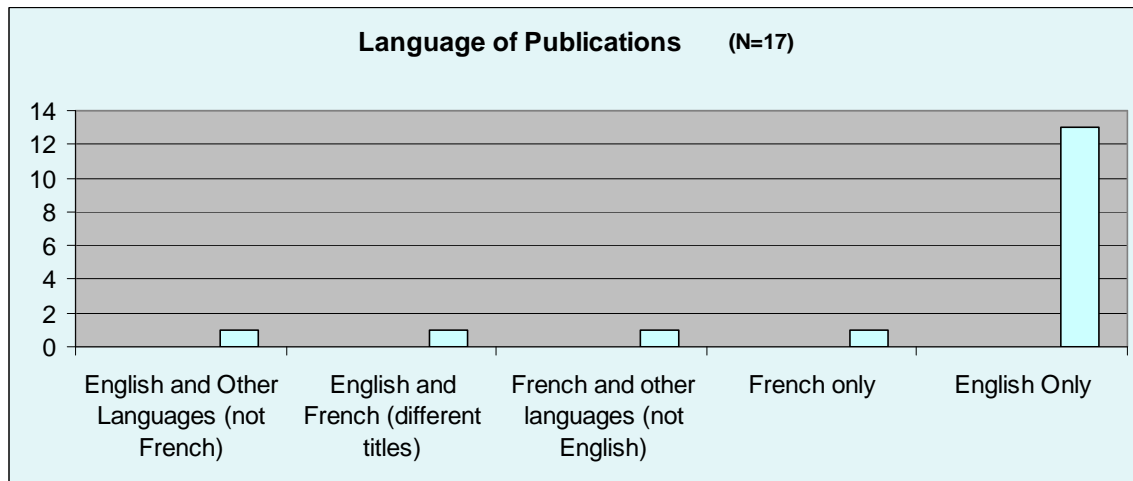


Figure 3.2 Location of Authors



One French-Canadian author publishes exclusively in French. The other publishes in French and is translated into Greek. One English-Canadian author has published in both English and French. One illustrator has illustrations published in English-Canadian books as well as books in another language.

Figure 3.3 Language of Publications

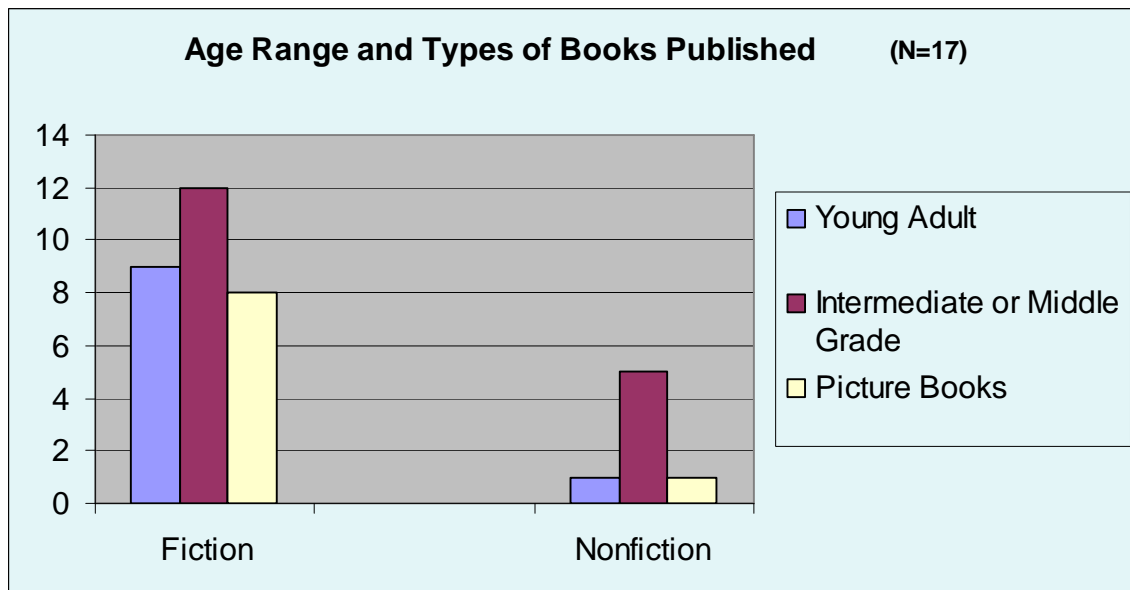


All those interviewed were authors or illustrators who self-identified as being children’s or young-adult authors or illustrators who have experienced pre-censorship and who have been published in Canada, the United States, or both Canada and the United States. They ranged in experience from those with more than twenty years of publishing credentials to those who had been published for just two years. The author with the most books published is Laurent Chabin with over fifty books published in Quebec since 1996.⁵ The fewest number of publications for any participating author was four books either published or in press.

The majority of authors interviewed wrote middle grade or intermediate fiction books. Many authors published in more than one age group and sometimes wrote both fiction and non-fiction books. The chart below shows the target age range and types of books that participants have published. When an author or illustrator published in more than one category, each category was noted so that the numbers total more than seventeen.

⁵ This figure was given by Laurent Chabin in an email to the researcher dated September 4, 2007.

Figure 3.4 Age Range and Types of Books Published



3.4 Interview Procedure

Face-to-face interviewing was conducted with all but one of the participants. The interview with the participant residing in Europe was conducted by phone with a follow-up in person in Europe in September 2008. Most interviews were conducted at the homes of the individuals, at the University of British Columbia, or at the hotels in which this researcher stayed when traveling to the provinces where the participants reside.

All interviews were audio tape recorded and transcribed word for word.⁶ Stutters, repeated words, and the words “you know” and “right” which appeared in transcriptions were eliminated from quotes when they indicated merely a pause in participants’ speech. Participants were encouraged to talk at length about the aspects of the censorship incident(s) that they chose to discuss. Interviews ranged in length from approximately 45 minutes, for a co-author following a lengthy interview with her writing partner, to 150 minutes, with the average time being 90 minutes. Interviews began with general background questions about the type of writing or illustrating the participant does and

⁶ Assistance was sought from a speaker of French for partial transcription of French phrases used by one of the French-Canadian participants.

then moved into questions designed to elicit the circumstances surrounding the pre-censorship experienced. These included questions such as the following:

1. Have you, or has anyone you know of, experienced editorial changes or requests for editorial changes to written or illustrated materials for children or young adults that you believe were a violation of intellectual freedom, were censorial, or stifled creativity?
2. What types of changes were requested? When? Did these involve Canadian content?
3. Who requested the change(s) and why?
4. Is there any documentation of the request for changes or of the changes themselves?
5. For what age group and market (Canada/ United States, Other) was the work intended/marketed?
6. How do you feel about being asked to alter aspects of your written/ illustrated work?
7. If content specific to Canada, such as place names or cultural identifiers were removed, would you consider this type of action censorship or editing?
8. Have requested changes to your writing/illustrations altered the type of work you have done since then? Do you self-censor?

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Given the sensitive nature of the type of information sought in this study, it was anticipated that many children's and young adult authors and illustrators would be reluctant to discuss their experiences with pre-censorship. In order to alleviate some of these concerns, participants were given the option of participating on a confidential basis. No participants have been identified by name except those who have given their express written consent agreeing to be identified by name and allowing their comments to be attributed to them. Additionally, to alleviate concerns about confidentiality and to respect the privacy of others, no publishers or editors have been identified by name. Audio-tapes, transcriptions, and correspondence have been kept in a secure area. Audio-tapes of the interviews will be destroyed after five years. The transcriptions will be retained for one year following the completion of the thesis.

3.6 *Data Analysis*

Both Creswell (1998) and Moustakas (1994) provide useful guides to assist in analyzing the data in a phenomenological study. Creswell (1998) explains that for this type of study, “the process of collecting information involves primarily in-depth interviews with as many as 10 individuals” (122). In this study, in-depth interviews were conducted with 17 individuals. He adds that self reflection may be added to the information gathered in these in-depth interviews.

Creswell also offers the following guidance:

Phenomenological data analysis proceeds through the methodology of reduction, the analysis of specific statements and themes, and a search for all possible meanings. The researcher sets aside all prejudgments, bracketing . . . his or her experiences . . . and relying on intuition, imagination, and universal structures to obtain a picture of the experience. (Creswell 52)

He goes on to explain that “researchers search for the essential, invariant structure (or essence) of the central underlying meaning of the experience and emphasize the intentionality of consciousness where the experiences contain both the outward appearance and inward consciousness based on memory, image, and meaning.” This type of analysis requires the researcher to “suspend all judgments about what is real . . . until they are founded on a more certain basis. This suspension is called *epoche* by Husserl” (Creswell 52). Moustakas quotes Husserl (1970), explaining that

We must exclude all empirical interpretations and existential affirmations, we must take what is inwardly experienced or otherwise inwardly intuited (e.g., in pure fancy) as pure experiences, as our exemplary basis for acts of Ideation. . . . We thus achieve insights in pure phenomenology which is here oriented to *real (reellen)* constituents, whose descriptions are in every way “ideal” and free from . . . presupposition of real existence. (577)

Moustakas draws on the ideas of Schmitt (1968) adding that “In the *Epoche*⁷, we set aside our prejudgments, biases, and pre-conceived ideas about things. We ‘invalidate,’

⁷ In discussing the phenomenological approach and method, Moustakas (1970) capitalizes the term *Epoche* while Creswell (1998) refers to it in the lowercase, *epoche*.

‘inhibit,’ and ‘disqualify’ all commitments with reference to previous knowledge and experience” (Schmitt 1968, 59; Moustakas 1994, 85).

Creswell’s preferred approach, the psychological approach, was followed. This approach focuses on “the meaning of experiences but has found individual experiences, not group experiences, central” (Creswell 53). Creswell cites Moustakas in explaining the “central tenets” of this thinking. They are “to determine what an experience means for the persons who have had the experience and are able to provide a comprehensive description of it. From the individual descriptions, general or universal meanings are derived, in other words, the essence of structures of the experience” (Moustakas 13; Creswell 53-54). Creswell goes on to note that “methods, ‘based on phenomenological principles . . . function as general guidelines or outlines, and researchers are expected to develop plans of study especially suited to understanding the particular experiential phenomenon that is the object of their study’” (Polkinghorne 1989, 44; Creswell 54).

The plan of study developed for understanding this phenomenon and analyzing participants’ experiences utilizes a combination of research steps advanced by Creswell and Moustakas. Following Creswell, statements were located in the interview transcripts relevant to the experience of pre-censorship and the research questions guiding this phenomenological investigation or “about how individuals are experiencing the topic.” In creating these expressions or “horizons” this researcher relied directly on the interview transcripts to keep the language of the participants intact. All statements were treated as having equal worth.

These statements were then examined “to develop a list of non-repetitive, non-overlapping statements” (Creswell 147) keeping in mind the research questions and remaining open to additional themes that emerged. The interview statements were analyzed to identify themes or “meaning units” and related statements were grouped together into separate files. These were examined for nuances of meaning. Related statements were grouped together in files and read multiple times over a period of several months to distill the experiences. Themes were also re-examined in conjunction with one another to determine possible areas of overlap or any areas requiring readjustment. The

statements were subsequently used to write a description of the “‘texture’ (textural description) of the experience including verbatim examples” (Creswell 150). Following this, how the phenomenon was experienced by participants was examined to create a combined textural–structural description for each individual (Creswell 55).

During this time, the audio files of the interviews were replayed and matched against the text to better understand the context of the statements and the emotion displayed by participants, including the emphasis on certain words, tone of voice, and hesitations in responding. Notes taken during the interviews were also examined to place the statements in context. Statements made on the same or overlapping topics within the same interviews were examined to determine differences in the focus of the interview at the time the statements were made. Examinations were made of the majority of the books in-print that were discussed in the interviews. During these examinations, statements related to the books were reviewed in print and audio format. When specific sections or pages were mentioned, the statements and/or illustrations on those pages were examined to deepen the understanding of the incidents and materials.

During the interviews, questions were asked in a number of ways to elicit responsive answers concerning how participants define pre-censorship, how they distinguish between pre-censorship and editing, and what were the reasons for the incidents they identified as pre-censorship. These multiple questions and the responses were grouped together and examined for overlapping themes or categories. When overlapping themes or categories were identified, they were grouped together. Themes and categories were identified in the findings based upon the terms and phrases used or identified by the participants or those identified in earlier pre-censorship examinations that contained the same or similar elements. Efforts were made to remain true to the perceptions and language of the participants when grouping aspects of experiences or interviews together. Interviews were also examined for internal consistency of interviewee statements and responsiveness. Once the above was done for all interviews, an overall description of the meaning and essence of the experience or composite was constructed as outlined by Creswell (Creswell 150).

3.7 *Limitations of the Study*

Due to the hidden nature of pre-censorship and the expressed reluctance of authors to discuss the issue (Hentoff 1977, Blume 2001, Ravitch 2003), the number of Canadian authors and illustrators who have experienced pre-censorship and were willing to discuss the phenomenon was not substantial. Multiple techniques were employed to identify possible participants in an effort to compensate. The numbers were, however, more than sufficient to support the methodology and serve as a starting point for continuing investigation. The hidden nature of pre-censorship also means that it is not possible to determine the percentage of Canadian children's authors and illustrators who have experienced pre-censorship but do not wish to participate in the study.

As noted in section 3.1.1, Approaches and Aims, a phenomenological study is one that “describes the meaning of the lived experiences for several individuals about a concept or *the phenomenon*” (Creswell 51). This phenomenological study focused on the lived experience of Canadian children's and young adult authors and illustrators who self-identified as having experienced pre-censorship. The participants in this study have recounted what they identify as pre-censorship incidents and a composite of the pre-censorship experience has been created based upon the essence of the experiences recounted.

Editors and publishers were not interviewed about their perceptions of pre-censorship and how they differentiate between editing and pre-censorship because a phenomenological study requires that “the participants in the study need to be carefully chosen to be individuals who have experienced the phenomenon” (Creswell 55). It is not possible, based on the parameters of this study, to determine how much of what participants identified as pre-censorship may be identified by those who have not lived the experience as something other than pre-censorship. Therefore, attempting to compare what editors and publishers might categorize as legitimate editing to incidents identified by participants as pre-censorship would not be appropriate. This is also the reason that no

attempt was made to examine a cross-section of Canadian children's authors and illustrators, which would include those who have not experienced the phenomenon of pre-censorship. Those who have not experienced the phenomenon are not able to offer data that fits within this type of study.

CHAPTER 4 Findings

This chapter presents the findings from the study focusing on participants' lived experience of pre-censorship. The first section offers distilled accounts, grouped by type, of the pre-censorship experiences participants discussed in their interviews. In the interest of presenting an authentic account of how participants experienced pre-censorship their perceptions of the experience, reflections, and statements concerning how they felt have been included in this section. The next section examines the reasons for pre-censorship. How participants define this phenomenon is then explored. Self-censorship among participants is examined. These sections provide the foundation for a composite section which synthesizes findings and analyzes statements made to present the essence of the phenomenon of pre-censorship. The importance and presence of Canadian content in participants' books is then examined and contrasted with issues of Canadian cultural identity presented in the literature. Similarities among pre-censorship incidents in Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States are then examined to determine global issues of concern. The chapter concludes with a summary that ties together the main areas of focus and findings of this study.

4.1 Types of Pre-censorship Incidents Experienced

The severity of the incidents varies as does the certainty of the motives behind them. Some participants had proof of what they considered to be the reasons for pre-censorship while others had only suspicion. More recent incidents of pre-censorship also seemed to elicit deeper emotional responses from the interviewees.

The incidents are organized according to the type of pre-censorship that occurred and are referenced in the graphical comparison only once per type for each book or proposal.⁸

⁸ Where more than one set of changes was requested for a particular type of pre-censorship in a book, it is noted only once. Where different types of pre-censorship incidents were described as occurring in the preparation for publication of one manuscript, each type is noted. Example: If one manuscript was subject to pre-censorship for incidents addressing sex and incidents addressing violence, the manuscript is counted in both categories.

The incidents can be roughly grouped into the following categories: Accuracy, Americanization,⁹ Canadian Specific, Evolution,¹⁰ Gender Stereotypes,¹¹ Gender Issues, Male Point of View, Negative Adult Behavior,¹² Negative Youth Behavior, Other, Racism Concerns, Religious or Moral Attributes of the Character, Sexual Content or Implication, Unauthorized Alteration, Violence, and Voice Appropriation. The categories are based upon the interviewees' perceived subject matter or reason for the pre-censorship.

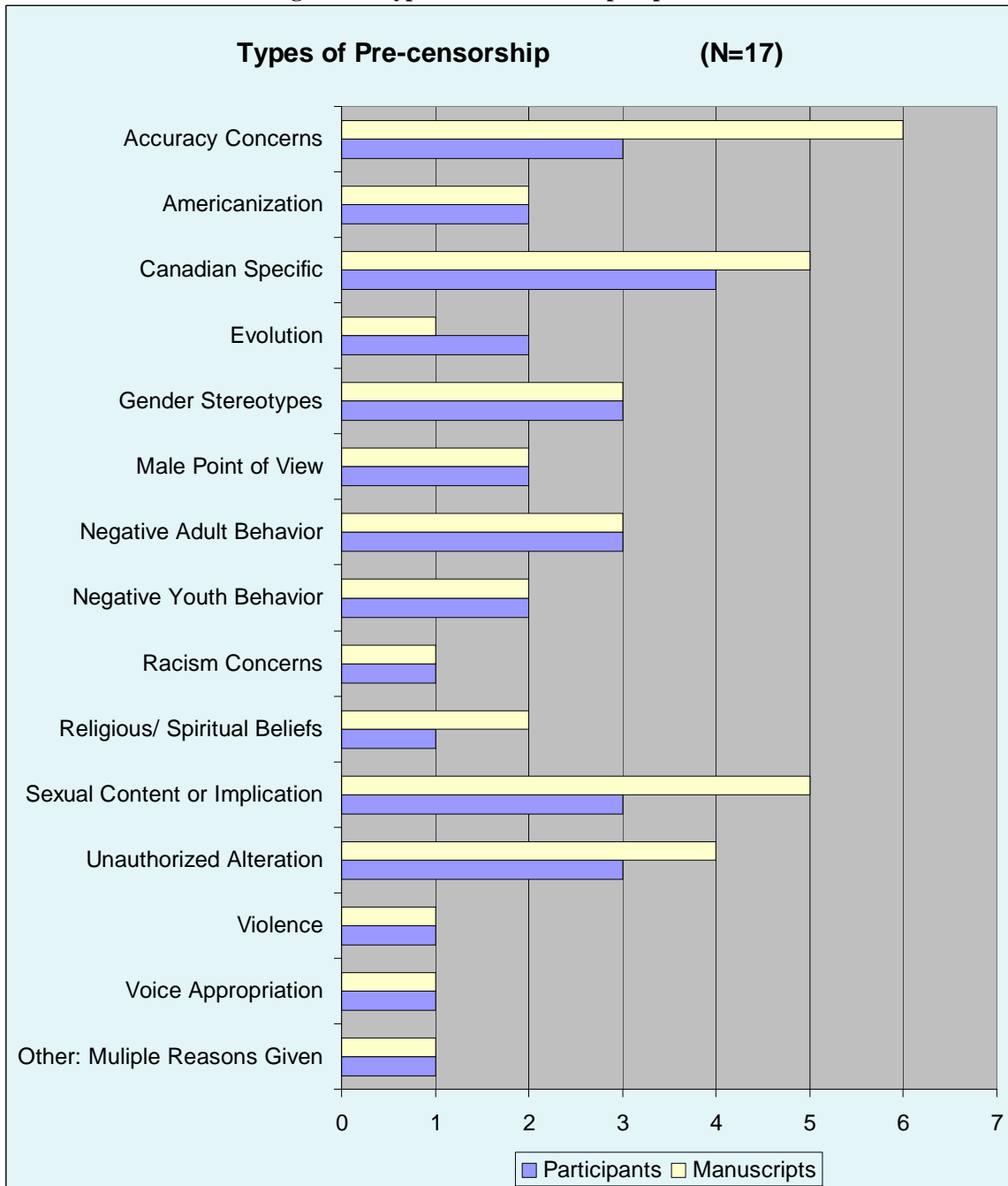
⁹ The term *Americanization* was specifically used by interviewee Nan Gregory and has also been used by Jane Whitehead to identify the changing of language for the American market.

¹⁰ The word *evolution* was directly identified by two interviewees as being something the publisher specifically wanted removed.

¹¹ "Gender stereotypes" is a category borrowed from the PEN International Study.

¹² "Negative adult behavior" is a term that was used by Laurent Chabin as he recalled the words of his publisher to identify the type of behavior his publisher did not wish to portray.

Figure 4.1 Types of Pre-censorship Experienced



During the interviews each person talked about what he or she identified as pre-censorship or felt worthy of mentioning in the context of pre-censorship. The incidents described provide concrete examples of how pre-censorship was experienced by authors and illustrators and the different meanings writers ascribe to pre-censorship. While a few incidents described did not fit this researcher’s pre-defined notion of what the term

means, by allowing authors and illustrators to define the term themselves and relate their experiences concerning what they identify as pre-censorship, a new and broader view of this phenomenon emerges as it has occurred in the last twenty years in the Canadian children's publishing world.

4.1.1 Accuracy

Number of authors or author-illustrators: 3

Number of manuscripts: 4

A concern that facts be accurate even in works of fiction has been given as a reason for pre-censorship on the part of publishers and editors. They are not the only ones concerned about this issue. One author-illustrator shared his experiences with inaccuracies on the part of the publisher.

Author Experience

Author Laurent Chabin related his experience with a publisher's concern about accuracy; he referred to an incident with a publisher early in his career when he had written a "fairy story." In this story, "there is a prince but he is very unhappy and it appears that he is not a real prince. He is a real toad and he wants to be back as a toad. . . . The little fairy falls in love with him. But before this happy end, the toad is dispirited, because he loves the fairy . . . but he thinks that she will be disgusted [because he is a toad] . . . and he wants to jump in the water."

In the first draft of the story, the dispirited toad jumps into a small pond. Chabin's publishers said "no, you cannot write this." He inquired why, stating "I will not write the word *suicide* if you want. I just will say, will write that he throws himself in the water." The publisher objecting on the grounds that "no, toads do not go in water, only frogs but not toads. Toads are terrestrial animals." Chabin argued that it was a fairy story in which the fairy speaks with animals and that is not realistic. The publisher held to his prohibition explaining that the specialty of this publishing house was nature and animals.

Chabin admitted that the publisher was known for this specialty in Québec. The publisher said “If I publish a story in which a toad goes in water . . . people will think I'm not correct, [that] I don't do my job correctly.” Although Chabin argued that no one would say anything about this, he notes that because it was his first book with this publisher, “he won” and Chabin changed the pond to a *bush*.

Author Experience

One author, the sixth to be interviewed, raised several issues which when taken together made her feel as if her judgment was being questioned. The requested changes from her editor addressed the accuracy of events and objects in Canada in the 1940s. The author's young adult novel is set in a small Canadian town during the Second World War when “aircrew” were trained “at ninety bases built across Canada [as part of] . . . the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. The author made the main character in the story “fourteen-and-a-half or so” and was advised by the editor that the age must be changed to sixteen. Her reasoning was that fifteen year olds could not drive or work in the fifties. The author lamented, “Well this isn't the fifties. This is the forties, and it's a small town in the prairies, and people weren't paying attention to that kind of thing.” The editor also requested that the character “be a friend of the pilots.” The author notes that growing up in that time period, she has first hand knowledge that “as a kid in the forties, people didn't pay that much attention - fourteen, fifteen, seventeen, eighteen, you hung out together, and I knew this.”

The author's use of nicknames was also questioned even though “everybody during the war [had nicknames]; people had nicknames in the forties. That was something they did.” The music that the mother plays on the piano was also questioned. This particular incident is one that the author really resents. In the story “the guys [fliers] come over to the house and after church . . . for lunch [and] . . . they're looking at the music that's on the piano bench.” The music that was originally on the piano was Stephen Foster, but the editor insisted it be changed to Cole Porter. The author explains, “My mother did not have Cole Porter. . . . My mother liked Stephen Foster. . . . I mean in 1943 you had a big book of Stephen Foster songs.” The author explained that the incidents bothered her

because they questioned her judgment when she had grown up in that time and knew these things to be correct, whereas the editor who was questioning the choices was “a generation and a half younger.”

Author-Illustrator Experience

An author-illustrator, the eighth participant to be interviewed, references three non-fiction children’s books, for grades 3 and up¹³, that were co-written and illustrated with another author-illustrator. He explained that they had some difficulty with the publisher’s editing which would sometimes result in incorrect statements. Specifics of the changes were not mentioned beyond noting that some of these changes made the text inaccurate and the authors had to go back and explain why these changes would not work for the books. The author explained, “It was very important to get it just right and that was what we were trying to teach [the publisher] . . . later on in the book. It’s that, you know, we will not lie to simplify.” He mentioned consulting with experts in the fields being discussed in the books to make sure that accuracy was maintained.

Another incident that was mentioned occurred in a nonfiction book about brightly colored animals. In this book, for grades 2-4,¹⁴ the author co-wrote the book with another author but did not illustrate it. He explains that “if you know the concepts of the appearance of animals, rarely does an animal want to show itself in nature, it’s a dangerous thing to do. So, generally, the animals that do show themselves are warning you, that there is trouble afoot if you bother me. They’re either toxic or there has got to be a reason to do it.” The author presented the publisher “with the break-down that we did.” The publisher hired an artist known for creation of panoramas to illustrate the book and accepted the book with one reservation which was mentioned at signing; that the authors would have to “totally redo” the book “so that everything is in panoramas; we have to have multiple animals with coloring in each one.” The authors argued that this is not how it occurs in nature, but the publisher insisted that this is what they wanted in a nonfiction children’s book.

¹³ Age specified in a review for CM Archive, Canadian Materials: A Reviewing Journal of Canadian Materials for Young People at <http://www.umanitoba.ca/cm/cmarchive/>, retrieved January 25, 2009.

¹⁴ Ibid.

The authors decided that they would leave without signing the contracts rather than make this change. The publisher conceded. This author sounded as though he was surprised by how easily the publisher gave in. “That’s how firm they are in editorial and non-fiction editorials. It’s like, yeah, ok we just thought, yeah well then, why did you make this threat that it was - oh, oh –no - there’s no choice? . . . So, it is not done in a panorama style because you only have generally one animal per environment. We matched animals with their strategies for having color.”

The co-authors had what the interviewee referred to as “a second bit of oddness” concerning accuracy later when the publisher “started throwing in animals” that did not have bright coloring “either [because] the marketing people wanted them or editorial people thought they should be in there.” Zebras, giraffes, tigers, and cheetahs were included at the publisher’s request even though these animals are not displaying warning or bright colors. The interviewee explained, “That’s all adaptive coloring . . . its camouflage.” In order to work around this requirement, the authors explained in the text that although these animals “seem flashy and colorful to us . . . their patterns actually help them to blend in.” The interviewee noted that “apparently it’s not just kids that need this book.”

A concern for accuracy is understandable. At first blush the idea of pre-censorship on the basis of accuracy may seem reasonable. Wanting things to be factually correct makes sense, but this is not necessary for all materials. How important is it that a fairy tale be factually accurate? The above experiences range from mild consternation about having to keep a toad out of the water in a fairy tale to frustration that one’s judgment is being questioned about information the author knows to be true. It would seem unlikely that authors would have to negotiate to keep material in a non-fiction book accurate, but as the above experiences illustrate, this can be an issue for both publishers and authors.

4.1.2 Americanization

Authors: 2

Manuscripts: 2

Among those interviewees who either published in the United States or with publishers who use American spelling, the request to Americanize spelling is generally considered to be the cost of doing business across the border or an annoyance that does not rise to the level of censorship. Requests for pre-publication changes to place names and identifiers of Canadian culture are more generally considered to be pre-censorship among those interviewed. That is certainly the case for author Nan Gregory.

In her interview, author Nan Gregory recounted her experience with an American publisher who insisted on changes that removed Canadian content from her manuscript for a middle grade novel. “They said right off the bat that they didn't want it to be set in Canada.” Gregory explained that she was advised to “make the setting as generally North American as possible rather than identifying it as Canadian -- loonie, runners, and so on. . . . Not to pretend that it's in the USA but to allow readers here to assume it is if they wish to.” In addition to the setting change, language changes were also requested. “I couldn't say grade seven I had to say seventh grade. . . . I couldn't say runners, I had to say sneakers. . . . They said that Canada wasn't exotic enough . . . like if it was England, then lots of stuff would be different.” In addition to affirming that she considers being asked to alter her work in this manner censorship, Gregory added, “I consider [it] erasing my country. That's what it feels like” (Nan Gregory interview with the author in Vancouver on November 15, 2007).

Interviewee 17 spoke about making changes to Americanize a book she wrote that profiled ten different biologists, half of whom were American and half Canadian.

We wanted this to be a North American book. . . . They edited it for an American audience. I remember struggling with that, I think I remember struggling with my

spell check. I'm quite a purist at heart and they said it just won't sell . . . if you don't make these changes. But they were subtle and it was spelling and that was the reality I get upset when I get told that I have to change mum to mom. . . . I think, okay I know that there are lots of real problems in the world, but when someone asks me to change mum to mom then I think this is not, it's not the same. And you'd have to be a Canadian and you'd have to be raised in Victoria by good WASP parents and that sort of thing to know the difference. But this is, mum is part of our heritage. The queen mum was never the queen mom, she was always the queen mum, right? . . . I've had that over the course of my career.

She explains that American spelling is not an issue if she is writing for American publishers. "If they're the ones that I start with I don't even though think about it. . . . It's a mistake if I submit it in Canadian spelling. . . . It works both ways" (Interview with the author, November 12, 2007).

4.1.3 Canadian Specific

Number of authors: 4

Number of manuscripts: 5

The term Canadian Specific identifies those incidents of pre-censorship that are dependent on the Canadian culture, law, or history. The incidents documented below touch upon Canadian cultural elements and author writing style, Canadian market factors and awards, and Canadian laws.

Author Alison Acheson recalled writing a hockey story about a father and a son. The father was "one of those hockey fathers who yells a lot" and in the story he "turns into a tape ball."¹⁵ She was told by the editor, "you can't write that because you're not Robert Munsch."¹⁶ You need to write it differently." Acheson articulated her frustration with this

¹⁵ According to Acheson, hockey tape balls are "a big thing in Canada. The CBC has the biggest . . . tape ball contest. . . . Boys and girls . . . put their hockey socks on with hockey tape. They save the tape and they start a ball and they carry these balls around in their hockey bag, and they get bigger and bigger and heavier about the size of a bowling ball usually. It's sort of a point of pride."

¹⁶ A popular Canadian children's author known for incorporating fantastical elements in his stories.

response stating, “I’m fine if you want to accept it or reject it, but don’t tell me that I can’t write it because I’m not Robert Munsch!” Acheson added, “I knew that she wanted it rewritten. But, she didn’t want me to write that story because that was a Robert Munsch Story, I had to write a different story.”

When questioned further about the relationship of her story to Robert Munsch, Acheson explained that she thought it was the fantastical element. She explained, “he has these fantastic elements . . . and the idea that someone can become a hockey tape ball is . . . fantastic. . . . That’s his domain.” The rejection of her story as written was based on a similarity to a Canadian style, associated with a well-known Canadian author, by a Canadian publisher. These elements make the pre-censorship incident described Canadian-specific. Although Acheson rewrote the story to be not “quite so maniacal” it was turned down. She believes that the reason is that “what she [the editor] had in her head was so different from what I had in my head that it wouldn’t matter what I rewrote. . . . It didn’t work for her.”

Acheson admits that this incident is “not really anything big but . . . is actually with the same company [with whom she had the gender stereotype incident] although a different editor.” Acheson notes that at this publisher “the marketing people really rule the roost there. I’ve had editors say, I love this story, but the marketing people say I can’t take it, so I can’t. That’s happened” (Alison Acheson, interview with the author in Vancouver, Canada, on November 13, 2007).

Kari-Lynn Winters described an experience with pre-censorship that is uniquely Canadian. Her third picture book story, “which was originally called *Olympic Chicken*, can no longer be called that because the government, the Canadian government, approved a bill, C-47, which limits the words that an author is allowed to use. It also limits the types of illustrations in terms of trademarks that can be used. So, this story that I wrote, this third story, has a lot of those kind of words that I’m not supposed to be using, so I’m being censored by the government.”

Winters' book about a chicken who wants to try out for the Olympics was accepted for publication in 2005, with an estimated publication date of Fall 2009. It is interesting to note that Winters wrote her book and had it accepted for publication prior to the proposal and enactment of the bill which is requiring her to make substantial changes to her story. Bill C-47, the Olympic and Paralympic Marks Act (1st sess., 39th Parliament, 2007) "gives the Vancouver Organizing Committee of the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Games . . . considerable powers to prevent the use of Olympic marks by businesses or individuals seeking to profit from an unauthorized association with the 2010 Games. . . . Bill C-47 extends protection to a set of images, words, and expressions associated with the Olympic Games in general and the 2010 Vancouver Olympic Games and Paralympic Games in particular." This bill was created to comply with an obligation to the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to protect Olympic and Paralympic Brands in Canada, but has perhaps had a broader effect than might have been intended.

Winters notes that Bill C-47 prohibits her from using the words "Olympic, Olympic games, . . . winter, gold, silver, bronze, sponsor, Vancouver, [or] Whistler . . . in conjunction with . . . the expression of the Olympics or some sort of sporting event." When asked how she felt about having to make changes to her book in light of Bill C-47 Winters said, "It's kind of a pain in the butt, really. . . . I just don't think it's fair that they should be able to take some of these words" (Interview with Kari-Lynn Winters, Vancouver, November 12, 2007).

One author, interviewee eight, spoke confidentially about a request by a Canadian publishing company's marketing department to make a proposed co-written nonfiction book on astronomy for kids "as Canadian as possible." The publisher pointed to "the constellations" as an area where the book could be made more Canadian. The author explained in the interview that "well, we are on this ball, and it rotates so there are no Canadian constellations because northern Europe, China, Russia, Japan, all see the same thing we do." The author found the publisher's push for Canadian content frustrating, explaining that "we could put in the pictures and things but that would actually disturb any potential for offshore transmission of the book. It sort of disturbs me that in some

way they're trying to put Canadian content in, I get the feeling that they are trying to do that partially because they aren't going to be seeking to take it offshore and the Canadian market is small enough."

Interviewee 17 discussed two incidents which were Canadian specific. The first concerns a story for ages 11 and up. "It is a family story that centers on an Italian Canadian girl who is given her deceased grandfather's accordion, brought from Italy. . . . She is encouraged by her music teacher, an Italian immigrant, and finally begins to learn. [The girl] plays on a roof when King George and Queen Mary arrive in her town so that they can see and hear her."

When the book came out it was positively reviewed by critics. "The critics have been fantastic about it. . . . It was really well received." Interviewee 17 thought that this might be her chance to be a finalist for a provincial book prize. She heard nothing during the period of consideration, but was invited to speak to [kids in] a book group. "The woman who was running the book group was also one of the judges on the panel. And, this was just . . . about a week before the panel was to present their decision. . . . She was passionate about the story, she loved it."

The judge told interviewee 17 that she wished the author could have spoken to the book prizes Committee. Another committee member liked the book, but a third "said that she was reading it and she was going along fine with it and then *how dare I devote the ending, devote a happy ending to a celebration of the Royal Family.*" This upset the author who explained that it "cuts to the core of our history . . . especially in 1939." Canadians had been devoted to Queen Elizabeth and King George and their train ride across Canada shortly before the war broke out was socially significant. "They brought people together under one flag, all these many, many cultures. . . . Everybody turned out to celebrate this grand event. . . . Their country was being recognized in a visit by the Royal Family in not a particularly safe time to travel."

The author explained that “The way the awards program works is that it doesn’t matter if two judges are passionately committed to the story if one doesn’t put it on their list it will not make the finals.” In reflecting on the incident, the author explained that

It’s not censorship in the traditional sense, but unfortunately, or fortunately, depending on what side you’re on of it, awards programs sell books. Those are the books that survive. They’re the books that live. . . . Awards programs give sustaining life to book titles.

Although interviewee 17 admits “it’s not the end of the world,” she is disappointed because she feels the book is “an excellent crossover book. . . . [and the] book prizes would have introduced this to adult readers.”

The second incident, which also concerned the book about an Italian Canadian girl who plays the accordion, occurred when it was under consideration for a second book award in another province. The author learned that her book was short listed for three regional awards. She contacted her publisher to tell them about the nominations. They congratulated her but also informed her that she did not make “the big one.” The author explained that the publisher believed so strongly in the book that they contacted the committee to find out why. The publisher was told that “there was one member of the committee, a librarian, whose family was of Italian-Canadian descent, who said that some of the language in the book was . . . ‘really filthy.’”

Interviewee 17 believes that the reference was made to a chapter in the book where the father, who is bilingual, is allowed to swear only in the cow shed. He does so in Italian and “the kids will hear him sometimes saying these forbidden words.” She explained that the English translation of the words, “mean things like *dog* and *miserable pig* and one of the words means *crappy*, or *crappy* as in *crummy*, but some would say *shitty*.” The words were not translated in the book but “the implication was that the committee had been convinced” of their filthiness. “The librarian would not elaborate on what the words meant . . . but everybody else was very easily swayed. . . . She didn’t really have to defend her position, just dismissed it on that one line.”

Interviewee 17 was very upset by the judgments placed on her book by certain committee members. In explaining how these incidents affected her, the author said it was “a huge disappointment.”

As a writer, the impact on me was that . . . I went through a period of about three months where I said to my husband, ‘I don’t know, this is the best that I can do, flaws and all, . . . this is the best I can do, and this brings together everything that I’ve got in my little tool kit and if this can’t be acknowledged then maybe I shouldn’t write anymore.’

The author was particularly upset that she was accused of putting “filthy” words into her novel. “I mean there is a line that you cannot cross. . . . It is still an elementary level story. . . . For somebody with my values to be accused of writing anything that’s really filthy hit very close to the bone.” Her publisher asked for a translation of every possible connotation and meaning of all the Italian words in the book. “We came up with virtually nothing. We still think to this day, and they haven’t come back with a reply, that it must be the word . . . that could be thought of as *shitty*, that is the word that she means.” The author is saddened by the loss of exposure of her book.

The impact of the perceived censorship by committee members is made clear when the author explains the importance of making a particular book list.

Nobody looks at what isn’t on the list, they just look at what is. It’s very important to make the list. If you’ve written at a certain level and you’ve given the story your all you know how much you’re offering to children in the book. Not to have it surface . . . because of the decisions. . . . To have other people decide to label it not suitable, let alone really filthy. Like to label it really filthy is maligning at best, and censorship on another level, I think.

Although the above incidents concerning the author’s book may not be commonly thought of as pre-censorship, the determination for the purpose of this study are the participants’ perceptions, which is why these incidents have been included. It is the author’s opinion that both of these awards greatly increase the visibility of the book and put it on lists that encourage librarians and schools to purchase the book. In addition to the possibility of no future print runs, failing to get this type of recognition may mean decreased sales and therefore eliminate the possibility of subsequent print runs. In essence the pre-censorship, as perceived by this author, occurring in this situation may

keep the book from coming to the attention of those who were likely or hoped to buy it and therefore out of the hands of many who would read it.

4.1.4 Evolution

Number of authors: 2

Number of manuscripts: 1

One interviewee spoke about a pre-censorship incident that occurred while co-writing a nonfiction Canadian children's book. After the outline for the book was created, the publisher contacted the writers advising them "not to mention evolution" even though the book conveyed that meaning. When the authors complained, the publisher advised them that the word *evolution* could not be mentioned "because we'll get letters. We really don't want letters." The authors continued working on the manuscript and submitted it with the term *evolution* as a chapter title. After negotiating with the publisher, the chapter title was changed but the term evolution remained in two places in the body of the text (Interview with co-author, October 26, 2007).

The co-author, in speaking about the incident, described the publisher as "getting wobbly over the use of the word *evolution*." The author noted that this occurred "past the initial outline stage . . . and they objected to the word evolution. . . we were pitching it to them as this would be a great book, evolution, no, no, don't do that." The authors did manage to include the word *evolution* twice in the book, although not as a chapter title. In commenting on the publisher's position, this author said, "it did sort of irritate me that they're so scared of the word evolution. Their reasoning was that they would get letters, and I kind of thought well isn't that what publishers are supposed to do?"

4.1.5 Gender Stereotypes

Number of authors: 3

Number of manuscripts: 3

The term “gender stereotypes” has been used to categorize changes requested by publishers or editors due to a perceived problem with the gender of a character.

Incidents:

Author Alison Acheson described her experience with a picture book that she had written. In the book “a young boy [is] being taught how to knit by his grandmother. And the nature of the yarn was magical so it was endless. . . . One of the editors I sent it to . . . said that they'd spoken to the marketing people and it would be too difficult to market a book about a boy knitting, [so] could I please change him to a girl?”

Acheson agreed to make this change “if instead of being taught by a grandmother . . . it could be a grandfather.” She explained that the editor “hesitated and she said ok, and I did the re-write and [then] they refused the re-write and didn't give me a reason why.” (Acheson interview, November 13, 2007).

Acheson notes that “they sent a hand-written note and there was no real reason. They just said it doesn't work for them at this time. They're happy to see more work in the future, the usual line.”

When asked if it was her feeling that the reason for the rejection was probably because of the grandfather, Acheson stated,

You know I don't know. It was the only change that they requested, so it wasn't as if there was something else about this story, or if there was they didn't say so in the first place. It was sort of set up as “if you change this, we're really happy to look at it again.” Again they always word those things very carefully so that they're not obligated in anyway. I remember it taking me aback somewhat. . . . Am I willing to make that compromise or can I? How can I get what I want out of it, too? And then that was it . . . a handwritten note with ‘Thanks, but no thanks.’

Acheson has since submitted to other publishers and it is under consideration. She told me that she turned the character back to a boy before sending it out and that the gender has not been an issue. “That particular picture book has seen a lot of publishing houses and no one has ever raised that as an issue.”

Like several other authors interviewed, Acheson presented her story to children to get their opinion. She explained,

Interestingly enough I was doing a lot of book tours at that point . . . because I was part of the Red Cedar Program and I was talking to kids in a Surrey school. . . . For the heck of it [I] put it out there for them. What would you think of this [a boy knitting]? And here I am in this school district in a country where the parents are all up in arms about same-sex parents in the picture books, and the kids, their spontaneous, quick response was: ‘what's the matter with that?’ They just couldn't see why there was a problem with the boy knitting. And it was such a quick response, I thought yeah this was their honest take on it that there's just not a problem with it.”

French-Canadian author, Laurent Chabin, spoke about a requested gender change in a fairy story he had written that was originally part of a collection published in 1996 or 1997 and was to be republished separately in 2003 or 2004. The story is about a king “who was pissing in his bed at night like a little boy. . . . That’s why he kills his chambermaid every morning because she knows [and laughs] and he doesn’t want people to know. . . . It’s an old, old story but it’s written in a funny mode.” The French text was changed in anticipation of republication to reflect both “chambermaids” and “chamber boys” (Laurent Chabin, interview with the author in Montréal, Canada, on October 4, 2007). This change was made to fairly represent both sexes.

Author Kathy Stinson related an experience that she had which she identified as a “politically correct thing.” It has been included here under the category of Gender Stereotypes because the concerns expressed about the publication of the original story and the modified stories are based upon the depiction of women.

Stinson had written a picture book story, aimed at three to six-year-olds, about a woman named Mrs. Muddle. Mrs. Muddle is an older woman “who often got confused about

things.” She wanted to go to the beach “and had a plan to get down to the beach to join her family down there, but she kept sort of being sidetracked by the need to find a sun hat, the need to find this and the need to do this. By the time she finally got her act together to go down to the beach, her family was coming up from the beach. And, anyway it was depicting a confused, older woman.”

The idea for the story came from interacting with someone with dementia and realizing that humour was important in coping with the impairment. Stinson thought that “the story was kind of a neat little story” and thought that “kids will relate to it, or will enjoy the humor because it's fun to see adults acting less competently than they know they can behave. So I thought it was really a very fun but valuable kind of story to put out there.”

The perceived problem with the story was its depiction of “older women as confused.” Stinson was told that “We don't want to perpetuate a stereotype.” She acknowledges, “I'm certainly one of the last people who want to see mothers baking cookies in their aprons in the kitchen, like okay, we've got enough of that. But I sometimes think it goes too far.”

An educational publisher became interested in the Mrs. Muddle story and was going to publish it. The publisher asked Stinson, “Does she have to be old? Could Mrs. Muddle not be just a younger woman, and maybe it's mom?” Stinson considered it and decided “it could be okay.” The publisher “got as far as having someone illustrate it, and then it went to whatever educational committee and they pulled the story because ‘we don't want to depict women in this way.’”

4.1.6 Male point of view

Number of authors: 2

Number of manuscripts: 2

Two authors discussed editors questioning the male point of view presented in their novels. What is surprising is that one author is male and the other female. Both

questioning editors are female. A valid point that is raised in the first experience detailed below is that male authors may have a reasonable basis to believe that they have a better understanding than female editors of what boys would do and how they would behave in situations.

One author, the thirteenth interviewed, spoke about not only his own feelings about censorship of the male perspective, but also about what he had discussed with other male writers. He explains,

I've had a couple of conversations with male writers about this, that we sense or feel censorship over what we know to be male . . . but that a female editor does not know because they haven't personally, deeply experienced being a boy. . . . Sharing a beer with a dear author-friend who was talking about a boy's response to an incident that he witnesses and sees, and I said "Oh, yeah that's exactly what I would do." I think, dropping back into 12-year-old boy mode. . . . And he was like: editor wanted it out. Just said 'there's no way a 12-year-old boy would react or respond in this way, I think that your view of boys is skewed, you're not seeing childhood properly here.'" And that to me becomes, that's where you're really questioning some pretty deep issues, some pretty central issues. This is not a writing issue anymore. This is going deeper than that. And to be able to respond back to say: "No, no, no, it really is. This is the way a lot of boys would respond and react, you might not like it." But, and that's where again, and I think that that sense, that sense of censorship comes in is when you sense that it is an editor's personal life that is breaking into the book, and that's when as an author you tend to get frustrated because you're thinking 'wait, no' this is your personal pet peeve on a social issue and you're breaking in on that and you don't have the right to do that because . . . you're describing a whole group in a particular way and you're not allowed to describe it in that way. . . . So I think gender can sometimes play an issue. (Interview with the author, November 13, 2007)

The author related his experience with pre-censorship of the male point of view with a specific young adult novel with a male teen protagonist. The manuscript "was shopped to . . . several other publishers all with female editors, and was turned down." He noted that they liked it but turned it down for "gender reasons . . . dealing with the character of the mother and who the mother was and how she was operating with her son. . . . They didn't connect with it so they backed off." The author went on to point out that "the first male editor that read it took the book. . . . I found that pretty significant and I think my agent did as well. In fact what was interesting is we purposely hunted for a male editor."

The female editors did not like the relationship that the main character had with the mother.

They thought that the mother was not motherly enough. They were offended by the fact that she was very male-like. . . . There's no father figure . . . and there were at least two editors who did not like the maleness of the mother. They felt that she . . . was too cold, too isolating, too distant, and they wanted a mother that was nurturing, whereas I was purposely trying to convey somebody who had become cold after the loss of a spouse. And it was her coping mechanism and they didn't like that. (Interview with the author, November 13, 2007)

The lack of approval by editors for certain types of male points of view has been encountered by more than one Canadian author. One author expressed aggravation that the desires of a teen boy in her young adult novel that takes place during World War II were questioned. The author explains, "this was a line that I had in there: [Reading] *he was torn, he wanted the war to end so Flo and Sandy could come home, but he wanted to sign up himself and do his part*. I mean that's what every teenage boy in North America wanted to do in nineteen forty-three." The author was advised by the editor to reconsider this section. The editor wrote, "it seems to say that part of him wants the war to last longer than it has to so that he can do his part, I can't imagine him thinking that."

The author expressed the impact this type of criticism had on her desire to continue writing. "So in other words, I was being prejudged. Frankly, this book so turned me off, I'm having a struggle writing the next one. . . . I felt like my whole creative imagination was under question. . . . I felt damaged by the end" (Interview with the author, October 15, 2007).

4.1.8 Negative Adult Behavior

Number of authors: 3

Number of manuscripts: 3

Negative adult behavior is a term that was used by author Laurent Chabin as he recalled the words of his publisher to identify the type of behavior that the publisher did not wish to have portrayed in a book for children. It refers to adults doing things that may be perceived negatively. Three incidents described by authors can be categorized under this term.

The first is provided by French-Canadian author Laurent Chabin. In his interview, Chabin spoke about a pre-censorship incident that occurred early in his career. He had written a story about a spider that lives in the corner of a door and a little boy who thinks that the spider is his friend. The boy greets the spider every morning and evening. “But . . . when the father, for the first time, sees the spider in the corner of the door he tries to smash it.” The publisher demanded that this passage be removed explaining “no you cannot write this. . . . It’s not a positive attitude for a father to smash a spider.” Chabin argued for its inclusion asserting that this was the book he had written and “If you write a book about war, war is not a correct thing, but you cannot write a book about any war and suppress the soldiers and the killings and the bones” (Laurent Chabin, interview with the author in Montréal, Canada, on October 4, 2007). The publisher held firm that he did not want the passage included.

In a similar vein, author Alison Acheson spoke in her interview of a request to rewrite one of her young adult novels to remove a secondary character.

I think the most drastic rewrite I've ever been asked to do was to pull a secondary, a very major secondary character, out of a novel. . . . I had a character who was the main character's uncle and he is sort of an old hippy guy, and in the story, the main character's best friend, best friend's mother is pregnant. And toward the end of the novel you discover that the father of the baby is actually the uncle, who's trying to come to terms with maybe having to commit [to the relationship]. A particular editor, this is in the States, I recall it's in the States, really took exception to this character and she said she

liked the novel . . . but . . . she feels very strongly that this character needs to go.

When asked what she thought the actual reasons were for wanting this character removed from the novel, Acheson explained, “I think . . . the fact that he was this sort of old hippy, open-minded guy. It meant that because he was in the story I had to go beyond just having a mother who is pregnant and unwilling to share how that came about with her fourteen year old daughter.” Acheson noted that her editor was aware that there was a real gender imbalance in the story with the removal of this character “so she suggested that I add a couple of brothers to the main character's life, so that there would be some boy somewhere.”

The rewrite took five months and with the removal of the character, Acheson’s agent felt the revised story was “rather flat.” Acheson then submitted both the original and the revised story to a fourteen year old girl whom she knows, telling her, “My agent likes one, and an editor asked for the other, I won't tell you which. Tell me what you think of them?” The girl liked both stories, but “really, really liked” the original version with the uncle in it. Acheson ultimately decided not to submit the revised manuscript. “It disturbed me, the thought of it being out there, not at all as I had intended, so I didn't send it back” (Alison Acheson, interview with the author in Vancouver, Canada, on November 13, 2007).

Author Kathy Stinson shared her experiences with the rejection of a picture book which contained an adult who displayed negative behavior in front of a child. In her interview she recalled a publisher who examined her manuscript and “expressed concern about the fact that the mother smoked and apparently had a string of boyfriends . . . and that the child seemed to be neglected.” Stinson expressed her feelings about why she wanted the character in the book,

She was obviously a welfare mom, and I was really upset about it because I thought “you know, these kids really need to see themselves represented in books and it wasn't like a kid taking up smoking because her mom smoked. . . . She didn't like it that her mom smoked and she just kind of, in a very offhand way referred to various guys who had been around. Oh and one of her old friends used to get candy from the store for them. And so it seemed to be promoting

shoplifting and all this sort of stuff.” But I just thought “oh come on . . . everybody needs to see themselves in a book” and so I felt badly. (Kathy Stinson, interview with the author in Toronto, Canada, on October 26, 2007)

4.1.8 Negative Youth Behavior

Number of authors: 2

Number of manuscripts: 2

Two authors related experiences of pre-censorship concerning teenagers behaving in ways that their editors did not want portrayed in the stories.

One author was asked to change the age of a character who was driving from “fourteen-and-a-half or so” to sixteen because the editor did not wish to portray underage driving. This change was made although the author felt that the time in which the story takes place, (during World War II) teens of this age did drive¹⁷ (Interview with the author, October 15, 2007).

Another author was asked to make a change by either her editor or agent from what was seen as negative teen behavior.

I'm pretty sure it came from my agent, but it may also have come from the publisher. In one of my . . . books I had a character who was drunk, and it was a youth who was drunk and she asked me to make him not drunk because they were targeting the book for a younger age group than I had initially imagined. . . . I just thought that was interesting but I didn't really mind. They know their readership in their marketing, and I don't think that it's right for an author to presume they know marketing as well as writing. (Interview with the author, November 13, 2007)

¹⁷ This incident is also discussed in part in section 4.1.1, pre-censorship incidents concerning accuracy.

4.1.9 Racism Concerns

Number of authors: 1

Number of manuscripts: 1

One author identified pre-censorship concerning language that might be construed as racist.

In a young adult novel that is set in a small Canadian town during the Second World War when aircrew were trained “at ninety bases built across Canada [as part of] . . . the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan.” In the house of the main character is a “black wood stove” and in part of the novel, the author uses the phrase, “It’s a question of the pot calling the kettle black.” The editor advised the author that the phrase was “racist.” The author argued that “they have wood stoves and the wood stoves make all the pots black. It’s got nothing to do with the color of people.” The editor insisted, “somebody might read it that way.” The author asked to “make a disclaimer at the end saying this is about wood stoves they’re all black and they make the pots and pans black.” The editor refused so the phrase, a colloquial aphorism, was removed (Interview with the author, October 15, 2007).

The author spoke of how difficult this reasoning was to understand, stating “that is just so out to lunch.” The reason given by her Canadian editor is reminiscent of that given by Patricia Quinlan’s American publisher who insisted that Quinlan change “a dark place” to “a cold place” so as not to seem racially insensitive to African Americans (Hurst 46). Interviewee six would seem to agree with those who believe that prohibitions on language such as this in an effort to be racially sensitive are “a literary version of journalism’s libel chill” (46). In both cases the pre-censorship was of idioms whose meanings were unrelated to race.

4.1.10 Religious or Moral Attributes of the Character

Author: 1

Manuscripts: 2

Only one author reported experiencing pre-censorship on the self-identified basis of “the moral attributes of a character or the basic fabric of a character, . . . why and who they are, what they are.”

The author experienced pre-censorship in two instances, both dealing with the spiritual beliefs of a character. He noted,

a good indication for me where I’m sensing censorship as opposed to editing is when we’re not talking, for example, about a writing technique, we’re not necessarily talking about, an active or passive setting or ending but rather we’re talking about the moral attributes of a character or the basic fabric of a character, and why and who they are, what they are. And an editor takes exception, for example, with a character’s belief system or the actions of a character as they apply to a moral or ethical situation. So those are the situations that I have experienced the pre-censorship in.

This author explained that in one instance

A main character who is . . . a religious figure is good, and this figure is very consistent throughout the story . . . for me the story required it, needed a minister and so I inserted his character type in the book. The publisher took exception and felt that that character was too . . . ‘Jesus-ish.’ Didn’t like that strong of a Christian-type character – even though I might add -- Christian faith was never mentioned. The term God was used . . . but there was no specific direct tie to Christianity and yet those were the ties and they wanted me to drop the trappings of this character. They became far more generic. At that point I felt I was very much experiencing censorship. I thought this is my character, this is who they are and they need to be this way, this is very much who they need to be.

The author fought the pre-censorship hard. “And with a fight they let it go.” This issue arose in the third book of a trilogy. The author credits “the politics of having the new U.S. agent come on board” for his successful refusal to diminish the role of his character.

This author had a different experience when working with an editor from another Canadian publisher on a novel that contained “a spiritual element.” The author again felt “some reluctance on the part of the publisher, but the tone was different. . . . It was more of a ‘I hope this isn’t a Judeo-Christian kind of character or person.’ That came across again.” The author explained that “my characters and my presentation of it, it’s not black and white, it’s so, it’s mystical, it’s shrouded, it’s covered, so I mean I’m sure that Christian kids would kind of pick up on certain elements and the tone. . . . But then . . . there’s nothing overt, if you get it, you get it, if you don’t, you don’t.” The editor dropped the issue once the author “gave some proofs” about why he wanted the character to act this way. The author said, “The response was ‘you’re the writer. This is your creation so’ [I’ll leave it in]” (Interview with the author, November 13, 2007).

4.1.11 Sexual Content or Implication

Authors: 3

Manuscripts: 5

Some authors have been asked to remove passages of stories that involve sexual content or that may have an implied sexual aspect to the events taking place. In the first recalled instance there was an unintended sexual implication. In the second, the author included sexual content that she felt was necessary to the story.

Author Laurent Chabin recalled a pre-censorship incident, related previously, which he felt had underlying elements of sexual content and gender. The incident occurred when he submitted a “fairy story” about a king who wet his bed at night and killed the chambermaid every morning to keep it a secret. “It’s an old, old story but it’s written in a funny mode. . . . The fairy in the story will cure this king of this habit The first day in the morning when she enters the room of the king she obviously sees him completely wet and she doesn't laugh [She] drives him to the shower and so the king washes himself and then it's a new day.” The publisher wanted to “suppress this paragraph” but did not provide a reason for the suppression. Chabin questioned the decision and was told “it's not necessary.” In relating the incident he stated, “Nothing is necessary. You can also not publish this story. It's not a necessary story (laughs).” It took some discussion before Chabin learned the reason for the request to suppress the paragraph. “He thinks that the fairy sees the king naked and the fairy in the story is a little one. And she is represented as a little girl in the drawings. So a little girl sees a huge naked king. And so I asked him. ‘Is it the reason?’ And he said ‘yes, you know it will not go. We will have problems in schools and things like this.’” Ultimately Chabin had to remove the paragraph.

Author Kathy Stinson related an experience she had with the manuscript for *Fish House Secrets*. In *Fish House Secrets* two teenagers who are both having family problems meet. Chad, suffocating under the attentions of his father following the death of Chad’s mother,

tries to help Jill, a runaway with a gambler for a father. “In that book there is a scene in which a 15-year-old girl who has been sleeping . . . in a barn . . . throws off her clothes in front of another 15-year-old boy and runs into the sea.” Kathy said that

One publisher who saw that manuscript before it was published, said, ‘well, if we do this book we’re certainly going to have to take that scene out. . . . It was sort of . . . ‘whoa, whoa, we are not going to touch that one’ and I thought ‘well does this story really need it? . . . But it needed it. It needed it for the development of that relationship and it made perfect sense. And it wasn’t even like she was terribly pleased with herself after the fact, once she realized how embarrassed the boy was, because he was quite naïve and he knew he should be doing something about this, but he couldn’t figure out what so he kind of stormed off down the beach in embarrassment So, I mean, it was pretty innocent stuff really.

Stinson recalled another instance, in which a passage was questioned based on sexual content. She found the experience funny as the whole book dealt with teenage sexual exploration. It was in the book *101 Ways To Dance*, a collection of short stories about teens exploring their sexuality. Stinson describes it as being “more a book about the anticipation of sex than about sex itself.” In the book is a story about a couple of guys “hitchhiking to a place where they have arranged to meet a couple of girls who have put their numbers on the washroom wall. . . . One of the boys is anticipating and wondering what sort of boobs she’s going to have. . . . He’s wondering if they’re going to be like this (gestures with hand) or are they the little cupcake kind that you can hold in one hand.” The publisher thought that this passage was “going too far” and the editor suggested toning it down. Stinson explained that “it’s that kind of detail that makes it real and puts you in the car with those boys anticipating what they’re going to.” Stinson left the passage in “and they were fine with it.”

Interviewee 5, a French-Canadian author, experienced pre-censorship during the editing process of her fantasy series. In it, a male dwarf and a female unicorn are “united in another dimension, a world of sound and primitive dance where they can communicate.” The author explained in English that she referred to the characters as a couple but the editor insisted that this be changed because the term *couple* “connotes a man and a woman, like a married couple.” The author also has included a scene where the dwarf

was “resting beside his new companion (*nouvelle compagne*)” and the editor changed companion to *muse* instead. The author objected, explaining that “this changes the meaning because the unicorn does not serve as muse to the dwarf. He was a very good musician before he met the unicorn.” The editor wanted the term *muse* and the author did not make the change. At the time of the interview, the page proofs had not been returned so the author was uncertain if her request would be accepted. She explained, “Every instance of the term ‘couple’ was rejected because the relationship is between different species.”

Another area of concern for the editor was a scene in which the dwarf and the unicorn are in danger and need to escape quickly. The author explained that although unicorns generally do not carry a rider, the unicorn was willing to carry the dwarf.

The description states that the dwarf is riding the unicorn, and in his face you can see that he is afraid. He is holding on tight to the hair of the unicorn with his legs on each side of her. In my mind, the dwarf looks ridiculous—he is so small and his legs are so short. They told me that this (point to her drawing) makes for a very suggestive picture, and to make it more modest. (Interview 5)

Interviewee 5 added that the editors of the first three books in the series also objected to the term “‘hardiesse’ [courageous, brave, bold] to describe the dwarf riding the unicorn.

The editors thought that act of riding conveyed the idea of the dwarf having sex with the unicorn. When I reread the passage with this in mind, it is possible to come up with this reading. It is the first time that the dwarf who is small is on the unicorn, he is first afraid, and then he experiences pleasure – like an orgasm. You see, if you read it this way, you can see it. . . . I do not want to change the description of this scene. I will keep it exactly as I have written it. This is a book for children, and children are not going to see his adult interpretation. The adult knows the sexual experience, but the child does not.

She explained that three editors corrected the manuscript. “The first two had no problem, but the third said there was a lack of modesty. I believe that the first two were women, and the third is a man with a dirty mind.”

This author was required to change text that originally read: “even if the coupling is strange (bizarre), no one has the right to separate them.” She explained that “They

accepted my correction because I changed the word *bizarre* to *extravagant*: it now reads “even if his attachment to the unicorn is *extravagant*.” When asked about the significance of the word change, interviewee 5 explained that “in French, it is more suggestive; it connotes outside of reality. And *extravagant* does not connote a strong attachment.”

Interviewee 5 discussed another story that she had written which was turned down because “the story is about adultery and alcohol . . . [and] no one is punished.” It was a legend about a rabbit and a tiger who are good friends. The rabbit desires the tiger’s wife and so “he arranges to drink warm alcohol with the tiger [and] as soon as the tiger falls asleep, the rabbit begins to seduce the tiger’s wife.” He pretends to help tiger’s wife look for him. “They visit all the places of pleasure where the tiger could have presumably gone. Of course, the rabbit knows full well that he isn’t there.” In the legend the rabbit covers the tiger with a coconut leaf while he sleeps.

In the morning, when the tiger comes back, he has stripes because of the sun. God laughs when he sees the tiger, and he puts more stripes on his body to make him look good. He also put some stripes on his wife. And God says, “your descendents will be like you; they will also have stripes.” And touching the belly of the female tiger, laughing a little maliciously, he says, “you will have nice little children with stripes and nice little mustaches [just like the rabbit has].”

The editors told the author that “the rabbit is a seducer who appropriates the wife of the tiger by getting him drunk. Can you imagine how teachers and parents will see this story?” They were unwilling to publish it because the rabbit is not punished: “It is the tiger that pays. . . It is certainly not a moral story since the rabbit and his wife get away with what they did.” The author explained that when she wrote the story, she was not conscious of the underlying theme that the publishers focused on.

4.1.12 Unauthorized alteration

Illustrators or Author-illustrators: 3

Books: 4

The term unauthorized alteration has been used to categorize the changes made to the work of interviewees whose illustrations were either changed by the publisher without their permission or prior knowledge, or where such change was attempted.

To understand the nature of the incidents which are described below it is important to understand the process that illustrated books generally go through in Canada prior to publication, from the point of view of the illustrator.

The usual process in doing a book is that you do a dummy. Everyone sees the dummy and the editors and the illustrator all work out what's working, what isn't and then everyone signs off it and then you, as an illustrator go to doing the final art. Then you send the final art and that's it. Unless you have made like the worst possible error or something is just completely off base, there shouldn't be anything else and the next thing is a matter of getting the art, the book designer, and the type and all that settled. (Interview with Illustrator in Vancouver on September 9, 2007)

Illustrator Experience

One interviewee, an illustrator, related her experience with pre-censorship concerning a Canadian picture book written for ages eight and up. The book tells the story of a grandmother recalling her last Purim party in Vienna in 1939. "The story takes place in three time periods," beginning in the present. "The grandmother reflects on her last Purim party which she had to go celebrate in secret at the rabbi's because it was forbidden for the Jews to celebrate Purim particularly." At the party the rabbi tells "the story of Queen Esther . . . [which] is a parallel story to Hitler's. . . . Haman the evil prime minister is essentially the corollary to Hitler." While the rabbi is telling the story soldiers come for him but he is allowed fifteen minutes to finish the story of Esther. The illustrator explained that because the story is changing time periods from that of Queen Esther, the present, and 1939, she chose to portray 1939 with a "visual graphic signal . . . a portion of

a swastika, though it's done in kind of a deep midnight blue going to black. So you see part of it, but you don't see an entire swastika.”

Before any pre-censorship incidents occurred concerning the book that this illustrator illustrated, all of the above mentioned processes were completed, including the submission of the final art. Then the illustrator was told “‘well, you can't have these swastikas in here. Nobody's gonna buy a book that has swastikas,’ or they didn't like some of the framing, did not understand it.” In response to this the illustrator walked the publishing staff through the book “to explain the rationale” and placement of images in the illustrations.

The illustrator compromised on a spread with a “window-like grid” which originally looked “more like a portion of a swastika.” She was able to come up with a grid that she thought also worked “because it's fairly ominous and frightening and it was important to have that because in this book there's really only one line that gives you a sense of the danger. . . . The whole tone of that time has to be carried by the visuals, hence this kind of really ominous framing, as though you're looking through the bars of something or the bars of a cattle car; through a hovering menacing kind of darkness.” The publishers agreed to this compromise.

The publishers also requested a more subtle swastika image for the ending of the story. The illustrator said “no” to this explaining that “the story ends where the soldiers let this rabbi escape into the night, but into the snowy night, but the fact is there is still this shadow and the ominous hovering menace of Hitler and Nazism so that needs to be there.” Ultimately this image was kept in the book.

The day before the book was supposed to be sent to Asia for printing the illustrator received an email from the publisher stating, “We have to, the art director, you have to take all the barbed wire out of these illustrations.” The publisher said that the barbed wire “makes no sense” and asked for permission to allow the art director to take it out and added “you have to take it out.” The illustrator emailed back asking for the rationale

for the removal, explaining that she could not agree to allow the art director to make this alteration, and advising that she needed “time to contemplate how this could be done.”

The publisher emailed back stating, “No, you have to take it out or we will get another illustrator.” The illustrator, who contacted the author and had her complete support, emailed the publisher and informed him that “this is something I would have to work on. I cannot do it. You are the publisher. If you choose to get another illustrator that is your choice. . . . I cannot make this decision. No, I would need more time and I would have to sit down and you would have to explain it to me.”

The emails went back and forth for twelve hours, stopped for a while during the night and in the morning “they started up on this ‘well, we’re going to get another illustrator.’” The author advised them to contact the author. Another eight hours passed with emails back and forth and the illustrator insisting on a reason for this alteration and requesting to meet. “Finally at four in the afternoon . . . [the publisher] emailed me back and he said ‘well, we’re gonna go with it. We’ll just leave them as they are.’”

Another issue that came up concerned the number and kinds of fonts used in the book. The illustrator thought this issue was settled and it was important to her. She explained that “because of the nature of it, being highly graphic, I’d really designed where the text must go and it’s not straight-forward. In many places it goes and angles and shifts around. That’s important for sort of visually moving through the story and also getting a sense of the importance of the type.”

The publishing staff changed the type without contacting the illustrator. She explained that what happened “was really upsetting” to her.

It was censorship that they took over and I had nothing to do with. After we had agreed on everything I actually had seen, they gave me the proofs, on this double spread (points in book) there were supposed to be great big bold lines for “you’re wanted for questioning” and “this is the day the Jews will die” that was supposed to be really big. The whole page is designed based on a really bold, almost poster like, blasting out of that type and they changed it without getting back to me and that was really vexing to me. First of all, it completely changes the whole impact

of this page and this becomes kind of wimpy, and most people may not pick up on that in a conscious way but in terms of how you read and experience the emotion of it. It ruined it.

The illustrator describes the attempts at pre-censorship and the censorship concerning the font style and size along with her interactions with the publisher as “the most bizarre experience I’ve ever had in publishing.” Although the illustrator did not characterize these events as pre-censorship specifically, she did discuss some “naughty” behavior on the part of the publisher that appears to have been done, at least in part, to apply pressure to the illustrator to make changes.

The publisher, without the consent or prior knowledge of the illustrator, showed the one-off sheets (illustrations that had been scanned) to individuals, unknown to the illustrator, with an expressed interest in children’s literature writing or illustrating. He told this to the illustrator and then began to tell the illustrator their opinions of her work. The illustrator met with one of the individuals and explained the illustrations. The woman “got it” once she had been walked through the entire book. The publisher also showed the illustrations to “some rabbis and other people” who had no problems with the illustrations. The illustrator explained how difficult this situation was: “he brought in all these people and I would try to intellectually explain it, which I think it is a very sensitive issue.”

In relating this experience the illustrator said, “I thought, you know, what and who are you asking? Like excuse me that is the most disrespectful thing you could do.” The publisher tried to show the illustrations to another writer-illustrator. The illustrator told him not to show her work out of context. “It’s not fair to show someone a piece and say ‘What do you think of about this swastika’ if you don’t know or understand the entire flow and sequencing of the book.”

The illustrator's efforts were recognized when the book went to the Bologna book fair and it received a "starred White Raven"¹⁸. . . . That was quite an affirmation from around the world that it was well received. That was very nice."

A second incident was related by this illustrator that also involved unauthorized alteration of her illustrations. She identified it as a "silly kind of a censorship." The illustrations were for a riddle book that contained "some scenes with the child playing with different animals." The publisher was "concerned that there should always be an adult nearby." The illustrator created images of "a parent up on the ladder, a shoe . . . a little bit of a person here. . . . There were some boots." She explained that she put the images in "kind of against my better judgment, but I made it work like following somebody walking and then I guess they decided it looked kind of creepy because it was a little weird. Why would you bother? So they took it out but they didn't ask me."

The illustrator explained

This actually should not be done, cannot be done. They're not supposed to alter your artwork. . . . I mean that's naughty. They're not supposed to do that. When you're working with a book like this the art director gets to play around with the cover, picking out things to do and they do endpapers and that sort of thing, if you haven't previously done the endpapers. And that's all fine, but when you go in and make a material change to an illustration, that has to be done with permission.

Illustrator Experience

The second illustrator to be interviewed described her experience with pre-censorship concerning illustrations she did for a picture book for grades 1-3. The story is about a girl who loves to paint. She is the daughter of a great artist and disguises herself as a boy to be able to study with her father in Venice. While there she befriends an enslaved cabin boy who dreams of going home and learning to paint.

¹⁸ According to the International Children's Digital Library website "the White Raven Label is "given to books that deserve worldwide attention because of their universal themes and/or their exceptional and often innovative artistic and literary style and design" (<http://www.childrenslibrary.org/servlet/WhiteRavens>, accessed February 12, 2009).

This illustrator identified this experience as “the worst example” of pre-censorship that she has experienced. She explained, “They took a main element in a picture and divided it digitally in three and placed it in different places in the book” The main element that she is referring to is a paint box.

In explaining why this type of alteration is pre-censorship, the illustrator discussed the importance of placement in illustration.

I can semiotically explain why my picture or another person’s picture is exactly the way it is, why something is exactly in the middle, it has a meaning. . . . Something is in the middle; it has a certain meaning when something is out at the edge. And, and when someone goes and chops up the pictures, and makes them smaller or makes that thing that was in the middle out to the edge, they’ve changed the story.

Having established the importance of placement she went on to discuss the problem with altering her paint box illustration.

If you look at that book . . . the second spread in the book is this beautiful paint box opened up. And my thought is that when a child is reading this book she opens that page and there is the paint box with all its insides displayed and that is the paint box. The story is about the paint box. . . . When you open up the paint box, you see a division for the brushes, a division for the paints. . . [The designer] chopped it up into these pieces and then placed them on the title page in different [places] and what child would ever understand what, what are these pieces, what do they belong to. . . . It’s just my vision being intercepted with someone else’s vision.

She spoke with some concern about the freedom given to art designers. “These designers, they can just have fun with your beautiful pictures. They can just sit there and click and chop up and enjoy themselves. . . . This means that with the new digital technology a designer can go over the limit, and I’ve experienced this in several cases.”

The illustrator learned of the alteration to her illustration “by chance” because she asked to see the proof.¹⁹ When she saw the changes that had been made to it she told her publisher that fragmenting her work was not acceptable. “They said ‘That’s tough.’ And

¹⁹ This illustrator advised that in Canada most contracts do not include a provision that the illustrator is allowed to examine the proofs. In commenting on it she said, “This is another thing that drives me crazy. . . . I mean that I have the same responsibility to telling the story without the same protections. . . . A lot of publishers just say that, if you want to approve the proof, go to another publisher.”

this fighting went on for ages.” The illustrator was so upset by the alteration of her illustration that she hired a copyright attorney and “managed to stop it. So, it hasn’t been printed like that.” She added that “the publisher went ahead and made a mess of the first edition and then I had to hire a lawyer again so that they promised that the next edition that they printed would be right.”

She approved a new set of proofs with her paint box intact “and then they just gave it to the designer to play with.” The designer “made the pictures bigger, so that elements got chopped off. Certain design rules . . . that I just know are totally wrong, like you don’t let an object go from one corner to another corner. . . . The way he chopped them made that happen, and I’m just shocked. . . . Like it’s my integrity as an artist being destroyed by his bad taste.” The designer also changed the colors in the picture.

The issue is particularly upsetting to the illustrator because she spent years working on this book. She traveled to Venice and the Canadian National Library to find out what paint boxes might have looked like during the Renaissance. She explained, “I am using so much energy . . . to research every detail. A designer who may have no education, no knowledge of what a paint box is, is allowed to chop my picture up into the little bits and place it around.”

The illustrator argued that if major changes need to be made they should be discussed with the illustrator “along the way” just as they should with a writer. “You don’t come when the book is finally, totally finished. . . . If they wanted to make little boxes out of my paint box, they should have suggested that along the way. This was huge. . . . It’s just destroying my story.”

The problems with this publisher were of such a level that she feels she is blacklisted unfairly in Canada. “I realized there’s no point in me even trying to get work there All I’ve done is asked for my book to be printed the way it was presented and approved.”

Author-Illustrator Experience

The third person to discuss unauthorized alteration of an illustration both writes and illustrates. His experience with unauthorized alteration occurred when he and a co-writer/illustrator collaborated on a non-fiction book for juveniles about animal behavior that included black and white illustrations. The publisher that he worked with insisted on doing all the type-setting for the book and although the publisher did not make any changes to the text, “they did alter art work.” The illustrators were not told beforehand. It was done “not only without letting us know, but actually damaging the art work. . . We discovered this later when we got the artwork back. They just decided to rip into it, and that sort of thing.”

“In that case . . . the art director at the time didn’t understand what we were doing. . . . It was just cheap black and white artwork. It wasn’t a water color painting or anything, so they just carved into it and ripped up what they needed to rip up. . . . Ripped it up, and, you know, made some alterations.”

The illustrators learned of the alteration when they got the art back. The interviewee explained, “They had a problem, I knew that they had a problem. The baby goat’s line . . . was too dark to use black, but too light to use white. . . . It was a miscalculation on our part. But they could have just pasted that over; waxed and pasted over. Instead they cut into it and carved it up. There were a couple of other places where they did that sort of thing, but it was just one of those things where they thought black and white art work is not important. It’s not a collector’s piece; it’s not something to be framed, and off it went That’s just the way they were thinking at the time.

The author described the experience as being “not a happy” one. He also noted that his experience in the non-fiction book publishing world “has been sort of odd Generally you have to fit into the machine.” He feels that “with all the publishers we have been with, because we write and illustrate most of our stuff . . . the publisher feels like they have lost an aspect of control.”

The experiences of the three illustrators (two illustrators, one author-illustrator) described above point to problems in the understanding on both sides of the role of the art director or designer and of the feelings of the illustrators and their rights concerning the control of their art. The books that were the subjects of the above discussion for the first and second illustrators were published in 2004. The third illustrator's book was published in 1993. All three interviewees felt that the alterations or attempted alterations were acts of pre-censorship. Illustrators who experienced this pre-censorship more recently voiced greater concerns about it.

4.1.13 Violence

Number of Authors: 1

Number of Manuscripts: 1

One author, Laurent Chabin, discussed an incident of pre-censorship concerning violence. Chabin had written "a mystery story . . . with killers and cops and things like that." In the original story a man was beheaded. The publisher did not want a beheading in the story so Chabin changed it to the cutting off of an arm. The publisher said, "No, no. It's awful. It's a book for kids and we don't want problems in schools." Chabin finally agreed that the killer would "just cut the thumb." He notes that this change "was less interesting" but agreed because "the important thing was the piece of the body" for the police to find, not that it was a head. He did note, however, that "it was easier to find a head than a thumb." The publisher's objection was to the corpse being beheaded. Chabin notes that he is not subject to this type of pre-censorship today. The incident recounted occurred early in his writing career which has spanned more than ten years.

4.1.14 Voice Appropriation

Authors: 1

Manuscripts: 1

One author discussed pre-censorship incidents she experienced based on concerns about voice appropriation.

Author Jennifer Mitton experienced pre-censorship when trying to get her book *Fadimatu* published. The book, originally published as an adult novel, has since been used in high schools and been read by young adults. *Fadimatu* tells the story of a young Nigerian woman dealing with the changing societal norms in Nigeria. She “must make many difficult choices such as when she is expelled from school, she has mixed feelings about the marriage her father arranges, she must undergo female circumcision, she can't get along with one of her co-wives, and her husband stops speaking to her.”²⁰ Mitton’s experiences while living in Nigeria and volunteering there as a teacher for two years were the inspiration for her story. Mitton sent her story, which was the seed of her novel, to Canadian publishers while still living in Nigeria. It was published in the journal *Matrix* in 1986.

Upon returning to Canada, Mitton pursued the writing of her novel and received an emerging author grant to write *Fadimatu*. She recounted the difficulties she encountered trying to get her novel published, explaining that this occurred at the height of the feminist movement and “everybody was judging everybody else. . . . It was almost as if we were all walking around with a little policeman on our shoulder.”

Although Mitton explained that as a writer she felt “really torn” and “deep down that there was something very wrong about it. . . . I was very in touch with this . . . appropriation of voice thing It got to a point where I felt that I ought to, this isn’t something I really wanted, but I felt I ought to have little stories written by the women

²⁰ Quote taken directly from Jennifer Mitton’s website at <http://www3.telus.net/nelcyjen/fadimatu.htm> on February 6, 2008.

that I talked to in Nigeria and I would somehow put them as prefaces to each chapter to make it a kind of a collaborative work, which isn't really what my novel [is about] . . . but if I thought about it, how can I justify doing this. In this era where I really, I should not be writing from a black person's point of view." Ultimately, to Mitton's relief, her agent advised her that such an addition would not be of commercial interest.

Even without the Nigerian women's stories, "it was really hard" to get *Fadmiatu* published.

People were afraid. They'd say well look we love it, it's a great book, but we're just, you know this whole issue is so-o-o-o dicey now And all kinds of men who had written about women . . . they were just getting trashed, and everyone who wrote from a point of view of anyone from another culture was getting totally trashed, even if they had been beloved by their readers. The literary community itself was trashing them, I really felt it was the literary community, I felt it was certainly not from publishers, it was not from people reading the books, it was from it was from the grass roots, it was from the feminists who felt this way, and from literary people, so it was kind of like an in-house kind of trashing.

Mitton sent her manuscript first to small Canadian publishers. "I'd get feedback saying . . . it's just, with the current [climate] -- we don't feel we can take this on. . . . I did try some of the big ones and I got the same reaction." Mitton was dropped by her agent and began sending the manuscript out on her own. It took approximately a year to find a publisher willing to publish it. *Fadimatu* was published in 1992.

The publisher that took it on was really open and we were really open talking things out about things, and we were both very clear that we were beginning to consider it censorship. We were beginning to feel that that was what this was about, so we'd refer to it and we'd talk about . . . strategies to get it published, because here's the thing: she's a small publisher . . . and she needed funding so she had to kind of make this justifiable too.

Mitton also felt that the book representative, a feminist whom she knew from a feminist collective, who took her publisher's books, including *Fadimatu*, to bookstores "was really trying to put herself in front of this publication and to stop it. . . . I was worried because I thought . . . even if it gets published, she's going to block it from being sold." Mitton went on to note

I didn't have to ask the booksellers. I could see, there wasn't a single copy in any of the women's bookstores and it was really not in the independents. . . . I could see that she had really done her job. . . . What made me think she'd censored it was that it started showing up in other countries being sold, but it wasn't being sold in Canada.

Mitton shared a final experience concerning *Fadimatu* that she felt was relevant. When her book had first come out and was getting very positive reviews, she received a call from an editor "who said she loved [it]. . . . She couldn't be more exuberant about it." The editor asked if she had any other writing that could be sent to the editor. "It's *Fadimatu* she loved, so, because I hadn't written anything else yet, and I said 'OK, great' and then we started talking about the logistics. . . . At the conclusion of the phone call, she said, 'well, I'm really thrilled that you're going to be in *New Black Voices of Canadian Fiction*, or *New Black Women*, *New Black Women Voices in Canadian Fiction*, or something." Mitton explained "that was the first I knew of the title" and she informed the editor that she was "not black." Mitton stated that the editor's "whole tone changed . . . and immediately, like without really even a transition, she started into a lecture about how I shouldn't have written this, I shouldn't have written this book."

The experiences with pre-censorship based on voice appropriation had a strong and lasting effect on Mitton.

I guess, I still was self-censoring for years, but I began to just think, you know what, you can write about whatever you want, you can write about figments of your imagination, you know. And it's funny, it kind of haunts me still – every book I read, every book I look at, I'm thinking, were they thinking about that when they wrote this, were they thinking, well, gee, I'm not a doctor, I'm writing about a doctor, should I be writing about it, or are they just like having fun writing? And it just seems to me that I spend a lot of time kind of still 'angsting' over it. I still angst over it and I still ask how . . . [someone] got published when they're not aboriginal, they're only ten percent aboriginal. (Jennifer Mitton interview with the author in Vancouver, Canada, on November 15, 2007)

4.1.15 Words / Language

Author: 1

Manuscripts: 1, but allowed

Kathy Stinson has commented on publishers' reluctance to include certain words in novels for young adults. "I mean, there's always words that are kind of red flags to publishers and they would rather you not put them in your books. These include words such as *fuck* and *shit*." She recalled her publisher for *Becoming Ruby* being reluctant about the use of the word *fuck* but noted that they "saw the thing of it and again it was kind of an exploration of the word *fuck* just because it was the teenage girl remembering [herself] as a kid, spelling out the word *fuck* with a sparkler . . . just for the fun of the naughtiness of it."

4.1.16 Other: Disgusting, Gross, Sexual Implication, Implication of Violence

Authors: 1

Manuscripts: 1

One author related an incident of pre-censorship that occurred after she had submitted the complete manuscript, signed a contract, and received advance pay for the second book in a series. The series is for children ages 9-12 and the ongoing story is about an eleven-year-old girl whose mother has schizophrenia. She lives in a rural mountain area with foster parents who offer her the possibility of adoption. The books touch upon issues of family, life in the Rockies, and adventure. The first story in the series was nominated for five awards. The manuscript for the second book did not fare as well after changes were made at the insistence of the publisher.

The publishing house she was contracted with is small and does not have in-house editors. The author was given a different editor for the second book. This editor turned

out to be one that the author had worked with on her first published book and enjoyed the experience.

When the author received the edited manuscript she was shocked and upset to find that a drastic change was made. “The whole center of my second book [was] gone. I phoned this editor and I said ‘where is the center of the book which is the most important part of the book?’, and she said to me ‘Oh my God, she didn't tell you?’ and I said ‘she didn't tell me what?’ And she said, ‘well, she wants the whole centre part gone because she thinks it's gross.’”

The center part of the book focused on “a bear and a bear poacher.” The author was “drawing a parallel between a bear cub, who is eventually adopted by another mother bear because the bear's mother gets killed . . . and this girl [who] is so confused about the foster parents and the adoption thing.” She drew the parallel for the girl “to learn that this baby bear could be adopted by another mother bear and be very happy and continue with life.”

The publisher did not want this section “because the bear . . . was poached illegally by poachers, which is something that happens . . . regularly” in the area where the story is set. When the author phoned the publisher to ask directly why the section was being cut she was given additional reasons. The publisher thought the passage was “gross” and referenced the dried bear gallbladders which appeared in the story stating, “Well, it sounds like testicles.” The author advised her to read the section again. “There was no word ‘testicles’ in it.”

The author explained, “The whole center revolved around the bear’s being killed, and I wrote it very carefully, so I didn't think it was gross. I was describing the gallbladders and sort of going into why people poach them for the gallbladders and how they were worth a lot of money.” In her research about poaching for the story, the author accompanied a conservation officer to observe the remains of poached bears and learn about bear poaching.

The author related how the gallbladders were introduced to the girl in the story.

They were little gallbladders that were drying so they can be sold and so there were these little bags on little pieces of string drying in this cabin where this girl had been sort of captured by the poachers, and she was, for the time being [captured]. And she saw all this and she realized that what these guys were doing was illegal and she should somehow put a stop to it but she couldn't leave, right, because these guys had sort of captured her for the time being.

The author recalls the publisher's "main comment [about the book] was that it was disgusting." Other factors seem to have been at work because the publisher raised the issue of gallbladders reading as testicles and the illegality of bear poaching. The insistence that the material be removed for such an amorphous reason as the passage being "gross" or "disgusting" has deeply effected the author. She confided, "I felt very vulnerable and very much attacked because I didn't think it was disgusting, I mean bear poaching is disgusting, but I didn't think the way that I had written things out was disgusting, I was just simply giving a really gripping plot to keep the kids reading, you know?"

The publisher's insistence that the middle section of the book be removed required the author to rewrite it because "the whole book fell apart" without the central section. She described the rewriting experience. "It's kind of going out to dinner and not having the main course, you know, you fill up on appetizers and dessert."

The author explained the impact the rewriting process had on her work.

I had a really hard time rewriting the whole thing because I was totally perturbed . . . I did eventually rewrite it and wrote the whole poaching scene out of the manuscript and changed it all around, and it was sort of like secondhand, you know. It was not the sort of creative process that I usually go through when I write fiction and so the book never did as well as the first book. . . . And since then I've written one or two books of fiction, but I've basically gone to nonfiction, because it just threw me off so much you know because of the way I write fiction - which is to sit down and just start writing - was sort of killed for a while.

4.1.17 Summary

The incidents of pre-censorship vary in severity and motive. It appears, based on the emotions expressed and language used during the interviews, more recent incidents of pre-censorship elicit deeper emotional responses from the interviewees. The incidents of pre-censorship related can be roughly grouped into the following categories: Accuracy, Americanization, Canadian Specific, Evolution, Gender Stereotypes, Gender Issues, Male Point of View, Negative Adult Behavior, Negative Youth Behavior, Other, Racism Concerns, Religious or Moral Attributes of the Character, Sexual Content or Implication, Unauthorized Alteration, Violence, and Voice Appropriation. The categories are based upon the perceived subject matter or the reason for the pre-censorship.

During the interviews participants talked about what they identified as pre-censorship or what they felt worthy of mentioning in the context of discussions about pre-censorship. The incidents described provide concrete examples of the different meanings writers ascribe to pre-censorship. Many incidents of pre-censorship concerned editors or publishers' concerns for accuracy, including author Laurent Chabin's publisher's insisting that he not have a toad jump into a pond in one of his fairytales. The reason Chabin was given is that toads are terrestrial (Chabin interview). Another author felt that her judgment was being questioned when her editor insisted on changes to the age of teen drivers, the music being played on the piano, and the use of nicknames in a book she wrote set during World War II (Interview Six). Four incidents of pre-censorship concerned the unauthorized alteration or attempted alteration of illustrations for aesthetic reasons or concerns about the salability of certain images.

Canadian-specific types of pre-censorship were identified in five instances. These include author Alison Acheson having her book about hockey turned down based upon its style which was similar to that of a famous Canadian children's author (Acheson interview). Author Kari-Lynn Winters had to make changes to her Olympic chicken book because of the passage of a law that prohibits the use of certain words related to the Olympics. Another author was pressured to make a non-fiction book about astronomy for kids "as Canadian as possible" based upon the desires of the publisher's marketing department

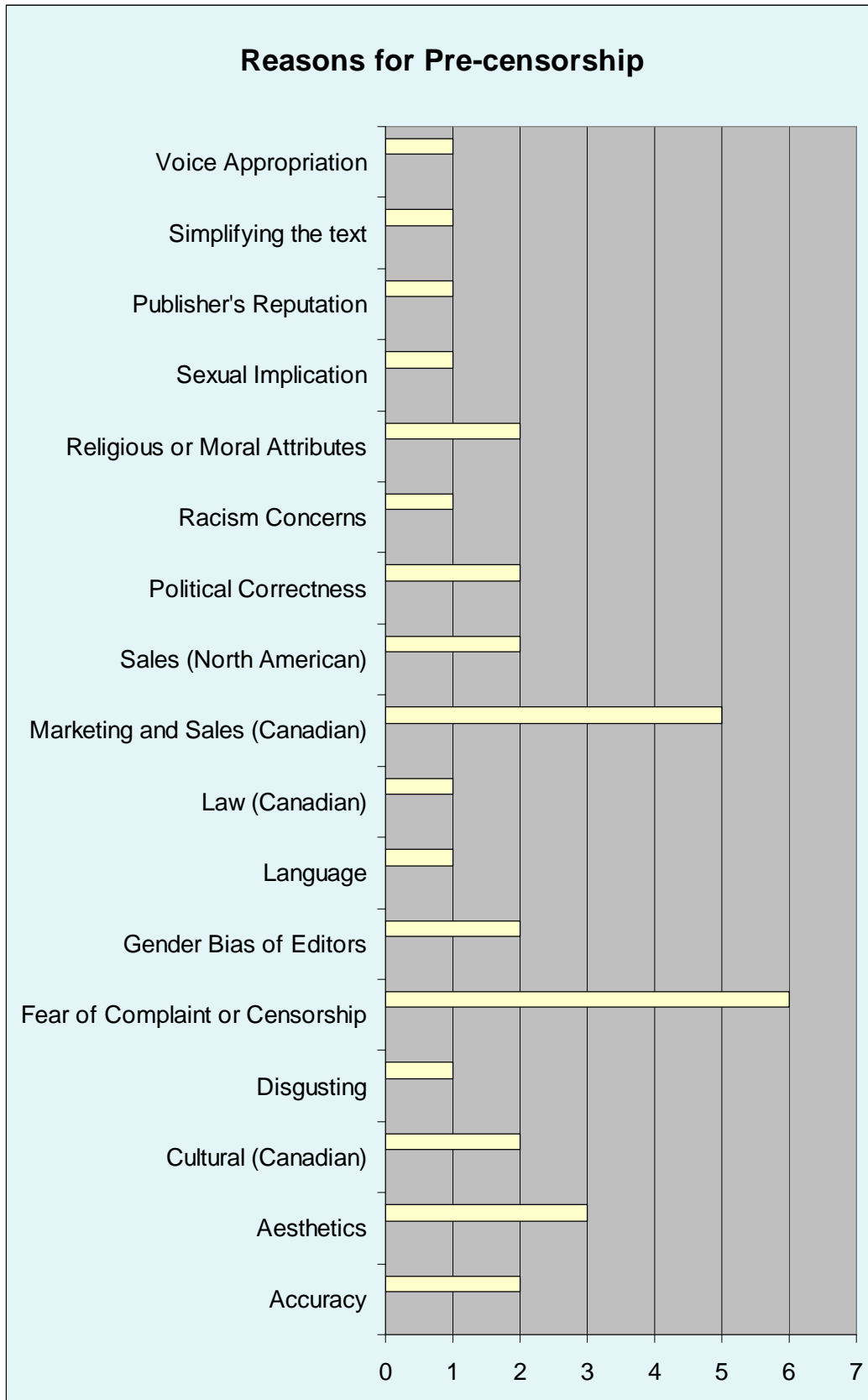
(Interview Eight). Finally, falling under the category of Canadian-specific pre-censorship are the negative comments made by committee members for Canadian book prizes and awards that interviewee 17 believes affected her chances of winning and ultimately increasing the sales of her book.

Other types of pre-censorship incidents discussed in interviews that had multiple occurrences included: pre-censorship based on gender stereotypes, male point of view, negative adult behavior, negative youth behavior, and the religious or moral attributes of characters. Only two incidents discussed by participants concerned Americanization. The first was a request to Americanize some of the language of a text that was being published in the United States by an American publishing house. The second was a request to Americanize the spelling of a book targeted for the North American market featuring both Canadian and American scientists. All of the other incidents were either Canadian specific or general requests that did not reference the United States or possible future sales in the United States.

4.2 Reasons Given For Pre-censorship

While the reasons given for pre-censorship have been provided in the context of the categorization and presentation of the types of pre-censorship experienced, they are discussed separately and more fully below. As the reasons given are sometimes different from the type of pre-censorship experienced, this discussion focuses on stated reasons or concerns expressed to the author or illustrator by the publisher or editor or on the reasons or speculated reasons given by the author or illustrator during the course of the interview.

Figure 4.2 Reasons Given for Pre-censorship



4.2.1 Marketing and Sales Concerns

The two main reasons given for pre-censorship were concerns about future complaints or censorship attempts and about Canadian marketing and sales. These concerns are supported by the literature and by some of the participants' discussions concerning their books indicating that these books were mainly destined for the Canadian market. In the above chart, marketing and sales concerns have been broken into Canadian-specific or general concerns and those that are focused on sales in North America. The latter includes a concern for sales in the large American market. Together the combined sales and marketing concerns for Canada and North America generally are the number one reason for pre-censorship.

In one incident related by an author/illustrator, the marketing department, concerned about sales, wanted certain animals included in a non-fiction book about brightly colored animals that use their colors as a warning. The animals were insisted upon even though they are not brightly colored and do not use their colors as warning, such as the zebra, whose coloring is actually for camouflage (Interview 8). Changes were requested to another non-fiction book proposed about astronomy because the marketing department wanted it to be "as Canadian as possible," although as the author points out "there are no Canadian constellations because northern Europe, China, Russia, Japan, all see the same thing we do" (Interview 8).

Author Alison Acheson had her story about a boy being taught to knit by his grandmother sent back, with a request to change the boy to a girl because the editor had spoken to the marketing people and "it would be too difficult to market a book about a boy knitting" (Acheson interview). Interviewee 14 was asked to change a drunken youth into one who was "not drunk because they were targeting the book for a younger age group" (Interview 14). Finally, one illustrator whose work was the subject of pre-censorship attempts was told that she needed to remove the swastika imagery because "nobody's going to buy a book that has swastikas" (Interview 1).

Also falling under the larger umbrella of sales, but specifically concerning sales across North America were the requests made of authors Nan Gregory and interviewee 17 to make their books marketable in the United States as well as Canada. In Gregory's case the book was for an American publisher and she was asked to "make the setting as generally North American as possible." The publisher explained to Gregory that changes to the language were necessary "not to pretend that it's in the USA but to allow readers . . . to assume it is if they wish to." In interviewee 17's case her book was edited "for an American audience" because without this concession "it just won't sell." She noted that the editing was "subtle and it was spelling" (Interview with the author, November 12, 2007).

4.2.2 *Aesthetics*

The first example is the removal of feet, shoes, and other partial images of adults from an illustration after proofs were agreed upon. The publisher decided that these images were "kind of creepy" and so removed them, even after insisting that they be included, and did so without notifying the illustrator (Interview 1). The second example involves the breaking up of a paint box into pieces to place sections on separate pages according to the art director's vision, and doing so without the agreement of the illustrator. The third is the cutting up and damaging of black and white illustrations due to color difficulties with a character's line. All three incidents involved unauthorized alteration of illustrations. These changes were made to allegedly improve the overall look of the books.

4.2.3 *Fear of Complaint or Censorship*

Following closely in number of incidents of pre-censorship based on sales and marketing is pre-censorship for reasons of fear of complaint or censorship, particularly in schools. The specific reasons articulated that fit under this category include a concern that the publisher would "get letters" for including the word *evolution* in a non-fiction science book for children that addressed the topic of evolution (Interview 8, Interview 9). There was also concern that there would be "problems in schools" if a mystery for teens was

allowed to include the beheading of a body for the police to find (Interview with Laurent Chabin). Concerns about problems in schools were also raised about a scene in a “fairy story” in which a fairy escorts a king to the shower. There is an implication that the fairy, depicted as a girl, has seen the king naked (Interview with Laurent Chabin). Author Kathy Stinson discussed a publisher’s commenting on the manuscript for one of her books that depicts a fifteen year old girl undressing in front of a boy and exclaiming that the section would have to go because of fear of how it would be received (Interview with Kathy Stinson). Stinson also experienced hesitation on the part of one of her publishers concerning a discussion by teen boys about girls’ breasts that was felt to be “going too far” (Interview with Kathy Stinson).

4.2.4 Accuracy

One author was requested to make changes that she felt called her judgment into question. The requested changes from her editor addressed the accuracy of events and objects in the 1940s in a small Canadian town during the Second World War when aircrew were trained “at ninety bases built across Canada [as part of] . . . the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. The author made the main character in her novel “fourteen-and-a-half or so” and was advised by the editor that the age must be changed to sixteen (Interview 6). Her reasoning was that fifteen year olds could not drive or work in the fifties. The author’s use of nicknames was questioned as well as the music that the mother in the novel plays on the piano.

4.2.5 Cultural (Canadian)

Some participants cited reasons for pre-censorship which can be categorized as specific to Canadian culture. Author Alison Acheson’s story was turned down as written because of its resemblance in style to the types of books written by a famous Canadian children’s author. Although it was not specifically addressed, this would seem to imply that there is not room for two Canadian authors to write in the fantastical manner of the author with whom she was compared (Acheson interview). Another author, interviewee 17 believes her book was not recommended for a prizes shortlist of finalists because one judge

disliked the author devoting “a happy ending” to a celebration of the Royal Family’s visit to Canada in 1939 (Interview with the author, November 12, 2007).

4.2.6 Legal (Canadian)

Author Kari-Lynn Winters’ book about a chicken trying out for the Olympics has been pre-censored by the passage of a Canadian law, the Olympic and Paralympic Marks Act which prohibits the use of many words contained in her story (Winters interview).

4.2.7 Disgusting

One author was told that the middle of her book was cut out because it was “disgusting.” The book, which was the second in a series for children ages 9-12, told the story of an eleven-year-old girl whose mother has schizophrenia. The center of the book dealt with bear poaching. The author felt that it was crucial to the story as poaching leaves a bear cub orphaned and eventually adopted by another bear. This story point was designed to parallel that of the girl living with foster parents and the issue of adoption. This section was rejected by the publisher for being “gross” and “disgusting” in its discussion of the bear gallbladders harvested by poachers. In particular the publisher commented on how the drying gallbladders mentioned in the story “sounds like testicles” (Interview 2).

4.2.8 Gender Bias of Editors

Two authors experienced pre-censorship for reasons of gender bias. The first had a manuscript that “was shopped to . . . several other publishers all with female editors, and was turned down.” They liked it but turned it down for “gender reasons . . . dealing with the character of the mother and who the mother was and how she was operating with her son They didn’t connect with it so they backed off.” The author pointed out that “the first male editor that read it took the book. . . I found that pretty significant and I think my agent did as well. In fact what was interesting is we purposely hunted for a male editor” (Interview 13).

The second author, the sixth to be interviewed, experienced a similar gender bias when her younger female editor asked her to reconsider a section in a young adult novel taking place in Canada during World War II in which a teenage boy expresses the feeling of being “torn, he wanted the war to end so Flo and Sandy could come home, but he wanted to sign up himself and do his part” The editor advised the author that she “[couldn’t] imagine him thinking that” and ultimately the passage was withdrawn (Interview 6).

4.2.9 Language

Interviewee 17 experienced what she believes to be pre-censorship when a committee member on a prize committee voted against the inclusion of her book on the recommended list because she felt it contained some Italian words that were “really filthy.” The author explained that the translation of the words, “mean things like *dog* and *miserable pig* and one of the words means *crappy*, or *crappy* as in *crummy*, but some would say *shitty*.” The words were not translated in the book but “the implication was that the committee had been convinced” of their filthiness. The author said it was “a huge disappointment” (Interview with the author, November 12, 2007).

4.2.10 Political Correctness

Two authors received requests to make changes based on concerns about political correctness. French-Canadian author Laurent Chabin spoke about a requested gender change in a fairy story he had written that was originally part of a collection and was to be republished separately. The story, about a king who wets his bed every night and then kills his chambermaids in the morning to keep his secret, required a wording change for republication. Chabin had to replace the French equivalent of chambermaids for a term that encompassed both genders (Chabin interview).

Author Kathy Stinson related an experience that she had which she identified as a “politically correct thing.” Stinson had written a picture book story, about an older woman named Mrs. Muddle “who often got confused about things.” Stinson thought that

“the story was kind of a neat little story” and thought that “kids will relate to it, or will enjoy the humor because it's fun to see adults acting less competently than they know they can behave.” Stinson was told by a publisher, “We don't want to perpetuate a stereotype.” An educational publisher became interested in the story and was going to publish it. Stinson was asked to make Mrs. Muddle younger which she did but the story was turned down by the educational committee for the reason that “we don't want, we don't want to depict women in this way” (Stinson Interview).

4.2.11 Racism

A statement in one author's book was deemed inappropriate because the editor stated that “somebody might read it” as racist. In a young adult novel that is set in a small Canadian town during the Second World War, a “black wood stove” is contained in the house of the main character. In part of the novel, the author uses the phrase, “It's a question of the pot calling the kettle black.” The editor advised the author that the phrase was “racist” and although the author argued to the contrary, the editor refused to allow its inclusion even with a disclaimer (Interview 6).

4.2.12 Religious or Moral Attributes

One author cited two instances where editors raised concern about how religious or spiritual his characters were in his novels. The first instance involved a character that the editor felt was “too Jesus-ish”; in consequence, the editor wanted this character removed. The second experience was different because it involved a novel that had “a spiritual element.” The author again felt “some reluctance on the part of the publisher, but the tone was different. . . . It was more of an ‘I hope this isn't a Judeo-Christian kind of character or person’” (Interview 13).

4.2.13 Publisher's Reputation

Author Laurent Chabin was asked to make a change in a “fairy story” where a dispirited toad jumps into a pond. The publisher pointed out that toads are terrestrial and so he did

not want the toad to jump into a pond. The reason for this concern in a “fairy story” was that the publishing house was known for specializing in nature and animals and the publisher felt that its reputation would come under question if it produced a book that had a toad jumping into water (Chabin interview).

4.2.14 Sexual Implication

One French-Canadian author, the fifth participant to be interviewed, was asked to change language in a fantasy story about a relationship between a dwarf and a unicorn that one of her editors felt implied a sexual relationship between the characters. She explained that the term “‘couple’ was rejected because the relationship is between different species.” The editor thought that describing the characters as a couple and depicting the dwarf riding the unicorn conveyed the idea of intercourse between the characters (Interview 5).

4.2.15 Simplifying the Text

An author-illustrator, the eighth participant to be interviewed, references editing efforts that sometimes went overboard in an effort to simply. The author mentioned three non-fiction children’s books that were co-written and illustrated with another author-illustrator for the same publisher. He explained that they had some difficulty with the publisher’s editing which would sometimes result in incorrect statements. The author explained, “It was very important to get it just right and that was what we were trying to teach [the publisher] . . . later on in the book. It’s that, you know, we will not lie to simplify.” The author added that it “was the one thing we had to train them, even as they were editing, and properly, occasionally we would baffle them, because ‘what are you trying to say here?’ But at the same token, we were sometimes trying to say something far more complex than what they wanted” (Interview 8).

4.2.16 Voice Appropriation

Author Jennifer Mitton experienced pre-censorship based on concerns about voice appropriation when trying to get her book *Fadimatu* published. *Fadimatu* tells the story

of a young Nigerian woman dealing with the changing society. Mitton explained, “It was really hard” to get *Fadimatu* published. “People were afraid. They’d say well look we love it, it’s a great book, but we’re just, this whole issue is so-o-o-o dicey now.” Mitton sent her manuscript first to small Canadian publishers. “I’d get feedback saying . . . it’s just, with the current [concern about voice appropriation] -- we don’t feel we can take this on. . . . I did try some of the big ones and I got the same reaction.” Mitton was dropped by her agent and began sending the manuscript out on her own. It took approximately a year to find a publisher willing to publish it due to this concern that Mitton was not the appropriate teller of a Nigerian woman’s story.

4.2.17 Summary

The dominant basis for editors and publishers’ requested changes is sales. This encompasses marketing, aesthetics, and the removal of any content that it is feared will be censored post-publication. These concerns are supported by the literature. Reasons given by editors include that the marketing department wants specific changes made or specific materials placed in the book; that, as written, the book “would be too difficult to market” (Acheson interview); that changes are needed because the publisher is “targeting the book for a younger age group” (Interview 14); and that motifs are potentially offensive, “nobody’s gonna buy a book that has swastikas” (Interview 1). Two authors were requested to make changes to make the books more marketable for the entire North American market by changing spellings to American and sometimes changing words.

Other reasons given for pre-censorship that can be reasonably be seen as tied to sales and concerns or future censorship include concerns that a passage or phrase seems “racist” (Interview 6), that there is an implied sexual relationship between the characters (Interview 5), or that portraying a character of another ethnicity will be seen as voice appropriation (Mitton Interview). Concerns focused on post-publication censorship and lost sales include requesting changes because a Canadian law prohibits the use of certain words in the context used in the book (Winters Interview). Other concerns that potentially have the ability to affect sales include the inclusion of material that may appear

inaccurate whether or not they are inaccurate (Interview 6) or “disgusting” and might turn off readers (Interview 2). Sales concerns can also play a role in concerns about political correctness. Requests such as changing the French equivalent of “chambermaids” to a word or phrase that reflects both sexes in the servant capacity (Chabin interview) and requesting to change the character to a younger woman if she is behaving “confused” or refusing to publish an image of a confused woman reflect concerns about political correctness (Stinson interview).

Some reasons given by editors for requested changes that participants identified as pre-censorship appear to lie outside of the immediate concern about sales or marketing of the book under consideration. These include reasons such as the one given to author Alison Acheson indicating that a well-known Canadian children’s writer is associated with that style of writing and type of story. However, the majority of reasons were either directly related to sales and marketing concerns including post-publication censorship or can be reasonably be related to those concerns that address the accuracy of facts or elements in stories, concerns about statements appearing racist, politically incorrect, or off-putting to purchasers in some way.

The reasons given for the pre-censorship incidents are in keeping with Rider’s (2001) discussion of how editors are encouraged to think about first-year sales and therefore are tempted to feed ideas to authors and illustrators to produce books they suspect “will appeal to the market” (530). Schiffrin’s (2001) position is that editorial procedures at the larger companies are “affecting the demise of ‘challenging’ books” (105). This is demonstrated by the attempts to simplify statements in a non-fiction book for children that would result in “incorrect statements” (Interview 8). The fear of complaints and concerns about future censorship expressed by editors and publishers supports the statements made by editor Richard Jackson (Scales 2001) and publisher Stephen Roxburgh (West 1997) about how editors think about censorship when editing.

According to Roxburgh, “all too often, publishers, editors, authors, and illustrators are making decisions in anticipation of objections from some unknown and vaguely

threatening other” (West 1997, 160). While the reasons given by editors to participants in this study appear to be in keeping with the reasons identified in the literature as concerns for publishers and editors, it cannot be determined which, if any, of these reasons can objectively be considered editing. As editors and publishers were not interviewed as part of this study, a comparison of their perceptions about whether or not the incidents identified by participants is pre-censorship is not possible. This type of comparison is an area for future research.

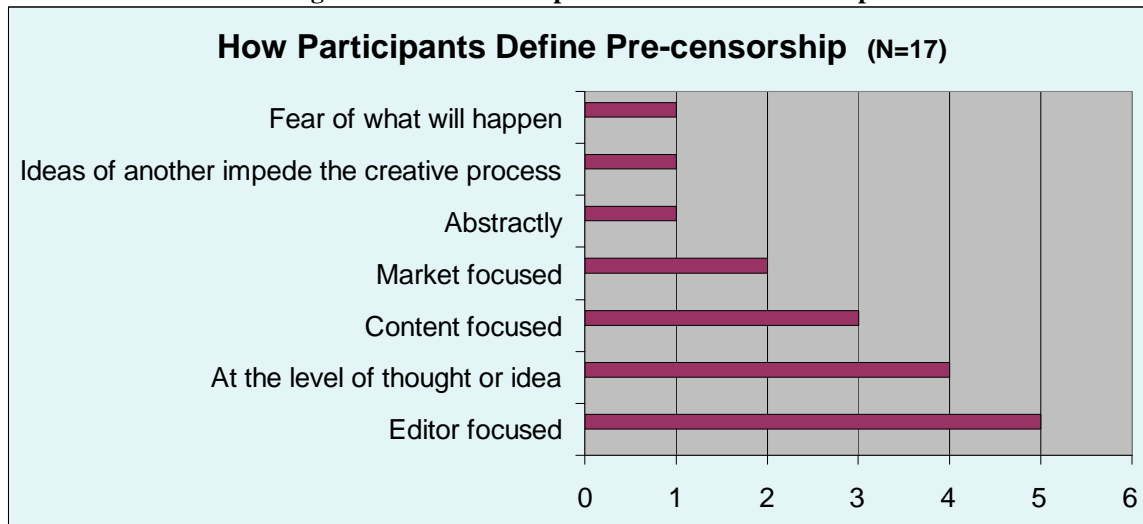
4.3 How Participants Defined Pre-censorship

The term pre-censorship was not defined for participants beyond the definition in context which appeared in the “Study Details” section for the advertisement for this study. There, the focus of the study was identified as

The experience of Canadian children’s and young adult authors and illustrators who have experienced censorship prior to publication, including but not limited to changes requested by editors and publishers or changes made by an author or illustrator that he/she feels is an infringement of intellectual freedom, was beyond the scope of the editorial role, or stifled/stifles creativity.

Interviewees self-identified as having experienced pre-censorship in order to participate in this study. During each of the interviews, participants were asked how they define pre-censorship. Five participants identified pre-censorship in relation to actions, pressures, or efforts by editors. Four participants viewed pre-censorship as something that can occur before the editing process, at the level of the idea or thought. Three participants referenced content changes, two focused on the power of the market, and one on the ideas of others impeding the creative process. One participant focused on the fear of what will happen. Another defined it in terms of the thoughts of others. Finally, one participant spoke about pre-censorship in the abstract as “the enemy of art and literature” (Interview 5).

Figure 4.3 How Participants Define Pre-censorship



What follows are distilled accounts of how this term has been defined by participants.

4.3.1 *At the Level of Thought or Idea*

For author Alison Acheson, who writes and teaches creative writing at the University of British Columbia, pre-censorship starts before the writing process begins and lasts “right up to publishing.”

Interviewee one defined pre-censorship in the following way: “Pre-censorship I think is something going on during the book production, editing /production phase. Pre-censorship is during the conceptual part of either the writing or conceptually coming up with the visuals for the book.”

For interviewee two, pre-censorship “means having a really good idea come into your head, and then having the edges of it sort of disappear a little bit into a gray fog where you’re not quite as clear . . . that the idea you have for a plot or a certain character, or . . . part of the story is . . . completely writable.”

Interviewee seven explains that pre-censorship “goes back to the idea that you’re not allowed to think about it in the first place if you have it clearly in your mind that only certain books will get published. . . . Then it won’t get published because we won’t think about it anymore and that’s the dangerous part of censorship, how it affects what we’re even starting to think about writing.”

4.3.2 Editor Focused

Author Laurent Chabin defines pre-censorship as “the pressure coming from the publisher to suppress or modify a sentence or paragraph for political reasons.”

Interviewee six identifies pre-censorship in a similar manner. “It’s an effort to tailor the work to fit the editor or writer or publisher’s conception of the marketplace or the audience.”

According to interviewee eight “Pre-censorship is the attempt by the publisher to alter the natural, the potential natural course of a narrative by imposing their will without seeing the work in context.”

Interviewee thirteen describes pre-censorship in terms of censorship based on a moral or ethical stance taken in a novel. It occurs “when an editor takes exception personally or for the sake of the company to something that the author has written that could be discussed in an ethical or moral forum, such as gender, race, ethnicity, religion, [or] political stance. Interviewee thirteen notes, “I’ve experienced that type . . . of censorship. . . in those instances or times when an editor has indicated . . . that something I have written that is very important or close to me . . . that they disagree with my moral or ethical stance . . . and hence they request that I make a change to it.”

Interviewee fourteen defines pre-censorship as “being asked to change material, you know the words of the setting or the characters vis-à-vis a cultural/social/religious/political agenda, as opposed to strictly editing.”

4.3.3 Ideas of Another Impede the Creative Process

Author Kari-Lynn Winters defines pre-censorship as the equivalent of having “somebody’s ideas or beliefs impeding another person’s creative process.”

4.3.4 Market-focused

Kathy Stinson applies the term pre-censorship to “changes that you are making out of fear of losing a market.”

Interviewee three, an illustrator-defined pre-censorship as what she had experienced in terms of unauthorized changes to her artwork, noting that “the market decides” the types of changes that will be made.

4.3.5 Content-based

Author Jennifer Mitton defined pre-censorship as “something that changes . . . that influences the way you’re going to . . . [or] what you’re going to write, the content of what you’re going to write.”

Author Nan Gregory gives a similar definition. She defines pre-censorship as “compromising your beliefs by not writing something that you wanted to write.”

Interviewee 17 defined pre-censorship as “any decisions that are made to the book . . . while the text is still in process that curtails its fullest potential in some way.”

4.3.6 Defined Abstractly

Interviewee five spoke about pre-censorship, eloquently stating that it is “the enemy of art and literature, a fundamental enemy of literature.”

4.3.7 Fear of What Will Happen

Interviewee nine identifies pre-censorship occurring “when authors or publishers . . . avoid particular words or topics . . . because of a perceived, ‘What would happen if we publish this?’ Without really working out why you're doing this. When an author just doesn't want to go into a particular area, because they're afraid or whatever, that's basically what it is. It's self-imposed to some extent, and sometimes because of past experiences. . . . Sometimes I think it just sort of pervades the whole atmosphere and so people start avoiding certain things just because.”

4.3.8 Summary and Comparison of Pre-censorship Definitions

The term pre-censorship was not defined for participants beyond the definition in context which appeared in the “Study Details” section for the advertisement for this study. There, the focus of the study was identified as “including but not limited to changes requested by editors and publishers or changes made by an author or illustrator that he/she feels is an infringement of intellectual freedom, were beyond the scope of the editorial role, or stifled/stifles creativity.” Interviewees self-identified as having experienced pre-censorship in order to participate in this study. During each of the interviews participants were asked how they define pre-censorship. Five participants identified pre-censorship in relation to actions, pressures, or efforts by editors. Four participants viewed pre-censorship as something that can occur before the editing process, at the level of the idea or thought. Three participants referenced content changes, two focused on the power of the market, and one on the ideas of others impeding the creative process. One participant focused on the fear of what will happen. Another defined it in terms of the thoughts of others. Finally, one participant spoke about pre-censorship in the abstract as “the enemy of art and literature” (Interview 5).

Based on the combined responses of participants, in their experience, pre-censorship is most often identified in relation to editors' actions, pressures, or efforts. It can occur during the editing process or, if it has been successful, before the editing process at the level of the thought or idea. The participants' definitions bear little in common with the

definitions of pre-censorship within library science which focus on censorship by librarians after publication or, as noted by Gerhardt (1993), on the “marketing strategy” of a publisher to force libraries to purchase books before examining them (4). The historical definition of pre-censorship differs as well. Early forms of pre-censorship had the backing of the Catholic Church and eventually the force of law. The definitions provided by this study’s participants point to pre-censorship by force of economics. If the content or idea is not approved by the editor or there is a fear of censorship or complaint in the future then editors are reluctant and sometimes unwilling to publish it.

Comparing the comments made by the interviewees to Ingram’s (2000) two forms of pre-censorship, both *formal pre-censorship* and informal pre-censorship or *voluntary self-censorship* are present in the responses. The referenced editors can be seen to exert a form of “formal pre-censorship” in requiring changes that meet with their approval for an author or illustrator’s work to be published by a publishing house (Ingram 7). The second form of pre-censorship that Ingram references, “voluntary self-censorship” is present as well. Ingram explains that “if formal pre-censorship is thoroughly effective, it naturally leads to the second, more informal kind. . . [where] a writer of a book simply avoids giving information or expressing opinions which he knows will not be allowed to see the light of day” (8). This second form is clearly present in the definitions that reference pre-censorship at the level of thought or idea.

The comments made by participants in defining pre-censorship and the experiences they identified as pre-censorship are in keeping with the way it has been defined by others such as Khan (1999) and Hurst (1993). Khan identifies pre-censorship as acts “committed by publishers who attempt to avoid censors through pre-censoring.” Her example of Robert Munsch’s being asked by his publisher to write “a softer version” of *The Paper Bag Princess* for publication, fearing objections to the main character’s punching the prince in the nose is similar to the Laurent Chabin’s being asked by his publisher to remove a beheading scene that he had in a mystery story (Khan Par. [6]). He did write a softer version, leaving only a thumb for the police to find in order to avoid “problems in schools” (Chabin interview).

Hurst's example of author Patricia Quinlan's American publisher's insisting that she change "a dark place" to "a cold place" so as not to seem racially insensitive to African Americans is similar to the request made by an editor at a Canadian publishing house to interviewee six to remove language that she felt was "racist" (46), specifically the phrase was "It's a question of the pot calling the kettle black" in a young adult novel set in a small Canadian town during the Second World War (Interview 6).

The information related in participants' interviews supports Rider's (2001) statements about how editors are tempted to "direct" books in ways they "suspect will appeal to the market" (530). Comments made by Jackson (2001), an editor, about how he thinks about censors when editing are supported as well by the pre-censorship incidents and reasons related by participants in the study. What was commented upon in 2001 was still an issue in late 2007.

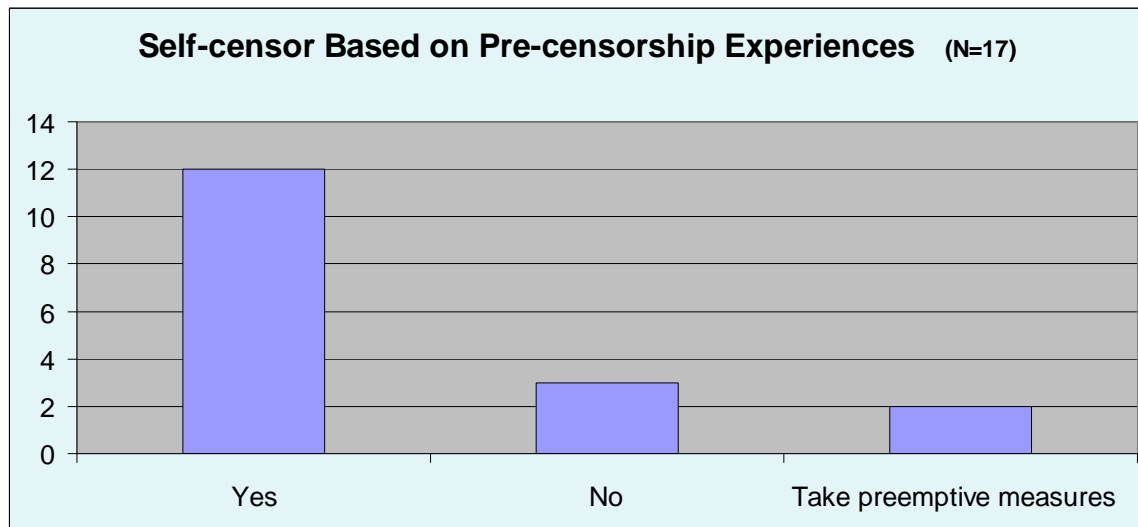
Finally, experiences such as those of author Kathy Stinson with an educational publisher support Ravitch's (2003) assertions about how pressure groups affect the children's book market and how they have succeeded in establishing guidelines for educational publishers that result in watered-down literature, from which students are expected to learn. As discussed previously, Stinson was asked to make changes to her story about Mrs. Muddle, a confused older woman who keeps getting sidetracked as she prepares to join her family at the beach. The publisher asked Stinson to make the character younger, and a mother, and Stinson agreed. She explained that the publisher "got as far as having someone illustrate it, and then it went to whatever educational committee and they pulled the story" because they did not want to portray women as confused and incompetent (Stinson interview).

4.4 Self-censorship

When asked whether they self-censored in light of pre-censorship experiences, the responses indicate that participants can be broken into three groups: those that self-

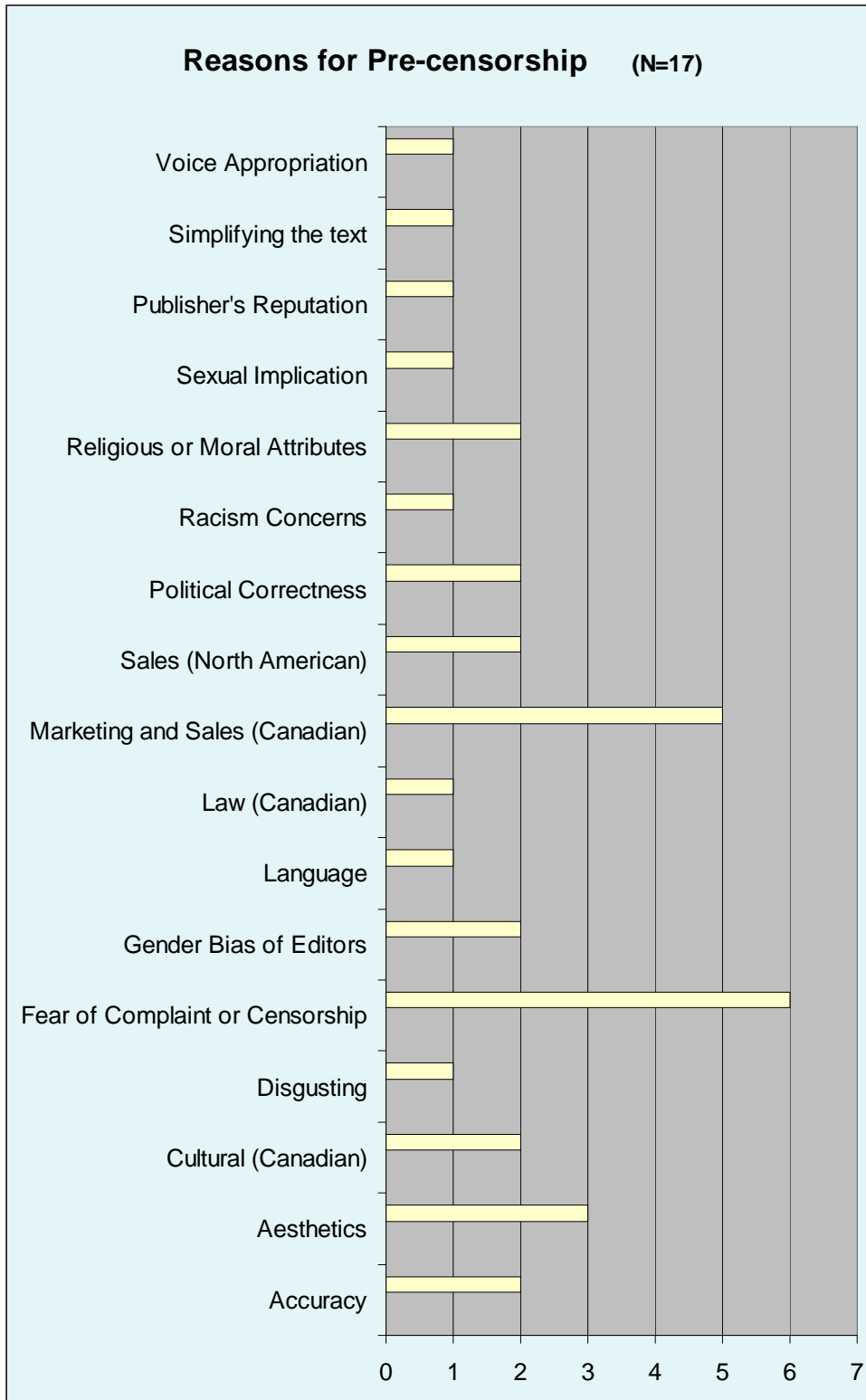
ensor, those that take preemptive steps to offset possible pre-censorship, and those who do not self-censor or believe that they do not self-censor. Twelve of the seventeen participants interviewed about pre-censorship admitted that they self-censor in light of their experiences. The degree of self-censorship appears to vary from being an act that is almost unconscious to being very intense. Two other participants take active steps to avoid or compensate for anticipated pre-censorship, which may be considered a form of self-censorship, and three participants either responded that they do not self-censor or no longer work as writers.

Figure 4.4 Self-censor Based on Pre-censorship Experiences



Among the twelve that acknowledged self-censoring, most provided similar or overlapping reasons. Marketplace concerns were cited most often as a reason for self-censorship, followed by an awareness that the authors were writing for children, and finally because of insecurity about what they had written. Other reasons for self-censorship included concerns about the aesthetics of illustrations, editing in anticipation of editor preferences, based on past pre-censorship experiences submitting material on the same topic or to Canadian publishers who pre-censored, and concerns about writing edgy material or using swear words.

Figure 4.5 Reasons for Self-censorship



4.4.1 *Participants who Self-censor*

Marketplace Concerns

Four participants spoke about how their pre-censorship experiences make them think about marketplace concerns such as book sales, reputation, having their books in libraries and schools, and how certain types of information contained in books could harm sales.

Interviewee 17 explained that she self-censors with the publishers' business interests in mind:

I try to be one step ahead of them. And, I don't try to make problems for people. . . . [I'm] not here to harm their business . . . there's a tremendous responsibility. . . . A whole bunch of people in offices and sales reps, their livelihoods in part depend upon this book. It shouldn't shame them in any way, they should always be proud of it. . . . I would never knowingly create these [censorship] kinds of problems for publishers. (Interview with the author, November 12, 2007)

Picture book author Kari-Lynn Winters also self-censors for the market. In her interview she spoke of self-censoring for family and reputation.

I self-censor, because I want my family to be able to buy the books. . . . And I just find that if you're crossing genres, librarians and . . . other people are kind of aware; teachers are aware of the other stuff you've done. So I think for myself, I want to keep going into schools and libraries and I want to be primarily a picture book author, so I am going to censor myself. (Interview with the author in Vancouver, Canada, on November 12, 2007)

Author Kathy Stinson spoke about how her experiences have made her aware of censorship's impact on sales. She explained that:

A lot of people would think, "well Kathy Stinson never self-censors herself, because look at *Becoming Ruby*, look at *101 Ways To Dance*." And certainly I still try to be as honest as I can be in my portrayal of my characters. But I know that for *Becoming Ruby*, Penguin did not censor what I did. The editor did not ask to have that potentially problematic scene removed. And so the book is out there with it, and I've had some wonderfully positive feedback about that, but . . . I know that there are schools who will not have that in their library and parents who are uncomfortable they think "oh, my daughter's not ready to read about that." So it hasn't entirely stopped me from doing what I think I need to do, but it certainly makes you very conscious that you might be making a mistake in terms of your income and stuff like that.

When interviewee 5 was asked whether her experiences with pre-censorship had made her self-censor, she responded “Absolutely, now, I do not want to continue [with the rest of the books in this series].” She explained, “The pleasure is not the same. It has made me conscious of money, the commercial side of publishing. The publisher invests in the books he wants to sell.”

For Children

Author Laurent Chabin admitted to self-censorship: “Yes, but it is very . . . insidious. . . . Probably more or less everybody does it. In fact, myself I probably do it, but it is not always . . . conscious You do it because you know that you are writing for kids.”

Interviewee 6 admits to self-censoring for the children who will be reading her books.

I certainly had to self-censor [in a book in which a father molested some of his piano students] . . . I want kids at one level who are younger to be able to read it and not get it, just say he’s got a problem and he’s a narcissist. . . . He’s a narcissist, ignores his own kid and hangs out with teens. . . . I certainly had to pre-censor cause I wanted to be sensitive to the audience and I wanted the teachers to let the kids have it.

Insecurity about Material

One author observed that her experience with pre-censorship has left her self-censoring and insecure. “I’m totally self-censoring now to the point where . . . I said to some of my teacher friends . . . ‘let’s have a book club and I’ll bring the food and the booze and you all read the manuscript and tell me what you think of it.’ I mean, that’s how insecure I am about my writing now, which is really criminal you know” (Interview 2).

Interviewee 13 admits to self-censoring “I do a bit. I shouldn’t say a bit. I agonize over it. Of course, I agonize over it.” When asked whether this was in direct relation to being questioned about the inclusion of spirituality in past novels, interviewee 13 stated, “No question about that. That comment has come up in my head over and over . . . again. So, I’m constantly saying to myself is . . . that too overt, is that too strong? I might even run it by a reader, and say what did you think about that, is that ok? Are you alright with that? How do you feel about it? Yeah, I’m much more sensitive now.”

Past Pre-censorship Experiences (Same Topic or Publishers)

Author Alison Acheson spoke about things that she no longer wants to do in light of her pre-censorship experiences. Acheson said, “I won't, I don't know if or when I will send the picture book [about hockey] to Canadian publishers because I'm just sort of done with that process. I'm loathe to write a book about hockey.” Acheson added that being asked whether she pre-censors is “a scary question. . . . I think it's one of those things that if I do it, I probably tell myself that I don't. I didn't really do that.”

Aesthetic Concerns

Interviewee 1 who is an illustrator differentiated the types of censoring prior to publication. She explained, “The kind of censoring I do is sort of artistic censoring which is constant. It's working and conveying the meaning I intended but I haven't censored for content . . . you have to pay attention to what age group you're illustrating for. . . . I think in some cases one makes these choices artistically and that there are other ways to convey that tone without being so concrete about it.”

Anticipation of Editorial Preferences

When asked if she self-censors, interviewee 7 responded, “Only about every fourth word. It's interesting because . . . I'm doing these rewrites now and I'm getting so that I'm starting to think ‘oh he'll want me to say so and so.’ I kind of resent that. . . . I don't want the editor in my head while I am writing.”

Concerns about Using Swear Words

Interviewee 14 admitted to self-censoring by not using “swear words.” She said that “In a way I'm kind of ashamed of myself for doing it but at the same time my books are high action adventures and they don't live or die by whether someone utters a swear word so I don't think it really affects the flow of the book, one way or the other.” Although she does not use the words herself, she respects “edgier authors.” This author went on to explain that “I am very aware of the edgy versus non-edgy books and if I wanted to make a

character homosexual. I know exactly how much trouble that would land me in, so that is pre-censorship right there.”

4.4.2 Taking Preemptive Steps to Compensate

Interviewee 8 discussed the strategy he uses anticipating pre-censorship.

Being told not to say something really, especially, when we are talking non-fiction, really raises my bile. So, I tend to... try and set up straw men, or sacrificial lambs. I do like the use of those, so the publisher thinks they are actually cutting something out which I have already set up for them to cut out, and if they don't cut it out, fine. . . . I set up situations, more flagrant situations elsewhere in the text if I feel that something is going to be under attack.

Interviewee 3, an illustrator, when asked whether she self-censors in light of her experience explained:

I'm trying to be more clever [about controlling how my illustrations appear]. . . . I seem to get caught every time, like with this last book I did. I thought I had everything clear, I was even allowed to go to the printers when they were printing the book. So much control I was given but then when I wasn't there, it was like there wasn't enough care, you know.

These affirmative actions might be considered self-censorship based on the actions taken and the change from earlier behavior to the behavior that the participants now display. They have been grouped separately because, when questioned about whether they self-censor, these participants did not state that they self-censor: they referred to the actions that they take to offset the pre-censorship that they have experienced.

4.4.3 Participants who do not Pre-censor

Author Jennifer Mitton explained that after the voice appropriation censorship she experienced with her book *Fadimatu* she self-censored for years, but now her focus has moved more to fine arts. She is a painter. One author-illustrator, interviewee 9, no longer

writes for children and is pursuing a different career goal, so the question concerning self-censorship is not applicable in her situation.

Author Nan Gregory says that her experience Americanizing her book for her American editor has not made her self-censor. “As long as there’s some place in Canada that I can publish, I don’t think I’d try to make my things more American.” Gregory explained that “the falling American dollar makes it easier to think that. . . . I haven’t really seen an advantage to having an American publisher.” She explained that her book was not eligible for certain prizes in Canada because it was published in the United States. If the value of the U.S. dollar increased though, Gregory admits “it would influence who I sent my stuff to. . . . If it was something like this (references her novel) . . . then I’d probably do it. I certainly wouldn’t start out doing that. Them asking me, then I would do it. But I wouldn’t change any major plot point because I thought it was insulting or wouldn’t go over” (Interview with the author, November 15, 2007).

Gregory’s response is an interesting one. It seems that the experience she related and identified as pre-censorship for this study, namely Americanizing the spelling and language of her novel and generalizing the setting, is one that she might be willing to do again. For her, it seems that self-censorship ends once a story is written. She does not appear to consider the changes she might be willing to make to Americanize her stories for American publishers and the American market a form of self-censorship and she may be right.

As the “American market has become an obsession” for many Canadian publishers, showing a willingness to Americanize spelling and language may simply be a necessity for getting some books published (MacSkimming 359). More Canadian publishers have begun to sell directly into the U.S. market, trying “to appear as un-Canadian as possible: to masquerade, in fact, as Americans” and this means that the pressure to Americanize spelling and language is now coming, at least in part, from Canadians (MacSkimming 358).

4.4.4 Summary

It is clear from the responses that pre-censorship experiences have made lasting impressions on most of the study's participants. The market is now more of a consideration for them, along with concerns about how editors will respond to the material. Some authors have begun to question the validity of their own opinions, and now seek the advice of others before submitting their work to publishing houses and editors. Some topics, words, and ideas are now dismissed before the writing or illustration process begins. Even those authors and illustrators who take preemptive measures do so in light of previous pre-censorship experiences.

Although there is no mandate to self-censor, the majority of those interviewed admit to engaging in this behavior. According to Ingram (2000) this voluntary self-censorship naturally follows from "thoroughly effective" formal pre-censorship, in this case by editors and publishers. The cultural impact of this form of pre-censorship is an issue that requires further study.

4.5 Composite of the Pre-censorship Experience

To determine the essence of the experience of pre-censorship as experienced by participants in this study, the actions, emotions, and thoughts associated with the incidents were examined. The essence of the experience of pre-censorship can be understood as an incident which can be minor, major, or somewhere in between and it is unique to the individual who experiences it. The common thread among the experiences is that each participant considers the experience to a greater or lesser degree to be a violation of intellectual freedom, censorial, or an experience that stifled or stifles creativity.

The essence of the experience is that at some point an author or illustrator perceives that his or her creative ideas are censored either from the outside or the inside prior to publication or republication. The censorship from the outside can be from publishers, editors, or committee members. Essentially censorship from the outside comes from those individuals holding power over the publication or likelihood of republication of a book. The censorship from the inside can be the voice of the editor in an author or illustrator's mind. It can be his/her own voice saying that this type of idea will not be published, will eventually be censored, will not be liked by the editor, school librarians, or others who have the power to make an impact on the success of the book.

The actual changes, removals, or pre-censorship are specific to the texts. While some types of pre-censorship were identified in this study, they do not represent a comprehensive list and not everyone being asked to make these types of changes would consider them pre-censorship. For this reason, pre-censorship identified by participants ranges from changes that many consider trivial - switching to American spelling for sales across North America, to the substantial - removing a key character or type of character or scene that the author considers integral to the story.

The instances of censorship cited above result in ideas or images being removed or discarded prior to the writing or illustrating process or prior to publication. The main

criterion that separates this removal from normal or acceptable editing is that the authors and illustrators who identify it as pre-censorship feel a loss of intellectual freedom or freedom of expression in having to make the changes. The removals or alterations are made with varying levels of dissatisfaction from being “embarrassed” to have made such concessions to feeling that they did not want to do this but had no other choice to get the book published or, perhaps most upsetting, to find that the changes have been made without their knowledge or approval.

There is an emotional aspect to the experience as well. It can range from being an annoyance at having to make changes that one identifies as pre-censorship to being such a traumatizing experience that the author questions whether she/he will write again. For almost all of the participants who have experienced pre-censorship, one of the most important results has been that the participant self-censors now in anticipation of censorship prior to or post- publication.

The experience of pre-censorship varies by person and occurrence but it shares the commonalities of being an act or acts that require the alteration of work, whether words, ideas, or illustrations. It creates a feeling of loss of intellectual freedom or loss of expression on the part of the author or illustrator. It involves an emotional response on the part of the individual whose work is pre-censored. Finally, it appears to lead to voluntary self-censorship in almost all who experience it.

4.6 Influence of Canadian Culture / Landscape

One of the questions guiding this phenomenological investigation of pre-censorship addressed whether the inclusion of cultural content is important to contemporary Canadian children's authors and illustrators. Among those interviewed, most of the authors see Canadian culture in what they write either through Canadian locations, attitudes, characters, or humor. It was noted, however, that certain types of literature, such as fairy tales and non-fiction works about science, do not lend themselves as readily to Canadian content. Illustrators were not asked about the influence of Canadian culture and landscape in their books as the pre-censorship incidents they discussed focused on illustrations depicting cultures other than Canada and they explained how they work towards creating images that are authentic to the stories which may or may not include Canadian culture or be set in Canada.

Among the fifteen authors interviewed, thirteen saw the influence of Canadian culture or landscape in their works. One did not, but explained that this was due to the nature of the work which was a non-fiction science book for children. Another did not see the influence of Canadian culture or landscape because she wrote fantasy and identified with the culture of her native land, which was not Canada.

Author Alison Acheson sees the influence of Canadian culture in her work. She explained that she does not deliberately include it, but believes it "usually comes out of setting because I usually set it somewhere in Canada" (Acheson interview). Author Kathy Stinson also sees the Canadian landscape in some of her books as well as "something kind of Canadian in the personality of my characters just because that's kind of what I'm used to" (Stinson interview).

Some make a special effort to include Canadian content. One author explained that she tries to include Canadian content about specific areas in her books because she thinks "it's important that Canadians get a sense of themselves by seeing what it was like in the war in Canada, that's what it was like in the Kootenays, that's what it's like living on the

prairies Geography has always played [a] real [part]. I think that it's just been, it's like one of my characters (Interview 6).

Another author, one who holds dual citizenship, explained that she sees the importance of landscape and tries to bring her experiences in “the mountains in Colorado and translate them to here.” She adds, “Sometimes I've tried to set stuff in British Columbia in a similar landscape. I see the importance of it but, you know, it's kind of a sideways move for me” (Interview 7).

When asked if she felt that it was necessary to have Canadian content in her work she responded, “I feel that if I live here I owe something to this country and I also know that my experience of the United States is really old and really doesn't reflect, probably doesn't reflect what it's like anymore. So, if I'm going to write about reality I really need to place it here because this is where I live.”

One author who co-wrote several non-fiction books explained that whether or not there is Canadian content in her books “depends on the topic” and that the books she has co-written so far have not been particularly Canadian “because of the areas we've written about.” She did not see Canadian content in her writing because “it's not fiction. We are not writing about a particular place or time or anything” (Interview 9). Another author who writes non-fiction books commented that he only sees Canadian culture in the humor, not the content. He adds that he “would love for there to be Canadian content” in his books “if they are appropriate for the books” (Interview 8).

4.6.1 How Canadian Culture is Defined

During the interviews the issue of what Canadian culture is or how it is identified was raised. Author Nan Gregory sees herself creating Canadian culture by virtue of being a writer in Canada. She explained,

I'm a writer; so if I'm Canadian and I'm a writer, I'm creating Canadian culture. I don't know what else I'd do. It's sort of a point of view. . . . My sense of my country doesn't really consist of a kind of patriotism to a political entity except

when I feel pressure from the outside and then I think well no, we're not that. But what are we, then that's the big question, what is Canadian? Well, I don't know, you know, most of us never really thought about it because we have lots of space in Canada. There's lots of space just to be. You don't have to define yourself as such and such and such and such. So that's a very Canadian thing, I think, just to have that freedom to kind of be.

Author Kathy Stinson spoke about what is Canadian in her writings.

What is that Canadian thing? Hmm. Well, it's terrible, you know, a lot of people say Canadians define themselves by how they're different from Americans (laughs) and it's all such generalizing, stereotyping stuff, that I'm not entirely comfortable with, but I do think that Canadians are more modest generally speaking. I think they tread more softly in the world than Americans do, but that's silly. I don't like defining us as compared to the Americans, but it is inevitable, that's what we do, because the shadow is just so big. And we do feel ourselves being swallowed up.

4.6.2 Role in Creating Canadian Culture

One author spoke eloquently of her role in creating Canadian culture. She stated, "I think I'm one petal on the beautiful flower that is Canada. This flower would probably still be very beautiful if that one petal was missing, if it had blown away in the wind. But it's nice to be that petal, you know? One petal does not a flower make. That's my role." This author sees the influence of Canadian culture and landscape strongly in her work. "I think every one of my books is set in a specific place, and every one of my books has scenery or scenes in it that are place specific and are named. . . . It's very important to me" (Interview 2).

Interviewee 8, a non-fiction writer of science books for children, joked that his role in creating Canadian culture is "trying to keep people informed, [keep] kids from eating gum off the sidewalk" (Interview 8). Another author who writes fiction for young adults set in Canada explained that books by Canadian writers play an important role in Canadian culture (Interview 6).

4.6.3 French-Canadian Authors' Perspectives

Author Laurent Chabin sees his role in creating Canadian culture as “mainly a critical one” and attributes this to his French background. He explained that in Québec he is not considered a Québec writer, “I am still the French [man], who writes in Québec.” He does not see the need to include Canadian content in his fairy tales because they “happen in a kind of magic country where you have people, humans, dwarves and a fairy and speaking animals so it could happen anywhere” but his mystery stories are set in Canada. They “usually happened in Calgary and in the West because you need an element of realism. . . . I wanted my stories to happen in the place where I was for more realism. . . . The more you write for older teens, the more you can add something about politics and social reality. . . . In my case [this] has to be Canadian stuff. . . . I am a Canadian writer.” Although he now lives in Québec, his stories are still set in the West. He explained, “we moved here last March, but before that we had been living 13 years in Calgary so . . . I am still influenced by Calgary, by the landscape” (Chabin interview).

The other French-Canadian author interviewed is not originally from Canada but has been living in Canada for more than ten years. She writes fantasy and so does not see Canadian content in her stories. She identifies with the sensibilities of her native country.

4.6.4 Summary

How much and what kind of Canadian cultural identity is present in children’s literature is a topic of concern to many Canadians including educators, publishers, writers, and academics. The subject of Canadianess in Canadian children’s books has been studied by scholars such as Jobe (2001, 2003), Diakiw (1997), Bainbridge and Fayjean (2000), and Pantaleo (2000). The results of this study show that for those interviewed, most see the influence of Canadian culture in their writings. Many make a special effort to include it, even when the books are written for the entire North American market.

4.7 Similarities of Experiences: Participants, U.K., U.S.

Similarities emerge when comparing some of the pre-censorship incidents discussed by Canadian authors and illustrators to documented incidents in the U.K. and U.S. The nature of the pre-censorship is the same in a number of incidents. These include pre-censorship incidents stemming from concerns about race, gender, health and safety, sex, negative adult sexual behavior, voice appropriation, and Americanization.

4.7.1 Race

The P.E.N. Committee on Censorship's (1993) study reported on author-editor disputes about race. One incident recounted is that of U.K. author Alison Prince who was asked to change "things are looking black" to "things are looking bad" in *A Job for Merv* (PEN, *The Author-Editor Dispute*, par. 9). This is quite similar to Canadian author Patricia Quinlin's being asked by her American editor to change "a dark place" to "a cold place" in one of her books so as not to seem racially insensitive to African Americans (Hurst 1993, 46). Similarly, another Canadian children's book author was required to change the phrase "it's a question of the pot calling the kettle black" in one of her books due to its perceived racial insensitivity. Her Canadian editor said, "That's racist . . . [or] somebody might read it that way" (Interview 6). All three authors disputed the idea that the language that they had chosen was about race.

4.7.2 Gender

Incidents of editors' insisting on changes based upon concerns about gender stereotyping have been noted in the U.K. and Canada. As mentioned earlier, Laurent Chabin was directed to change the chambermaids in the earlier version of his fairy story to a term that would reflect both genders for the new edition.

Similarly in the U.K., an author who had been commissioned to write an educational text found upon submission that he had a new editor who "objected that the book contained

too many ‘stereotypes.’” When the author refused to make changes, he was told that his work was no longer wanted (P.E.N. Committee on Censorship, Gender par. 12). It should be noted, however, that a report by the P.E.N. Committee on Censorship examining pre- and post-publication censorship in the U.K., found that in general “the pressure to redress the balance of gender stereotypes in children’s books was abating” (Gender par. 11).

4.7.3 Health and Safety

According to U.K. author and illustrator Lindsey Gardiner “politically-correct publishers are censoring children's books because of fears over health and safety.” Gardiner asserts that “publishers banned youngsters from walking alone” in one of her novels (Devlin 2007). The same type of concern is seen in Canada where an illustrator was required to insert partial images of adults into scenes in a picture book featuring children playing with animals. The publisher was concerned that an adult be depicted as nearby at all times (Interview 1).

4.7.4 Sex

Pre-censorship incidents stemming from concerns about sexual depictions in children’s books have been documented in both Canada and the United States. American author and illustrator Gail E. Haley admitted to self-censoring while working on her book *Sea Tale*. Haley decided against portraying the mermaids bare-breasted and acknowledges that “looking back on it ... I think I was engaging in a bit of self-censorship” (West 1997, 27). One can hardly fault her decision when one considers that Canadian Laszlo Gal was required to cover the bare breasts of the mermaid on the cover of Margaret Crawford Maloney’s re-telling of Hans Christian Andersen’s *The Little Mermaid* in order for the book to be accepted for the U.S. market (Khan 1999).

Other Canadian authors have experienced pre-censorship or attempts to pre-censor material in their writings based upon concerns about sexual depictions or the implication of sex. As mentioned earlier, French-Canadian author Laurent Chabin had to remove a

section from one of his fairytales in which a fairy brings the king to the shower based on the implication that the fairy might view the king naked. Another French-Canadian author felt under pressure to change language in her fantasy series because an editor insisted that the terms used such as “couple” and “companion” were suggestive of a sexual relationship between the characters of different species (Interview 5). This same author, interviewee 5, had another story turned down because of unpunished extramarital sexual relations. In a legend she wrote, a rabbit has relations with a tiger and neither are punished for their actions. English-Canadian author Kathy Stinson related the experience she had with a publisher who felt that the depiction of a fifteen-year-old girl undressing in front of a boy the same age would need to be cut out of her book *Fish House Secrets*. The publisher of Stinson’s book *101 Ways to Dance* also expressed concern that a discussion in the book about breasts was “going too far” (Stinson interview).

These concerns about the depiction or implication of sex are similar to concerns expressed in the United States. American author Judy Blume revealed that she regretted giving into pre-censorship by her editor who advised her to remove a section of her young adult novel *Tiger Eyes* which dealt with masturbation. Her editor deemed the material controversial (Blume 50).

4.7.5 Negative Adult Sexual Behavior

Pre-censorship based on concerns about negative adult sexual behavior have been documented by West (1997) in his interview with American author Norma Klein. Klein spoke about how the first editor to whom she sent her book *Mom, the Wolf Man and Me* wanted the mother to be divorced rather than unmarried and did not want the mother to have a boyfriend who “slept over.” Klein had to find another editor to tell the story she wanted (West 63).

Canadian author Alison Acheson spoke about being asked to rewrite her young adult novel because of an editor’s dislike of “a very major secondary character.” The character was “sort of an old hippy guy” who it turns out has impregnated the mother of one of the

characters in the story. The American editor “really took exception to this character and she said she liked the novel . . . but . . . she feels very strongly that this character needs to go” (Acheson interview). A similar type of concern was expressed about Canadian author Kathy Stinson’s picture book manuscript which contained an adult who “smoked and had a string of boyfriends.” Stinson explained that the Canadian publisher had concerns about portraying such a character (Stinson interview).

4.7.6 Voice Appropriation

Concerns about racial sensitivity and ethno-cultural authenticity seem to spark pre-censorship not just of isolated words, but of entire stories. In a report by the PEN Committee on Censorship (1993) examining pre- and post-publication censorship in the U.K., it was noted that “some children’s writers find that stories not written from direct personal experience are now being rejected as invalid” (The Publisher’s Views, par. 27). A similar experience with pre-censorship was related by Canadian children’s author Jennifer Mitton who had a difficult time getting her book *Fadimatu* published because it told the first-person story of a young woman in Nigeria. Publishers were reluctant to take it on, given the widespread concerns at the time about voice appropriation. *Fadimatu* was published one year earlier than the PEN report which expressed concerns about U.K. publishers’ reluctance to accept stories about ethnic characters not written “from direct personal experience” (The Publisher’s Views, par. 27). Given the date of the incidents and reporting, it is unclear whether this remains an issue.

4.7.7 Americanization and Other Cultural Changes

The complaint that books are changed for the American market is shared by Canadian and U.K. authors. Nan Gregory’s experience, mentioned earlier, of having the language and setting of her novel altered to be less Canadian for the American market is similar to the experiences of several U.K. authors whose books have been Americanized in order to be sold in the U.S. Diana Hendry’s *Dog Dottington* became *Dog Donovan* because the original title was deemed “too British-sounding” (Whitehead 1996, 690). Amanda

Vesey's book, *The Princess and the Frog*, was so changed in its American version that Vesey inscribed a copy with the statement "This is NOT what I wrote!" in protest against the revisions made by her American editor" (687-688).

This type of cultural accommodation is not only made in favor of the American market. According to Mary Hoffman (1990), changes are made to American children's books sold into the British market. Hoffman explains that "British publishers are becoming increasingly cautious about how they present American texts to English children. . . . They make changes ranging from spellings to culture. And this at a time when British children, from their favourite films, TV series and songs, are saturated in American ways" (Hoffman [par. 2]).

4.7.8 Self-censorship

In addition to changes made by editors, a similar self-censoring can be seen among authors from Canada and the United States. Self-censorship of words that some will consider objectionable was mentioned by American author Julius Lester (West 1993) and Canadian author Kathy Stinson (Stinson interview). References to how censorship affects your thoughts as you sit down to write were made by American author Norma Fox Mazer and several Canadian authors who participated in the study, including author Kari-Lynn Winters. One Canadian author referenced the editor in her head when she tries to write (Interview 7).

The extent to which authors and illustrators of children's and young adult materials in Canada, the U.K., and the U.S. are pre-censored is not known, but the incidents noted above show that over the past twenty-five years authors have experienced pre-censorship and some have spoken out about it. Although some of the sources relied upon for comparison of pre-censorship incidents in the three countries are somewhat dated, similarities in the types of pre-censorship requests made are striking and may point to categories of materials that are routinely pre-censored in western countries. The possible connection between this type of pre-censorship and multinational corporations that have

recently moved into the dominant position in children's book publishing worldwide is not known. The names of the publishers in the United States with whom the interviewees dealt and publishers in the United Kingdom referred to in previous research projects are not known, so a comparison cannot be made. Many of the instances mentioned by Canadian authors were with small or local publishers.

4.8 Summary

The impetus for this study came from anecdotal evidence of pre-censorship or censorship prior to publication of Canadian children's authors that was mentioned at author events and in isolated discussions with children's literature scholars. A review of the literature has shown that there is little documentation of the problem of pre-censorship of literature for children and young adults. When pre-censorship is discussed, it is often submerged within more general discussions of censorship and not specifically identified. Even when it is addressed, it is only in snippets of information that are revealed in interviews and responses to questionnaires concerning censorship. Because this type of censorship generally occurs before publication, there is little documentation of the problem, and consequently, few studies on the topic. When the topic is addressed in library and information science, it is predominantly from the perspective of librarians pre-censoring books that are already in publication and fails to address the issue of censorship prior to publication. This narrow definition of the term pre-censorship, as identified in the library and information science literature, is not in accord with the definitions of the term commonly found in publishing, history, and philosophy.

The literature revealed that only one major study directly addresses the topic of pre-censorship of English-language children's books. The PEN England Report (1993) is groundbreaking in its identification of the problem of pre-censorship and in the diversity of feedback researchers received to questions concerning the type of pre-censorship children's authors in England received as well as the impact the U.S. market has on requests for changes that respondents deemed to be pre-censorship. Small scale interviews have been conducted that address pre-censorship while not always directly identifying it. The literature reveals that both Canadian and British authors expressed dissatisfaction with the changing of language to "Americanize" texts and expressed feelings that the works had been materially altered.

A deep concern was present in the literature on the part of Canadian educators and scholars that Canadian children see their culture reflected in the books they read;

however, there was no agreement about what represents Canadian culture in children's literature and whether a sufficient amount is present in the books that Canadian children read. Conflicting opinions about the impact of globalization and the power of the American market on Canadian culture have also been revealed by the literature review. The literature also points to the possibility of a generational change in viewpoint concerning Canadian nationalism. There is some indication that the post-baby boom generations are not as nationalistic as their predecessors and perceive more opportunities in the American market than their predecessors.

This study was designed to examine in detail the phenomenon of pre-censorship as experienced by Canadian children's and young adult authors and illustrators. A qualitative, naturalistic methodology was selected to explore participants' experiences including the feelings, thoughts, and effects of the experience. Phenomenological methods were investigated and deemed the best choice to reveal the complexities of thought, feelings, and actions stemming from the pre-censorship experience. In-depth interviews with open-ended questions were used to encourage participants to speak at length and share thoughts, feelings, and insights that might not be revealed in more structured data gathering methods.

In late August 2007, queries accompanied by copies of the advertisement for this study, were posted on this researcher's behalf to Canadian children's authors and illustrators' listservs as well as a similar listserv in the United States that enjoys international readership. Several participants responded to this query but more were needed. In mid-October 2007, a second request was sent out on this researcher's behalf to Canadian children's authors and illustrators' listservs and by word of mouth. This second request attracted the attention of additional participants and provided sufficient numbers to conduct the study.

A total of seventeen authors and illustrators participated in this study. Fifteen participants were English-Canadian and two were French-Canadian. Face-to-face interviewing was conducted with all but one of the participants, who was interviewed initially by phone and later at an in-person meeting. Seven of the seventeen participants agreed to full

disclosure. Most requested confidentiality, wishing to keep their names and the titles of the books undisclosed. Reasons given for this request included not wanting to damage relationships with Canadian publishers due to the small market, concerns about singling out publishers or editors, and a desire not to be recognized as having experienced this type of censorship.

The incidents of pre-censorship vary in severity and motive. It appears, based on the emotions expressed and language used during the interviews, that more recent incidents of pre-censorship elicit deeper emotional responses from the interviewees. The incidents of pre-censorship related can be roughly grouped into the following categories: Accuracy, Americanization, Canadian Specific, Evolution, Gender Stereotypes, Gender Issues, Male Point of View, Negative Adult Behavior, Negative Youth Behavior, Other, Racism Concerns, Religious or Moral Attributes of the Character, Sexual Content or Implication, Unauthorized Alteration, Violence, and Voice Appropriation. The categories are based upon the perceived subject matter or the reason for the pre-censorship.

During the interviews participants talked about what they identified as pre-censorship or what they felt worthy of mentioning in the context of discussions about pre-censorship and why. The incidents described provide concrete examples of how pre-censorship is experienced by authors and illustrators. Many incidents of pre-censorship concerned editors or publishers' concerns for accuracy, including author Laurent Chabin's publisher's insisting that he not have a toad jump into a pond in one of his fairytales. The reason Chabin was given is that toads are terrestrial (Chabin interview). Another author felt that her judgment was being questioned when her editor insisted on changes to the age of teen drivers, the music being played on the piano, and the use of nicknames in a book she wrote set during World War II (Interview Six). Four incidents of pre-censorship concerned the unauthorized alteration or attempted alteration of illustrations for aesthetic reasons or concerns about the salability of certain images.

Canadian-specific types of pre-censorship were identified in five instances. These include author Alison Acheson's having her book about hockey turned down based upon its style

(Acheson interview). Author Kari-Lynn Winters had to make changes to her Olympic chicken book because of the passage of a law that prohibits the use of certain words related to the Olympics. Another author was pressured to make a non-fiction book about astronomy for kids “as Canadian as possible” based upon the desires of the publisher’s marketing department (Interview Eight). Finally, falling under the category of Canadian-specific pre-censorship are the negative comments made by committee members for Canadian book prizes and awards that interviewee 17 believes affected her chances of possibly being chosen as a finalist and ultimately increasing the sales of her book.

Other types of pre-censorship incidents discussed in interviews that had multiple occurrences included: pre-censorship based on gender stereotypes, male point of view, negative adult behavior, negative youth behavior, and the religious or moral attributes of characters. Only two incidents discussed by participants concerned Americanization. The first was a request to Americanize some of the language of a text and generalize the setting of a novel that was being published in the United States by an American publishing house. The second was a request to Americanize the spelling of a book targeted for the North American market featuring both Canadian and American scientists. All of the other incidents were either Canadian specific or general requests that did not reference the United States or possible future sales in the United States.

It appears that the most important reason for editors’ and publishers’ requested changes is a desire for sales. This encompasses marketing, aesthetics, and the removal of any content that it is feared will be censored post-publication. These concerns are supported by the literature. Reasons given by editors of those interviewed include that the marketing department wants specific changes made or inclusions placed in the book; that the book “would be too difficult to market” (Acheson interview); that changes are needed because the publisher is “targeting the book for a younger age group” (Interview 14); and that “nobody’s going to buy a book that has swastikas” (Interview 1). Two authors were requested to make changes to make the books more marketable for the entire North American market. This means changing spellings to American and sometimes changing

words. It was explained to interviewee 17, “it just won’t sell . . . if you don’t make these changes” (Interview with the author, November 12, 2007).

Other reasons given for pre-censorship that can reasonably be seen as tied to sales and concerns for future censorship include apprehension that a passage or phrase seems “racist” (Interview 6) , has a sexual implication (Chabin interview, Interview 5, Stinson interview), or that portrayal of a character of another ethnicity will be seen as voice appropriation (Mitton Interview). Concerns focused on post-publication censorship and lost sales include requesting changes because a Canadian law prohibits the use of certain words in the context used in the book (Winters Interview). Including material that may appear inaccurate (Interview 6) or “disgusting” and might turn off readers (Interview 2) are cited as concerns that potentially have the ability to affect sales. The impact on sales can also play a role in concerns about political correctness. Requested changes for political correctness such as the one made by Chabin’s publisher to change the French term for “chambermaids” to a term that reflects both sexes in the servant capacity (Chabin interview) as well as requests such as the one made of Stinson to change her character to a younger woman if the character is behaving “confused”, or refusing to publish an image of a confused woman reflect publishers’ concerns that not appearing politically correct could negatively impact sales (Stinson interview).

Some reasons given by editors for requested changes that participants identified as pre-censorship appear to lie outside of the immediate concern about sales or marketing. These include reasons such as “you can't write that because you're not Robert Munsch” which is what author Alison Acheson was told about a hockey book she had written which featured a tape ball (Acheson interview). However, the majority of reasons were either directly related to sales and marketing concerns (including post-publication censorship), or could reasonably be related to those concerns, such as reasons that address the accurateness of facts or elements in stories, concerns about statements appearing racist, politically incorrect, or off-putting to purchasers in some way.

Similarities emerge when comparing some of the pre-censorship incidents discussed by Canadian authors and illustrators to documented incidents in the U.K. and U.S. The nature of the pre-censorship is the same in a number of incidents. These include pre-censorship incidents stemming from concerns about race, gender, health and safety, sex, negative adult sexual behavior, voice appropriation, and Americanization.

The term pre-censorship was not defined for participants beyond the definition in context which appeared in the “Study Details” section for the advertisement for this study. Interviewees self-identified as having experienced pre-censorship in order to participate in this study. During the interviews participants were asked how they define pre-censorship. Five participants identified pre-censorship in relation to actions, pressures, or efforts by editors. Four participants viewed pre-censorship as something that can occur before the editing process, at the level of the idea or thought. Three participants referenced content changes, two focused on the power of the market, and one on the ideas of others impeding the creative process. One participant focused on the fear of what will happen. Another defined it in terms of the thoughts of others. Finally, one participant spoke about pre-censorship in the abstract as “the enemy of art and literature” (Interview 5).

When asked whether they self-censored in light of pre-censorship experiences, twelve of the seventeen participants admitted that they do. Two more participants said they take active steps to avoid or compensate for anticipated pre-censorship, which may be considered a form of self-censorship, and three participants either responded that they do not self-censor or no longer work as writers. The degree of self-censorship appears to vary from being an act that is almost unconscious to an act that is deliberate and very intense.

It is clear from the responses that pre-censorship experiences have made lasting impressions on most of the study’s participants. The market is now a greater consideration, along with concerns about how editors will respond to the material. Some authors have begun to question the validity of their own opinions, and now seek the

advice of others before submitting their work to publishing houses and editors. Some topics, words, and ideas are now dismissed before the writing or illustration process begins. Even those that take preemptive measures do so in light of previous pre-censorship experiences.

Although there is no mandate to self-censor, the majority of those interviewed admit to engaging in this behavior. According to Ingram (2000) this voluntary self-censorship naturally follows from “thoroughly effective” formal pre-censorship, in this case by editors and publishers. The cultural impact of this form of pre-censorship is an issue that requires further study.

The incidents of pre-censorship discussed in the interviews can be distilled down to several common threads that help to identify the essence of the experience. First, at some point an author or illustrator perceives that his or her creative ideas are censored either from the outside (by publishers, editors, etc.) or the inside (self-censorship in anticipation of editor expectations, censorship by others) prior to publication or republication. The actual changes, removals, or pre-censorship are specific to the texts but the censorship results in ideas or images being removed or discarded prior to the writing or illustrating process or prior to publication.

The main criterion that separates this removal from normal or acceptable editing is that the authors and illustrators who identify it as pre-censorship feel a loss of intellectual freedom or freedom of expression in having to make the changes. The removals or alterations are made with varying levels of dissatisfaction from being “embarrassed” to have made such concessions to feeling that they did not want to make this change but had no other choice to get the book published or, perhaps most upsetting, to find that the changes have been made without their knowledge or approval.

There is an emotional aspect to the experience as well. It can range from being an annoyance at having to make changes that one identifies as pre-censorship to being such a traumatizing experience that the author questions whether they will write again. For

almost all of the participants who have experienced pre-censorship, one of the most important results has been that the participant now self-censors in anticipation of censorship prior to or post-publication.

CHAPTER 5 Reflections, Conclusions, and Future Research

5.1 Reflections

5.1.1 Meaning of Pre-censorship

According to Creswell (1998), one of the challenges in doing a phenomenological study is that “The researcher needs to decide how and in what way his or her personal experiences will be introduced into the study” (55). My personal experiences have been introduced in the form of self-reflection, examining my own pre-conceived ideas about the meaning of pre-censorship prior to interviewing participants and how my understanding of the meaning of the term has evolved.

The term *pre-censorship* has been defined different ways by writers in the fields of library and information science, education, history, and legal philosophy. There is no clear consensus on the precise meaning of the term. For this reason, the term *pre-censorship* was not defined for participants beyond the definition in context which appeared in the “Study Details” section for the advertisement for this study. The study sought participants who had “experienced censorship prior to publication, including but not limited to changes requested by editors and publishers or changes made by an author or illustrator that he/she feels is an infringement of intellectual freedom, was beyond the scope of the editorial role, or stifled/stifles creativity” (Appendix One). Interviewees self-identified as having experienced pre-censorship in order to participate in this study. Allowing participants to define the term *pre-censorship* and to self-identify as having experienced pre-censorship to participate in the study was thought to increase diversity of data.

While most of the incidents that participants identified as pre-censorship fit with my pre-conceived idea of the meaning of the term, a few were unexpected and broadened my understanding of the meaning of pre-censorship as it applies to writing and illustrating materials for children. Prior to interviewing participants about pre-censorship this researcher had assumed that making changes to suit the spelling of the country where a book was being published, and making a setting more generic so as not to identify a

location outside of the country where the book was being marketed were inconveniences or a mild form of pre-censorship. While these forms of geographic “editing” might be frustrating, this editing did not appear to elicit strong emotions. Such changes were viewed as the cost of doing business and a specific form of editing with the market in mind.

This idea was based largely upon reading scholarly assessments of the state of Canadian children’s publishing, speaking informally with an editor and several Canadian children’s authors. When asked, the majority of participants in this study were reluctant to identify changes in spelling and language as a form of pre-censorship. Some also qualified the assessment of changing the setting of the story to be dependent on the importance of the setting to the story.

While most participants in this study did not identify requests to change or Americanize spelling and language as pre-censorship, author Nan Gregory’s powerful statement that being asked to make changes to spelling, setting, and language unique to Canada was like “erasing my country” shows that for some these types of changes do constitute pre-censorship. While the setting appeared to be of the most importance, and is a point of importance which other participants have noted, in this identification of pre-censorship, Gregory expressed concerns about language that specifically identified the story as Canadian, such as “loonies,” and about the perceived assessment that “Canada wasn’t exotic enough” to American audiences (Nan Gregory interview with the author in Vancouver on November 15, 2007).

Gregory’s response indicates that the emotion the request elicits plays a big role in whether or not the author or illustrator perceives it as pre-censorship. The fact that Gregory’s opinion is different than that of others on the issue of Canadian cultural content also seems to indicate the unique, personal nature of what is identified as pre-censorship. Interviewee 12 was asked to relocate one of the characters in her series to Canada, as both main characters were originally in the United States this interviewee did not view this request as pre-censorship, but as editing. When the matter was discussed,

interviewee 12 explained “because I have a Canadian publisher and I guess it is a small regional publisher, that publisher’s strength is going to be marketing it within this area first and then [it] maybe would have legs to walk elsewhere” (Interview 12).

The differing opinions about whether or not such changes to the setting of a book constitute pre-censorship or editing appear to be tied, at least in part, to the importance of location and culture to the story. Interviewee 9 explained that he would consider being required to change the setting of a story a form of censorship. He qualified the severity of the censorship, explaining that he did not see any reason for such a change, commenting that “generic is better than an American location, simply because if it matters that it’s in Canada, it matters if it’s anywhere” (Interview 9).

Do most Canadian children's authors and illustrators think that requests to make changes to Canadian spelling and language or to make settings more generic constitute censorship rather than editing? This is unknown. What is clear is that for some this is indeed a form of pre-censorship. It represents an unwelcome Americanization of Canadian culture.

Interviewee 17’s discussion of the incidents that she considered pre-censorship that occurred when her book was under consideration for nominations for book awards in two provinces and the repercussions of the loss of the nominations expanded this researcher’s perception of what types of actions authors perceive as pre-censorship. This type of action has not previously been identified in the literature as a form of pre-censorship. However the determination, for the purpose of this study and the use of the phenomenological method, of whether these actions are forms of pre-censorship is dependent upon the participant’s perceptions. In this case, interviewee 17 clearly sees these actions as forms of pre-censorship. It is her stated opinion that both of these awards greatly increase the visibility of the book and put it on lists that encourage librarians and schools to purchase the book. She viewed the loss of the opportunity to be nominated as possibly leading to decreased sales, no subsequent print runs, and fewer readers. That the author so strongly identifies the actions of committee members as pre-censorship caused

this researcher to re-evaluate prior ideas about the parameters of what authors may identify as constituting pre-censorship.

5.1.2 Severity of Pre-censorship

Given the limited number of participants in this phenomenological study, the severity of pre-censorship cannot be determined. More authors and illustrators contacted the researcher to participate than was expected. They spoke about a wider variety of pre-censorship incidents than the limited information available through the English PEN study, the anecdotal evidence available from Canada, and the limited interview responses contained in the literature from the United States indicated.

Comparing the incidents described by participants to this researcher's preexisting ideas about the types and number of incidents that potential participants would be willing to discuss, the incidents and number of participants exceeded expectations. The types of pre-censorship discussed are of a wider variety and many more are Canadian-specific than expected, based upon the information derived during the literature review which indicated a focus on the American market as a primary reason for pre-censorship. The reasons for this discrepancy are unknown and may be a fruitful area for future investigation.

The discrepancy may be due to the fact that the majority of authors interviewed had their books published by publishers for whom the American market did not appear to be a primary focus. It may also be that certain types of censorship known to exist in the United States and which have been observed in Canada have been attributed to the American influence on Canadian publishing. A larger sample or responses from another group of Canadian authors and illustrators might produce a different result than the one found in this study. While information from the literature review might prompt speculation that the age of the respondents is a factor in explaining a focus on the American market as a primary reason for pre-censorship, the findings of this study did not support this hypothesis. Responses by participants, whose ages identified them as Baby Boomers, indicated that most of these individuals did not find the change to

American spelling to be a form of pre-censorship nor did they tie the pre-censorship incidents they experienced to American influence.

Based upon the results found in this study, issues that have previously been associated with American influence on Canadian publishers now appear to be issues of concern for sales within Canada. Canadian editors seeking to publish and sell books primarily in Canada have expressed concern to participants about materials containing sexual content or perceived sexual content, ideas that may offend religious groups or language that may be construed as racist or politically incorrect. The connection, therefore, between this type of pre-censorship, based upon fear of complaint for inclusion of controversial terms or ideas, and the U.S. market seems more tenuous.

Given that most authors did not find the change to American spelling to be a form of pre-censorship nor did they tie the pre-censorship incidents experienced to American influence, the question is raised as to why the literature seems to focus on the idea that the U.S. market is to blame for pre-censorship and loss of Canadian culture. Statistics are used to support such positions with scholars noting that the U.S. is approximately ten times larger in population size than Canada; however, this does not establish a causal relationship. Adding the concerns expressed by many participants, and also noted in the literature, that authors and illustrators are hesitant to discuss pre-censorship for fear that doing so will negatively impact their ability to publish in the future, the lack of incidents showing U.S. market influence on perceived pre-censorship raises the possibility that the focus on the U.S. market may indicate only that this is an acceptable position to voice in Canada. It allows for discussion of the issue of pre-censorship without assessing blame to Canadian publishers, society, or agents.

5.1.3 Cultural Silencing

In addition to causing me to re-evaluate the meaning of pre-censorship, my own experiences in interviewing participants have led me to reassess the nature of cultural

silencing as it may be occurring in Canadian children's and young adult literature. Sheriff (2000) asserts that because cultural censorship is "so under-theorized, anthropologists and other social scientists might fruitfully examine cultural censorship from a variety of mutually illuminating angles and approaches" (115). She explains that "one of the central features of cultural silence is that it tends to be, in rather paradoxical terms, simultaneously recognized and concealed" (115).

Although this study cannot be relied upon to provide a generalization of the situation in Canada, it does call into question the emphasis present in the literature that concerns about the American market are a powerful force in silencing Canadian content. For example, Aldana (2001) observed that to compete, Canadian publishers have "almost unconsciously" begun to shape their lists to the tastes of the U.S. market (677). Another example is Black and Jobe's (2005) assertion that pressure is exerted by American buyers and sales representatives to present more generic content (Black and Jobe par. [5]). The findings of this phenomenological study show that there is a concern to shape content from within Canada for reasons including, but not limited to, fear of complaint after publication and a desire to appear politically correct. These concerns have, prior to this study, remained largely hidden and may have acted or be acting as a force within Canadian publishing and Canadian culture to silence what may be considered unpopular or controversial topics.

The majority of the pre-censorship incidents recounted in participants' interviews were based upon requests from Canadian publishers and editors concerning material that was not produced primarily for or in anticipation of entry into the American market.

Examples include: the requested change of the term meaning *chambermaid* in a fairytale by French-Canadian author Laurent Chabin to indicate a chamber servant of either sex, the requested word changes to the story of Interviewee 5 to avoid the perception of a sexual relationship between two characters of different species, the removal of the word *evolution* from the chapter title of a nonfiction Canadian children's book that conveyed the meaning of *evolution* (Interview 9), the prohibition of the use of words related to the Olympics in author Kari-Lynn Winters' picture book and the demanded removal of the

colloquial aphorism which had been present in a book written by interviewee 6 for fear that aphorism could be perceived as racist. All of these examples involve books that were considered primarily or exclusively for the Canadian market. The dichotomy between the emphasis in the literature and the incidents described in the interviews points to a need to investigate the source of perceived cultural silencing in Canadian children's and young literature.

5.2 *Conclusions*

This phenomenological study of pre-censorship is the first of its kind in Canada. It achieves its purpose of exploring how Canadian authors and illustrators of children's and young adult materials experience, perceive, and understand pre-censorship. This study identifies the essence of the pre-censorship experiences related by participants in a composite of the pre-censorship experience. It has shown that pre-censorship exists in Canada and has been experienced by Canadian children's authors and illustrators in four provinces and one European country, by both French and English Canadian authors. Many types of pre-censorship identified have been experienced by more than one participant in the study. These include: unauthorized alteration of illustrations, pre-censorship based on sexual content or implication, pre-censorship based on negative youth behavior, pre-censorship based on negative adult behavior, pre-censorship based on editors' dislike of the male point of view portrayed, pre-censorship based on gender stereotypes, pre-censorship based on accuracy concerns, Americanization of texts for sale in the American market, and pre-censorship based on Canadian-specific reasons.

The reasons given by editors and publishers to participants for pre-censorship make clear that marketing and sales concerns as well as a fear of censorship after publication are the dominant motivating factors. These are followed by other concerns that can influence the success of a book, such as aesthetics, accuracy, cultural factors, concerns about political correctness and concerns about the religiosity of characters. Looking at the reasons for

pre-censorship, this researcher observed that few appear to be disconnected from concerns about sales, marketing, or creating wide appeal. The reasons given accord with the comments made by Rider (2001) and Schiffren (2001) about the pressure on editors to produce books which have a wide appeal.

The majority of participants in the study defined pre-censorship in relation to actions of editors. This number was followed closely by those who defined pre-censorship as something occurring at the level of the thought or the idea. These two definitions mirror the definition of pre-censorship given by P. G. Ingram (2000), who identifies pre-censorship as a form of censorship “where publication of offending information or opinions is prevented in advance” (7). He notes that pre-censorship may be of two kinds. The first, “formal pre-censorship,” occurs “where material for publication in any way is submitted for clearance beforehand” (Ingram 7). This would encompass the pre-censorship by editors identified by participants. The second kind of pre-censorship, which Ingram says follows naturally from successful formal pre-censorship, is “voluntary self-censorship” (8). In this type of pre-censorship “a writer of a book simply avoids giving information or expressing opinions which he knows will not be allowed to see the light of day” (8).

Participants identify voluntary self-censorship as occurring at the level of the thought or the idea. This voluntary self-censorship is a learned response to censorship and pre-censorship incidents. The reactions to pre- and post-publication censorship by censoring at the level of the thought or idea can be likened to stimulus-response theory. Having learned that censorship occurs when certain ideas are put to paper, these authors have responded by stopping the thought before it is written. They define pre-censorship in terms of fear and the primacy of another’s person’s thoughts or opinions over their own.

Given the definitions provided for pre-censorship it is not surprising that nearly all of the participants who still write or illustrate self-censor. Among the few who did not identify themselves as self-censoring, most developed a similar coping mechanism. These participants took preemptive action to try to offset anticipated pre-censorship either by

adding additional material that they expected the editors to demand the removal of in order to keep what was really wanted, or setting up additional checks on the material once it passed through the editing process but prior to publication.

The majority of participants explained that they self-censored for the marketplace and in anticipation of what editors might say. Others expressed a fear of censorship if certain elements such as profanity were included. Still others self-censored because their confidence had been shaken by pre-censorship experiences. These reasons and the voluntary self-censorship show that the effect of pre-censorship goes beyond the one book where changes are demanded that authors or illustrators feel violate their intellectual freedom or expression. The pre-censorship experience influences those censored and impacts the work and even the thoughts of those individuals. Judy Blume worried that censorship would silence the voices of writers and it would appear that this is the case, at least in part for participants who stop themselves from including material that they fear will trigger negative reactions (Blume 50).

5.3 Some Areas for Future Research

This study has provided evidence of the occurrence of pre-censorship in Canada experienced by children's and young adult authors and illustrators. The thoughts, feelings, and pre-censorship experiences of the participants in this study have been documented. When the participants' pre-censorship experiences are compared to documented instances of pre-censorship of children's and young adult authors in the U.K. and U.S., similarities can be seen in certain types of pre-censorship and self-censorship. However, the reasons for these similarities have not been established. Further investigation is needed to determine if there are certain types of pre-censorship that are common to countries such as Canada and the U.S. that share a similar culture and language, and if so where these types of pre-censorship originate.

Concerns have been expressed in the literature that Americanization is robbing Canadian children's books of Canadian content, but the literature also indicates a different view

which holds that Americanization is simply a form of globalization. Critics such as Rao (2004) and Wright (2001) assert that changes in literature are due to Canadians' changing vision of what nationalism means. Wright maintains that Canada seems to be "living in the last days" of nationalism (8). Rao supports this position, stating that Canadians must continually question what Canadian culture is because it is something that is evolving. He adds that "mild confusion about Canadian identity and national symbols is not all bad. . . . It allows for greater openness and flexibility about what it really means to be Canadian" (Rao 31).

This dichotomy of opinion requires further investigation to determine whether Canadian children's and young adult books are being Americanized at the cost of Canadian culture, whether Canadian children's and young adult literature is simply evolving into a more global literature, or whether something as yet unidentified is occurring.

Scholars such as MacSkimming (2003) present a picture of Canadian literature's being Americanized from within. He explains that Canadians are trying to capture a piece of the U.S. book industry: "Penetrating the American marketplace means adopting an American orientation" (358). He goes on to note that "since the late 1990s, the American market has become an obsession" (359). Many Canadian publishers sell directly into the United States and have "adopted American spellings" (358). Some even aim for certain American markets, such as young Latino readers. These statements combined with the limited instances of Americanization noted by participants discussing pre-censorship make the determination of the origin of the pressure to Americanize Canadian children's literature an ambiguous one.

While a review of the literature establishes that corporate mergers and take-overs are changing the face of publishing in the United States as well as internationally and that a greater focus on profits is making editors more hesitant to publish challenging work, no clear connection was established between the corporate ownership of companies and the pre-censorship incidents described by participants. Most of those interviewed were publishing with Canadian publishers when the incidents occurred. Although pre-

copyright incidents of four authors occurred with manuscripts submitted to, or books published by, the Canadian subsidiary of an international publisher, in three of these instances the authors were informed that the books were to be marketed for the Canadian market only.

Data provided from the in-depth interviews with participants did not yield information that supports a direct or verifiable connection between changes in the ownership of publishing houses in North America and the pre-censorship incidents experienced. The writings of MacSkimming (2003), Schiffrin (2001), and Radway (1997) provide an explanation of the changes that the U.S. and Canadian publishing markets have undergone in the past couple of decades and the need to produce profitable books, but no link has been established between these changes and the pre-censorship incidents experienced by those Canadian authors and illustrators interviewed. Whether or not there is a relationship between the two is an area for further investigation.

This study is important for establishing that pre-censorship exists in Canada and that children's and young adult authors and illustrators have experienced it. It documents the lived experience, but further studies are needed in order to compare the pre-censorship experiences of Canadian, British, and American children's and young adult authors and illustrators. Large-scale questionnaires similar to those used in the study undertaken by the P.E.N. Committee on Censorship (1993) are needed to explore the problem and identify consistencies among the countries. These types of studies could provide much greater insight into this phenomenon.

Examining children's book editors' and publishers' perceptions of the difference between editing and pre-censorship may also broaden understanding of the phenomenon. Research into the prevalence of pre-censorship incidents identified by participants can provide a better understanding of the scope of the phenomenon. Investigating whether or not publishers and editors perceive the incidents reported by participants to be pre-censorship and the reasons for their opinions can shed light on the nature of the editing process. The publishing market and the relationships between editors and authors /illustrators may then

be further investigated. Learning the reasons behind decisions to pre-censor or to edit in a manner that has been identified by participants as pre-censorship can expand our understanding and awareness of the issue and its impact on materials published for youth.

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APPENDIX ONE: Advertisement

Pre-censorship of Children's Books: Perceptions and Experiences of Canadian Authors and Illustrators

A research study undertaken by Cherie Givens, a PhD candidate and Co-investigator, and Dr. Ann Curry, Professor and Primary Researcher, in the School of Library, Archival and Information Studies at the University of British Columbia.

Study Details:

The focus of this research is the experience of Canadian children and young adult authors and illustrators who have experienced censorship prior to publication, including but not limited to changes requested by editors and publishers or changes made by an author or illustrator that he/she feels is an infringement of intellectual freedom, was beyond the scope of the editorial role, or stifled/stifles creativity. We are looking for participants who are willing to share their experiences to document this phenomenon as it is experienced by Canadian authors and illustrators publishing/ published in Canada and/or the United States.

This study is being conducted to fulfill the research component of the Co-investigator's doctoral degree.

Participants Sought:

If you are a Canadian author or illustrator, published in Canada and/or the United States, who believes you have experienced censorship prior to publication, you are being asked to participate in this study. Your assistance will be greatly appreciated.

Procedures:

You will be asked to participate in a 60-90 minute interview concerning your experience(s) with requests for editorial changes to written or illustrated materials for children or young adults that you believe is a violation of intellectual freedom, was censorial, stifled your creativity, or that you identify as pre-censorship. Interviews will be audio-taped and transcribed. Confidentiality will be strictly ensured and your name will not appear in the final study unless you have expressly agreed in writing to allow us to use it. After initial contact, subjects will be identified by a code number.

Contact:

For further information, please contact Cherie Givens at cherie@thira.org or 225-766-0353.

Thank you for your consideration.

Ann Curry, PhD, Principal Investigator
Cherie Givens, PhD candidate, Co-investigator
School of Library, Archival and Information Studies
University of British Columbia
Phone: (604) 822-4250

APPENDIX TWO: Consent Form

Pre-censorship of Children's Books: Perceptions and Experiences of Canadian Authors and Illustrators

Principal Investigator:

Dr. Ann Curry, Professor, School of Library, Archival and Information Studies, (604) 822-4250.

Co-Investigator:

Cherie Givens, PhD candidate, School of Library, Archival and Information Studies, (225) 766-0353. This research is being conducted to fulfill the research component of the co-investigator's doctoral degree.

Purpose:

To explore and document the phenomenon of pre-censorship as experienced by Canadian children and young adult authors and illustrators publishing/published in Canada and/or the United States. You are being asked to share your experience(s) with censorship prior to publication, including but not limited to changes requested by editors and publishers or changes you have made to your work that you feel is an infringement of intellectual freedom, was beyond the scope of the editorial role, or stifled/stifles your creativity.

Study Procedure:

You will be asked to participate in a 60-90 minute interview concerning your experience(s) with requests for editorial changes to written or illustrated materials for children or young adults that you believe is a violation of intellectual freedom, was censorial, stifled your creativity, or that you identify as pre-censorship. Your interview will be audio-taped and transcribed.

Risks:

The investigators realize that there could be emotional, psychological and other repercussions to breaches of confidentiality and will take every precaution, as outlined below, to ensure that none take place.

Confidentiality:

Tapes and transcriptions will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in the principal investigator's office as will consent forms and any other correspondence with identifying data. Computer files such as email correspondence will be password protected. Participants will be identified by a code number after initial contact. Your name will not appear in the final study unless you have expressly agreed in writing to be identified and have your comments attributed to you. Tapes will be destroyed five years after the study is completed. Email correspondence will be deleted upon completion of the study. The transcriptions will be retained for one year after the completion of the study. Consent forms will be shredded immediately following the completion of the study, excepting those forms from subjects who have agreed in writing to be identified and have their comments attributed to them. The consent forms from subjects agreeing to be identified

will be retained for one year following the completion of the study and then shredded.

Contact for Information About the Study:

If you have any questions or desire further information with respect to this study, you may contact Dr. Ann Curry at (604) 822-4250 or Cherie Givens at (225) 766-0353.

Contact for Concerns About the Rights of Research Subjects:

If you have any concerns about your treatment or rights as a research subject, you may contact the Research Subject Information Line in the UBC Office of Research Services at (604) 822-8589.

Consent:

By signing below, you are agreeing that you have read this form and understand it and that you will participate in this study as a research subject. Your participation in this study is voluntary and you may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time.

Subject signature Date

Printed name of subject

By signing below, you renew the above consent and additionally agree to be identified by name and allow your comments to be attributed to you.

Subject signature Date

Printed name of subject

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www.slais.ubc.ca, slais@interchange.ubc.ca



APPENDIX THREE: Ethics Certificate



The University of British Columbia
Office of Research Services
Behavioural Research Ethics Board
Suite 102, 6190 Agronomy Road,
Vancouver, B.C. V6T 1Z3

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL - MINIMAL RISK

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Ann Curry	INSTITUTION / DEPARTMENT: UBC/Arts/Library, Archival & Information Studies	UBC BREB NUMBER: H07-01888
INSTITUTION(S) WHERE RESEARCH WILL BE CARRIED OUT:		
Institution	Site	
N/A	N/A	
Other locations where the research will be conducted: Subjects' homes, offices, or locations of their choosing.		
CO-INVESTIGATOR(S): Cherie Givens		
SPONSORING AGENCIES: N/A		
PROJECT TITLE: An Exploration of Pre-censorship of Children's Books: Perceptions and Experiences of Canadian Authors and Illustrators		

CERTIFICATE EXPIRY DATE: August 29, 2008

DOCUMENTS INCLUDED IN THIS APPROVAL:	DATE APPROVED: August 29, 2007	
Document Name	Version	Date
Consent Forms:		
Consent form	8-8	August 8, 2007
Advertisements:		
Advertisement	8-4	August 4, 2007
Questionnaire, Questionnaire Cover Letter, Tests:		
pre-censorship interview questions	8-4	August 4, 2007

The application for ethical review and the document(s) listed above have been reviewed and the procedures were found to be acceptable on ethical grounds for research involving human subjects.

*Approval is issued on behalf of the Behavioural Research Ethics Board
and signed electronically by one of the following:*

Dr. Peter Suedfeld, Chair
Dr. Jim Rupert, Associate Chair
Dr. M. Judith Lynam, Associate Chair
Dr. Laurie Ford, Associate Chair