

A National Comparative Content Analysis of Gender Stereotypes in Children's TV Shows

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ABSTRACT

Gender stereotypes negatively affect people's views and opinions on gender and, thus, bolster gender inequalities. Recently, the children's TV industry has been reinforcing gender stereotypes throughout its shows, which can be highly detrimental to a child's upbringing. In addition, countries of different socioeconomic levels vary in the progress of gender equality. This discrepancy creates a barrier in identifying where exactly change needs to be initiated in the children's TV industry. Therefore, this study 1) identifies gender stereotypes in children's TV shows, 2) examines the differences in gender stereotypes in the United States and India, and 3) examines whether or not gender stereotype patterns have changed over the past decade. Based on specified criteria, the 4 following TV shows were selected: 1) Arthur, 2) Thomas & Friends, 3) Chhota Bheem, and 4) Bapu and assessed on 5 gender-stereotyped domains: 1) the prominence of female and male characters, 2) terms used when describing characters, 3) activities & occupation, 4) talkativeness, and 5) appearance. To measure the variability of gender stereotypes in each show, momentary-time sampling, and average mean were also used. Overall, findings show that gender stereotype patterns are present in children's TV shows, have decreased over the past decade, and have a greater presence in Indian TV shows than in American TV shows. These results show a need for drastic change and equity worldwide in the children's TV industry.

Literature Review

A gender stereotype is a preconceived view where differences exist between men's and women's attributes, characteristics, and/or roles (Martin et al., 1990). Gender stereotypes perpetuate gender inequalities and have a long-lasting, negative impact on women. Children's TV shows are currently under scrutiny for reinforcing gender stereotypes through various gender stereotype portrayals (Kim et al., 2016). These portrayals include, but are not limited to, an obvious distinction in appearance and roles based on gender, and the use of different terminology when addressing male and female characters (Leaper et al., 2002).

Early childhood (from birth to age 8) is defined as a crucial development period in a child's life (Worthman et al., 2016). Thus, gender stereotypes portrayed in children's TV shows can be extremely detrimental to a child's upbringing. A child spends an enormous amount of time dedicating their day to watching TV. Therefore, gender stereotypes in children's TV can unintentionally affect a child's views and opinions on how boys and girls should be perceived. Studies have also shown that children perceive media messages about gender as an illustration of society as a whole (Signorielli, 1990). So, it is crucial to identify the TV programs that negatively affect children's views on gender.

Children develop gender stereotyping patterns from key domains of stylistic appearance, activities, social role, etc. (Walsh & Leaper, 2020). This paper examines similar domains in children's TV such as appearance, activities, occupation, and specific terminology used when describing characters. In addition, this paper considers the prominence and talkativeness of male and female characters. Currently, very few research papers actually examine gender stereotypes in children's TV shows. Instead, they mainly examine gender stereotypes in middle-aged and teenage TV shows. This literature review identifies gaps that will help measure gender stereotype patterns in children's TV shows.

A research study was conducted to explore gender stereotypes in preschool children's TV in 2020. In their paper, authors Abigail Walsh and Campbell Leaper, psychologists and professors at UC Santa Cruz, examined gender representations in TV targeted at preschool-age children. The authors' sample programs were three randomly selected episodes from 34 TV preschool shows. These TV shows ranged across four different networks: *Nick Jr.*, *Disney Jr.*, and *PBS*. Walsh and Leaper analyzed the three selected episodes in conjunction with seven specific gender stereotype domains: (1) Talking, (2) Supportive Speech, (3) Suggestions, (4) Aggressions, (5) Activities, (6) Appearance, and (7) Prominence of male and female lead characters. They collected data relating to the seven domains and concluded that "analyses revealed ways that gender continues to be represented in biased and stereotypical ways in contemporary television programs aimed at preschool-age children" (Walsh & Leaper, 2020). However, Walsh and Leaper's study solely examined TV shows in the U.S. when countless shows selected were also consumed in other countries.

Aysen Bakir, a professor in the Marketing department at *Illinois State University*, examined gender roles in children's TV commercials in the U.S. and India. According to Bakir's study, female voiceovers were used in 25.3% of Indian commercials and 30.3% of American commercials. On the other hand, male voiceovers were used in 33.8% of Indian commercials and 59.1% of American commercials. Indian and American TV commercials showed an overall greater representation of males than females.

Countries of different socioeconomic levels vary in the progress of gender equality (Rozario et al., 2017). Therefore, a national comparison between two countries, such as India and the U.S., will help identify whether prominent issues lie within children's TV shows and where change should be initiated in the children's TV industry.

In 1995, another study by Teresa L. Thompson and Eugenia Zerbinos, professors at the *University of Dayton*, compared gender-stereotyped patterns in TV shows that were decades apart. Thompson and Zerbinos conducted a study that updated research done in the 1970s surrounding gender stereotypes in cartoons. Thompson and Zerbinos' study identified that males were given more representation than females. On average, there were more male characters than female characters in each episode, with only 55% of cartoons holding one to five female lead characters, and 100% of cartoons holding one to five male lead characters. Compared to data in the 1970s, post-1980 female characters had a slightly greater talking time and frequently answered more questions. However, the data was nearly identical, meaning there were no drastic changes in gender stereotype patterns.

Thompson and Zerbinos' study was conducted over 20 years ago. So, it is unlikely that their data precisely represents gender stereotypes in current children's TV shows. A recent study would be a more accurate representation of gender-stereotyped portrayals. For example, in a study done in 1999 by Mark R. Barner, an assistant professor of Communication Studies at *Niagara University*, female characters mainly participated in nurturance and non-physical activities, like painting, while male characters participated in physical activities, like construction. Additionally, Barner stated that female characters were generally neglected, ignored, and placed inferior to male characters. For the past decade, females have continued to be underrepresented on TV shows, including cartoons and commercials. Very few studies have addressed whether or not such female portrayal has improved or deteriorated in recent years. Therefore, it is necessary to identify whether or not gender stereotype patterns have increased, decreased, or stayed the same in the past decade.

Gender stereotypes are prevalent issues in society, and their possible application in children's TV shows must be addressed. Television is the most persuasive tool in the developmental period of a child's life. To protect future generations from luring themselves into such a dangerous trap, it is necessary to fill in major gaps within the portrayal of gender stereotypes in children's TV shows. These gaps include analyzing gender stereotypes from a nationwide perspective, specifically in countries with different socioeconomic levels, such as India and the U.S. Additionally, to view whether or not the TV industry is addressing its gender stereotype portrayals in children's TV shows, it is necessary to conduct a comparative analysis from decade-old TV shows to current airing TV shows. This will provide a clear understanding of where change, if any, is needed to take place.

Considering the prominent gaps just discussed, this paper aims to answer the following question:

Are gender stereotypes present in children's TV shows, and if so how do they compare in the US and India, and has the level of gender stereotype patterns changed over the past decade?

Method

Selecting Children's TV Shows

This study (1) identifies gender stereotypes in children's TV shows, (2) examines the differences in gender stereotypes in the United States and India, and (3) examines whether or not gender stereotype patterns have changed over the past decade. When selecting the children's TV shows, the researcher first began with a list of shows that are/were produced for children aged 2 to 10 years old. From this category, the researcher ensured that the selected TV shows had released at least 30 episodes prior to 2011 and 2021. To analyze the differences or similarities in gender stereotype patterns over the past decade, the researcher set two cutoff years for 2010-2011 and 2020-2021. The researcher specifically chose these years because she believed they would gather more recent/applicable results. To measure the relevancy of these TV shows in a child's life, the TV show must have released at least 5 new episodes during the years 2010-2011 (for the analysis of gender stereotypes in a decade-old children's TV show), and 5 new episodes during years 2020-2021 (for the analysis of gender stereotypes in currently airing children's TV shows).

Based on these criteria, the researcher selected the 4 following currently airing and decade-old TV shows:

- United States: *Arthur, Thomas & Friends*
- India: *Chhota Bheem, Bapu*

The length of episodes varies from 15 to 25 minutes. Most of the episodes are available through online platforms, such as *YouTube*. All of the selected episodes are also animated.

Coding Instrument

To measure the variability of gender stereotypes, the researcher randomly selected 2 episodes from each TV show aired online and assessed 5 gender-stereotyped domains: (1) the prominence of female and male characters, (2) terms used when describing characters, (3) activities & occupation, (4) talkativeness, and (5) appearance. The purpose for choosing these specific domains is as follows:

(1) Number of Female and Male Characters

Research has shown that male characters exceed female characters by a 2 to 1 ratio in children's shows in various countries (Götz et al., 2008). In 2014, Shannon Case, a graduate research assistant at Georgetown University, discovered that the highest-rated children's TV shows featured around 60.2% male characters and 39.8% female characters. Since female figures are underrepresented compared to male characters, children may be persuaded to believe that boys are inherently superior to girls in society. To test this idea, the researcher tallied the number of female and male characters for both American and Indian children's TV shows. The researcher determined the characters' gender based on terms (e.g., pronouns) used, appearance, and voice.

(2) Terminology Used When Describing Characters

Women are socially characterized as emotional, while boys are characterized as physical and aggressive. Therefore, the researcher coded feminine-stereotyped terminology with words similar to inept, selfish, indecisive, passive, etc. The researcher coded masculine-stereotyped terminology with words similar to athletic, versatile, analytical, etc.

(3) Activities & Occupation

Gender stereotypes assign genders to specific activities and occupations. Both female and male characters display stereotypical gender-role behavior with males having greater representation than females in children's TV shows. Female characters mainly participate in nurturance and non-physical activities, while male characters participate in physical activities (Barner, 1999).

Based on these findings, the researcher considered masculine-stereotyped activities as participating in math, construction, sports, and playing with trucks and/or cars, etc. On the other hand, the researcher considered feminine-stereotyped activities like painting, singing, drawing, playing with dolls, etc. Through this coding scheme, the researcher was able to identify whether female characters were generally neglected and ignored and placed inferior to male characters.

(4) Talkativeness

It is a prominent notion that women talk differently than men in both subject and manner. Society continuously characterizes women as more talkative and involved, and men as more silent and unattached. In children's TV shows, the talking times may assert a difference in prominence among characters. For example, if a male or a female character holds a greater talking time, their prominence in the show, as a result, will increase. Therefore, the researcher measured and compared the talking time of female and male characters using a timer.

(5) Appearance

Characters' appearances in children's TV shows are represented stereotypically in three main ways: colors, clothing/accessories, and body type. Firstly, colors are commonly used to assume a certain gender; "feminine" colors are considered to be pink and purple and "masculine" colors are considered to be blue and gray. Secondly, clothing/accessories are used to differentiate between genders. Dresses and jewelry, such as earrings, are correlated with females, and boys are correlated with traditional masculine-stereotyped clothing, such as shirts and suits (Lindemuth et al., 2011). According to Caroline J. Lindemuth and colleagues, researchers at the *University of the South*, 44.3% of females and 0% of males wore a dress or skirt, and 67.5% of females and 0.5% of males wore 2 or more earrings. Lastly, specific body types are used to separate genders. Females are usually depicted as thin and slim, while males are depicted as broad and muscular. According to Ashton Gerding and Nancy Signorielli, researchers at the *University of Delaware*, female characters had thin body types, while male characters were portrayed with more diverse body types.

Therefore, the researcher coded characters' types of clothing based on color. Colors similar to blue and gray were associated with a masculine-stereotyped appearance. Colors similar to pink and purple were associated with a feminine-stereotyped appearance. The researcher also associated dresses and jewelry with a feminine-stereotyped appearance and shirts and suits with a masculine-stereotyped appearance. Lastly, the researcher associated thin and slim body types with a feminine-stereotyped appearance, and muscular body types with a masculine-stereotyped appearance.

The researcher also used momentary time-sampling (MTS) to analyze the difference in behaviors of female and male characters. MTS is a behavior assessment method that divides an observation time into intervals and tallies behaviors as an occurrence (Saudargas & Zanolli, 1990). Therefore, the researcher broke each episode down into ten-

second intervals. During each interval, female and male stereotyped behaviors were identified as an occurrence. Next, to find the average mean of gender stereotypes present in children's TV shows, the researcher then divided the number of occurrences obtained from MTS by the number of female and male characters present in each episode. For example, if a variable (such as feminine-stereotyped appearance) appeared 50 times in an episode with ten female characters, the average mean of that variable for female characters would be 5.0. After gathering the means for each gender-stereotyped domain, the researcher compared the results to come to a conclusion.

When analyzing the gender-stereotyped domains, the researcher might accidentally overlook or misinterpret certain behaviors. Since the researcher has never used MTS before, she re-evaluated each TV episode 3 times to eliminate any potential errors while collecting data.

The researcher chose to collect quantitative data because a range of numerical values was needed to efficiently compare gender stereotypes in the US and India, and the change in their presence over the past decade. Through these values, the researcher was able to make a distinction between gender stereotype patterns and was also able to see by how much a specific stereotype increased or decreased. Overall, quantitative data helped the researcher answer the how and where portion of her research question. Simply looking at the qualitative data would not have been enough to make a clear distinction between the differences in gender-stereotyped patterns in the children's TV industry.

Results

Number of Female and Male Characters

When determining each character's gender, the researcher viewed the tone of voice, characteristics, etc. Every television show analyzed was male dominant, meaning there were more male characters than female characters present (Tables 1 & 2).

Terminology Used When Describing Characters

For American children's TV shows, there was a decrease in feminine-stereotyped terminology from 2010-2011 ($\bar{x} = 0.70$) to 2020-2021 ($\bar{x} = 0.00$), and a slight increase in masculine-stereotyped terminology from 2010-2011 ($\bar{x} = 0.00$) to 2020-2021 ($\bar{x} = 0.05$). For Indian children's TV shows, there was a drastic decrease in both feminine-stereotyped terminology from 2010-2011 ($\bar{x} = 7.02$) to 2020-2021 ($\bar{x} = 3.37$), and masculine-stereotyped terminology from 2010-2011 ($\bar{x} = 6.59$) to 2020-2021 ($\bar{x} = 3.05$).

Additionally, as seen from Table 4, when comparing American TV shows to Indian TV shows, Indian TV shows held an overall greater gender-stereotyped terminology than American TV shows.

Activities & Occupation

For American children's TV shows, there was a drastic decrease in feminine-stereotyped activities & occupation from 2010-2011 ($\bar{x} = 2.90$) to 2020-2021 ($\bar{x} = 0.06$). There was a slight increase in masculine-stereotyped activities & occupation from 2010-2011 ($\bar{x} = 0.75$) to 2020-2021 ($\bar{x} = 0.94$). For Indian children's TV shows, there was a drastic decrease in both feminine-stereotyped activities & occupation from 2010-2011 ($\bar{x} = 3.64$) to 2020-2021 ($\bar{x} = 1.74$), and masculine-stereotyped activities & occupation from 2010-2011 ($\bar{x} = 2.81$) to 2020-2021 ($\bar{x} = 1.76$).

Additionally, as seen from Table 4, when comparing American TV shows to Indian TV shows, Indian TV shows held an overall greater presence of gender-stereotyped activities & occupation than American TV shows.

Talkativeness

For American children's TV shows, the talking time for female characters decreased from 2010-2011 ($\bar{x} = 12.20$) to 2020-2021 ($\bar{x} = 7.25$). On the other hand, the talking time for male characters increased from 2010-2011 ($\bar{x} = 6.88$) to 2020-2021 ($\bar{x} = 7.88$). For Indian children's TV shows, there was an increase in the talking times for both female characters from 2010-2011 ($\bar{x} = 3.65$) to 2020-2021 ($\bar{x} = 5.06$), and male characters from 2010-2011 ($\bar{x} = 6.21$) to 2020-2021 ($\bar{x} = 6.75$). Overall, male characters talked drastically more than female characters for each episode.

Additionally, as seen from Table 4, when comparing American TV shows to Indian TV shows, female characters held greater talking times in American TV shows than in Indian TV shows.

Appearance

For American children's TV shows, there was a decrease in feminine-stereotyped appearance from 2010-2011 ($\bar{x} = 8.60$) to 2020-2021 ($\bar{x} = 5.81$), and a slight decrease in masculine-stereotyped appearance from the 2010-2011 ($\bar{x} = 9.88$) to the year 2020-2021 ($\bar{x} = 9.58$). For Indian children's TV shows, there was a drastic increase in both feminine-stereotyped appearance from 2010-2011 ($\bar{x} = 10.37$) to 2020-2021 ($\bar{x} = 13.29$), and masculine-stereotyped appearance from 2010-2011 ($\bar{x} = 6.92$) to 2020-2021 ($\bar{x} = 9.54$).

Additionally, as seen from Table 4, when comparing American TV shows to Indian TV shows, Indian TV shows held an overall greater presence of gender-stereotyped appearances than American TV shows.

Table 1. Children's TV Shows Analyzed in Content Analysis

Television Show	Type of Television Show	Male and Female Lead
<i>Arthur</i>	American	Male Dominant
<i>Thomas and Friends</i>	American	Male Dominant
<i>Chhota Bheem</i>	Indian	Male Dominant
<i>Bapu</i>	Indian	Male Dominant

Table 2. Prominence of Male and Female Characters in TV Shows Analyzed

Television Show (2020-2021)	Prominence of Male and Female Characters
<i>Arthur</i>	Male: 11 Female: 8
<i>Thomas and Friends</i>	Male: 9 Female: 4
<i>Chhota Bheem</i>	Male: 7 Female: 4
<i>Bapu</i>	Male: 7 Female: 5

Television Show (2010-2011)	Prominence of Male and Female Characters
<i>Arthur</i>	Male: 8 Female: 5
<i>Thomas and Friends</i>	Male: 8 Female: 1
<i>Chhota Bheem</i>	Male: 9 Female: 6
<i>Bapu</i>	Male: 8 Female: 3

Table 3. Mean of Gender Stereotypes Present in Children's TV Shows Based on Gender

	<i>Arthur</i> (2021)	<i>Thomas Friends</i> (2020)	<i>& Chhota Bheem</i> (2020)	<i>Bapu</i> (2021)		<i>Arthur</i> (2010)	<i>Thomas Friends</i> (2010)	<i>& Chhota Bheem</i> (2011)	<i>Bapu</i> (2011)
Appearance									
Feminine	10.38	1.25	16.25	10.32		17.20	0.00	9.33	11.40
Masculine	12.82	6.33	10.14	8.93		12.63	7.13	6.22	7.62
Terminology									
Feminine	0.00	0.00	0.50	6.24		1.40	0.00	0.00	7.02
Masculine	0.09	0.00	0.00	3.05		0.00	0.00	0.00	6.59
Activities & Occupation									
Feminine	0.13	0.00	0.25	3.22		5.80	0.00	1.50	5.77
Masculine	0.09	1.78	2.43	1.09		0.38	1.13	0.00	2.81
Talkativeness									
Feminine	9.00	5.50	5.75	4.37		23.40	1.00	2.17	5.13
Masculine	10.64	5.11	6.29	7.21		9.75	4.00	3.89	8.52

Table 4. Average Mean of Gender Stereotypes Present in Children's TV Shows Based on Gender

	American TV Shows (2020-2021)	Indian TV Shows (2020-2021)	American TV Shows (2010-2011)	Indian TV Shows (2010-2011)
Appearance				
Feminine	5.81	13.29	8.60	10.37
Masculine	9.58	9.54	9.88	6.92
Terminology				
Feminine	0.00	3.37	0.70	7.02
Masculine	0.05	3.05	0.00	6.59
Activities & Occupation				
Feminine	0.06	1.74	2.90	3.64
Masculine	0.94	1.76	0.75	2.81
Talkativeness				
Feminine	7.25	5.06	12.20	3.65
Masculine	7.88	6.75	6.88	6.21

Discussion

The researcher analyzed eight children's TV shows from various local networks (*PBS, Nick Jr.*, etc.). The television industry is highly responsible for influencing a child and their beliefs. Therefore, the researcher needed to uncover various ways that TV shows can negatively affect a child's perception of gender. Additionally, the researcher yearned to find out whether certain gender-stereotyped patterns occur more in countries with different socioeconomic statuses (e.g., India and the U.S.). Lastly, it is important to discover whether the children's TV industry is addressing such gender-stereotyped patterns in their shows. If they are, then there is accumulated change and hope for future generations to not be influenced into believing such stereotypes. If they are not, then this study aims to bring attention to this urging topic.

To the researcher's knowledge, her study is the first national comparative content analysis to be conducted for children's TV shows. In her analysis, the researcher did not include side characters (e.g., characters that did not have a major speaking role or characters that were placed in the episode for a maximum of 2 seconds). If she did not do this, then there would have been an abundance of unnecessary female and male characters considered in the analysis, which would have created a calculation error when finding the average means.

Number of Female and Male Characters

In the majority of all TV shows analyzed (both American and Indian TV shows), there were twice as many male characters than female characters present. These results resonate with previous studies conducted (Götz et al., 2008). These results send children the message that men are superior to women and that they also hold greater importance in society.

Terminology Used When Describing Characters

In the analysis of American children's TV shows from 2010-2011 to 2020-2021, there was a decrease in feminine-stereotyped terminology and an increase in masculine-stereotyped terminology. In the analysis of Indian children's TV shows from 2010-2011 to 2020-2021, there was a decrease in both feminine- and masculine-stereotyped terminology. Overall, these results are promising as they show a change or decrease in the presence of gender-stereotyped domains over the past decade.

Additionally, when compared to American TV shows, Indian TV shows held a greater mean of gender-stereotyped terminology. These results send a false message to children on how boys and girls should behave. If these stereotype patterns persist, specifically in Indian TV shows, it will train children to address/characterize each other based on gender, which is incorrect.

Activities & Occupation

In the analysis of American children's TV shows from 2010-2011 to 2020-2021, there was a decrease in feminine-stereotyped activities & occupation, and an increase in masculine-stereotyped activities & occupation. In the analysis of Indian children's TV shows from 2010-2011 to 2020-2021, there was a decrease in both feminine- and masculine-stereotyped activities & occupation. In general, these results show that as time passes, change in the children's TV industry is occurring and there is less pressure on children to follow specific gender stereotype ideals.

Additionally, when compared to American TV shows, Indian TV shows held a greater mean of gender-stereotyped activities & occupations. Overall, this informs us that the Indian TV industry requires more reform than the American TV sector. It also demonstrates the ongoing pressure that children in India are subjected to in terms of society's expectations.

Talkativeness

In the analysis of American children's TV shows from 2010-2011 to 2020-2021, the talking time for female characters decreased, while the talking time for male characters increased. This result counters the stereotype that women are more talkative and involved, while men are more silent and unattached. This is a negative trend that has been occurring over the past decade with female characters receiving less screen time and recognition.

Appearance

In the analysis of American children's TV shows from 2010-2011 to 2020-2021, there was a decrease in both feminine- and masculine-stereotyped appearance. On the other hand, for Indian children's TV shows from 2010-2011 to 2020-2021, there was an increase in both feminine- and masculine-stereotyped appearances. These results depict a positive trend in the American TV industry and a negative trend in the Indian TV industry over the past decade. While there is evident change occurring in the American TV sector, this is not the case for the Indian TV sector.

Additionally, when compared to American TV shows, Indian TV shows held a greater mean of gender-stereotyped appearances. Specifically, in Indian children's TV shows, male characters were depicted with muscular body types and colors similar to blue and gray, while female characters were depicted with thin/slim body types and pink and purple colors. If these gender-stereotyped patterns continue, they can have a negative impact on a child's perception of how they should dress and express themselves.

Conclusion

Television shows have gradually become more prominent in children's lives. However, gender stereotypes are currently being questioned in children's television shows due to varied gender stereotype depictions (Kim et al., 2016). These gender stereotypes inadvertently influence a child's perceptions of how boys and girls should be treated, and perpetuate unnecessary inequality in today's society. Additionally, it is known that countries of different socioeconomic levels vary in the progress of gender equality (Rozario et al., 2017). For example, countries like India and the U.S. have different levels of gender stereotype domains present in their children's TV shows. This variation ultimately affects how a majority of girls and boys act as they grow older. Therefore, it was important to analyze how gender is represented in the TV industry, and ultimately identify if change is needed within specific children's TV shows.

Out of the five gender-stereotyped domains analyzed, three of them (the prominence of female and male characters, activities and occupation, and appearance) showed that there is still a drastic change needed in the children's TV industry. As discussed previously, while there was promising evidence that gender stereotype patterns have been decreasing over the past decade, there is still a need for greater equality. For example, when comparing American and Indian TV shows to the five gender-stereotyped domains, four of them (terminology, activities and occupation, talkativeness, and appearance) showed that Indian TV shows hold greater gender-stereotyped patterns when compared to American TV shows. These results hopefully urge the TV industry to continue decreasing the number of gender stereotypes present in children's TV shows.

Limitations and Future Directions

The researcher also understands that her research study contains limitations. First, the researcher examined a small number of TV shows and episodes. In total, the researcher only analyzed 4 TV shows and 8 episodes (2 episodes per TV show). However, there are many other TV shows that play(ed) a prominent role in a child's life (e.g., *Bob the Builder*, *Angelina Ballerina*, *Ek Tha Jungle*). Additionally, the researcher only coded for a total of 5 gender-stereotyped domains. There are many additional coding variables that could have been analyzed when conducting this study. For example, when coding for gender-stereotyped appearance, the researcher could have split the category further to incorporate other gender-stereotyped factors.

When conducting a similar study, the researcher recommends that future researchers analyze a greater number of children's TV shows and episodes. Finally, she advises researchers to broaden the scope of their coding variables to have a better understanding of the many gender stereotypes present in children's TV shows.

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