

ABSTRACT

CRAIG, ASHLEY B. Gender Stereotypes about Emotion Portrayed in Children's Picture Books. (Under the direction of Amy G. Halberstadt).

The purpose of the present study was to investigate the emotional messages in children's picture books and how they differ by both gender and age. Specifically, I hypothesized that female characters would be illustrated and described in the text as more emotional than males especially with regards to love, sadness, and fear whereas male characters were hypothesized to be illustrated and described more often as angry than females. These differences were also considered by age of the character, especially for sadness and anger whereby adult males were hypothesized to be portrayed showing the least sadness compared to all other character types and adults were hypothesized to be portrayed expressing more anger than children. Lastly, the present study was intended to examine the gender-emotion stereotypes in children's picture books over time, and so a sample of current best-selling books published between 1950 and present were selected. Results revealed that gender-emotion stereotypes were less prevalent than expected, but that in fact females were portrayed expressing more love than males and males more anger than females. Further, adults were portrayed expressing more love and more intense anger than children. Limitations and implications for future research are discussed.

Gender Stereotypes about Emotion Portrayed in Children's Picture Books

by
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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this project to my family. To my parents, Michele and Jeff, who always told me I could do anything I really wanted and who were there to remind me what I wanted when I forgot. And especially, Nick whose belief in me always is more than I deserve, but is all I need to keep going forward. I love you all.

BIOGRAPHY

Ashley Craig is from Apex, North Carolina. She graduated from Apex High School in 2001. She went on to attend Appalachian State University in Boone, North Carolina and graduated in 2004 with a Bachelor of Arts degree, magna cum laude, in Psychology, with both University and departmental honors. In 2005, she enrolled in the graduate program in Developmental Psychology at North Carolina State University. Her primary research interest is in the socialization of gender with a particular emphasis in emotion.

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INTRODUCTION

Important socioemotional tasks in early childhood include understanding what others are feeling, learning how to express one's own emotions, and regulating one's own emotions in socially acceptable and desirable ways (Eisenberg, Cumberland, & Spinrad, 1998; Halberstadt, Denham, & Dunsmore, 2001). The beginnings of emotional understanding are readily apparent by age three (Denham et al., 2002) and children are able to distinguish between emotional expressions and understand that some emotional expressions are more appropriate in some situations than others by the time they enter school (Cole, 1986). Interestingly, children's understanding of emotional expressions and regulation coincides with the same developmental period when children are consolidating their understanding of what it means to be male and female (Jacklin & Maccoby, 1978; Ruble, Taylor, Cyphers, Greulich, Lurye, & Shrout, 2007). Perhaps as a result, children seem to have rather sophisticated gender-emotion stereotypes by the time they enter kindergarten (Birnbaum & Croll, 1984; Brody, 1997; Martin, 2000). Specifically, preschoolers report that sadness and fear are "female" emotions, whereas anger and disgust are believed to be "male" emotions (Birnbaum & Chimelski, 1984; Karbon et al., 1992; Widen & Russell, 2002).

I propose that one possible pathway by which children learn what emotion expressions are appropriate for females and males is through children's picture books. Although previous research has demonstrated that children's literature is replete with gender stereotypical messages about domains such as occupation, chores, and power (Collins et al., 1984; McDonald, 1989; Kortenhaus & Demarest, 1993; Crabb &

Bielawski, 1994; Turner-Bowker, 1996), little attention has been given to emotion-related stereotypes. The few investigations that have examined the emotional content of children's picture books (Tepper & Cassidy, 1999; Tsai, Louie, Chen, & Uchida 2007) have methodological issues that may have impeded accurate analysis of gender-emotion stereotypes embedded in children's literature. Thus, the goal of the present investigation is to examine gender differences in the emotional content of picture books, avoiding the methodological flaws in previous studies.

In addition, gender-emotion stereotypes were examined historically through the lens of children's picture books. Although the substantial stereotyping of female and male characters in picture books portrayals appears to be decreasing over time, many gender differences in activities and occupations are still apparent (Crabb & Bielawski, 1994; Collins et al., 1984; Kolbe & LaVoie, 1981; McDonald, 1989; Gooden & Gooden, 2001). In the most recent assessment of gender stereotypes in children's picture books, male characters were present nearly twice as often as female characters. Additionally, gender differences in activities and interpersonal portrayals had not decreased from the 1980s and 1990s to 2000 (Hamilton, Anderson, Broadbush, & Young, 2006). Thus, the current study examined gender differences in emotion expression, both illustrations and text, portrayed in best-selling children's books from the 1950s to 2007 to determine the gender stereotypes about emotion expression portrayed in children's literature as well as the variability over time in gender-emotion stereotype representations.

Below, I discuss extant literature about gender-emotion stereotypes and the evidence that supports and discounts these stereotypes as true reflections of the emotional

lives of females and males. Then, I turn to a discussion on the mechanisms, both social and cognitive, that drive the acquisition of gender stereotypes, specifically those about emotion. Finally, I present what we already know about gender stereotyped messages in children's literature and discuss what impact gender stereotypes may have on children's preferences and self-concepts.

Gender-Emotion Stereotypes

It has been widely established that there are gender stereotypes about the ways in which males and females navigate the emotional world (Shields, 1987; Fischer, 1993; Feldman Barrett, 1998; Plant, Hyde, Keltner, & Devine, 2000; Hess, Senecal, Kirouac, Herrera, Philippot, Kleck, 2000). Females, in general, are considered to be more "emotional" than males, especially with regard to positive and submissive negative emotions (e.g. sadness, fear, guilt, etc.). For instance, college students' reports of the most emotional person they knew revealed that women were labeled emotional significantly more often than men (Shields, 1987). Further, when presented with hypothetical situations, college students report that women are most likely to overreact to happy and sad scenarios compared to men and men are most likely to overreact to anger-inducing scenarios than women (Kelly & Huston-Comeaux, 1999). Similarly, when presented with hypothetical emotion situations, adults are more likely to report that females in negative situations will react with sadness more often than their male counterparts (Hess, Senecal, Kirouac, Herrera, Philippot, & Kleck, 2000).

Adults use gender stereotypes when making judgments about the emotion expression and experience of other adults, but they also extend these stereotypes when

they interact with even the youngest children. Adults label infants' emotional responses differently depending on the gender label the infants are given. Specifically, adults describe infants who are labeled as female as more emotional than male infants even when participants are shown the same emotional response by the same infant. Additionally, adults are more likely to label "male" infants' emotional responses as angry and "female" infants' emotional responses as fearful (Condry & Condry, 1976; Plant et al., 2000). And during the preschool years, parents have more discussions about the experience of happiness and sadness with girls than boys and more discussions about the experience of anger with boys than girls (Kuebli & Fivush, 1992; Adams, Kuebli, Boyle, & Fivush, 1995; Fivush, 1989; Fivush, Brotman, Buckner, & Goodman, 2000).

Adults are not the only ones who understand and report gender stereotypes of emotional expression; children as young as age three report their beliefs about emotion expression in much the same way (Birnbaum, Nosanchuk & Croll, 1980; Birnbaum & Chemelski, 1984). The most recent explicit investigation of preschoolers' gender-emotion stereotypes assessed preschoolers' beliefs about both the frequency and intensity with which males and females experience anger, sadness, and happiness (Karbon et al., 1992). Children were presented with line drawings of a girl, boy, woman, and a man; for each drawing they were asked, "Can _____ feel _____ emotion?" The preschoolers believed that female targets (regardless of age) experienced sadness both more frequently and more intensely than male targets (regardless of age). More interestingly, 46% of the preschoolers believed that adult males were not capable of experiencing sadness. Preschool children also reported that male targets were more likely to experience anger,

both more frequently and intensely, than female targets and that adult targets, regardless of gender, were more capable of experiencing anger than child targets. Preschool children's beliefs about happiness, however, did not reveal any significant differences with regards to the experience, neither frequency nor intensity, between female and male targets (Karbon et al., 1992). Thus, preschoolers demonstrate that they, similar to adults, hold gender stereotypes about the experience and the intensity of emotions, specifically who can and should feel certain emotions.

It is possible that these stereotypes are true reflections of reality; however, given findings from empirical research discussed below it is more likely that these stereotypical reports lie in the "eye of the beholder." In other words, both perceptions of others' emotions, as well as one's own emotions are colored with the cultural beliefs about who should and can experience and express particular emotions. However, these beliefs are generally not grounded in actual differences between females and males, as will be demonstrated in the discussion to follow.

Experience and Expression of Emotion

There is conflicting evidence for gender-emotion stereotypes, but many of these discrepancies can be attributed to differences in the measurement of emotional experience (Feldman Barrett, Robin, Pietromonaco, & Eyssell, 1998). When reporting retrospectively, men and women appear to differ substantially in emotional experience. For example, men report experiencing submissive negative emotions, such as shame, guilt, sadness, and fear, less frequently and disgust more frequently than women (Brody & Hall, 1993; Fischer, 1993; Simon & Nath, 2004). However, when real-time measures

are used (e.g., beeper studies or emotion inductions), no significant gender differences are identified (e.g., Kring & Gordon, 1998). In fact, when Feldman Barrett and colleagues (1998) used both types of methods with the same participants, they found gender differences in reports of type and frequency of emotional experiences only when they asked participants to report their experiences with global, retrospective measures, and none when participants were asked on a moment-by-moment basis about their emotional experiences.

Investigations of the emotional experiences of children yield conflicting findings with regards to emotional experience. For instance, emotion-related language in preschool children's school-day narratives demonstrates mother-daughter dyads use more emotion words than mother-son dyads (Flannagan & Perese, 1998). These differences may be due to a greater focus on emotions by mothers with daughters compared to mothers with sons (Kuebli & Fivush, 1992; Adams et al., 1995; Fivush, 1989; Fivush, Brotman, Buckner, & Goodman, 2000) and may not be a consequence yet of children internalizing the gendered socialization practices of their parents. Other research has demonstrated that gender differences in reported emotion experience of preschoolers during school-day narratives only emerges when children are prompted about their emotional states, but no gender differences are noted in children's spontaneous speech (Feeny, Eder, & Rescorla, 1996). Thus, it may be that when emotions are made more salient, either by researchers or parents, children comply by reporting their emotions according to gendered scripts about emotion.

Despite evidence that the actual experience of emotion may not vary by gender, there is good evidence that gender differences in the expression of emotion do exist. Specifically, females often report being more emotionally expressive overall, especially for negative submissive emotions such as sadness, fear, and shame (Allen & Haccoun, 1976; Simon & Nath, 2004). Self-report data suggests that women express their emotions more freely than men in general, whereas men stress restricting emotional expression (Feldman Barrett et al, 1998). This is especially apparent for expressions of sadness. Crying is both more permissible and rewarded for females, but typically considered “unmanly” for men to cry unless under extreme duress (Ross & Mirowski, 1984). Beyond self-report data, experimental methods have also demonstrated that women are more emotionally expressive than men. Specifically, when asked to view emotion inducing video clips, women react with more intense and varied emotional expressions than men (Kring & Gordon, 1998). Women are also more emotionally expressive when engaging in interactions in on-line chat rooms, utilizing more emoticons and more emotionally explicit language than their male counterparts (Wolf, 2000).

Like their adult counterparts, preschool-aged children also express emotions in gender stereotypical ways (Davis, 1995; Underwood, Coie, & Herbsman, 1992). For instance, Chaplin, Cole, and Zahn-Waxler (2005) determined that 4- and 6-year-old girls were more likely than boys to express submissive emotions such as sadness during a game played with their parent. With regards to disharmonious emotions such as anger, Chaplin and colleagues (2005) found trend level significance whereby 6-year-old boys demonstrated a greater frequency of expressing emotions such as anger or frustration than

6-year-old girls. In another study examining 4- and 5- year olds' emotion expression in a conflict eliciting peer interaction, girls were found to express more positive emotions than boys (Garner, Robertson, & Smith, 1997). However, it must be reiterated that these differences in emotional expression by boys and girls are not necessarily reflections of their internal states, rather children's understanding of gender-emotion expectations likely inform their displays of emotion.

Learning How to "do" Gender and Emotion

Learning how to "do" gender and emotion are important tasks for preschool-aged children. Rosaldo (1984) offers that "feelings are not substances to be discovered in our blood, but social practices organized by stories that we both enact and tell." These stories that we enact and tell with our emotions are called "display rules." Display rules are cultural and social expectations about when and which emotions should be expressed (Ekman, Friesen, & Ellsworth, 1972; Saarni, 1979). Understanding display rules requires the knowledge that emotions felt are not necessarily the emotions that we express, as emotion expression can be modified (Josephs, 1994). Children as young as six are able to explain that they can, and in some instances should, mask their internal emotions for a multitude of reasons (Josephs, 1994). In fact, the spontaneous modulation of one's emotional expression is evident in children as early as the preschool years (Cole, 1986; Vondra, Shaw, Swearingen, Cohen, & Owens, 2001; Stegge & Terwogt, 2007). And there is some evidence that even 10-month-old infants use display rules, manipulating their smiles according to different situational events (Fox & Davidson, 1988)

One possible pathway through which we learn the gendered standards for emotional expression are the schemas we develop about what it means to be female and male. Schemas drive both the encoding of events, as well as the memory of events, and are defined as “naïve theories that guide information processing by structuring experiences, regulating behaviors, and providing bases for making inferences and interpretations” (Martin & Halverson, 1981). Gender schemas both impact how individuals encode emotionally relevant information (e.g., only encoding those instances of emotional expression that confirm our schemas of females and males) and how we construct our memories of emotionally relevant information (e.g., distorting our memories so that they confirm our existing schemas). The categorization of emotion-related information by gender is especially interesting because gender schemas are particularly salient, as gender is a stable, naturally occurring dichotomy (Maccoby, 2000).

Before children are able to effectively utilize gender schemas, they must first be capable of gender identification (Martin & Halverson, 1981). Children are capable of consistent gender identification around two years of age; however there is considerable variability, with some children not mastering this task until well into the third year (Fagot & Leinbach, 1989). Once children are able to consistently label individuals by gender, they then begin to understand that there are two, mutually exclusive groups, only one of which includes them. These mutually exclusive groups can lead to an understanding of the genders as being opposites (Taylor, 1996; Gelman, 2003). Children observe same-sex models and through these observations learn the appropriate behaviors and activities for

people of their gender, specifically themselves (Weinraub, Clemens, Sockloff, Ethridge, Gracely, & Myers, 1984; Coltrane, 2000). Similarly, by observing other-sex models, children learn what is inappropriate, especially with regards to behaviors and activities that generally share little to no overlap between the sexes (Martin & Halverson, 1981). Thus, the more children see the same behaviors and activities repeated by people of the same-sex, the more salient these sex-typed schemas become (Tesser & Leone, 1977).

It is the repeated pairing of certain behaviors and activities with individuals of one sex or the other that drive our gender schemas, which in turn inform our own behaviors (Slaby & Frey, 1975; Weinraub et al., 1984; Coltrane, 2000). For instance, if we all observe individuals of our gender expressing certain emotions while not expressing others, we come to learn which expressions are acceptable. In other words, we develop a complex understanding of display rules that are gender specific (Banerjee, 1997; McDowell, O'Neil, & Parke, 2000). If a male child feels sad, he may have learned by observing other men that he should not cry, but rather that expressing anger is more appropriate (Isley, 1996). Girls on the other hand, may see examples of women crying rather frequently and they come to understand that crying is an acceptable behavior for girls (Conway, Giannopoulos, Stiefenhofer, 1990). Moreover, observing same-sex and other-sex models not only communicates what emotions are appropriate to express, but also which emotions are appropriate to feel. These "feeling rules" are very often delineated across the gender divide, in which females and males are not only expected to express and suppress different emotions, but are also allowed to feel certain emotions more frequently than others (Hochschild, 1979; Shields, 2002).

Our development and knowledge of schemas is not necessarily dependent on real-world examples, such as observations of parents. Rather these gender schemas can be learned through images on television, in movies, or in children's literature (Thompson & Zerbinos, 1997; Aubrey & Harrison, 2004; Ward, 2005). The current study is designed to demonstrate that children's picture books may serve as one pathway through which children come to understand what it means to be female and male in the domain of emotion through gender stereotypical illustrations of emotional expression. This form of media is of particular interest, because during the preschool years children are actively encouraged to explore picture books and spend a good amount of time doing so. Reading to children has been recognized as the single most important activity leading to eventual success in reading (National Academy of Education, 1985). In fact, reading is believed to be so fundamental for future success in education that the American Academy of Pediatrics has recommended that doctors prescribe reading activities to parents of toddlers and preschoolers (U.S. Department of Education). Possibly as a consequence, 60% of 3- to 5- year-old children are read to by a family member every day (Child Trends, 2003), averaging approximately 40 minutes per day spent reading (Kaiser Family Foundation, 2003). In addition, reading to children is an integral part of preschool curriculum (Dickinson & Smith, 1994). Reading to children provides the tools for reading success and also provides children with information about the world and how one navigates it successfully (Brooks-Gunn & Matthews, 1979; Crabb & Bielawski, 1994; Fox, 1993).

The preschool age is a time when gender stereotypes are understood and solidified (Jacklin & Maccoby, 1978; Schlossberg & Goodman, 1972; Pomerleau, Bolduc, Malcuit, Cossette, 1990; Turner & Gervai, 1995). Specifically, children during the preschool years understand that some activities are more appropriate for boys (e.g. rough play, trucks, etc.) and others are more appropriate for girls (e.g., playing house, dolls, etc.). Young children are most likely to make these determinations based on their identification of a person's gender which is often determined by one's physical characteristics (e.g., appearance) and behavior (e.g., activities) (Chatton, 2001). Thus, it is likely that picture books, with their vivid illustrations, provide cultural information that is useful in the development of gender role expectancies and stereotypes (Bandura & Walters, 1963; Martin, Ruble, & Szkrybalo, 2002).

Gender Stereotypes in Children's Picture Books

There has been a rather large body of research examining gender stereotypes in children's books, the majority of which has determined that there are significant differences between male and female characters across multiple domains (Collins et al., 1984; McDonald, 1989; Kortenhaus & Demarest, 1993; Crabb & Bielawski, 1994; Turner-Bowker, 1996). First and foremost, male characters dominate children's books, leading to a "symbolic annihilation" of females (Tuchman, 1979; Wharton, 2005), and recognition that women and girls are less valued in society than men and boys (Weitzman, Eifler, Hokada, & Ross, 1972). Though the gap between the sexes in terms of sheer presence in picture books has diminished over the decades, females are still represented less often than males even in more recent assessments (Crabb & Bielawski,

1994; Collins et al., 1984; Kolbe & LaVoie, 1981; McDonald, 1989; Tepper & Cassidy, 1999; Gooden & Gooden, 2001; Hamilton, Anderson, Broaddus, & Young, 2006).

Second, children's and adults' roles and traits in children's books vary substantially by gender. For instance, male characters are more often depicted participating in physical activities (sports, mowing the lawn, etc.) and in positions of power (presidents, doctors, principals, etc.) than female characters. In contrast, female characters are more often portrayed in passive activities (playing house, washing dishes) and in positions that lack power (secretaries, nurses, teachers, etc.) than male characters (McDonald, 1989; Weitzman, Eifler, Hokada, & Ross, 1972; Turner-Bowker, 1996).

The Impact of Gender Stereotypes

Portrayals of gender stereotypes have also been shown to impact children's preferences, activities, and self-concepts. For instance, exposure to gender stereotypic reading materials has been shown to result in children conforming to such roles (Martin & Little, 1990; Leinbach & Fagot, 1986). And as children's literature becomes less gender stereotypic over time, children are becoming more flexible in their beliefs about appropriate occupational roles for women and men (Trepanier-Stree & Romatowski, 1999). Experimental work has demonstrated that young children shown positive, strong characters of the same-sex report higher self-esteem over time (Ochman, 1996). Further, children shown egalitarian portrayals of female and male children for one week appear to have experienced reduced stereotypic thinking regarding the appropriateness of recreational activities, intelligence, and expressiveness for females and males (Flerx, Fidler, & Rogers, 1976; Ashby & Wittmaier, 1978). The one week intervention by Flerx

and colleagues did not show prolonged effects in a one week follow up, however, demonstrating that it may be necessary to expose children to egalitarian literature for extended periods of time to alleviate gender stereotypes.

Emotion in Children's Picture Books

As mentioned above, considerable attention has been given to the ways in which females and males are differentially portrayed in children's literature, but the issue of gender differences in emotional expression has not received much attention. The lack of attention to emotion-related messages in children's literature is surprising, as depictions of emotion are likely to be salient as well as extensive, because emotional experiences pervade our entire lives, both directly and indirectly. Children's picture books are likely to portray the emotional expressions and experiences that are both prevalent and acceptable within a given culture (Tsai, Louie, Chen, & Uchida 2007).

Given the emphasis on illustrations in children's picture books, an examination of illustrated emotional messages is especially important. First, pictures are an effective way of conveying affect (Bainbridge & Pantaleo, 1999). Second, preschool-aged children are highly attentive to the illustrations in picture books. This is particularly important, because children are likely to base their understanding of gender roles and expectations on visual cues (Chatton, 2001). For example, preschool children often ignore large parts of the dialogue in cartoon programming, paying greater attention to the televised images (Hayes & Birnbaum, 1980). This appears to indicate that preschool children may have a bias for visual over auditory information. Third, parents are encouraged to discuss illustrations with their preschoolers, to ask them questions about what they see, and

prompt them to label objects and people that are pictured (KidsHealth.org, 2006). Thus, further examination of the illustrated emotional expressions in preschool literature is important.

Tsai and colleagues (2007) are the only researchers to date to investigate the kinds of illustrated emotional messages found in children's picture books. Specifically, they examined cross-cultural differences in the preference for intensity of type of positive affect in best-selling children's books. They found that European American preschoolers preferred excited happiness expressions, whereas Taiwanese preschoolers preferred more calm happiness expressions (Tsai et al., 2007). Also, American picture books contained more instances of excited happy expressions and Taiwanese picture books contained more instances of calm happy expressions. Finally, exposure to excited or calm expressions of happiness through children's picture books altered preschoolers' preferences for calm or excited expressions of happiness. Thus, cultural preferences and beliefs about emotions appear to be reflected in children's literature; and the images in children's literature do appear to impact children's beliefs about the affective norms of any given culture.

Though Tsai and colleagues determined that there are cultural differences in affective preferences, no gender differences were found using action unit coding for happiness, anger, and sadness (personal communication with Jeanne Tsai, May, 2007). However, these null findings for gender (which were not of primary interest to the researchers) may be due to a few methodological issues that are corrected in the present study. First, facial expressions were coded using action units. Because illustrations in

children's picture books are often somewhat primitive, providing fewer details than what are apparent in actual human faces, this technique may have limited the number of codeable faces. Consistent with methods employed by emotion expression researchers, the present study used a global, culturally informed coding approach (Gottman & Krokoff, 1989; Gross & Levenson, 1993). This approach makes the assumption that observers' knowledge of emotion expression comes from personal experience rather than the microanalytic techniques utilized in systems such as EMFACS. Further, high reliability between the cultural informant perspective and microanalytic techniques has been established in previous studies utilizing both methods (Camras, Ribordy, Hill, Martino, Spaccarelli, & Stefani, 1988; Halberstadt, Fox, & Jones, 1993; Waldinger, Schulz, Hauser, & Allen, 2004).

Second, the choice of action units coded in Tsai and colleagues investigation were limited to happy, angry, and sad related action units, but the wider spectrum of emotions were not considered, many of which are hypothesized to vary by gender in the present investigation (e.g., disgust/contempt, embarrassment/shame, etc.).

Third, Tsai et al, failed to consider character age. As demonstrated by Karbon et al. (1992), children have stereotypes about gender and emotion by age of the target person. For instance, children report that adults express anger both more often and more intensely than children. Adults have similar stereotypes about gender and emotion by age (Fabes & Martin, 1991), thus it is likely that authors and illustrators of children's literature will create books that reflect these stereotype beliefs. Therefore, by collapsing all characters, without considering age, some gender differences may have been lost.

Fourth, the Tsai data set included only 20 books for their investigation, half of which of which were in English. It may be that there was not a large enough sample of books to determine gender differences, as most investigations of gender stereotypes in children's books have used upwards of 100 books (McDonald, 1989; Kolbe & LaVoie, 1981; Gooden & Gooden, 2001). Lastly, the 10 American books chosen were all best-sellers during the year 2005 when gender-emotion stereotypes portrayed in children's books may be less explicit, but it is likely that children are given access to books published much earlier when gender-emotion stereotypes may have been more exaggerated. Each of these issues has been addressed in the current study.

Only one study has explicitly investigated the topic of gender and affect in children's books. Tepper and Cassidy (1999) examined emotional language in children's picture books found in the homes of European American children. They hypothesized that female and male characters would be portrayed through text in stereotypical ways, with female characters being associated with more emotion language than male characters. With regard to specific emotions, they hypothesized that female characters would be associated with more references to negative submissive emotions (e.g. sadness) than male characters, and that male characters would be associated with more references to anger than female characters.

Tepper & Cassidy's (1999) hypotheses were not supported, indicating that perhaps there are no gender differences in emotion-related text in children's picture books. However, methodological issues are present in this study as well. Although the number of male and female characters was controlled for, how *much* the female and male

characters actually spoke was not. Because males are often give a greater proportion of the storyline than females in picture books, even when controlling for number of female and male characters (Tuchman, 1979; Wharton, 2005), gender differences in emotion language may well have been missed. In other words, if male characters did in fact have greater representation in the text than female characters in the Tepper and Cassidy sample, but female and male characters were associated with similar amounts of emotion-related text, then they did, in fact, use relatively fewer emotion-related terms than females when compared to their overall amount of word use. Thus, this question needs to be revisited with controls for number of female and male characters as suggested by Tepper and Cassidy (1999) and also a previously untested consideration of the ratio of emotion to non-emotion text given to characters of both genders. The latter will be an improvement made in the present study of the text in children's picture books, taking a ratio approach that compares emotion words to non-emotion words.

Gender and Emotion in Children's Picture Books

Aim 1: Gender and Emotion

The primary goal of this project was to determine if female and male characters are depicted portraying different amounts of and different kinds of emotion expressions. In general, I hypothesized that female characters would be illustrated expressing more emotion than their male counterparts. With regard to specific emotions, I predicted that female characters would be illustrated expressing sadness, fear, shame/embarrassment, and like/love more than male characters, whereas male characters would be illustrated expressing anger and disgust/contempt more than female characters. In keeping with

work by Karbon et al. (1992), demonstrating that preschoolers have stereotypes about both the frequency and intensity of emotion, I tested the aforementioned hypotheses considering both of these domains. I hypothesized that these gender differences would also emerge for emotion-related text (with the exception of intensity which will not be measured), after the proportion of emotion-related words to non-emotion related words was taken into consideration.

Aim 2: Age and Emotion

I also hypothesized that emotion-related messages (both illustrated and text) would vary by the age of characters in children's books. There is evidence that gender-emotion stereotypes vary by the age of the target person (Fabes & Martin, 1991). Specifically, adults report that children are allowed to express a greater range of emotions, with the exception of anger, than adults (Fabes & Martin, 1991). Moreover, children also have emotion stereotypes that vary by both age and gender similar to their adult counterparts (Karbon et al., 1992). It is reasonable to believe, given the prevalence of these stereotypes across the lifespan, that authors and illustrators would depict characters according to widely held beliefs about gender and emotion. Thus my hypotheses regarding age were as follows: 1) there will be a main effect of age when considering anger, whereby adult characters will be portrayed expressing feelings of anger more frequently than child characters; 2) an interaction between age and gender will be found when consider sadness, whereby adult male characters will be significantly less likely to be portrayed expressing sadness than any other type of character (male child, female child, adult female).

Aim 3: Historical Influences on Gender and Emotion

Lastly, I also examined historical trends in the portrayal of emotional expressions by gender (both illustrations and text). Gender stereotypes in children's books have begun to lessen with regards to the number of male and female characters and the kinds of activities and occupations that females and males participate in (Collins, Ingoldsby, & Dellmann, 1984; Gooden & Gooden, 2001; Clark, Guilmain, Saucier, & Tavarez, 2003), thus, a similar trend may be occurring with regard to emotion expressions. Specifically, I hypothesized that there would be a positive relationship between emotion expressions and time, and that gender would moderate the effect, with females showing more emotion over time compared to males.

Method

Picture Book Selection

Books were chosen based on three criteria: 1) the book was targeted for the preschool audience, 2) the book was published between 1950 and July 2007, and 3) the book was considered a best-seller. Best-selling status was determined in two ways. Books published between 1950 and 1999 were listed in Publishers Weekly's compilation of the best-selling children's books of all time (which catalogs bestselling children's hardback and paperback books from 1900 to 2000; Publishers Weekly, 2002). It's important to note that the Publisher's Weekly publication catalogued the best-selling books from each decade that were in fact still best sellers in the year 2000. Thus, the books chosen for this study are assumed to be the books that children are most likely to have access to at present. In some decades, there were not enough books listed on the

Publisher's Weekly publication to meet the goal of 10 books, so the sampling method used for books published after 1999 was to select the additional books necessary to have 10 books for each decade. Books published after 1999 were listed on Amazon.com, New York Times, or the American Library Associations Notable Children's Books List as bestselling children's books. These sources were chosen because previous studies of stereotyped messages in children's picture books have used one or more of these sampling methods (Tsai et al., 2007; Gooden & Gooden, 2001). The final sample consists of 60 books published between 1952 and 2007. Each decade includes 10 books, (see Appendix A for a complete list of selected books).

Coding of Facial Expressions

Faces were selected for coding only if they were visible and they belonged to characters that were a part of the overall story. In other words, faces were not chosen if they were merely superfluous background, more similar to scenery. The 12 emotions coded were: interest, excitement, joy, surprise, sadness, anger, disgust, fear, shyness, shame, guilt, like/love. These emotion categories were adopted from Izard's (1977; 1991) categories and were also used Tepper & Cassidy's (1999) investigation of emotion-related language in children's literature. The original Izard (1977; 1991) classification system only included 11 categories, as he had categorized "interest" and "excitement" as one selection, this seemed conceptually inaccurate and thus these categories were separated for this study (see *Coding of Emotion-related Information in Text* for more detailed information). I chose to utilize the categories for both the illustrations and the text to ensure that results could be discussed in equal terms across the separate codes.

Two coders assigned one of the 12 emotions to each selected face. Coders also assigned an intensity rating for each emotional expression, using a 3-point Likert-type scale from 1 to 3, ranging from “a little” to “some” to “a lot” (Karbon et al., 1991; Hubbard, 2001), $ICC = .60$. Coders were allowed to choose multiple emotions for any one face, as mixed emotions are a relatively common phenomenon in real life, however, when more than one emotion was chosen, the emotion perceived to have greater intensity was selected for analysis.

Training built on coders' own natural emotion understanding, but several meetings occurred between coders to discuss discrepancies, especially between the positive emotions and surprise and fear. Before coders began coding the picture books for this study, they independently coded five books not a part of this sample and achieved acceptable reliability across emotion expressions, $kappa = .66$. This approach maximized the intuitive judgments of the coders, a procedure that appears remarkably consistent and reliable in research on affective traits and interpersonal functioning (Smith, Vivian, & O'Leary, 1990; Ambady & Rosenthal, 1993; Waldinger et al., 2004; Schulz & Waldinger, 2005). For the final data set, a third coder independently coded faces in which the first two coders did not agree.

Upon completion of the coding, the frequency of each emotion category was determined. There were so few instances of the categories shyness, shame, and guilt, that they were dropped from all future discussions (see Table 1 for means and standard deviations for each category). Reliability based on 15 books (33% of the sample) was moderate across the whole sample, $kappa = .45$, based on 853 faces (see Table 2 for

kappas for each emotion category) as well as for intensity ($ICC = .63$). It is not surprising that the positive emotions (e.g., interest, excitement, happy, and surprise) were the most difficult to establish reliability, as positive emotions are often seen as less discrete than their negative counterparts (Fredrickson, 2000).

Correlations were run between all emotion categories to determine if some emotion categories could be combined based both on theory and relatedness (see Table 3 for correlations between categories). In fact, interest, excitement, and happiness were considerably related and when these categories were combined, kappa increased to a more acceptable level, $kappa = .59$. The same procedure was used to combine fear and surprise, $kappa = .60$, and anger and contempt, $kappa = .65$. Because the number of instances of these categories was rather low on their own, especially for surprise and contempt, there was some concern that there would not be enough power to detect differences. Reliability was then assessed again using the final five categories (positive emotions, love, sadness, fear/surprise, and anger/contempt) and was improved ($kappa = .59$). These cutoffs have been noted as acceptable standards for kappa (Landis & Koch, 1977) and intra-class correlations (Fleiss & Cohen, 1973).

Table 1.

Ns, Means, and Standard Deviations for the Number of Faces by Emotion Category

Emotion Category	<i>Ns</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
Interest	624	2.48 (5.76)
Excitement	66	.26 (0.93)
Happy	1178	4.67 (6.63)
Surprise	140	.56 (1.26)
Sadness	197	.78 (3.40)
Anger	185	.73 (2.08)
Contempt	63	.25 (1.04)
Fear	264	1.05 (3.28)
Shyness	7	.03 (0.19)
Shame	3	.01 (0.11)
Guilt	2	.01 (0.13)
Like/love	74	.29 (0.74)
No Emotion	484	1.92 (4.67)

Table 2.

Coder Reliability by Emotion Category

Emotion Category	Kappa
Interest	.47
Excited	.40
Happy	.43
Surprise	.47
Sadness	.47
Anger	.58
Contempt	.58
Fear	.50
Shyness	***
Shame	***
Guilt	***
Like/love	.72
Positive Emotions (interest, excited, happy)	.59
Fear/Surprise	.60
Anger/Contempt	.65

Note: *** indicates that there were too few coded instances by which to determine reliability

Table 3. *Correlations between Emotion Categories for Faces*

	Interest	Excitement	Happy	Surprise	Sadness	Anger	Contempt	Fear
Excitement	.31 **	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Happy	.41 **	.34 **	---	---	---	---	---	---
Surprise	.21 **	.21 **	.49 **	---	---	---	---	---
Sadness	.20 **	.10	.30 **	.46 **	---	---	---	---
Anger	.49 **	.08	.51 **	.32 **	.44 **	---	---	---
Contempt	.48 **	.29 **	.42 **	.30 **	.15 *	.52 **	---	---
Fear	.21 **	.19 **	.38 **	.37 **	.52 **	.25 **	.20 **	---
Like/love	.06	.01	.00	.01	.10	.04	.01	.05

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .001$.

Coding Gender and Age

Two additional coders were trained to code gender and age for the selected faces. The demographic coding was separated from emotion expression coding to reduce the impact of identifying characters' gender and age on decisions about emotion expressions. Both codes were based on visual cues just as in everyday situations. When gender was ambiguous, coders were directed to the text for pronoun cues, when available. For gender, animal characters were assigned as female or male when their gender was explicitly noted either by appearance (e.g., a dress vs. a bow tie) or by pronouns noted in the text. Unclear gender was coded as unknown. For age, coders assigned one of six age categories to each character (baby, child, teenager, young adult, middle-age, old age). These categories were chosen for their simplicity and completeness and because they are age categories often used in developmental research. For animal characters, age was inferred when coders could do so reliably, otherwise age was coded as unknown. However, upon completion of the coding, the sample sizes for each of the age categories were very unequal, so age was treated as a dichotomous variable (child v. adult) with baby ($n = 13$), child ($n = 76$), teenager ($n = 10$) collapsed to create the child ($n = 99$)

category and young- ($n = 28$), middle- ($n = 97$), and old-adult ($n = 28$) collapsed to create the adult ($n = 153$) category (see Table 4 for N s for gender and age within decade). Kappa was very high for these two codes. For gender, kappa = .98; for age (6 categories), kappa = .82; and for age (2 categories), kappa = 1.00.

Table 4.

Descriptive Statistics for Male and Female Faces by Age and Decade

Decade	Gender	Age	<i>M (SD)</i> Faces
1950	Male	Child	26.00 (18.58)
		Adult	16.87 (16.04)
	Female	Child	56.57 (78.98)
		Adult	8.46 (10.48)
1960	Male	Child	20.75 (28.11)
		Adult	14.75 (22.64)
	Female	Child	11.60 (8.44)
		Adult	4.71 (3.09)
1970	Male	Child	17.14 (15.29)
		Adult	18.00 (19.29)
	Female	Child	2.00 (1.41)
		Adult	11.01 (10.33)
1980	Male	Child	12.55 (13.79)
		Adult	10.47 (11.60)
	Female	Child	5.78 (6.92)
		Adult	4.60 (3.66)
1990	Male	Child	9.00 (5.46)
		Adult	8.17 (4.06)
	Female	Child	12.17 (13.62)
		Adult	6.79 (6.61)
2000	Male	Child	12.14 (10.69)
		Adult	10.06 (14.43)
	Female	Child	23.36 (26.12)
		Adult	7.64 (5.33)
Total	Male	Child	15.00 (15.89)
		Adult	12.89 (15.48)
	Female	Child	19.67 (37.64)
		Adult	12.18 (7.49)

Note: Each decade consists of 10 books.

Coding Emotion-related Information in Text

The same books coded for emotion expression, gender, and age were also coded independently for emotion-related text by two different coders. All emotion words were recorded and categorized into the emotion subsets shown in Table 5, which are similar to those, identified by Izard (1977; 1991). Emotion words were assigned to a character only if the emotion described their emotional via self description or as labeled by another character or narrator. I chose the Izard (1977; 1991) classification system, because it is a well-known and respected classification system and was also used by Tepper and Cassidy (1999). Izard's classification system includes 11 emotion codes. Although the emotions "interest" and "excitement" were included in one category, I separated them. Intuitively, these emotions seemed quite different, and dictionary definitions supported the distinction between these emotions as neither of the respective categories definitions shared overlapping descriptors (e.g., Merriam Webster Online, Dictionary.com). Another code was also necessary, as there were many instances of "don't like" or "dislike" that did not necessarily fit with any other category, so it was added as an additional category. See Table 5 for a list of emotion-related text categories and their synonyms.

Table 5.
Emotion Text Categories and Synonyms

Category	Words
Interest	curious, entranced, fascinated
Excitement	eager, enthusiastic, excited
Happy	glad, happy, joy, laughing, smiled, pleased, proud, delight
Surprise	amazed, disbelief, puzzled, shocked, stunned, surprise
Sadness	anguish, blue, despair, depressed, distressed, downhearted, cried
Anger	angry, cross, mad, outraged, quarrelsome, rage
Contempt	disgusted, scornfully, contemptuous, grossed-out, sickened by
Fear	alarmed, dread, horrified, nervous, panicked, scared, worried
Shyness	cautious, shy, timid, uncertainty, wary, bashful
Shame	ashamed, embarrassed, foolish, shameful
Guilt	felt her conscience, guilty, pity, sorry, sympathy
Like/Love	enchanted by, fond of, kissed, enamored with
Dislike	“don’t like,” hate

Note: Adapted from Izard (1977; 1991)

When encountering words not directly on the Izard (1977; 1991) list, coders consulted two emotion dictionaries, one by Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1989) and the other the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LiWC; Pennebaker, Booth, & Francis, 2007). I chose these two emotion lexicons for their completeness and reputation. A count of all non-emotion related speaker turns for each character served as a control for the ratio of emotion to non-emotion related text.

Kappa was high across a different random selection of 15 books (33% of the sample) for the emotion-related text, with overall kappa = .73, across 927 sentences. In order to remain consistent between the expressions and the text for analyses, the same procedures were performed on the text codes. Thus, interest, excited, and happy were combined to create a positive emotion category; fear and surprise were combined; and anger and contempt were combined. This resulted in six emotion categories used for

analyses for the text (positive, like/love, sad, fear, anger, dislike). See Table 6 for means and standard deviations for emotion categories found in the texts.

Table 6.
Ns, Means, and Standard Deviations for Emotion-Related Text Categories

Emotion Category	<i>N</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
Interest	3	.02 (0.14)
Excitement	14	.09 (0.33)
Happy	96	.63 (1.47)
Surprise	21	.14 (0.53)
Sadness	66	.43 (1.11)
Anger	54	.35 (1.34)
Contempt	5	.03 (0.27)
Fear	109	.71 (3.68)
Shyness	1	.01 (0.08)
Shame	4	.03 (0.16)
Guilt	6	.04 (0.23)
Like/love	101	.66 (1.49)
Dislike	62	.41 (2.93)

Note: Adapted from Izard (1977; 1991).

I was also interested in determining whether the two coding systems, facial and textual, were related, so correlations between the overlapping emotion categories were conducted and are reported in Table 7. The correlations indicate that in most instances, there is a significant relationship between the emotional faces and the emotion-related text to describe them in the selected books.

Table 7.
Correlations between Emotion Facial Expressions and Emotion Text

	Text					
	Overall Emotion	Positive	Love/like	Sad	Fear	Anger
Overall Emotion	.44**	.22**	.32**	.19*	.29*	.22**
Positive	.35**	.24**	.30**	.04	.19*	.12
Love/like	-.05	-.08	.35**	-.11	-.04	-.01
Sad	.24**	.07	.19**	.35**	.09	.29**
Fear	.52**	.15*	.12	.21*	.62**	.13
Anger	.21**	.14*	.25**	.18*	.04	.36**

* $p < .05$. * $p < .01$.

Coding demographic information for text

Gender and age of both the speaker and target of emotion-related words were recorded. When words were spoken by or about a group of characters, demographics for the group were recorded. Therefore, in some instances, each of the demographic characteristics was coded as mixed. Characters that were unable to be accurately categorized as either female or male were coded as unknown and similar characterizations were made about characters' relative age (baby, child, teen, young adult, middle-aged, old). As with the emotion expression coding, there were rather unequal sample sizes for the 6 age categories, so the dichotomous age variable (child v. adult) was also computed for the text. In addition to noting all emotion words, the total number of speaker turns spoken by female and male characters in each picture book was also recorded in order to account for the ratio of emotion to non-emotion speaker turns by gender. Reliability for text demographics was acceptable for gender, kappa = .92, age (6 categories), kappa = .67, ICC = .88; and age (2 categories), kappa = .90, ICC = .95.

Compilation of data

To ensure that there were enough instances of emotion expression for analyses, I summed number of faces within each category of gender and age (e.g. all faces that belong to male children) within each picture book, and these comprised the data set. I used the same procedure for the emotion-related text. For intensity of expression, I summed the number of instances for each level of intensity within each emotion category for both gender and age. Then, I multiplied the total number of instances of each level of intensity within each category by the level of the intensity with which it was associated (e.g. number of level 2 intensity instances were multiplied by 2). Lastly, the three modified levels of intensity for each category were summed together and divided by the total number of faces for that category to get an average intensity rating for each emotion expression type. For increased clarity, a formula is provided below.

$$\text{Average Intensity of EmotionX} = \frac{(1(\# \text{ of level } \underline{1}) + 2(\# \text{ of level } \underline{2}) + 3(\# \text{ of level } \underline{3}))}{\text{Total \# of EmotionX}}$$

Results

Gender Representation in Picture Books

First, it was important to determine if male and female characters were given equivalent amount of representation throughout the book via the number of faces for each gender. These data were fairly skewed (on average, skew was 4.03) for total number of faces so they were first subjected to a logarithmic transformation, which substantially reduced the skew to .16. However, all means are reported both as the result of the

transformation as well as the raw score means for ease in understanding (e.g. raw score M , SD ; transformation M , SD).

I conducted a one-way ANOVA to determine if there were differences in the number of male and female faces. As predicted, there were significantly more male faces ($M = 13.74$, $SD = 15.62$; $M = .80$, $SD = .04$) in the selected picture books than female faces ($M = 12.18$, $SD = 24.61$; $M = .67$, $SD = .05$), $F(1, 272) = 4.01$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .02$. Thus, in order to compare frequency of emotion expressions by gender (regardless of the number of characters), ratios were calculated using the number of emotion expressions divided by the total number of faces for both males and females for each emotion category.

Gender Differences in Emotion Expressions

These data were fairly skewed (on average, skew was 5.36, across all emotion categories), so they were first subjected to logarithmic transformations, which substantially reduced the skew (on average, skew was 1.99, across all emotion categories following the logarithmic transformation). However, all means are reported both as the result of the transformation as well as the raw score means, for ease in understanding.

To test my first hypothesis, I conducted a one-way ANOVA to determine if female characters were illustrated expressing more emotion overall than their male counterparts, using a ratio of the total number of emotion expressions divided by the total number of faces. Contrary to my hypothesis, females were not portrayed expressing more emotion overall compared to males. Rather, there were no differences between the total number of emotion expressions by gender, $F(1, 272) = .87$, $p > .05$. I also conducted a

one-way ANOVA to determine if there were gender differences in the amount of faces that were coded as expressing no emotion using the same ratio approach, and again, contrary to prediction, there were no gender differences, $F(1, 272) = .02, p > .05$.

I then conducted a one-way MANOVA, with gender as the independent variable and frequency of expression within each emotion category as the dependent variables (e.g., positive, love, sad, fear, anger). There was a significant main effect for gender, $F(1, 272) = 3.05, p < .05, \eta^2 = .05$. Follow-up univariate ANOVAs revealed significant differences for three categories (e.g., positive, love, and anger). As shown in Table 8, male characters were portrayed expressing a greater percentage of both positive emotions and anger compared to female characters, $F_s(1, 272) = 5.12$ and $6.48, p_s < .05, \eta^2$ s both = $.02$, respectively. On the other hand, female characters tended to be portrayed expressing a greater percentage of love than male characters, $F(1, 272) = 2.87, p < .10, \eta^2 = .01$. Contrary to predictions however, there were no gender differences for sadness or fear, $F_s(1, 272) = .16$ and $.79, p_s > .05$.

Table 8.
Means and Standard Deviations for Gender Differences in Proportion of Emotion Expressions

Emotion Category	Gender	Raw Data <i>M (SD)</i>	Transformed <i>M (SD)</i>
Positive**	Male	.58 (.03)	.55 (.03)
	Female	.54 (.03)	.44 (.04)
Love*	Male	.02 (.01)	.02 (.01)
	Female	.05 (.01)	.05 (.01)
Sadness	Male	.05 (.01)	.05 (.01)
	Female	.05 (.01)	.05 (.01)
Fear	Male	.09 (.01)	.12 (.02)
	Female	.09 (.01)	.09 (.02)
Anger**	Male	.09 (.02)	.09 (.01)
	Female	.08 (.02)	.04 (.02)

* $p < .10$. ** $p < .05$.

Note: Means are based on proportions of the number of instances within each emotion category divided by the total number of faces for each character type. Transformed data are based on the transformations of the proportions.

I also hypothesized that the relationship between gender and emotion expressions would vary as a function of characters' age. Specifically, I expected a main effect for age for anger, but all other emotions were considered for analysis to account for differences that were not fully considered. Additionally, I hypothesized a significant age by gender interaction for sadness, but again, all emotion categories were included as dependent variables in order to explore other possible relationships. Thus, a 2 (age) X 2 (gender) MANOVA with 5 dependent variables (e.g., positive, love, sad, fear, anger) was conducted. A significant main effect for age was found, $F(1, 272) = 2.18, p < .05, \eta^2 = .04$. Follow-up univariate ANOVAs revealed that a significant difference for love, $F(1, 272) = 4.90, p < .05, \eta^2 = .02$, indicating that adult characters were more likely to express a greater proportion of love than child characters. There were no significant age effects for anger or any other emotion category, nor were there any significant gender by age

interactions. See Table 9 for means and standard deviations for the proportion of emotion expressions by age.

Table 9.
Means and Standard Deviations for Age Differences in Proportion of Emotion Expressions

Emotion Category	Age	Transformed <i>M (SD)</i>	Non-Transformed <i>M (SD)</i>
Positive	Child	.55 (.04)	.62 (.03)
	Adult	.46 (.03)	.53 (.03)
Love*	Child	.01 (.01)	.01 (.01)
	Adult	.05 (.01)	.05 (.01)
Sadness	Child	.06 (.01)	.06 (.01)
	Adult	.04 (.01)	.05 (.01)
Fear	Child	.13 (.02)	.10 (.02)
	Adults	.09 (.02)	.09 (.01)
Anger	Child	.06 (.02)	.04 (.02)
	Adult	.08 (.01)	.11 (.02)

* $p < .05$.

Note: Means are based on proportions of the number of instances within each emotion category divided by the total number of faces for each character type. Transformed data are based on the transformations of the proportions.

Intensity of Emotion Expression by Gender and Age

First, the data were examined for their parametric properties and unlike the other dependent variables, intensity met all parametric assumptions for MANOVA, thus, no transformations were conducted.

To examine differences in emotion intensity by gender and age, I conducted a 2 (gender) X 2 (age) MANOVA with the five emotion category intensities as the dependent variables. There was no main effect for gender, $F(1, 272) = 1.44, p > .05$, and follow-up univariate ANOVAs found no significant differences for any of the emotion categories, indicating that male and female characters portray each emotion category with the same average level intensity. See Table 10 for means and standard deviations.

Table 10.

Means and Standard Deviations for Emotion Intensity by Gender

Emotion Category	Gender	<i>M (SD)</i>
Positive	Male	1.54 (.07)
	Female	1.39 (.08)
Love	Male	.28 (.07)
	Female	.40 (.08)
Sadness	Male	.48 (.07)
	Female	.41 (.08)
Fear	Male	.92 (.08)
	Female	.71 (.10)
Anger	Male	.61 (.08)
	Female	.47 (.09)

There was a significant main effect for age, $F(1, 272) = 3.60, p < .05$, and follow-up univariate ANOVAs revealed specific age differences for positive emotions and anger, $F_s(1, 272) = 5.51$ and $4.28, p_s < .05, \eta^2_s = .20$, for positive emotions and anger, respectively. For positive emotions, children are portrayed expressing positive emotions at a greater average intensity than their adult counterparts. For anger, as hypothesized, adults are portrayed expressing higher intensity on average than child characters. There were no gender by age interactions, however, $F(1, 272) = .20, p > .05$. See Table 11 for means and standard deviations.

Table 11.

Means and Standard Deviations for Emotion Intensity by Age

Emotion Category	Age	<i>M (SD)</i>
------------------	-----	---------------

Positive*	Child	1.59 (.08)
	Adult	1.34 (.06)
Love	Child	.32 (.08)
	Adult	.37 (.06)
Sadness	Child	.51 (.08)
	Adult	.37 (.07)
Fear	Child	.86 (.10)
	Adult	.76 (.08)
Anger*	Child	.42 (.09)
	Adult	.66 (.07)

* $p < .05$.

The Influences of Gender and Age on Emotion-Related Text

These data were fairly skewed (on average, skew was 6.13, across all emotion categories) so they were first subjected to logarithmic transformations, which substantially reduced the skew (on average, skew was 1.09, across all emotion categories following the logarithmic transformation). However, all means are reported both as the result of the raw proportion means and the transformation for ease in understanding.

To again determine if gender representation in the selected books was equal, I conducted a one-way ANOVA on the number of total speaker turns by gender. Contrary to prediction, there were no differences between males and females with regards to the amount of speakers turns allotted in the text, $F(1, 269) = 2.34, p = .13$. However, in order to insure accurate interpretation for the emotion categories I felt it was still important to control for the number of speaker turns because despite being non-significant, male ($M = 28.04$) characters were still given more representation in the text than female characters ($M = 24.47$). Thus, to examine gender differences in emotion-related text, I first created proportions of the amount of emotion-related speaker turns relative to the total number of speaker turns for each character type and for each emotion category; these proportions

are used in all further analyses of the text. To determine if female characters were associated with a greater amount of overall emotion-related text, I conducted a *t*-test using the proportional data for female and male characters. Contrary to prediction, no significant gender difference emerged for amount of emotion-related text, $t(1,272) = .43$, $p > .05$. Next, a one-way MANOVA, with gender as the independent variable and the six emotion categories (positive, love, sad, fear, anger, dislike) as the dependent variables, was conducted. There was no main effect for gender, $F(1, 272) = 1.52$, $p > .05$. However, follow-up univariate ANOVAs revealed a significant effect for dislike, $F(1, 272) = 4.04$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .02$, indicating that male characters were described as feeling a greater percentage of dislike compared to female characters. See Table 12 for means and standard deviations.

Table 12.
Means and Standard Deviations for Gender Differences in Emotion-Related Text

Emotion Category	Gender	Raw Data <i>M (SD)</i>	Transformed <i>M (SD)</i>
Positive	Male	.04 (.01)	.04 (.01)
	Female	.03 (.01)	.02 (.01)
Love	Male	.04 (.01)	.03 (.01)
	Female	.06 (.02)	.04 (.01)
Sadness	Male	.01 (**)	.02 (.01)
	Female	.01 (**)	.02 (.01)
Fear	Male	.02 (**)	.02 (.01)
	Female	.04 (.01)	.03 (.01)
Anger	Male	.01 (**)	.02 (.01)
	Female	.01 (**)	.01 (.01)
Dislike*	Male	.01 (**)	.02 (.01)
	Female	.00 (**)	.00 (.01)

* $p < .05$

To investigate the interaction between gender and age on emotion expression, a 2 (gender) X 2 (age) MANOVA with the six emotion categories as the dependent variables

was conducted. However, the analysis revealed no effects for age or an age by gender interaction. See Table 13 for means and standard deviations.

Table 13.

Means and Standard Deviations for Age Differences in Emotion-Related Text

Emotion Category	Gender	Raw Data <i>M (SD)</i>	Transformed <i>M (SD)</i>
Positive	Child	.04 (.02)	.04 (.01)
	Adult	.04 (.01)	.03 (.01)
Love	Child	.02 (.02)	.03 (.01)
	Adult	.07 (.01)	.04 (.01)
Sadness	Child	.01 (.01)	.02 (.01)
	Adult	.01 (.01)	.01 (.01)
Fear	Child	.04 (.01)	.04 (.02)
	Adult	.02 (.01)	.02 (.01)
Anger	Child	.01 (.01)	.02 (.01)
	Adult	.01 (.01)	.01 (.01)
Dislike	Child	.04 (**)	.01 (.01)
	Adult	.00 (**)	.01 (.01)

Historical Changes in Gender-Emotion Stereotypes

It is important to know if there are differences in the number of faces for each gender by decade, as this speaks to the actual presence of male and female characters. Thus, a 2 (gender) X 6 (decade) ANOVA was conducted with number of faces as the dependent variable. Commensurate with earlier analyses, there was a main effect for gender, indicating that males were more represented in the sampled books than females, $F(1, 272) = 2.75, p < .05$. However, contrary to prediction, analyses revealed no significant gender X decade interaction, $F(5, 251) = 1.26, p > .05$, indicating that the number of male and female faces were statistically equivalent within each decade.

The last goal of this study was to determine if there were any historical shifts with regards to emotion expression in children's picture books. To accomplish this, the

publication date for the first edition of each book was used in a regression with each of the emotion expression categories. There were no significant relationships between positive emotions, love, sad, or anger and publication date (see Table 14), however, there was a significant negative relationship between fear/surprise and publication date, indicating that the number of fear expressions has decreased over the decades.

Moderation analyses were then conducted to determine if the relationship between time and fear is different for male and female characters, but the moderation was not significant, $b = -.003$, $t(268) = -.03$, $p > .05$.

Table 14.

Summary of Regression Analyses for Emotion Expressions and Publication Date

Emotion Expressions	<i>B</i>	SE <i>B</i>	β
Positive	1.90	2.60	.05
Love/like	10.43	7.90	.08
Sadness	12.15	8.38	.10
Fear	-15.57*	5.30	-.19
Anger	-6.95	6.28	-.07

* $p < .05$.

Discussion

The major goal of the present study was to examine whether gender-emotion stereotypes were conveyed via visual portrayals and textual descriptions in popular children's books. To do so, I included a larger representation of children's popular picture books, including equal representation over the last six decades; I coded specific emotions and I coded expressions both visually (faces) and textually; I examined expression by gender and age; and I also accounted for the overall representation of female and male faces and speaker turns in the books. By providing a more nuanced

analysis of gender-emotion stereotypes in children's literature, I was able to demonstrate that there are, in fact, gender-emotion stereotypes present in children's literature, at least in the books selected for this analysis. A summary of the findings for each of the hypotheses is addressed below in addition to an explication for why, in some instances, hypotheses may not have been supported.

Gender and Emotion Representation in Picture Books

First, I hypothesized that, similar to many other studies, males would be more prevalent in children's picture books than females. As in other studies of gender stereotypes in children books, there were significantly more male than female faces. However, the discrepancy is less than in previous investigations (Crabb & Bielawski, 1994; Collins et al., 1984; Kolbe & LaVoie, 1981; McDonald, 1989; Tepper & Cassidy, 1999; Gooden & Gooden, 2001; Hamilton et al., 2006), as these studies report that the representation of males to females was in some instances nearly 6 to 1. In this study the disparity is only 13 to 12. Additionally, and contrary to prediction, there was no significant gender difference with regards to textual representation, which may indicate that parents are choosing books for their preschoolers that provide well balanced stories about males and females.

In addition, there were no differences across time in the discrepancy between males and females. This is especially surprising given previous research that suggests that the gender gap had lessened from the 1950s to the 1990s (Crabb & Bielawski, 1994; Gooden & Gooden, 2001; Hamilton et al., 2006). My results suggest that there was hardly any gender gap to reduce. This may be an artifact of the selective nature of the

sampled books. Specifically, the books chosen for this study were all bestsellers at present, which may indicate a trend amongst parents to choose books for their children that are more egalitarian.

The issue of emotion in children's picture books appears to be addressed through illustrated expression rather than direct description. This is evidenced by the vast number of emotional faces and yet very little emotion-related language in the text. The difference in the amount of faces versus emotion words, combined with the moderate correlations between facial expressions and textual descriptions, suggest that authors are more likely to describe emotions in the text when the facial expression is already present. Authors may be relying on preschoolers' facial recognition skills, and then adding labels to facilitate understanding of mixed, complex, or changing emotions. This may be similar to the kinds of understanding that preschoolers have about emotion and their lack of ability to label others' hidden emotions (Banerjee, 1997; Denham et al., 2002). Future research might assess whether picture books with more emotion description encourage children to understand internal emotions, display rules, and emotion labels more effectively and earlier in development than those without, or in combination with facial expressions. If so, picture books could be used as a means for encouraging emotion recognition and understanding in preschoolers.

Gender Differences in Emotion in Picture Books

The overarching goal of the current study was to examine the degree to which emotion messages in children's picture books are gendered. Specifically, I hypothesized that female characters would be both portrayed expressing more emotions as well as described as being more emotional compared to male characters, either via self-labeling or via others' description. Further, I hypothesized that there would also be gender differences for specific emotions with the greater expressiveness by females for like/love, fear, and sadness, and greater expressiveness by males for anger. After controlling for the number of faces for each character type, there was no gender difference for overall emotionality. This is consistent with Tsai and colleagues (2007) findings of no difference in their smaller data set. As empirical research with both children and adults suggests that males and females do not actually differ in their actual frequency of experiencing emotion (Averill, 1982; Feldman Barrett et al., 1998; Shields, 1987), it may be that picture books are more accurate representations of reality than at first imagined, .

Regarding specific emotions, the predicted gender differences for sadness and fear did not emerge, although predicted differences did emerge for love and anger. Female characters were illustrated expressing love more often than males, and male characters were illustrated expressing anger more often than females. These two gender differences are consistent with gender stereotypes that females are more nurturing whereas males are more likely to express their anger (Brody, 1997; Kring, 2000). These gendered messages may not only reflect stereotypes, but may also perpetuate stereotypes further. Thus, messages in picture books may give boys permission to express their anger and conversely teach girls that anger is not something they should express too often but

rather to be more nurturing and polite, even as early as preschool (Davis, 1995; Underwood et al., 1992). In addition, males were described in the text as disliking things more often than were females. Dislike could also be considered an extension of anger in the sense that males may have more power to express their negative emotions more than are females. However, the type of anger expression was not coded and future researchers might consider how picture book characters express their anger. This would be useful to determine if there are certain anger expressions that are more often portrayed by male and female characters and the consequences for their anger expressions as this may be a way of teaching children the rules for anger.

Lastly, male characters were portrayed expressing more positive emotion than female characters. This finding was surprising given the lack of empirical reports of gender-related stereotypes about positive emotions. However, this finding may be consistent with research on power and the use of positive emotions (LaFrance & Hecht, 2000; Alexander & Wood, 2000) which indicates that individuals with greater power are more likely to express genuine happiness than those with less power. Given that previous investigations of children's picture books have demonstrated that male characters are portrayed in roles holding greater societal power (e.g. doctors, principals, etc.; McDonald, 1989; Weitzman, Eifler, Hokada, & Ross, 1972; Turner-Bowker, 1996), the greater expression of positive emotion in the current analysis may not be such an anomaly. This theory, of course, was not directly measured in this study, and future research may consider determining whether characters' positive emotion expressions are consistent with what would be expected based on the story (Halberstadt, Hayes, & Pike,

1988) in order to establish that power differentials are an appropriate explanation for gender differences in positive emotion in children's picture books.

The Influence of Age on Emotion in Picture Books

There were two main hypotheses regarding age in the present study that were grounded in work by Karbon and colleagues (1992). First, I expected that adults would be more often portrayed expressing anger relative to children. This, however, was not supported in the current study. In fact, none of the emotion categories, both illustrations and text, differed by age, with the exception of illustrated love, indicating that adults were more likely to be illustrated expressing love than children.

I also hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect of age and gender for sadness expression (Fabes & Martin, 1991; Karbon et al., 1992; Kelly & Hutson-Comeaux, 1999). Specifically, because young children already have the stereotype that men are nearly incapable of feeling and expressing sadness, I thought that this stereotype might have partially emerged due to portrayals in children's picture books. This hypothesis was not supported with the books selected for this investigation, either through illustrations or text; or through any gender by age interactions for any of the other emotion categories.

With regard to intensity, my hypothesis that males would be portrayed expressing more intense levels of anger relative to females was not supported. In fact, there were no differences in intensity by gender across any of the emotion categories considered in the present study. This may be a result of rather low means and small standard deviations,

indicating that all characters, across all emotion categories are expressing rather low-moderate levels of emotion.

For age, however, the results are more nuanced. Specifically, I hypothesized that adults would be portrayed showing higher intensity relative to children (Karbon et al., 1992; Fabes & Martin, 1991) and this was in fact supported. Additionally, children were found to express higher levels of positive emotions than their adult counterparts. This is commensurate with research on individuals' beliefs about the intensity of emotion (Fabes & Martin, 1991; Karbon et al., 1992; Kelly & Hutson-Comeaux, 1999) in that children are believed to express all emotions but anger more than adults. However, it was only with positive emotions that this effect emerges.

Historical Influences on Emotion in Picture Books

Though no specific predictions were made about the relationship between emotion expressions and historical time, I examined this issue and found that there was a relationship between time and fear, specifically that fear expressions have lessened through the decades. I was somewhat surprised that there was not a positive relationship between anger and time, as anger seems to have become a more acceptable public expression over the years. I also ran moderation analyses to determine if there were different relationships between emotion expressions and time by gender, but none of these moderation analyses were significant. Again, these null findings may be a result of unintended sampling bias, as the selected books appear to be more egalitarian than perhaps a more random selection of books may be. Thus, future research may want to consider revisiting these questions with a less restricted selection criterion.

Overall Conclusions

Overall this study was able to correct for some of the methodological issues that may have resulted in the reported null findings of previous investigations. Despite the methodological improvements of this study, however, the number and magnitude of the gender differences were less than impressive. Thus, it is becoming evident that gender-emotion stereotypes in children's picture books are small at best. In general, I determined that there are gender discrepancies for positive emotions, love, anger, and dislike, but the emotions sad and fear were not gendered in the books selected, which was a surprising finding. However, this is actually good news as it may be an indication that parents are selecting books for their children that are more egalitarian than in previous assessments.

The theory for this work is grounded in gender socialization, suggesting that children's picture books may be yet another forum for teaching children what it means to be male and female. Of course this work does not test this notion empirically and future research might want to determine if these subtle gendered messages about emotions in children's picture books actually inform the experiences and expressions of children's emotion in their everyday lives.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A

Selected Picture Books: 1950-2007

Book Title	Publication Year
<i>The Night Before Christmas</i>	1950
<i>Tawny Scrawny Lion</i>	1951
<i>Madeline's Rescue</i>	1951
<i>Harold and the Purple Crayon</i>	1955
<i>Eloise</i>	1955
<i>Harry the Dirty Dog</i>	1956
<i>The Cat and the Hat</i>	1957
<i>How the Grinch Stole Christmas</i>	1957
<i>Yertle the Turtle and Other Stories</i>	1958
<i>Happy Birthday to You!</i>	1959
<i>Green Eggs and Ham</i>	1960
<i>Bedtime for Frances</i>	1960
<i>Are You My Mother?</i>	1960
<i>Put Me in the Zoo</i>	1960
<i>Go, Dog Go!</i>	1961
<i>The Giving Tree</i>	1964
<i>Where the Wild Things Are</i>	1964
<i>Santa Mouse</i>	1966
<i>Never Talk to Strangers</i>	1967
<i>Corduroy</i>	1968
<i>Frog and Toad are Friends</i>	1970
<i>Rosie's Walk</i>	1971
<i>George & Martha</i>	1972
<i>The Berenstain Bears' New Baby</i>	1974
<i>Oh, the Thinks you can Think!</i>	1975
<i>Just Grandma and Me</i>	1975
<i>Alexander and the Terrible, Horrible, No Good, Very Bad Day</i>	1976
<i>The Amazing Bone</i>	1976
<i>Just Me and My Dad</i>	1977
<i>Strega Nona</i>	1979
<i>The Berenstain Bears' Visit the Dentist</i>	1981
<i>Jumanji</i>	1982
<i>It's Not Easy Being a Bunny</i>	1983
<i>I Was So Mad</i>	1983
<i>The Polar Express</i>	1985
<i>If You Give a Mouse a Cookie</i>	1985
<i>Love You Forever</i>	1986
<i>Owl Moon</i>	1987

<i>Lyle, Lyle Crocodile</i>	1987
<i>The True Story of the Three Little Pigs</i>	1989
<i>Oh, The Places You'll Go</i>	1990
<i>Mr. Gumpy's Outing</i>	1990
<i>The Runaway Bunny</i>	1991
<i>The Rainbow Fish</i>	1992
<i>Grandfather's Journey</i>	1993
<i>Stellaluna</i>	1993
<i>Good Night Gorilla</i>	1996
<i>Guess How Much I Love You</i>	1996
<i>Today I Feel Silly</i>	1998
<i>Grandma Chickenlegs</i>	1999
<i>I was So Mad</i>	2000
<i>How do Dinosaurs Say Goodnight</i>	2000
<i>Miss Bindergarten Stays Home from Kindergarten</i>	2000
<i>Olivia</i>	2000
<i>Wemberly Worried</i>	2000
<i>How I Became a Pirate</i>	2003
<i>When Catherine the Great and I were Eight</i>	2003
<i>Fancy Nancy</i>	2005
<i>On the Night You Were Born</i>	2005
<i>Sally Jean the Bicycle Queen</i>	2006
<i>Bad Dog, Marley</i>	2007