Gender Stereotypes in Spanish Language Television Programming for Children in the United States

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GENDER STEREOTYPES IN SPANISH LANGUAGE TELEVISION PROGRAMMING FOR CHILDREN IN THE UNITED STATES

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I dedicate this thesis to my loving grandparents, Lucío Romo and Rafaela Romo. I thank my late grandfather, whose spirit gave me the strength to persevere through each assignment, research paper and exam throughout my collegiate career. Additionally, I dedicate this to my grandmother, who passed away one year before the completion of this thesis, for her never-ending support, guidance, and whose life lessons provided me with the motivation to continue with my studies when my struggles in life seemed insurmountable. My accomplishments are entirely in their honor.
GENDER STEREOTYPES IN SPANISH LANGUAGE
TELEVISION PROGRAMMING FOR CHILDREN
IN THE UNITED STATES

By
CARLO ANDRÉ ROMO, B.S.

THESIS
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
The University of Texas at El Paso
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Communication
THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT EL PASO
December 2008
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the members of my thesis committee for all of their time and patience. Thank you to Dr. T. Ruggiero, chair, for his ongoing guidance, enthusiasm for research, and encouragement for learning. Thank you to Dr. K. Yang for his expertise in statistics and guidance in research format and structure. Thank you to Dr. D. Bixler-Marquez for his dedication to academic performance and attention to detail. To my mother, Elsa, my sister, Melissa, my aunt, Martha, and the rest of my family and friends, I am forever grateful for their constant encouragement and support towards the accomplishment of my goals.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEDICATION</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF LITERATURE</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER III: METHOD</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER IV: DISCUSSION</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A – CHARACTER DEMOGRAPHICS</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX B – CHARACTER BEHAVIORS</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX C – PROGRAM OVERVIEW</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CURRICULUM VITAE</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1</td>
<td>Number of male and female characters</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2</td>
<td>Percentage of behaviors by sex</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3</td>
<td>Percentage of all observed aggressive behavior</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 4</td>
<td>Percentage of all observed autonomous behavior</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 5</td>
<td>Percentage of all observed constructive behavior</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 6</td>
<td>Percentage of all observed dominant behavior</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 7</td>
<td>Percentage of all observed deferent behavior</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 8</td>
<td>Percentage of all observed dependent behavior</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 9</td>
<td>Percentage of all observed harm avoidant behavior</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 10</td>
<td>Percentage of all observed nurturing behavior</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 11</td>
<td>Percentage of all observed positive consequences for male behaviors</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 12</td>
<td>Percentage of all observed negative consequences for female behaviors</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 13</td>
<td>Percentage of all observed positive consequences for female behaviors</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 14</td>
<td>Percentage of all observed negative consequences for male behaviors</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 15</td>
<td>Percentage of all observed consequences for all behaviors</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GENDER STEREOTYPES IN SPANISH LANGUAGE TELEVISION PROGRAMMING
FOR CHILDREN IN THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Gender is a part of our everyday lives. It influences how we talk, how we walk, and how we interact with others. Gender is not, however, the same as sex (Christie, 1997). Many people erroneously confuse the two, or use the word “gender” as a politically correct term in place of the word “sex.” Yet this is a common problem - people are generally unaware of the difference and separation between sex and gender. The term sex is a biological description of whether a child is born with the reproductive organs of a male or female (Thomas, 1999). The term gender refers to the socialized roles that males and females are expected to play within a given culture (Thomas, 1999). In other words, gender is a human-constructed concept that dictates how the two sexes are supposed to act (Christie, 1997). Gendered behaviors are not inherently connected to a person’s sex, and therefore present a potential to place great limitations on human beings. Traditional gender roles dictate how men and women should act, what activities they should participate in, which professions they should hold, etc. (Thomas, 1999). This study is a continuation of the growing discourse working to influence and challenge traditional representations of men and women through education, literature, and popular culture (Alexander, 2003; Barner, 1999; Basow, 1992; Bigler & Liben, 1992; Chandler & Griffiths, 2000; Johnson & Young, 2001; Larson, 2001;
Leaper, Breed, Hoffman & Perlman, 2002; Livingstone & Bovill, 2001; Powell & Abels, 2002; Smith, 1994; Spock, 2002; Strasburger, 2002).

Today’s society has advanced considerably in the direction of equality for men and women. There are more women in the workforce than ever before, and the idea of stay-at-home dads is much more readily accepted. Representations of women in literature and popular culture are significantly more empowering as well, with high-profile women such as Madonna and Oprah Winfrey utilizing the mass media in order to empower women on a large scale. The gay and lesbian community, a population that greatly challenges traditional gender stereotypes, is also finding itself mainstreaming into society more and more, with popular television shows such as *Will & Grace*, *Queer as Folk* and *Ugly Betty* breaking down taboo barriers in entertainment. Popular celebrities such as Rosie O’Donnell, Ian McKellan, and *Grey’s Anatomy* star T.R. Knight publicly coming out of the closet have also served to empower those seeking to raise awareness about the limitations of gender stereotypes.

While the happenings of television and the lives of celebrities may seem trivial to some, Smith (1994) found in her studies of social learning theory that children learn a great deal from television about sex-typed behaviors because it provides them with a wealth of models readily available for observation. So today, like never before, the lines of gender are becoming blurred. Those who do not understand the concept of gender can find this very discomforting, while those who do understand it and themselves break or challenge the boundaries can find it very liberating. But although great strides are being made in the direction of women’s rights and gay/lesbian rights, it is the fusion of
sex and gender in people’s minds that delays societal progression. The media can be effective in communicating that men and women should be treated equally, and that gays and lesbians deserve the same rights and treatment as others, but ultimately society must be educated about the stereotypes and limitations we place on our own selves by reinforcing traditional gender roles.

Gender roles are reinforced on a daily basis, yet this reinforcement is commonly unnoticed by the general population. According to Byrne and Hogben’s (1998) discussion of social learning theory, rewards for a desired behavior are presumed to reinforce that specific behavior. Additionally, one behavior can be chosen over another or increased in frequency or intensity without direct reinforcement.

Components of social learning theory, then, are apparent from even before the time a child is born (Thomas, 1999). So ingrained is the concept of gender in people’s minds that many parents find it absolutely necessary to immediately label their children as either girls or boys in order to avoid instances in which strangers may mistakenly misidentify the sex of their children, causing parents to feel insulted or uncomfortable. As children get older, their gendered behaviors are either reinforced or discouraged (Hogben & Byrne, 1998). Additionally, social pressures can cause parents to encourage certain behaviors for their children. Perhaps a mother or father may not mind so much for a little boy to play with his sister’s dolls at home, but the story is different when the child is in the company of other children or adults. And while some parents may attempt to stray from traditional gender roles for their children, the ideology of tough, athletic boys and beautiful, dainty girls still exists in so many facets of today’s society that it is
hard to keep from encouraging behaviors for their children that fulfill such images. Therefore, while parents can play a great role in reducing the limitations placed on their children by gender roles, many fail to come through for fear that their own will be ostracized by their peers and society altogether (Parke, 1972).

American children and adolescents spend more time watching television than any other activity aside from sleeping (Strasburger, 2002). So for all that parents may try or fail to expose their children to open, positive examples of socialization, television holds a great potential to influence and shape the minds of children due to children's prolonged exposure to it. Several theories, including Realism Theory (Kieran, 1998) and Social Learning Theory (Hogben & Byrne, 1998; Lippa, 2002; Swan, 1999; Strasburger, 2002; Thomas, 1999) have been used to explain and examine the effects that television viewing can have on the viewing audience’s attitudes and beliefs. Various studies have also analyzed American television and have found many instances of stereotypical bias within television’s programming content, commercial content, and even in its production techniques (Alexander, 2003; Barner, 1999; Browne, 1998; Chandler, 2003; Chandler & Griffiths 2000; Gardner, 1997; Gauntlett, 2002; Hochbaum, 1999; Johnson & Young, 2001; Larson, 2001; Leaper, et. al., 2002; Livingstone & Bovil, 2001; Powell & Abels, 2002; Smith 1994; Sternglanz & Serbin, 1974; Wallner, 2000; Williams, et. al., 1981).

More specifically, many studies have also examined and found gender stereotypes within children's television programming and commercials in the United States (Alexander, 2003; Barner, 1999; Browne, 1998; Chandler, 2003; Chandler & Griffiths 2000; Hochbaum, 1999; Johnson & Young, 2001; Larson, 2001; Leaper, et. al., 2002;
Livingstone & Bovil, 2001; Powell & Abels, 2002; Smith 1994; Sternglanz & Serbin, 1974; Wallner, 2000; Williams, et. al., 1981).

While many previous studies have focused on English-language children’s television content in the United States, such as Barner’s (1999) examination of FCC-mandated children’s educational programming or Powell & Abel’s (2002) analysis of *Teletubbies* and *Barney & Friends*, this study seeks to examine children’s television programming aimed at Spanish-speaking Hispanics in the United States. Given that Hispanics are the fastest-growing minority in the U.S., in addition to having the highest proportion of people under the age of 18, Hispanic children and adolescents in the United States represent a vital population within the generation currently being exposed to Spanish-language television programming intended for children. Therefore, it is important for the programming targeted at this young, fast-growing population to be monitored with the same sense of urgency as the English-language television programming in the United States.

According to the United States Census Bureau, there were 37.4 million Hispanics in the civilian non-institutional population of the U.S. in 2002, representing 13.3 percent of the total population. Among the Hispanic population, two-thirds (66.9 percent) were of Mexican origin, 14.3 percent were Central and South American, 8.6 percent were Puerto Rican, 3.7 percent were Cuban, and the remaining 6.5 percent were of other Hispanic origins. Hispanics of Mexican origin were most likely to live in the West (54.6 percent) and the South (34.3 percent); Puerto Ricans were most likely to live in the Northeast (58.0 percent); Cubans were highly concentrated in the South (75.1 percent);
and most Central and South Americans were found in three of the four regions: the Northeast (31.5 percent), the South (34.0 percent), and the West (29.9 percent).

Hispanics also represent the youngest population in the United States. According to the United States Census Bureau, Hispanics were more likely than non-Hispanic whites to be under the age of 18, with 34.4 percent under 18 in 2002. Among Hispanics, the Mexican-origin population had the highest proportion of people under the age of 18 (37.1 percent), and the Cuban population had the lowest (19.6 percent). Therefore, the sheer youth of Hispanics as a whole places a large percentage of this fast-growing population within the demographic found by many researchers to be most susceptible to gender stereotypes in television. Given the increasing popularity and availability of Spanish-language television in the U.S., it seems appropriate to examine its contents.

Following this chapter, Chapter II will define the terms and review the literature utilized in presenting the argument set forth in this study. The first section in Chapter II will discuss the social responsibility theory of the media. This theory presents an argument for monitoring and examining television programming, noting that the media are to be held accountable for acting in a socially responsible manner that refrains from resorting to stereotypes in depicting racial, social, and cultural groups.

The second section in Chapter II analyzes the socialization of children through television programming, focusing on social learning theory. This theory, for purposes of this study, narrows in on the idea that gender roles, including stereotypical roles, are learned by the same processes through which other kinds of social information are learned, such as through behavior modeling and behavior reinforcement (conditioning).
For children, television signifies the real world and provides a wealth of attractive role models that depict adolescent and adult behavior. Coupled with the fact that children spend more time watching television than any other activity other than sleeping, the ideas put forth in social learning theory place a greater weight on the social responsibility theory of the media and warrant a constant monitoring of television programming for children.

The third section of Chapter II reviews previous work in the area of gender role and stereotype studies of television, discussing in detail the goals and findings of research in children’s English-language advertising and children’s English-language programming. The goal of this section is to provide the reader several examples that justify a continued examination of television programming for children, and also to serve as a foundation for the research questions presented in this study.

The final section of Chapter II presents the research questions formulated from the analysis of the literature reviewed.

The first section of Chapter III includes a brief introduction to this chapter and also states the goals of the method presented. The second section of Chapter III contains the sample to be studied and includes the reasons for the analysis of this sample. The third section of Chapter III provides a description of the manner in which information extracted from this content analysis was coded. The fourth and final section of Chapter III lists the method in which the coded data was analyzed.

Chapter IV of this study describes the findings, limitations and venues for future research derived from this study. The findings include conclusions made as a result of
data analysis. The limitations of this study include factors that may have influenced or inhibited the research. The venues for future study explore new angles of research directly related to understanding and further analyzing gender stereotypes in children’s television programming.

This study examined the presence of gender stereotypes in Spanish-language television programming for children, both continuing and expanding the previous body of research that has focused on English-language television programming for children. Based on the findings of previous research, it was expected that male characters would exhibit more stereotypical male behavior and females would exhibit more stereotypical female behavior in Spanish-language children’s television programming, and that each sex would receive more positive consequences for exhibiting behavior stereotypically expected of that sex, and more negative consequences for exhibiting behavior stereotypically expected of the opposite sex.

Content analysis was utilized in this study, the goal of which was to identify and classify the number of gender stereotyped behaviors in children’s Spanish-language television programming aired on five Spanish-language networks in the United States. Each of the programs in the study was broken down and analyzed for both character demographics and character behaviors. Previous findings in content analyses of television programming and in child development research were used as a guide for gender stereotyping as each behavior was categorized as stereotypically “male” or “female” (Barner, 1999). Additionally, the consequences to character behaviors were scored as positive, negative, or as having no consequence.
CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This study examined the presence of gender stereotypes in Spanish-language television programming for children in order to further develop the existing body of research that has focused on English-language television programming for children. In preparation for this study, research gathered from previous studies along with new research were compared and analyzed in order to support the argument that television content is socially learned via the television medium, and that the media have a social responsibility to portray a representative picture of society, without resorting to stereotypes.

Before proceeding, it is important to reiterate the distinction between how the words sex and gender are intended throughout this study. Whereas sex refers to biological features that distinguish females from males, such as reproductive organs, gender refers to socio-psychological traits that typify females and males within a given culture (Chandler, 2003). Within any given culture, males and females are socialized to play distinct roles through learned behaviors. Gendered behaviors, therefore, are not inherently connected to a person’s sex, though they do dictate how men and women should act and dress, what activities they should participate in, and which professions they should hold, among many other things (Thomas, 1999).

In examining the stereotypical gendered behaviors of children’s programming in this study, eight behaviors from Barner’s (1999) study were used as a guide. Aggression, autonomy, construction, and dominance are traditionally male-gendered behaviors (Barner, 1999). Aggressive behaviors include behaviors that seek to assault
or injure purposively, to harm, blame, ridicule, or threaten a person (Barner, 1999).
Aggression also includes the use of sarcasm. Autonomous behaviors are behaviors in which a person resists influence or coercion, defies an authority, or seeks freedom (Barner, 1999). Autonomous behaviors strive for independence. Construction is to plan or carry out one’s own plans (Barner, 1999). Constructive behaviors include building and overcoming obstacles. Dominant behaviors influence or control others (Barner, 1999). Dominance is to persuade, prohibit, and dictate. Dominant behaviors also lead, direct, and restrain. Dominance also includes organizing the behavior of a group (Barner, 1999).

The four traditionally female-gendered behaviors are deference, dependence, harm avoidance, and nurturance (Barner, 1999). Deference is to follow the directions or example of a leader (Barner, 1999). Deferent behaviors include imitation and admiration. To compliment another is also a deferent behavior. Dependent behaviors include seeking aid or information to carry out a project (Barner, 1999). Dependence includes seeking protection or sympathy; it includes crying for help. Harm avoidance is the tendency to avoid physical pain or to flee or withdraw from injury (Barner, 1999). Harm avoidance includes “startle” or “fear” reactions. Nurturance is to nourish, aid, or protect another (Barner, 1999). Nurturing behavior also includes expressing sympathy.

As previously stated, this study is based on the argument that television content is socially learned via the television medium, and that the media have a social responsibility to portray a representative picture of society, without resorting to stereotypes. Therefore, within this review of literature, the following aspects will be
described and discussed in more detail: social responsibility theory of the media, socialization of children through television programming, and previous gender role and stereotype studies.

**Social Responsibility Theory of Media**

In the 20th century, the notion that the media must meet a social responsibility developed in the United States. Social responsibility theory evolved from media practitioners, media codes, and the work of the Commission on Freedom of the Press, otherwise known as the Hutchins Commission of 1947. The most widely known of the media’s social responsibilities is the “public’s right to know,” which has become a journalistic slogan (Christians, Tackler, Rotzoil & McKee, 1998). Social responsibility theory, though, also holds that while the media inform, entertain, and sell, they must also raise conflict to the plane of discussion (Severin & Tankard, 1992). The theory emphasizes freedom and holds that responsibility is a partner of freedom in institutional behavior, where codes of ethics are often encouraged as a self-regulatory device to promote social responsibility (Day, 1997). In regard to television, many believe that conducting business is not a right but a privilege granted by society; therefore, society has placed increasing demands on corporations to contribute to the correction of social ills. Under social responsibility theory, the media are controlled by community opinion, consumer action, professional ethics, and, in the case of broadcasting, governmental regulatory agencies due to technical limits on the number of channels or frequencies available (Day, 1997).
The social responsibility theory has spawned substantial discussion over who should see to it that the media act in a socially responsible manner and how decisions should be made as to what is or is not an essential opinion worthy of media space or time (Severin & Tankard, 1992). In 1942, Robert W. Hutchins, chancellor of the University of Chicago, was commissioned to study the future prospects of press freedom. Hutchins carried out this ambiguous assignment by appointing a panel of thirteen, which included several distinguished scholars, to examine the significant constitutional freedom held by the press and the social responsibility linked to this freedom (Severin & Tankard, 1992). The 1947 report issued by the Hutchins Commission, titled “A Free and Responsible Press,” challenged the press to use their considerable constitutional freedom in a socially responsible manner that would provide citizens with diverse sources of information, present a variety of opinions and attitudes, and clarify society’s goals and values (Bunton, 1998). Although the expression “social responsibility” was never mentioned in the Hutchins Commission report, it did identify five requirements of the media in contemporary society. One of the requirements was that the media project “a representative picture of the constituent groups in society (Severin & Tankard, 1992, p. 37).” This means that racial, social, and cultural groups should be depicted accurately, without resorting to stereotypes. Social responsibility requires an affirmative role for the media in building positive images, both in informational and entertainment content (Severin & Tankard, 1992).

Since its inception, television, along with its programming, has always been the target of vast criticism. One subject of criticism is that television is immoral for what,
who, and how it portrays people in society. Carroll addresses the moral significance of the television medium, concluding that neither the medium nor the image is inherently immoral; however, he does acknowledge the social irresponsibility in the systematic failure to educate people on how to properly use television (Kieran, 1998). Carroll’s position, then, largely diffuses the responsibility of what is projected from television content to the television audience.

One of three arguments Carroll focuses on is that of Realism. According to Realism theory, realistic imagery as presented by television leaves the impression that what it depicts is actually the case (Kieran, 1998). In 1982, the National Institute of Mental Health issued a report that reviewed the over 2,500 studies on television viewing available at the time. The report analyzed the effects of television on human development and behavior, and went on to state:

> In addition to socialization, television influences how people think about the world around them or what is sometimes called their conceptions of “social reality.” Studies have been carried out on the amount of fear and mistrust of other people, and on the prevalence of violence, sexism, family values, racial attitudes, illness in the population, criminal justice, and affluence. On the whole, it seems that television leads its viewers to have television influenced attitudes (Swan, p. 87).

The television image comes to be regarded as morally problematic in that the “world” that television offers viewers in a perceptually realistic way is, in fact, a distortion of society (Kieran, 1998, p. 139). Viewers are inclined to accept and internalize the attitudes, values, and behaviors portrayed on television.
Critics of television also believe that alongside perceptual realism comes another effect known as the naturalization effect (Kieran, 1998). Through the naturalization effect, the television image fills whatever it presents with the impression of being natural; the image is a representation of the way that things are and should be (Kieran, 1998). Therefore, the naturalization effect is thought to provoke viewers’ beliefs about the certainty of existing social relations and obstruct their recognition of alternatives to existing social arrangements. By means of perceptual racism, ethnic, racial, sexist, and heterosexist stereotypes are presented and naturalized, lending credibility to various unethical and oppressive social relations (Kieran, 1998).

Socialization of Children through Television Programming

Within a society, endorsement to adopt specific gender characteristics is promoted by the culture’s dominant models of male and female behavior and by the consequences people experience when they imitate these models. Conversely, discouragement is fostered by the punishment people suffer when copying disapproved models (Thomas, 1999). Social learning theorists hold that gender roles are learned by the same processes through which other kinds of social information are learned, such as through reinforcement and modeling (Bigler & Liben, 1992). Differential treatment of boys and girls begins at birth, through handling, clothing, and toys (Basow, 1992). During infancy, cultures often distinguish girls from boys in the colors selected for clothing and blankets, with the most common designation being pink for girls and blue for boys (Thomas, 1999). Children develop a sense of gender-linked behaviors very
early, as different behaviors are reinforced and modeled. Gender-linked behaviors have been detected by the end of the first year of life and are existent in most children by age two or three (Basow, 1992).

Modern social learning theory, developed by Rotter in the mid-1950s, made the assumption that behavior is goal-directed (Hogben & Byrne 1998). Rotter emphasized expectations of reward and perceived values of rewards as the basis for modeling one’s behavior on that of others (Hogben & Byrne, 1998). Further contributions to social learning theory by Bandura and Mischel add that the differing behaviors of males and females can best be explained in three terms: (a) classical conditioning involves the direct approval or disapproval of certain gendered behaviors; (b) operant conditioning involves the molding of behaviors by more indirect rewards and punishments; (c) and modeling directs children on how to behave through the observation and imitation of others (Lippa, 2002).

Social learning in childhood is the process of learning personality and behavior patterns through the imitation of role model’s behaviors (Smith, 1994). Albert Bandura’s (1977) social learning theory emphasizes that most of children’s learning results from their actively imitating what they see or hear other people say and do. Imitation can be direct, as when a child personally witnesses another’s behavior, or it can be indirect, as when a child implements actions depicted in either fiction or non-fiction as presented in books, television programs, theatre and other media (Thomas, 1999). Bandura’s social learning theory maintains that the media offer many models on which to imitate depicted behavior (Larson, 2001).
According to Bandura's (1977) social learning theory, principal variables of modeling include: (a) goals the child hopes to achieve, (b) the availability of models who are apparently attempting to reach similar goals, (c) the methods that such models employ, (d) the capability of the child to copy the model's behavior, and (e) the consequences the child experiences when employing the modeled actions on his or her own life. The actual process of learning from models, such as the models readily available in children's television programming, consists of five main functions: (1) focusing on the model, (2) coding the model's actions so as to place the results in memory, (3) retaining the results in memory, and (4) carrying out the remembered material in actions. The final function, (5) motivation, is required by the preceding four steps and is influenced by the consequences experienced by the observed model and by the child himself or herself when attempting the action (Thomas, 1999).

Children, too young to make educated television choices, face unfair exposure to bias and oppressive social relations. Information on gender differences and children found on DrSpock.com states that “children develop best when their individual strengths and interests are nurtured (Spock, 2002).” Gender stereotypes are considered by Spock to be harmful to children because they do not allow parents and teachers to recognize and support individual strengths (Spock, 2002). Such vulnerability on the part of children explains the designation of “children and television” as a specific topic for political and intellectual concern (Alexander, 2003).

If the social irresponsibility associated with television falls upon the failure to educate people about how to use it, at what age can a television viewer be expected to
make such educated choices and judgments? While social learning theory in its broadest application seeks to explain how people acquire all sorts of beliefs and behaviors, the focus offered here is limited to explaining how children and youths acquire their gender traits through the socialization offered via television programming (Alexander, 2003).

Television provides all people with a window to the larger outside world, but when it comes to children, the view through that window has a much larger influence. The reason that this influence is so much larger is because children’s individual worlds are so constricted, their experiences so limited, and their perceptions of social reality so plastic (Swan, 1998). Young children tend to think that everything they see on television is “real” since they do not have preconceived notions about society and its workings, nor experience against which to test televised workings of these (Swan, 1998).

According to Strasburger (2002), the media, namely television, represent the single most important amendable and neglected influence on children and adolescents. American children and adolescents spend nearly 30 hours per week viewing television, more time than any other activity except for sleeping (Strasburger, 2002). Interestingly, despite the fact that boys are more likely to have a television set in their rooms, boys and girls watch similar amounts of television (Livingstone & Bovill, 2001). For children, television signifies the real world and gives secret glimpses of teenage and adult behavior, as performed by attractive role models. This role-modeling aspect of television is vital to understanding its influence (Strasburger, 2002). Contrary to popular belief, however, children rarely imitate what they see in the media immediately and directly.
Strasburger notes the idea that television puts forth a far more subtle and insidious effect by shaping viewers’ attitudes and perception of social norms. This idea is called the “stalagmite effect”, whereby cognitive deposits build up almost imperceptibly from the “drip-drip-drip of television’s electronic limewater” (Strasburger, 2002). This concept falls much in line with the ideas presented within the social learning theory.

The television industry’s response offers an ethical reasoning that diffuses the responsibility of what is projected from television content to the television audience. The industry claims that it merely gives the American public what it demands and that parents have the responsibility to guide their children’s viewing. Although parents do indeed have a responsibility to monitor their children’s viewing content and habits, the industry also holds a responsibility to produce high-quality, entertaining, socially-conscious programming for children (Strasburger, 2002). Wallner, in her analysis of gender role stereotyping in the Nickelodeon network’s programming, cites research performed by Thompson and Zerbinos (1997). Thompson and Zerbinos state (1997), “Network executives have said that boys outnumber girls in the two to eleven year old audience on Saturday morning. If a show is to be successful, they say, it must appeal to boys, who will not watch shows that have girls as lead characters although girls will watch programs with male leads (Wallner, 2003).” Such reasoning by network executives would explain why many of the studies cited within this research have found a large number of television shows and advertising aimed at children to largely favor a masculine perspective.
Gender Role and Stereotype Studies

A number of studies have focused on the gender roles presented in both television programming and television advertisements aimed at children (Alexander, 2003; Barner, 1999; Browne, 1998; Chandler & Griffiths, 2000; Hochbaum, 1999; Johnson & Young, 2001; Larson, 2001; Leaper, et al., 2002; Smith, 1994; Swan, 1998; Williams, LaRose & Frost, 1981). A study by Smith (1994) examined gender differences in children’s advertising. In this study, Smith found that advertisements indeed exhibited stereotyped behavior for traditional gender roles. The most sexually stereotypical variable studied was that advertisers placed boys in settings outside their homes much more often. Girls were placed in home settings over 70% of the time and they were far more limited in their movements (Smith, 1994). Smith also found that advertisers positioned many gender neutral products toward the male viewing audience and either used only boys or both boys and girls in such advertisements; no “neutral” advertisements used only girls (Smith, 1994). Johnson and Young (2001) found in samples from 1996, 1997, and 1999 that ads for boy-oriented toys contained more verb elements emphasizing action, competition and destruction, and agency and control; girl-oriented ads contained more verb elements emphasizing passivity, feelings and nurturing. Additionally, advertisements for boy-oriented toys outnumbered those intended for girls, and the voice-overs for boy-oriented ads were exclusively male, while the voice-overs for girl-oriented ads were mostly female (Johnson & Young, 2001). A unique study by Chandler and Griffiths (2000) focused on the production aspect of children’s television ads. Their research found that cutting rates in boys’ ads were much
faster when compared to girls’ ads, suggesting that cutting rates are typed as stereotypically masculine. The term cut refers to the clean break dividing shots via different viewpoints or locations. Chandler and Griffiths also found that boys ads used low angle shots more than girls ads, and that they used level shots less. Low shots are typically interpreted as suggesting greater power in what is depicted: we literally look up to people who are portrayed in this way (Chandler & Griffiths, 2000). Additionally, Chandler and Griffiths found that there were no female voice-overs in the ads aimed at boys in their sample. Some male voice-overs were used for girls, and more male than female voice-overs were used for mixed audiences. Overall, studies focusing on gender roles and stereotypes in children’s advertisements find children in generally traditional sex roles.

The findings from studies focusing on children’s television programming are quite similar. A study by Powell and Abels (2002) focused on the PBS shows Teletubbies and Barney & Friends and concluded that gendered messages and behavior were present in preschool television programming. Powell and Abels (2002) found that female characters were followers a majority of the time, appeared feminine, were underrepresented in a variety of occupations and played feminine roles. The male characters were the leaders, appeared in a variety of masculine occupations and roles, and were larger and stereotypically male in appearance (Powell & Abels, 2002). Out of eight themes that Powell and Abels (2002) focused on in their 20 episode sample, the themes of leadership, appearance, gendered roles, occupations, and play roles were significantly gendered.
A 2002 study by Leaper, Breed, Hoffman, and Perlman examined the gender stereotyped content of children's TV network cartoons across four genres: traditional adventure (i.e., Batman), nontraditional adventure (i.e., Sailor Moon), educational/family (i.e., The Magic School Bus), and comedy (i.e., Anamaniacs). Male characters significantly outnumbered female characters in the traditional adventure and comedy genres, supporting the "man's world" message commonly found in children's cartoons (Leaper, et al., 2002). The study also found that male and female characters were depicted in a highly stereotyped manner across cartoon genres. Men or boys demonstrated higher rates of physical aggression with one another than did women or girls. Male characters also tended to be the victims of other male aggressive acts. Female characters showed more fear, were more supportive and polite, and they demonstrated more signs of romance than did male characters (Leaper, et al., 2002).

Finally, a study by Barner (1999) examined sex-role stereotyping within FCC-mandated children's educational programming, which in August 1996 was defined as "any television programming that furthers the educational and informational needs of children 16 years of age and under in any respect, including children's intellectual/cognitive and social/emotional needs" aired for three hours as a regularly scheduled, weekly program of at least 30 minutes between 7:00 a.m. and 10:00 p.m. (Barner, 1999). Although the ratio of male to female characters was not statistically significant, Barner measured the number of behaviors per scene for major characters and found that major male characters averaged 2.1 behaviors per scene while major female characters averaged 1.5 behaviors per scene (Barner, 1999). Other key findings
of this study were that the typical male character made and carried out plans, was active, dominant, aggressive, and sought attention, while the typical female was dependent, deferent, and nurturing. Barner also sought to measure the number of positive and negative consequences for individual behaviors; however, the numbers were too low for statistical analysis. Statistical significance was realized when the summed behavioral consequences were analyzed. Male characters were significantly more likely to receive some consequence (whether positive or negative) for their behavior, while female characters tended to receive no consequence for their behavior (Barner, 1999). Barner’s findings, like previous findings, are somewhat disconcerting considering that he focused on FCC-mandated educational programming.

Research Questions

Based on the preceding research, the research questions and hypotheses for this study were as follows:

RQ1: Will male characters outnumber female characters in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?

RQ2: Will male characters exhibit more stereotypical male behavior than female characters in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?

RQ2-1: Will male characters exhibit more aggressive behavior than female characters in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?
RQ2-2: Will male characters exhibit more autonomous behavior than female characters in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?

RQ2-3: Will male characters exhibit more constructive behavior than female characters in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?

RQ2-4: Will male characters exhibit more dominant behavior than female characters in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?

RQ3: Will female characters exhibit more stereotypical female behavior than male characters in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?

RQ3-1: Will female characters exhibit more deferent behavior than male characters in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?

RQ3-2: Will female characters exhibit more dependent behavior than male characters in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?

RQ3-3: Will female characters exhibit more harm avoidant behavior than male characters in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?
RQ3-4: Will female characters exhibit more nurturing behavior than male characters in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?

RQ4: Will male characters and female characters experience consequences that reinforce stereotypical behaviors in Spanish language television programming for children?

RQ4-1: Will male characters experience more positive consequences than female characters for exhibiting the four male behaviors in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?

RQ4-2: Will male characters experience more negative consequences than female characters for exhibiting the four female behaviors in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?

RQ4-3: Will female characters experience more positive consequences than male characters for exhibiting the four female behaviors in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?

RQ4-4: Will female characters experience more negative consequences than male characters for exhibiting the four male behaviors in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?

RQ5: Will male characters or female characters experience more total consequences for all behaviors in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?
CHAPTER III: METHOD

The purpose of this study was to examine the presence of gender stereotypes in Spanish-language television programming for children, and content analysis was the research method utilized in this study, following the example set by numerous studies that have analyzed English-language programming in the United States (Barner, 1999; Chandler & Griffiths, 2000; Larson, 2001; Leaper, et al., 2002; Powell & Abels, 2002; Smith, 1994). Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication processes. The goal of this method was to identify and assess the most recurrent and stable patterns in characters’ social behaviors in children’s Spanish-language television programming aired in the United States. Saturday mornings constituted the focus of this study, as Saturday morning has traditionally been the only block of programming time devoted exclusively to children in the United States. If television is such a major socializing agent of American children, then Saturday morning cartoons/programs represent at least one of the primary texts for their social learning (Swan, 1998). 40 episodes from five Spanish-language networks aired in the United States constituted the research sample. Five main research questions were presented, dealing with the presence of male and female characters, their social behaviors, and the consequences to those behaviors.

One of the requirements of the social responsibility theory is that the media project “a representative picture of the constituent groups in society” (Severin & Tankard, 1992, p. 37). Much of the current research on the topic cited a need for more
research of this sort, both to replicate and expand the existing findings that illustrate a lack of social responsibility in producing gender equitable programming. This lack of social responsibility in the portrayal of gender roles to children can be argued to be unethical, as several experts and researchers in the field have found that stereotypical gender roles warp a child’s sense of worth and self due to a lack of support of a child’s individual strengths and interests. The Handbook of Children and the Media (2001) calls for updated content analyses to continue to monitor media representations of gender, race, class, occupation, sexuality, etc. Through such research, researchers hope to prompt action for more gender equitable programming, and perhaps even advertising, aimed at children so as to socialize children in less stereotypical ways.

Sample

Taking the above criteria into consideration, this study aimed to replicate the findings of previous research in the field, most notably the studies conducted by Powell and Abels (2002) that analyzed Teletubbies and Barney & Friends and Barner (1999) that studied shows including: Saved by the Bell—The New Class, Hang Time, California Dreams, Sweet Valley High, Bobby’s World, The New Adventures of Doug, and Ghostwriter. This study brought an additional issue into analysis, as Spanish-language children’s programming targeted at Spanish-speaking Hispanics in the United States was studied. It was expected for the findings on Spanish-language children’s television programming to remain consistent with previous research on English-language television programming for children.
The five Spanish-language networks available on the basic tier of Time Warner Cable (Univision, Telefutura, TV Azteca, Telemundo, & Televiisa) were utilized to obtain the sample. Programming from 6:00am-11:00am on four continuous Saturdays in the fall of 2004 was recorded for all of the five networks, and children’s programming falling within that time slot was analyzed. Nine shows from three networks were extracted from the programming sample for a total of 40 episodes: *Complices al Rescate*, produced in Mexico, aired on Univision from 7:30-8:30am; *Dora la Exploradora*, produced in the U.S., aired on Telemundo from 8:00-8:30am and 8:30-9:00am; *El Abuelo Y Yo*, produced in Mexico, aired on Telefutura from 6:00-7:00am; *El Lagartijo de Ned*, produced in the U.S., aired on Telefutura from 7:00-7:30am; *Plaza Sesamo*, produced in Mexico, aired on Telefutura from 7:30-8:00am; *Bob el Constructor*, produced in the United Kingdom, aired on Telefutura from 8:30-9:00am; *Los Conejitos Torpes*, produced in Canada, aired on Telefutura from 9:00-9:30am; *Cuentos de la Cripta*, produced in the U.S., aired on Telefutura from 9:30-10:00am; and *Academia de Gladiadores*, produced in Spain, aired on Telefutura from 10:00-10:30am.

**Coding**

Each of the programs in the sample was broken down and analyzed for both character demographics and character behaviors. Each speaking character was coded for sex, whether they were a major or minor character in the program, role status (hero, villain, or neutral), ethnicity, age, job status, social class, marital status, children, dress, body shape, eye color, skin color, and hair color (see Appendix A).
Eight categories of behavior were scored: (a) aggression – to assault or injure purposively; to harm, blame, ridicule, threaten, or use sarcasm; (b) autonomy – to resist influence or coercion; to defy an authority or seek freedom; to strive for independence; (c) construction – to plan and/or carry out one’s own plans; to build, to overcome an obstacle; (d) deference – to follow directions or example of leader; to imitate; to admire or compliment; (e) dependence – to seek aid, protection, sympathy, or information to carry out a project; to cry for help; to be dependent; (f) dominance – to influence or control others; to persuade, prohibit, dictate; to lead, direct, restrain; to organize the behavior of a group; (g) harm avoidance – tendency to avoid physical pain; to withdraw or flee from injury; includes “startle” or “fear” reactions; (h) nurturance – to nourish, aid, or protect another; to express sympathy (Barner, 1999; Sternglanz & Serbin, 1974) (see Appendix B).

The consistency of previous findings in content analyses of television programming and in child development research (Barner, 1999; Sternglanz & Serbin, 1974) were used as a guide for gender stereotyping as each behavior was categorized as stereotypically “male” or “female.” Therefore, in this study, construction, dominance, aggression, and autonomy were considered “male” behaviors, while deference, harm avoidance, dependence, and nurturance were considered “female” behaviors (Barner, 1999; Sternglanz & Serbin, 1974). Additionally, the consequences to any of the above behaviors were scored as positive or negative. If a character was rewarded for exhibiting a specific behavior, if a character benefited from a behavior, or the outcome of the behavior was what the character intended, the consequence was coded as
“positive.” If a character was punished or ridiculed for exhibiting a specific behavior, it was coded as “negative.” If there was no apparent consequence to a behavior, it was coded as “no consequence” (Barner, 1999; Sternglanz & Serbin, 1974) (See Appendix B).

Reliability

In following with Barner’s (1999) study involving sex-role stereotyping in FCC-mandated children’s educational television, and Powell & Abels’ (2002) study of Teletubbies and Barney & Friends, two coders (the 25-year old male author and a trained 20-year old female assistant) were trained on the above coding scheme by discussing the coding instrument, coding a sample episode, and comparing results. A post-coding session was utilized to discuss discrepancies in the coding and/or to revise the coding sheets. This procedure was repeated for four total episodes that were not included in this study.

The total number (n=40) of episodes gathered within the sampling frame was then divided, and each coder independently coded his/her share of episodes. After the completion of the general coding process, each coder, working alone and without access to the initial coding decisions, recoded two randomly selected episodes originally completed by the other coder. These four episodes were used to establish an intercoder agreement rate of 82.5 percent. No significant differences were found to exist on a recurring basis.
Instrumentation

The character demographic coding sheet contained 15 demographic questions, and one sheet was completed for each character that engaged in any dialogue or significant activity affecting the action of the episode. Characters appearing more than once over the four week programming period were not re-coded, however, categories previously coded as “indeterminate” were changed as information became available through new episodes.

The character behavior coding sheet contained eight sections, one for each behavior. One mark was indicated for each separate behavior, indicating the sex of the initiator, and the consequence of the behavior. One sheet was completed for each episode.

Findings

The Statistical Program for Social Sciences, version 15.0 (SPSS 15.0) was used to analyze the data. Due to the categorical nature of the data, demographics data was analyzed for statistical significance using the Chi-square test for independence and the Chi-square test for goodness of fit in evaluating statistical significance in the sex of characters. Statistical significance was realized in 7 of 15 demographic categories in the character demographics coding sheet (See Appendix A). In regard to ethnicity, female characters were more likely than male characters to be categorized as “mestizo” ($X^2=8.79$, df=1/312, $p < 0.05$). With age, female characters were more likely than male characters to be categorized as “20-34 years” ($X^2=4.73$, df=1/312, $p < 0.05$) and male
characters were more likely than female characters to be categorized as “indeterminate” ($X^2=8.97$, df=1/312, $p < 0.05$). Regarding social groups, female characters were much more likely than male characters to be categorized as “middle class” ($X^2=24.41$, df=1/312, $p < 0.05$); male characters were more likely than female characters to be categorized as “lower class” ($X^2=4.72$, df=1/312, $p < 0.05$); and male characters were much more likely than female characters to be categorized as “indeterminate” ($X^2=15.95$, df=1/312, $p < 0.05$). Female characters were more likely than male characters to be categorized as having “children” ($X^2=6.63$, df=1/312, $p < 0.05$). In regard to eye color, female characters were more likely than male characters to be categorized as having “blue/violet” eyes ($X^2=11.85$, df=1/312, $p < 0.05$). Finally, regarding hair color, female characters were more likely than male characters to be classified as having “red” hair ($X^2=8.68$, df=1/312, $p < 0.05$) and “blonde” hair ($X^2=15.06$, df=1/312, $p < 0.05$). Male characters were more likely than female characters to be classified as “bald” ($X^2=19.36$, df=1/312, $p < 0.05$).

Character behaviors and the consequences to those behaviors were analyzed for statistical significance using the Chi-square test for independence as well. The Chi-square statistic is large when the difference between the empirical and theoretical cell frequencies is large, and small when the empirically obtained data more closely resemble the pattern of the null relationship.

**RQ1:** Will male characters outnumber female characters in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?
Character demographics were analyzed for the proportion of male ($n_1$) to female ($n_2$) characters in children’s programs to determine the representation of characters by sex using question 1 of the character demographics coding sheet (See Appendix A). In 40 episodes of Spanish language television programming for children aired in the U.S., male characters outnumbered female characters 207 to 105, or 66.3% to 33.7% (See Figure 1).

A Chi-square test for goodness of fit was conducted to determine the statistical significance in the difference between the number of male and female characters in these programs. The Chi-square test supported that male characters outnumbered female characters in the Spanish language programs ($X^2=33.35$, df=1/312, $p < 0.05$).

Research questions 2-1 through 2-4 and 3-1 through 3-4 varied in statistical significance. Figure 2 illustrates the breakdown by percentage of both male and female character behaviors. The table breaks down all behaviors for each sex by the percentage of each behavior in relation to that sex’s total behaviors. For example,
aggressive behavior represents 17.9% of all behaviors for male characters, autonomous behavior 4.5%, and so on.

Out of the four traditionally male behaviors, Aggression (Agg), Autonomy (Aut) and Construction (Con) constituted a larger percentage of total behaviors for male characters than for female characters. Out of the four traditionally female behaviors, Dependence (Dep) and Nurturance (Nur) constituted a larger percentage of total behaviors for female characters than for male characters. Dominance (Dom), a male behavior, constituted a larger percentage of total behaviors for female characters than male characters. Deference (Def) and Harm Avoidance (Hav), female behaviors, constituted a larger percentage of total behaviors for male characters than female characters.

**RQ2-1:** Will male characters exhibit more aggressive behavior than female characters in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?
Aggressive behaviors were analyzed using questions 1 and 2 of the character behaviors coding sheet (See Appendix B). Male characters exhibited aggressive behavior 131 times out of a total of 731 observed behaviors in the 40 episode sample. This means that aggressive behavior accounted for 17.9% of behaviors observed for male characters. Female characters exhibited aggressive behavior 69 times out of a total of 563 observed behaviors in the 40 episode sample. This means that aggressive behavior accounted for 12.3% of behaviors observed for female characters. When compared with each other, male characters accounted for 65.5% of all aggressive behavior observed, while female characters accounted for 34.5% of all aggressive behavior observed (See Figure 3).

![Pie chart showing percentage of all aggressive behavior](image)

**Figure 3.** Percentage of all observed aggressive behavior.

A Chi-square test for independence was conducted to determine whether the distribution of aggressive behavior for males and females is significantly different in these programs. The Chi-square test supported that male characters exhibited significantly more aggressive behavior than female characters ($\chi^2=19.22$, df=1/200, $p < 0.05$).
Out of the nine television shows extracted from the sampling frame, two shows contain heavily male casts. *Academia de Gladiadores*, a heavily male cast show, contained many aggressive behaviors in the form of fighting and combat among the mostly male gladiators. *Bob el Constructor* dealt with construction and several male construction vehicles that were constantly ridiculed by a male scarecrow. *Dora la Exploradora* regularly found herself at odds with her nemesis, a male fox. *Cuentos de la Cripta* involved a male narrator that usually performed aggressive acts during the introductions and conclusions to each story. Therefore, with male characters in several recurring roles as villains or warriors, aggressive behaviors occurred more often with male characters.

**RQ2-2:**

Will male characters exhibit more autonomous behavior than female characters in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?

Autonomous behaviors were analyzed using questions 3 and 4 of the character behaviors coding sheet (See Appendix B). Male characters exhibited autonomous behavior 33 times out of a total of 731 observed behaviors in the 40 episode sample. This means that autonomous behavior accounted for 4.5% of behaviors observed for male characters. Female characters exhibited autonomous behavior 23 times out of a total of 563 observed behaviors in the 40 episode sample. This means that autonomous behavior accounted for 4.1% of behaviors observed for female characters. When compared with each other, male characters accounted for 58.9% of all autonomous
behavior observed, while female characters accounted for 41.1% of all autonomous behavior observed (See Figure 4).

![% of all Autonomous Behavior](image)

Figure 4. Percentage of all observed autonomous behavior.

A Chi-square test for independence was conducted to determine whether the distribution of autonomous behavior among males and females is significantly different in these programs. The Chi-square test did not support that male characters exhibited significantly more autonomous behavior than female characters ($X^2=1.786$, df=1/56, $p > 0.05$).

*Dora la Exploradora* was a great source of autonomy for female characters within the sample. Given that the nature of an explorer is one of autonomy, each episode of *Dora* produced several female autonomous behaviors. And with eight *Dora* episodes falling within the sampling frame, this show had twice as much representation in regard to time as the rest of the shows, with the exception of *Complices al Rescate* and *El Abuelo y Yo*, which are one hour programs. Therefore, due to the nature of and time length of *Dora la Exploradora*, autonomous behaviors may have appeared to have been more evenly distributed than they really were.
RQ 2-3:
Will male characters exhibit more constructive behavior than female characters in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?

Constructive behaviors were analyzed using questions 5 and 6 of the character behaviors coding sheet (See Appendix B). Male characters exhibited constructive behavior 97 times out of a total of 731 observed behaviors in the 40 episode sample. This means that constructive behavior accounted for 13.3% of behaviors observed for male characters. Female characters exhibited constructive behavior 70 times out of a total of 563 observed behaviors in the 40 episode sample. This means that constructive behavior accounted for 12.4% of behaviors observed for female characters. When compared with each other, male characters accounted for 58.1% of all constructive behavior observed, while female characters accounted for 41.9% of all constructive behavior observed (See Figure 5).

![Pie chart showing percentage of constructive behavior by gender](image)

Figure 5. Percentage of all observed constructive behavior.
A Chi-square test for independence was conducted to determine whether the distribution of constructive behavior among males and females is significantly different in these programs. The Chi-square test supported that male characters exhibited significantly more constructive behavior than female characters ($\chi^2=4.36, \text{df}=1/167, p < 0.05$).

Across the sample, only Dora from *Dora la Exploradora* and Bob from *Bob el Constructor* stood out as consistently exhibiting constructive behavior. Ensemble casts from *Complices al Rescate, Plaza Sesamo, Los Conejitos Torpes, Cuentos de la Cripta,* and even *El Abuelo y Yo* had a seemingly even distribution of constructive behavior within their storylines.

**RQ 2-4:**

Will male characters exhibit more dominant behavior than female characters in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?

Dominant behaviors were analyzed using questions 11 and 12 of the character behaviors coding sheet (See Appendix B). Male characters exhibited dominant behavior 90 times out of a total of 731 observed behaviors in the 40 episode sample. This means that dominant behavior accounted for 12.3% of behaviors observed for male characters. Female characters exhibited dominant behavior 103 times out of a total of 563 observed behaviors in the 40 episode sample. This means that dominant behavior accounted for 18.3% of behaviors observed for female characters. When compared with each other,
male characters accounted for 46.6% of all dominant behavior observed, while female characters accounted for 53.4% of all dominant behavior observed (See Figure 6).

![Percentage of all Dominant Behavior](image)

**Figure 6.** Percentage of all observed dominant behavior.

A Chi-square test for independence was conducted to determine whether the distribution of dominant behavior among males and females is significantly different in these programs. The Chi-square test did not support that male characters exhibited significantly more dominant behavior than female characters ($X^2 = .876, df = 1/193, p > 0.05$).

Although the heavily male populated sample included several main male characters, including a very dominant Bob in *Bob el Constructor*, it seems the nature of *Dora la Exploradora* may have effectively balanced the entire sample in dominant behaviors due to repetitive directions from Dora to not only other characters within the program, but also to viewers watching at home. Dora many times gave the viewer instructions in regard to figuring out clues or puzzles within the program. Each time Dora gave such instructions, she repeated these instructions or directions several times, each of which counted as a separate act of dominance. This, along with a possibly
much more even distribution of dominant behaviors among the rest of the sample, could help explain the lack of statistical significance for Hypothesis 2d.

RQ 3-1:
Will female characters exhibit more deferent behavior than male characters in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?

Deferent behaviors were analyzed using questions 7 and 8 of the character behaviors coding sheet (See Appendix B). Male characters exhibited deferent behavior 110 times out of a total of 731 observed behaviors in the 40 episode sample. This means that deferent behavior accounted for 15.0% of behaviors observed for male characters. Female characters exhibited deferent behavior 61 times out of a total of 563 observed behaviors in the 40 episode sample. This means that deferent behavior accounted for 10.8% of behaviors observed for female characters. When compared with each other, male characters accounted for 64.3% of all deferent behavior observed, while female characters accounted for 35.7% of all deferent behavior observed (See Figure 7).
A Chi-square test for independence was conducted to determine whether the distribution of deferent behavior among males and females is significantly different. The Chi-square test did not support that female characters exhibited significantly more deferent behavior than male characters, but did support that male characters exhibited significantly more deferent behavior than female characters ($X^2=14.04$, df=1/171, $p < 0.05$).

*Academia de Gladiadores*, with its wealth of male characters, often placed the entire team of gladiators in a position in which they deferred to the direction of a single character. With only one female and several males, each instance drove up deferent behaviors for males. This occurred to a greater degree with *Bob el Constructor*. Bob and his female companion Wendy consistently gave out directions for his male fleet of vehicles to follow. As with *Gladiadores*, each instance drove up the numbers for male deference.
RQ 3-2:

Will female characters exhibit more dependent behavior than male characters in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?

Dependent behaviors were analyzed using questions 9 and 10 of the character behaviors coding sheet (See Appendix B). Male characters exhibited dependent behavior 86 times out of a total of 731 observed behaviors in the 40 episode sample. This means that dependent behavior accounted for 11.8% of behaviors observed for male characters. Female characters exhibited dependent behavior 110 times out of a total of 563 observed behaviors in the 40 episode sample. This means that dependent behavior accounted for 19.5% of behaviors observed for female characters. When compared with each other, male characters accounted for 43.9% of all dependent behavior observed, while female characters accounted for 56.1% of all dependent behavior observed (See Figure 8).

![Figure 8. Percentage of all observed dependent behavior.](image-url)
A Chi-square test for independence was conducted to determine whether the distribution of dependent behavior among males and females is significantly different. The Chi-square test did not support that female characters exhibited significantly more dependent behavior than male characters ($X^2=2.94, \text{df}=1/196, p > 0.05$).

Although *Academia de Gladiadores* provided a good number of damsels in distress for the team of gladiators to rescue, and *El Abuelo y Yo* presented a main female character to contrast the main male lead that provided many dependent behaviors, the all male fleet of *Bob el Constructor* and mostly male team in *Academia de Gladiadores* consistently depended on actions or instructions from others in order to accomplish their tasks. As is the case with deferent behavior, dependent behaviors seem balanced as a result of a greater percentage of male characters in general, thus rejecting Hypothesis 3b.

**RQ 3-3:**

Will female characters exhibit more harm avoidant behavior than male characters in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?

Harm avoidant behaviors were analyzed using questions 13 and 14 of the character behaviors coding sheet (See Appendix B). Male characters exhibited harm avoidant behavior 124 times out of a total of 731 observed behaviors in the 40 episode sample. This means that harm avoidant behavior accounted for 17.0% of behaviors observed for male characters. Female characters exhibited harm avoidant behavior 53 times out of a total of 563 observed behaviors in the 40 episode sample. This means
that harm avoidant behavior accounted for 9.4% of behaviors observed for female characters. When compared with each other, male characters accounted for 70.1% of all harm avoidant behavior observed, while female characters accounted for 29.9% of all harm avoidant behavior observed (See Figure 9).

![Diagram showing percentage of harm avoidant behavior by gender]

A Chi-square test for independence was conducted to determine whether the distribution of harm avoidant behavior is significantly different. The Chi-square test did not support that female characters exhibited significantly more harm avoidant behavior than male characters, but did support that male characters exhibited significantly more harm avoidant behavior than female characters ($X^2=28.48$, df=1/177, $p < 0.05$).

*El Abuelo y Yo* provided many instances in which males exhibited harm avoidant reactions as the main character and his grandfather were constantly being pursued by kidnappers. *Bob el Constructor* also provided many of these reactions because the mostly male cast many times fled from harm when something went wrong in construction projects. Also, *Cuentos de la Cripta* contained several story lines in which
males were the characters that were often the victims of supernatural pursuit. Therefore, while the statistics proved to be surprising in terms of previous research conducted, the sample of this study gave plenty of examples to the contrary.

**RQ 3-4:**

Will female characters exhibit more nurturing behavior than male characters in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?

Nurturing behaviors were analyzed using questions 15 and 16 of the character behaviors coding sheet (See Appendix B). Male characters exhibited nurturing behavior 60 times out of a total of 731 observed behaviors in the 40 episode sample. This means that nurturing behavior accounted for 8.2% of behaviors observed for male characters. Female characters exhibited nurturing behavior 74 times out of a total of 563 observed behaviors in the 40 episode sample. This means that nurturing behavior accounted for 13.1% of behaviors observed for female characters. When compared with each other, male characters accounted for 44.8% of all nurturing behavior observed, while female characters accounted for 55.2% of all nurturing behavior observed (See Figure 10).

![Figure 10. Percentage of all observed nurturing behavior.](chart.png)
A Chi-square test for independence was conducted to determine whether the distribution of nurturing behavior is significantly different. The Chi-square test did not support that female characters exhibited significantly more nurturing behavior than male characters ($X^2=1.46, \text{df}=1/134, p > 0.05$).

Both *Complices al Rescate* and *El Abuelo y Yo*, with their large and diverse casts, provided several maternal and paternal figures that comforted and nurtured the characters around them. Wendy from *Bob el Constructor* also nurtured the many males around her as did the mother figures in *Los Conejitos Torpes* and *El Lagartijo de Ned*. As expected from previous research, children’s programming still often places mothers and motherly figures in nurturing, maternal roles, however the data collected from the sample was not statistically significant.

**RQ 4-1**

Will male characters experience more positive consequences than female characters for exhibiting the four traditionally male behaviors in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?

Positive consequences for the four traditionally male behaviors were analyzed using questions 1a, 2a, 3a, 4a, 5a, 6a, 11a and 12a of the character behaviors coding sheet (See Appendix B). Male characters experienced positive consequences for exhibiting the four traditionally male behaviors 280 times out of a total of 351 observed male behaviors by males in the 40 episode sample. This means that positive consequences for male behaviors accounted for 79.8% of consequences experienced
for male characters exhibiting male behaviors. Female characters experienced positive consequences for exhibiting the traditionally four male behaviors 169 times out of a total of 265 observed male behaviors by females in the 40 episode sample. This means that positive consequences accounted for 63.8% of consequences experienced for female characters exhibiting male behaviors. When compared with each other, male characters accounted for 62.4% of all positive consequences for male behaviors, while female characters accounted for 37.6% of all positive consequences for male behaviors (See Figure 11).

![Pie chart showing the percentage of positive consequences for male behavior among males and females.](image)

Figure 21. Percentage of all observed positive consequences for male behaviors.

A Chi-square test for independence was conducted to determine whether the distribution of positive consequences for male behaviors among males and females is significantly different. The Chi-square test supported that male characters experienced significantly more positive consequences for exhibiting male behaviors than female characters ($X^2=27.44$, df=1/449, $p < 0.05$).
RQ 4-2

Will male characters experience more negative consequences than female characters for exhibiting the four traditionally female behaviors in Spanish language television programming for children?

Negative consequences for the four traditionally female behaviors were analyzed using questions 7b, 8b, 9b, 10b, 13b, 14b, 15b and 16b of the character behaviors coding sheet (See Appendix B). Male characters experienced negative consequences for exhibiting the four traditionally female behaviors 75 times out of a total of 380 observed female behaviors by males in the 40 episode sample. This means that negative consequences for female behaviors accounted for 19.7% of consequences experienced for male characters exhibiting female behaviors. Female characters experienced negative consequences for exhibiting the traditionally four female behaviors 12 times out of a total of 298 observed female behaviors by females in the 40 episode sample. This means that negative consequences accounted for 4.0% of consequences experienced for female characters exhibiting female behaviors. When compared with each other, male characters accounted for 86.2% of all negative consequences for female behaviors, while female characters accounted for 13.8% of all negative consequences for female behaviors (See Figure 12).
A Chi-square test for independence was conducted to determine whether the distribution of negative consequences for female behaviors among males and females is significantly different. The Chi-square test supported that male characters experienced significantly more negative consequences for exhibiting female behaviors than female characters ($X^2=45.62$, df=1/87, $p < 0.05$).

**RQ 4-3**

Will female characters experience more positive consequences than male characters for exhibiting the four traditionally female behaviors in Spanish language television programming for children?

Positive consequences for the four traditionally female behaviors were analyzed using questions 7a, 8a, 9a, 10a, 13a, 14a, 15a and 16a of the character behaviors coding sheet (See Appendix B). Male characters experienced positive consequences for exhibiting the four traditionally female behaviors 234 times out of a total of 380
observed female behaviors by males in the 40 episode sample. This means that positive consequences for female behaviors accounted for 61.6% of consequences experienced for male characters exhibiting female behaviors. Female characters experienced positive consequences for exhibiting the traditionally four female behaviors 209 times out of a total of 298 observed female behaviors by females in the 40 episode sample. This means that positive consequences accounted for 70.1% of consequences experienced for female characters exhibiting female behaviors. When compared with each other, male characters accounted for 52.8% of all positive consequences for female behaviors, while female characters accounted for 47.2% of all positive consequences for female behaviors (See Figure 13).

![Figure 43. Percentage of all observed positive consequences for female behaviors.](image)

A Chi-square test for independence was conducted to determine whether the distribution of positive consequences for female behaviors among males and females is significantly different. The Chi-square test did not support that female characters
experienced significantly more positive consequences for exhibiting female behaviors than male characters ($X^2=1.41$, df=1/443, p > 0.05).

**RQ 4-4**

Will female characters experience more negative consequences than male characters for exhibiting the four traditionally male behaviors in Spanish language television programming for children?

Negative consequences for the four traditionally male behaviors were analyzed using questions 1b, 2b, 3b, 4b, 5b, 6b, 11b and 12b of the character behaviors coding sheet (See Appendix B). Male characters experienced negative consequences for exhibiting the four traditionally male behaviors 37 times out of a total of 351 observed male behaviors by males in the 40 episode sample. This means that negative consequences for male behaviors accounted for 10.5% of consequences experienced for male characters exhibiting male behaviors. Female characters experienced negative consequences for exhibiting the traditionally four male behaviors 34 times out of a total of 265 observed male behaviors by females in the 40 episode sample. This means that negative consequences accounted for 12.8% of consequences experienced for female characters exhibiting male behaviors. When compared with each other, male characters accounted for 52.1% of all negative consequences for male behaviors, while female characters accounted for 47.9% of all negative consequences for male behaviors (See Figure 14).
A Chi-square test for independence was conducted to determine whether the distribution of negative consequences for male behaviors among males and females is significantly different. The Chi-square test did not support that female characters experienced significantly more negative consequences for exhibiting male behaviors than male characters ($\chi^2 = .127$, df=1/71, $p > 0.05$).

**RQ 5-1**

Will male characters experience more total consequences than female characters for all of their behaviors in children’s Spanish language television programming selected for analysis?

Total consequences for the four traditionally male behaviors were analyzed using questions 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b, 3a, 3b, 4a, 4b, 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b, 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b, 9a, 9b, 10a, 10b, 11a, 11b, 12a, 12b, 13a, 13b, 14a, 14b, 15a, 15b, 16a and 16b of the character behaviors coding sheet (See Appendix B). Male characters experienced consequences...
for their behaviors 626 times out of a total of 731 observed behaviors by males in the 40 episode sample. This means that male characters received consequences for their behaviors 85.6% of the time. Female characters experienced consequences for their behaviors 424 times out of a total of 563 observed behaviors by females in the 40 episode sample. This means that female characters received consequences for their behaviors 75.3% of the time. When compared with each other, male characters accounted for 59.6% of all consequences received, while female characters accounted for 40.4% of all consequences received (See Figure 15).

![Figure 65. Percentage of all observed consequences for all behaviors.](image)

A Chi-square test for independence was conducted to determine whether the distribution of total consequences for all behaviors among males and females is significantly different. The Chi-square test supported that male characters experienced significantly more total consequences for their behaviors than female characters ($X^2=22.16$, df=1/1294 $p < 0.05$).
CHAPTER IV: DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the presence of gender stereotypes in children’s television programming broadcast on Spanish-language stations in the United States by analyzing the behaviors of male and female characters. The findings of this study suggest the statistically significant presence of gender stereotypes on several different levels. In examining demographic data, male characters clearly outnumbered female characters and female characters were significantly more likely than male characters to be portrayed as having children. Behavioral data illustrated that male characters exhibited significantly more aggressive and constructive behaviors than female characters. Male characters also received more positive consequences for exhibiting stereotypical male behavior and more negative consequences for exhibiting stereotypical female behaviors. Finally, male characters received significantly more total consequences for their actions when compared to female characters, thus suggesting female characters’ actions went unnoticed or were ignored more often.

The significance of these findings is that they illustrate the continued reinforcement of traditional gender stereotypes which have long placed both females and males falling outside of traditional gender roles at a disadvantage. The overabundance of male characters is not surprising, given that out of the nine shows, three had male characters as the main character (El Abuelo y Yo, El Lagartijo de Ned, and Bob el Constructor), one had a male character as the narrator (Cuentos de la Cripta), and one had an ensemble of main characters composed of five males and one
female (*Academia de Gladiadores*). Only one show (*Dora la Exploradora*) had a female lead character. The presence of more male than female characters gives female viewers fewer options when it comes to readily available role models upon which to base their behavior through modeling. According to Bandura’s social learning theory, a principal variable of modeling includes the *availability* of models who are attempting to reach similar goals (Thomas, 1999). The numerical lack of female characters also suggests females are less important than or secondary to males because they are obviously not the norm. As Wallner (2002) cites in her study, “network executives have said that boys outnumber girls in the two to eleven year audience on Saturday mornings. If a show is to be successful, they say, it must appeal to boys, who will not watch shows that have girls as lead characters although girls will watch programs with male leads.” The unbalanced portrayal of female characters as mothers when compared to the portrayal of male characters as fathers is potentially problematic for both female and male viewers. Two traditional stereotypes are reinforced by these findings: the primary duty in life for females is to be mothers; and males are not expected to be active fathers in their families.

Male characters also exhibited significantly more aggressive and constructive behavior than female characters. As formerly stated, these behaviors were previously designated as traditionally stereotypical male behaviors by Barner (1999) and Sternglanz & Serbin (1974). Although these were the only two out of eight total behaviors that significantly reinforced the traditional gender stereotypes, it is important to note that males also received significantly more positive consequences when
exhibiting the four traditionally male behaviors as a whole and significantly more
negative consequences when exhibiting the four female behaviors as a whole. The
significance of these findings is that they all center on keeping with traditional gender
roles for males. Male viewers would receive the message that they must be aggressive
and constructive in order to achieve what they want, and female viewers would see that
planning and actively pursuing their goals is best left to men. None of the four
traditionally female behaviors were significantly higher for females than they were for
males, and females were neither lauded for exhibiting more female behavior nor
punished for exhibiting more male behavior. In other words, these findings suggest that
it has perhaps become more socially acceptable for females to exhibit masculine
behavior, but it has not yet become as acceptable for males to exhibit traditionally
feminine behavior.

Finally, the presence of stereotypical behaviors alone did not make these
programs sex-role stereotypical. It is the nature of characters’ behaviors and their
consequences which presented just as much if not more of a telling picture of the
programs as highly gender stereotyped. Just as this study found that male characters
received significantly more positive consequences for exhibiting the four traditionally
male behaviors and more negative consequences for exhibiting the four traditionally
female behaviors, male characters also received more total consequences for all of their
behaviors than female characters. This included both positive and negative
consequences for all eight studied behaviors. The findings suggest female characters’
behaviors were more often unacknowledged, unnoticed, or flat out ignored. The
problem for the viewer identifying with these female characters is that the viewer learns to believe it is acceptable for their voices to go unheard and their actions to go unnoticed. In this way, gender stereotypes in children’s television programs may help naturalize both acceptable and unacceptable gendered behaviors in real life.

The findings of this study replicate the findings of many studies focusing on different aspects of children’s television advertising and programming which either put male characters at the center of attention or promoted aggressive, action-oriented behavior for boys and passive, nurturing behavior for girls. A study by Smith (1994) found that children’s television advertisements exhibited stereotyped behavior for traditional gender roles, most notably advertisements that placed boys in settings outside the home much more often than girls. Johnson and Young (2001) found that children’s television advertisements aimed at boys contained more verb elements emphasizing action, competition and destruction, and agency and control. Chandler and Griffiths (2000) found that children’s ads aimed at boys used faster cutting rates, suggesting greater action; boy-oriented ads used low angle shots more than girl-oriented ads, suggesting the viewer look up to boys; and while some girls’ ads used male voice-overs, no boys’ ads used female voice-overs, suggesting that boys do not need to listen to a female to get what they want.

A study by Powell and Abels (2002) focusing on *Teletubbies* and *Barney & Friends* found that male characters were more often leaders and appeared in a variety of masculine occupations and roles, while female characters were underrepresented and played traditionally feminine roles. A study of children’s TV network cartoons by
Leaper, Breed, Hoffman, and Perlman (2002) found that male characters demonstrated higher rates of physical aggression. Most importantly, the findings in my study replicated findings in Barner’s (1999) examination of sex-role stereotyping in FCC-mandated children’s educational programming. Barner's study, the basis for my study, found major male characters had significantly more behaviors per scene than major female characters, male characters exhibited more aggressive and constructive behavior than female characters, and found that male characters received consequences for their behavior more often than their female counterparts.

On the other hand, the findings of this study also differed with the above mentioned studies. Unlike Johnson and Young (2001), who found television advertisements aimed at girls contained more verb elements emphasizing passivity, feelings and nurturing, there were no statistically significant traditionally female behaviors in this study that reinforced feminine behavior for female characters. This study also did not replicate the findings of Powell and Abels (2002), which found that female characters were followers a majority of the time, nor the Leaper, Breed, Hoffman and Perlman (2002) study, which found that female characters showed more fear, support and politeness. And unlike Barner’s (1999) study, this study did not replicate findings in which female characters exhibited more dependence, deference or nurturing behavior.

An alternative explanation for the lack of consequences given to females may be due to the very nature of the behaviors they had a tendency to exhibit. Despite the lack of statistical significance, female characters exhibited the four traditionally female
behaviors 60.3% of the time. While the traditionally male behaviors, such as aggression and dominance, are more likely to illicit a response or consequence, the traditionally female behaviors, such as deference and nurturance, through their very nature, are passive and would not be as likely to warrant any consequence.

Limitations for this study include the nonrandom sample that was comprised of four consecutive Saturdays of the traditionally child-centered time slot known as “Saturday mornings.” Due to this limitation, only three Spanish-language networks produced children’s programming within the sampling frame. To extend generalizability to all Spanish-language children’s programming, future research should be based on an aggregate week of randomly selected programming. Additionally, the limits of content analysis are well known, as quantitative analysis does not take interpretation by the audience into consideration.

This study updates and extends research on the portrayal of gender stereotypes in children’s television programming; however, there are several important avenues for future research. One is to continue in this vein, both to replicate the findings of this study and to expand them. Because television programming is continuously changing, there is a need for continued research of this sort, as longitudinal research can show trends and changes. Also, quantitative as well as qualitative research should be done in order to determine what attitudes children take from gender biased programming. Future research may also examine differences in cultural background and how that affects the process of acquiring and interpreting stereotypes. It is hoped that results from this study, along with others like it, encourage parents to take an active role in
examining the programming which they allow their children to watch. It is also hoped that findings such as these can convince producers of children’s programming to examine social learning objectives and subtle characterizations and behaviors through which such objectives are presented.

In conclusion, Spanish-speaking children living along the U.S.-Mexico border are significantly susceptible to being affected by watching children’s programming in their gender role development. Given both the youth and rate of growth of the Hispanic population in the United States, a large number of children and adolescents are being exposed to the gender stereotypes found to be present in this study. The findings of this study suggest that while representation of gendered behaviors may be moving in the direction of a more balanced view, Spanish-speaking children continue to be exposed to stereotypical representations of gender roles due to a lack of fair and balanced consequences to behaviors, which on the surface level, seem to be gender equitable. In addition, this so-called “balanced view” may be deceiving due to the fact that male characters far outnumber female characters, in consequence giving a false impression of balance regarding behaviors exhibited. If children’s programming continues as it is, parents must screen what their children might want to watch and teach their children that gender is not all it appears to be on television.
APPENDIX A – CHARACTER DEMOGRAPHICS

Coder #:________________
Program #:__________________
Name of character or description:________________________________________

1. Sex:
   Male________
   Female _______
   Indeterminate_______

2. Role:
   Major_______
   Minor_______

3. Role status:
   Hero _______
   Villain _______
   Neutral_______

4. Ethnicity:
   Caucasian _______
   European _______
   Mestizo _______
   Indian _______
   African _______
   Other (specify): __________
   Indeterminate_______

5. Age:
   0-12________
   13-19_______
   20-34_______
   35-54_______
   55+________
   Indeterminate_______

6. Occupation/role: ____________________________ Unknown_______

7. Job Status:
   Boss________
   Employee_______
   Indeterminate_______
8. Social Class:
   - Upper
   - Middle
   - Lower
   - Indeterminate

9. Marital Status:
   - Married
   - Single (includes divorced, widowed, separated)
   - Indeterminate

10. Children: Yes
    - No
    - Pregnant
    - Unknown

11. Dress:
    - Provocative
    - Average
    - Conservative

12. Body Shape:
    - Average
    - Overweight
    - Very Fit

13. Eye Color:
    - Black/dark brown
    - Light brown/hazel
    - Green
    - Blue/violet

14. Skin Color:
    - Light skinned
    - Medium Skinned
    - Dark skinned

15. Hair color:
    - Red
    - Blond
    - Dark (brown, black)
    - Gray
    - Bald
    - Indeterminate
APPENDIX B – CHARACTER BEHAVIORS

Coder #:_____________________
Name of Show:______________________________________________

**Aggression:** To assault or injure purposively; to harm, blame, ridicule, threaten, or use sarcasm.

**Initiator:**
1. Male ______________________________________________________________________

   **Consequence:**
   a. Positive:_________________________________________________________________
   b. Negative:_________________________________________________________________

2. Female:_______________________________________________________________________

   **Consequence:**
   a. Positive:_________________________________________________________________
   b. Negative:_________________________________________________________________
**Autonomy:** To resist influence or coercion; to defy an authority or seek freedom; to strive for independence.

**Initiator:**

3. Male ____________________________________________________________

   **Consequence:**
   
   a. Positive:____________________________________________________
   
   b. Negative:___________________________________________________

4. Female:__________________________________________________________

   **Consequence:**
   
   a. Positive:____________________________________________________
   
   b. Negative:___________________________________________________

**Construction:** To plan and/or carry out one’s own plans; to build, to overcome an obstacle.

**Initiator:**

5. Male ____________________________________________________________

   **Consequence:**
   
   a. Positive:____________________________________________________
   
   b. Negative:___________________________________________________

6. Female:__________________________________________________________

   **Consequence:**
   
   a. Positive:____________________________________________________
   
   b. Negative:___________________________________________________
Deference: To follow directions or example of a leader; to imitate; to admire or compliment.

Initiator:

7. Male ____________________________________________________________

Consequence:

a. Positive:____________________________________________________

b. Negative:___________________________________________________

8. Female:________________________________________________________________

Consequence:

a. Positive:____________________________________________________

b. Negative:___________________________________________________

Dependence: To seek aid, protection, sympathy, or information to carry out a project; to cry for help; to be dependent.

Initiator:

9. Male ____________________________________________________________

Consequence:

a. Positive:____________________________________________________

b. Negative:___________________________________________________

10. Female:________________________________________________________________

Consequence:

a. Positive:____________________________________________________

b. Negative:___________________________________________________
**Dominance**: To influence or control others; to persuade, prohibit, dictate; to lead, direct, restrain; to organize the behavior of a group.

**Initiator**:

11. Male __________________________________________________________

   **Consequence**:
   
   a. Positive:____________________________________________________
   
   b. Negative:___________________________________________________

12. Female:__________________________________________________________

   **Consequence**:
   
   a. Positive:____________________________________________________
   
   b. Negative:___________________________________________________

**Harm Avoidance**: The tendency to avoid physical pain; to withdraw or flee from injury; includes “startle” or “fear” reactions.

**Initiator**:

13. Male __________________________________________________________

   **Consequence**:
   
   a. Positive:____________________________________________________
   
   b. Negative:___________________________________________________

14. Female:__________________________________________________________

   **Consequence**:
   
   a. Positive:____________________________________________________
   
   b. Negative:___________________________________________________
**Nurturance:** To nourish, aid, or protect another; to express sympathy.

**Initiator:**

15. Male __________________________________________________________

   **Consequence:**
   
a. Positive:____________________________________________________
   
b. Negative:___________________________________________________

16. Female:________________________________________________________

   **Consequence:**
   
a. Positive:____________________________________________________
   
b. Negative:___________________________________________________
# APPENDIX C – PROGRAM OVERVIEW

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Network</th>
<th>Name of Program</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Air Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Telefutura</td>
<td>El Abuelo Y Yo</td>
<td>11/06/04</td>
<td>6:00-7:00am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telefutura</td>
<td>El Lagartijo de Ned</td>
<td>11/06/04</td>
<td>7:00-7:30am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telefutura</td>
<td>Plaza Sesamo</td>
<td>11/06/04</td>
<td>7:30-8:00am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telefutura</td>
<td>Bob el Constructor</td>
<td>11/06/04</td>
<td>8:00-8:30am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telefutura</td>
<td>Los Conejitos Torpes</td>
<td>11/06/04</td>
<td>8:30-9:00am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telefutura</td>
<td>Cuentos de la Cripta</td>
<td>11/06/04</td>
<td>9:00-9:30am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telefutura</td>
<td>Academia de Gladiadores</td>
<td>11/06/04</td>
<td>9:30-10:00am</td>
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</table>

Coder #: 1

Coder #: 2
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Univision</td>
<td>Complices al Rescate</td>
<td>11/06/04</td>
<td>7:30-8:30am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telemundo</td>
<td>Dora la Exploradora</td>
<td>11/06/04</td>
<td>8:00-8:30am</td>
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**REFERENCES**

75


CURRICULUM VITAE

Carlo André Romo was born on September 10, 1979 in El Paso, Texas to Elsa Romo, a 1983 graduate of the University of Texas at El Paso. The first of two children, he graduated from Cathedral High School in 1997 and enrolled at the University of Texas at Austin that fall. He graduated with a Bachelor of Science in Radio-Television-Film in 2001, and entered the Graduate School with the Communication Department at the University of Texas at El Paso that same year. While studying for his degree, he worked as a member service supervisor at a local financial institution and was awarded the El Paso Mortgage Bankers Association Dan McKinney Scholarship in 2005. During this time he also served as a member of the Plaza Starkeepers Organization, which coordinated the grand re-opening of the Plaza Theatre for the Performing Arts in El Paso.

This thesis was typed by Carlo André Romo.