Gendered Dialogue in Children’s Literature
An Honors Thesis (HONR 499)

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This paper investigates the gendered dialogue used in popular children’s books. Pulling from a list of “100 Best Children’s Books,” this paper analyzes the characters in these books based on the gender binary and type of dialogue used. The categories of dialogue examined are declarations, commands, and questions. By examining which gender of characters say what types of dialogue, this study conducts a statistical analyses of gendered language within these books. Through examination of gender, rank of character, and dialogue this paper considers how characters are represented to children through stories and offers considerations for teachers and children’s literature authors.

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GENDERED DIALOGUE IN CHILDREN’S LITERATURE

Process Analysis Statement

For this thesis, I did research that included both an analysis of previous research as well as an analysis of 100 children’s books using a specific coding system. My first process was to find what had already been done in the area of gendered concepts in children’s literature. I found that prevalence of characters, occupations characters hold, and adjectives describing characters had already been researched. This led me to my topic of researching the dialogue characters use. My next task was to research the youth aspect of this project: how do children gain an understanding of gender in general?

After those analyses had been tackled, it was time to analyze actual literature present in a preschool classroom. Finding a concise list to pull books from proved difficult, as award winners did not supply enough material and simply pulling from bookstore shelves was not objective. Using the Time’s article gave me just enough structure as well as a substantial list. I developed a coding system with my advisor as to the elements I was looking for within these books.

To me, this thesis is not just a study into the gendered dialogue used in children’s literature or a way to recommend how teachers and authors view children’s books; it is a culmination of my four years of learning put into a study. I’ve used my writing skills which have developed over these years. I’ve used my knowledge of language and children’s cognitive processes learned through my Speech Language Pathology program. I’ve used the research methods that have been taught to me in my classes. This is an end product of my time at this university.
Gendered Dialogue in Children’s Literature

Gender, something that affects our daily lives without us even noticing. It is a cultural and social phenomenon in which we have learned what it means to be a woman or a man. It is a set of behaviors that we have been guided towards from the very beginning (Jacobson, 2011). These gender roles are not simply placed unto us; instead, we are constantly performing and creating our gender through a concept of “doing gender.” Our gender identities are constantly being created and recreated throughout series of choices and events in which we participate without truly be conscious of how this will affect our identities (Bradley, 2013).

Children learn to do gender from a very early age through social interactions. This is due to the fact that children are constantly watching and observing. Social cognitive theory argues that both children and adults learn through the act of observing, and that they take the data from these observations and create assumptions about themselves, their behavior, and the world around them (Jacobson, 2011). Something children consistently observe in their environment is children’s books. Children’s books are a guideline and affirmation about the societal values and ideals of a culture (McCabe, Fairchild, Grauerholz, Pescosolido, & Tope, 2011). As the guiding adults of these children’s worlds, we need to be aware of what beliefs the literature we read our children is projecting.

Literature Review

Schemas

Schemas, or organized knowledge structures (Martin & Ruble, 2004) help provide context in everyday life. There are several functions to these schemas; one function being
GENDERED DIALOGUE IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

regulating behavior. They do this by providing a basic foundation for anticipating future events, creating goals, setting plans, and adjusting to behavioral routines (Martin & Halverson, 1981). Schemas also assist in organization and attendance to information provided. Experiences are structured through organization that schemas provide that allows for processing of information. Information that falls into a schema-consistent category is most noticeable while information that falls into a schema-inconsistent category is ignored. Through this procedure, schemas dictate what information is processed. A last function that schemas provide is helping to structure inferences and interpretations of information. When information is provided to the receiver that is lacking or ambiguous, the receiver can supplement what is missing through the use of what already resides in their schemas (Martin & Halverson, 1981).

Within the function of organization and attendance to information in the category of memory. Through a study, Martin and Halverson (1983) examined how gender schemas affect children's memory. In this study, children were provided a series of pictures which contained both male and female characters performing a variety of tasks that fell into two categories: sex-consistent and sex-inconsistent. One week later, children were asked to remember the activities and the sex of the character performing the activities that they saw. Through both recall and picture presentation, children reversed gender roles of the characters more consistently when it was a sex-inconsistent activity (Martin & Halverson, 1983). This reversal can be attributed to a gender stereotyping schema which influenced the memory of the children to combine gender with sex-consistent tasks.

Stereotyping helps to create schemas and may even be considered its own schematic process that is a normal cognitive operation (Martin & Halverson, 1981). While stereotypes are
GENDERED DIALOGUE IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

often construed as immobile ideas stuck in time, Diekman and Eagly (2000) have provided evidence that stereotypes are not always static. A random selection of participants received a questionnaire asking questions pertaining to percentage of males versus females in certain occupations and the activities performed by mothers and fathers. The results pointed to perceptions of increasing role equality as well as a merging of the understood characters of men and women over a one hundred year period (Diekman & Eagly, 2000). The most highly converged area was that of women gaining more masculine traits. This study presents the idea that stereotypes can have trajectory over time (Diekman & Eagly, 2000), which will allow schemas to evolve.

Children and Gender Awareness

Children are continuously growing and learning from birth, and part of that learning deals with gender. Born immediately into a world rife with gender, babies are swaddled in pink or blue blankets, given outfits to match those colors, and presented with dolls for girls and trucks for boys. Yet, the question remains, when do these choices begin to make an impact? It has been shown that through habituation and preferential looking patterns, children as young as three to four months are able to discriminate between males and females. At the age of six months, infants are able to differentiate between male and female voices as well as faces. They are also becoming accustomed to faces of both sexes. Both of these pieces of knowledge allow them to make associations between faces and voices. Nearing the end of infancy on into early toddlerhood, children are able to form associations involving stereotypes between faces and gender-typed objects. Such as a female face would be associated with a scarf. This suggests that even at this age, they have the capacity to form basic stereotypes (Martin & Ruble, 2009).
GENDERED DIALOGUE IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

After infancy, children's concept of gender stereotypes become more rigid. A significant development around ages four to seven is the concept of gender constancy – a concept that gender is consistent and cannot be modified by altering hair styles, attire, or other personal aspects (Bakir & Palan, 2010). At this stage of rigidity, children also become aware of status differences between men and women. Children around the age of six are able to comprehend that jobs held by men are often of higher status than jobs that are more female oriented (Martin & Ruble, 2009).

The last stage of gender development is flexibility. Beginning around age eight, children start to transition from rigid concepts of gender to an attitude of flexibility concerning gender. The idea of gender flexibility is that children will be more willing to apply attributes to both sexes, rather than to just one or the other. Another part of gender flexibility is the ability to conceptualize and understand that gender stereotypes are relative to our society, and may differ in other cultures. This flexibility holds two domains: self and others. Children may be more accepting of others who are involved in gender flexibility, while they are more rigid when it comes to their own behaviors concerning gender (Bakir & Palan, 2010).

Throughout gender development, the ability of labeling evolves. This ability allows children to discriminate between genders while also identifying themselves. Labeling also affects certain behaviors. It has been found that children who learn labeling early on more often play with toys that are more sex-typical for their gender. Early labeling girls display less aggression than their late labeling counterparts, as well as less than both early and late labeling boys (Fagot & Leinbach, 1993). Labeling abilities do not just emerge through gender development, but also through parental guidance. Studies have shown that early labeling is
GENDERED DIALOGUE IN CHILDREN’S LITERATURE

bolstered by parental attention when the child is participating in sex-typed play. As the child plays with toys deemed appropriate for their gender parents offer praise for those actions (Fagot & Leinbach, 1993).

Previous Studies

In 1972, one of the most popular studies about sex-roles in children’s books was published. Researchers looked at 18 Caldecott Medal winners and assessed the occurrence of males and females in titles, central roles, and pictures; the activities of boys and girls; and the presence and activity of adult men and women. They found that women were underrepresented in all categories, and that when they did appear, they were in insignificant roles. The ratio of male appearances in pictures to female appearances was 11 to 1. When discussing activities of boys and girls in these books, it was found that boy characters are active while girl characters are passive. Another difference between activity levels in these books is that girls were found inside most often, thus limiting the activity potential of female characters. Girls were portrayed primarily in relation to the boys and men in the stories. The last factor was that of adult men and women in these books. Again, female characters were stereotyped and limited – appearing only as a wife or mother. This study revealed that storybook characters consistently reinforce traditional sex-role stereotypes (Weitzman, Eifler, Hokada, & Ross, 1972).

A study building upon the one from 1972 emerged in 2001, in which researchers examined 83 picture books from the years 1995 to 1999. Findings indicated that while females and male appeared equally in titles, significantly fewer females appeared alone in illustrations compared to males. Another category that this study looked at was that of roles. It was
GENDERED DIALOGUE IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

discovered that male characters were portrayed in more differentiated roles than female characters were (Gooden & Gooden, 2001). While this study did not examine the exact same categories as the study done in 1972, it shows that sex-roles in children's books were not changing as rapidly as expected.

Further research was conducted on this topic in 2006. Researchers examined 200 top-selling children's books and examined them through the lenses of several hypotheses. It was discerned that male characters outnumber female characters overall, in titles, as main characters, and in pictures. Looking at how characters were portrayed, it was found that female main characters were more likely to perform nurturing roles than were male main characters. Female characters were also found indoors more often than male characters. Yet, there was no sex difference when it came to being portrayed as active or passive, as both sexes were portrayed as active more often. Considering occupations, more occupational roles were more traditional than non-traditional for both sexes. Even considering that, male characters had a wider array of occupations. In the end, this study tentatively concluded that there has been no increase in the rate of appearance of female characters in children's books since 1980 (Hamilton, Anderson, Broaddus, & Young, 2006).

Mccabe, Fairchild, Graueerholz, Pescosolido, and Tope conducted a study including information on titles and main characters from 5,618 books published during the twentieth century. Their study found that male characters were represented more frequently than female characters in both titles and as main characters. While this paper points out that this lack of representation is still continuing in children’s books, it also discusses a greater reality that women are being symbolically annihilated from media presented to children, and that this
GENDERED DIALOGUE IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

poses a problem given that children's books are known to represent society's values and ideals (2011).

While prevalence has been consistently looked at through various studies, Turner-Bowker's research looks at stereotyped descriptors in children's literature. Using a sample of 30 books, participants were asked to fill out a rating scale for the 20 most commonly used adjectives for both male and female characters in these books. It was found that adjectives used to describe male characters were more powerful than those used for female characters. Through descriptors, male characters were also depicted as more active than female characters. Through this study, Turner-Bowker was able to examine a more subtle aspect of gender stereotyping (1996).

Considerably, many factors discovered in past research would be considered sexist, so Diekman and Murnen created a study to examine children's literature deemed both sexist and non-sexist by researchers and publishers. They found that non-sexist books were more equal than sexist books to portray masculine personality characteristics equally between genders. Yet both sexist and nonsexist books contained no difference in their portrayal of feminine personality characters between genders. When considering acts that characters perform, nonsexist books were more likely than sexist books to portray nontraditional labor acts. Both sexist and nonsexist books were equal in their portrayal of female-stereotypic chores and leisure activities. The concluding factor from this research was that nonsexist books did well in portraying female characters as more masculine in personality traits and acts, but they did not show male characters as adopting female personality traits or acts (Diekman & Murnen, 2004).
GENDERED DIALOGUE IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

While previous studies have focused on male and females within children’s literature, Crisp and Hiller’s study examines the concept of ungender – when a character is not labeled male or female. Through this study, they argue that ungendered characters are powerful tools, because they rely on the reader to assign them a gender. Often this is done based on the reader identifying the character as looking or acting like themselves. By using these signals and messages embedded in the text, children become critical consumers with broader gender applications (Crisp & Hiller, 2011).

Method

Data

A sample of 100 children's books was used from Time's list of “100 Best Children's Books of all Time.” From each book, the number of characters and lines were recorded. Since this study looks at the characters and dialogue within the book, several books that had no characters were omitted, producing a sample size of 82 books for examination.

Coding. Each character was broken down into two categories: primary or secondary and male, female, or unknown (see Appendix Diagram 1). “Unknown” gender was used only when the book showed no indication of gender using pronouns. Male and female characters will be counted and those numbers will be compared to each other. The number of lines were broken down into several categories including declarations, commands, and questions (see Appendix Diagram 2).

Declarations. Declarations were categorized further into generalized declarations and declarations about one's own abilities. Generalized declarations includes any form of statement
GENDERED DIALOGUE IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

or exclamation that is not about abilities. Declarations about one's own abilities were divided into negative and positive statements as well as coded by the gender of the character. For example, the statement: "I cannot do that, it is too hard," would be considered a negative declaration about one's own abilities. The number of declarations per character will be counted and then compared through the lens of which gender made what statements.

Commands. Commands were recorded when a character told another character to do something. These were broken down by gender by marking the gender of the commander and the gender of the one receiving the command. Commands will then be compared percentage wise as to the gender of who gave commands as well as the gender of who they are commanding.

Questions. Questions were further categorized into: questions asking for permission, questions to clarify, and questions that serve another purpose. Questions asking for permission were marked when a character had to ask another character for permission for them to do something. Questions to clarify were marked when characters were using questions to better understand what a character said or to make the meaning of a situation clearer. Questions that had another purpose were marked whenever they did not fit into the first two categories. Examples of questions that had another purpose would be when a character asked another character to do something or when a character asked a rhetorical question. For each category of question, the number of times they are used will be counted and then compared by gender in each category.
GENDERED DIALOGUE IN CHILDREN’S LITERATURE

Results

The data gathered from the 82 books resulted in there being 211 characters. These characters were then divided into gender categories (see Appendix Graph 1). This division shows that there are 36 more male characters represented in these books than female characters. The 211 characters were also divided into primary and secondary. These primary and secondary numbers were then divided by gender (see Appendix Graph 2 and Graph 3). With the secondary characters the difference between male and female occurrence was 3 more male characters.

Line totals were calculated for three categories: gender, primary character gender, and secondary character gender. Based on just gender, male characters had 543 lines more than female characters (see Appendix Graph 4). Between male and female primary characters, the divide of number of lines is 299 (see Appendix Graph 5). In the last group of male and female secondary characters, the difference is 243 lines more for male characters (see Appendix Graph 6).

The number of lines between the genders were broken down by category. While males had more lines in general, females spoke more in some line categories than others. When looking at declarations, male characters used 477 more declarations than female characters in total (see Appendix Graph 7). Looking at positive declarations about one’s own abilities, female characters said 8 more positive lines than male characters did (see Appendix Graph 8). When it
came to negative declarations about one's own abilities, male characters said 5 more lines than female characters did (see Appendix Graph 9).

The category of commands is where we see a difference from what the data has been showing. Female characters used 11 more commands in total than male characters (see Appendix Graph 10). When looking at questions that characters asked when seeking permission, females asked 2 more of these questions in total than males (see Appendix Graph 11). Females also asked more questions to clarify than males, with a difference of 22 (see Appendix Graph 12). In the last category of questions, questions that served other purposes, male characters asked 100 more questions than female characters (see Appendix Graph 13).

Discussion

Male versus Female – Primary versus Secondary

Out of the three gender classifications, males made up 54% of the characters represented. This percentage means that it is more likely for children to see male characters represented in their books than it will be for them to see female characters. This difference in representation is important because exclusion and minimization of female characters in consumer media has been shown to increase sexist beliefs and behaviors (Diekman & Murnen, 2004).

Out of primary characters, males made up 57% of the characters represented. This majority percentage means that male characters will have more chances to speak, as well as
GENDERED DIALOGUE IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

have their dialogue heard. Out of the secondary characters, males and females are represented almost equally, with males being represented only a fraction more. Even if this seems like equal representation, it is only equal for characters who play less of a role and have less meaning within the story line – which is still telling us that women play less of an important part.

**Lines**

Males spoke 52% of lines in total while females spoke 44% of lines in total. The fact that male characters spoke more lines indicates that male character's thoughts and ideas were heard more often than female characters. This could play into the idea that women are meant to be seen and not heard. That their ideas are not valuable in a patriarchal society and that a woman's body is considered most important while it is a man's thoughts and activities which are valued in society (Eschholz, Rosa, & Clark, 1982). Out of both primary and secondary characters, male characters spoke more lines in total, indicating that they are more important to listen to whether they are the main character or not.

**Examples.** In the story of Corduroy by Don Freeman, there are two main characters: Corduroy, the teddy bear trying to be adopted, and Lisa, the little girl looking to adopt Corduroy. Corduroy, the primary male character spoke 13 lines, while Lisa, the primary female character only spoke 8. Both had the same position within the story, yet the male character spoke more. Virginia Lee Burton wrote a story about a boy and his steam shovel trying to dig a basement to prove that they are the fastest workers. In *Mike Mulligan and His Steam Shovel*, Mike is the primary male character, while Mary Ann – his steam shovel – is the primary female
character. Mike says a total of 8 lines while Mary Ann does not have any. Some may argue that this is due to the fact that Mary is a steam shovel, to which one could argue that many fantastical things occur in children’s books and a talking steam shovel is not out of the realm of possibilities.

When it comes to secondary characters, males still spoke more lines than females. Looking at *Sylvester and the Magic Pebble* by William Steig, we can see this statistic play out. Sylvester finds a magic pebble that grants him wishes. When he is confronted with a dangerous lion, he wishes to be turned into a rock. His mother and father do not hear from him in days, and are both suffering from the loss of their son. While both in the same situation and position within the story, the father speaks one more line than the mother. While one line may not seem like a significant difference, the disparity spread over all children’s books creates an impact. In *Pippi Longstocking* by Astrid Lingren, we again see the same disparity between male and female secondary characters. A brother and sister comprise the secondary characters in this story, and both live next to Pippi Longstocking and experience great adventures with their neighbor. Considering they are never apart in this story, it is concerning that the brother has 38 more lines than the sister.

**Declarations**

Out of all of the declarations used by characters, male characters used 477 declarations more than female characters. This could be analyzed as that male characters made more strong statements and knew what they wanted and how to get it. Yet, when it came to positive
GENDERED DIALOGUE IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

declarations about one's own abilities, female characters used these 21% more than male characters. Not only that, but male characters used 27% more negative declarations about one's own abilities. This can be interpreted one of two ways. The first way is that girl characters are more confident in themselves and their abilities than boy characters in these books. Another way to interpret this data is that girl characters are more arrogant than the boy characters in these books. One way makes female characters empowering and strong, while the other way plays into the stereotype that female are stuck up "know-it-alls."

Examples. *Little Bear* by Else Holmelund Minarik illustrates the idea that male characters made statements knowing what they want and how to get it when the male primary character Little Bear begins making requests to his mother. Little Bear declares to his mother: "I am cold... I want something to put on." This pattern of asking for items to put on continues until the end of the first chapter. This demonstrates how boy characters are knowledgeable and straightforward about wants and needs.

We can see the idea that female characters are more confident in themselves in the book *The Cat Club* by Esther Averill. Jenny the cat is the primary female character in this story. She is afraid to join the cat club because she feels she does not possess any talents, until one day she discovers ice-skating and proclaims: "that's something I could do." This statement of confidence carries from that point throughout the rest of the book.

Commands

Looking at the command aspect of dialogue, female characters used 11 more commands in total than male characters. There are several ways to translate this data. The first way is to
say that female characters are exerting themselves and being leaders. The second way is to think that these female characters are being bossy. Another facet of command dialogue to examine is the gender of the commander and the gender of the one receiving the command. For females, they gave commands to 24 more male characters than female characters. Male characters gave commands to 39 more males than females. One could say that this data is arbitrary, since there are more male characters represented in these books, therefore there is more opportunity to give commands to males. Yet, the interesting point in this data is that even though males gave less commands overall, they gave more commands to other male characters than the female characters did. This could be because it is more acceptable for a female to ask a male to do something, rather than commanding him as another male would.

**Examples.** The idea that female characters would ask or suggest at a command rather than outright demand something be done can be seen in the book *Little Bear* by Else Holmelund Minarik. Mother Bear says to Little Bear: “you can make me happy too...you can go to sleep.” Mother Bear truly wanted her child to go to bed, but instead of simply commanding him to go to sleep, she suggested at the idea.

In *The Giving Tree* by Shel Silverstein, readers can see how a female character would be portrayed as bossy. Several times, the female tree commands the boy to come and play on her branches and to climb her. This command is done for the sole purpose that the tree missing the boy and the relationship that they had together. One could interpret this as the female character being bossy in order to fulfill her own needs.
GENDERED DIALOGUE IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

The idea that male characters can more easily give commands to other male characters is seen in *The Lorax* by Dr. Seuss. There are two primary characters, the Onceler and the Lorax, both of which are males. The Onceler, in order to make a profit, has ruined the habitat that the Lorax protects. During interactions between the two, the Onceler commands the Lorax to “shut up,” as well as “listen here.” These are both aggressive commands, but in this book, they are seen as the male character sticking up for himself and taking control of a situation—something a female character would not be considered if giving the same commands.

Questions Asking Permission

Female characters asked 2 more questions for permission than male characters did. This can be interpreted as females feel the need to be given direct permission to do something more than males do. This data can also be seen as insignificant considering there was not an ample amount of questions for permission asked, therefore comparing males to females in this case is irrelevant.

Examples. In the story *Bread and Jam for Frances* by Russell Hoban, Frances, a young girl, will only eat bread and jam, and nothing else. Nearing the end of the story, she becomes sick of having the same every meal, and asks her mother if she can have spaghetti and meatballs. Through this action, Frances gives up her power of eating what she wants, and instead is now asking for an adult to provide her something. This portrayal could be identified as a female character needing permission from others to do certain things.

Questions Asked to Clarify
GENDERED DIALOGUE IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

Female characters asked 22 more questions to clarify than male characters. Examining this data brings about two different conclusion possibilities. The first is that female characters are perhaps more inquisitive than male characters and are more interested in learning. The second option is that female characters understand less than male characters naturally and therefore have to ask more questions.

Examples. *The Story of Ferdinand* by Munro Leaf offers a chance for both interpretations when a mother asks her son: "why don't you run and play with the other little bulls and skip and butt your head?" This can be interpreted one of two ways. The first is that the mother is curious as to why her son is acting the way he is and she is a concerned parent. The other is to assume that she is unknowledgeable of her son's choices and does not understand.

Questions that Serve Other Purposes

Males asked 100 more questions that serve other purposes than females. This data is hard to scrutinize considering these questions held multiple meanings. Some were rhetorical, while others were a character asking another character to do something. This data is not telling of how characters are portrayed and compared in these books unless further broken down.

Examples. In a Chinese version of the story *Little Red Riding Hood*, Lon Po Po – a wolf pretending to be a grandmother visits three children. Shang, the oldest girl of the three, continues to ask Lon Po Po questions to figure out if this was really her grandmother. Through the use of questions serving other purposes in this case, Shang was able to save her siblings.
GENDERED DIALOGUE IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

Why It Matters

While the data provided can be interpreted in several ways, it still contains insights into the kinds of literature we are providing our children. These findings are important to two different categories of people in particular: teachers and authors. For teachers, they need to be aware of the choices they are making when selecting children's books for their classroom. The selections made can influence the values and ideals of the class as a whole (Jacobson, 2011), as well as affecting each child individually. For the authors of children's literature, they should take this information into account when writing storylines containing male and female characters. Their considerations when writing are important because they are helping to form young children's schemas. Another reason they should acknowledge this information is because experimental data has suggested that children quickly jump to conclusions about gender, even if they are only provided a single instance (Martin & Ruble, 2004). At such an impressionable age, any and all representations they observe are important to development.

At the end of the day “engendering is never finished; the gender clashes over privilege and power do not end when the picture books shuts its doors. The conventions surrounding gender will have as long a shelf life as the books that take them for granted” (Clark & Higonnet, 1999, p. 129). Yet, if we consider the implications from the data at hand, we can begin to change how children's literature is presented and perhaps change how children see gender in their daily lives.


GENDERED DIALOGUE IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE


GENDERED DIALOGUE IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE


Diagram 1. Character coding into categories of primary or secondary and gender.

Diagram 2. Line coding into categories and subcategories of declarations, commands, and questions.
GENDERED DIALOGUE IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

Graph 1. Division of total number of characters (n = 212) into gender categories.

Graph 2. Division of total number of primary characters (n = 133) into gender categories.
GENDERED DIALOGUE IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

Graph 3. Division of total number of secondary characters (n = 79) into gender categories.

Graph 4. Total number of characters lines spoken divided by gender.
Graph 5. Total number of primary character lines spoken divided by gender.

Graph 6. Total number of secondary character lines spoken divided by gender.
Graph 7. Total number of characters declarations spoken total divided by gender.

Graph 8. Total number of positive declarations spoken about own abilities divided by gender.
Graph 9. Total number of negative declarations spoken about own abilities divided by gender.

Graph 10. Total number of commands spoken divided by gender.
GENDERED DIALOGUE IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

Graph 11. Total number of questions for permission asked divided by gender.

Graph 12. Total number of questions to clarify asked divided by gender.
Graph 13. Total number of questions that serve other purposes asked divided by gender.