



Honours Project (ECE4061 – 01E)

Hong Kong children's (6-8 years old) choices of toys and gender stereotypes

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INTRODUCTION

Playing with toys is an important aspect of children's life. While serving to promote children's cognitive and social skills (Blakemore & Centers, 2005), it also contributes to the socialization of gender roles in young children as it provides important contexts for them to practise particular behaviours and skills (Chafetz, 1974; Leaper & Friedman, 2007; Peretti & Sydney, 1984). This study has three main goals: (1) it sought to investigate whether Hong Kong primary school pupils exhibit specific preferences for gender-typed toys, similar to their European peers; (2) it explored the theories that young children had about the relationships between toys and gender; and (3) it examined the factors that might reduce children's gender biases for toys (if any).

Gender-Role Socialization

A number of sources have been identified which contribute to gender-role socialization. An important one involves the traditional social roles that are attached to men and women (Eagly, 1987). In the Chinese culture, the Confucian beliefs dictate that men are the ones who work outside and earn a living, while women are expected to stay at home, be responsible for housekeeping, and to take care of the family (Zhu, 2014). In such a culture, fantasy play in young girls may centre on domestic life such as pretending to cook or taking care of babies in order to nurture motherhood (see Blakemore & Centers, 2005).

Because home provides the first platform where children encounter important social values, children's intimate family members such as their parents and siblings are another important source of gender-role socialization and gender stereotypes (Gordon, 1976). Gender stereotypes are beliefs about the psychological and physical traits of men and women respectively, as well as the appropriate activities for them (Brannon, 2004). Freeman (2007) found that most parents had expectations of their children's gender-specific play behaviours, and they tended to buy their children 'gender-appropriate' toys. Apart from parents, siblings

also play an important role in shaping children's gender stereotypes as they serve as important role models for children (Rust et al., 2000).

Toys are important objects for studying gender-role socialization because they serve as an important medium through which parents pass to their children gender-specific expectations. For example, Peretti and Sydney's (1984) research suggested that the parental toy choice preferences shaped the learning of 'appropriate' gender roles in children. By playing with toys with their peers or with their family members (parents or their siblings), children further develop and consolidate their concepts or theories about gender roles. Of interest is, by the time children become primary-school pupils, are they able to theorize the relationships between gender and toys? Do they exhibit preferences for gender-typed toys? If there are no such preferences, what are the reasons behind? Past research indicated that exposure to opposite gender-typed toys might affect the gender stereotypes that children with siblings have (Rust et al., 2000). Would this finding be replicated in a different culture, such as the culture of Hong Kong?

The Current Study

The review above showed that toys are influential in shaping children's gender development. In this study, I sought to examine 6- to 8-year-old Hong Kong children's choices of toys and their preferences for toys. I particularly wanted to examine the factors which hinder children from playing with gender-typed toys of the opposite gender, as well as the factors which facilitate it. Knowing these factors is an important first step towards helping children break from gender stereotypes, enabling children to learn not only his / her own gender role, but also that of the opposite gender. I have chosen gender as the primary variable for analysis because of three reasons. First, gender equality is being increasingly promoted in recent years in Hong Kong, as evidenced in the introduction of laws such as 'Sex discrimination against woman' (Section 5) and 'Discrimination against married, etc. persons'

(Section 7) in the Sex Discrimination Ordinance (Chapter 480, Laws of Hong Kong) enacted in 1995. Second, while gender shaping starts at the early years for most children in English-speaking countries (Martin, Eisenbud, & Rose, 1995), it is unclear whether such shaping begins at about the same time in other cultures, such as the culture of Hong Kong. It is therefore crucial to explore the gender shaping of children in Hong Kong. Third, toys are highly gendered (Blakemore & Centers, 2005), and some of them are suggested to be gender-typed. Therefore, I am interested in examining the gender stereotypes that young children have by analysing their preferences for toys. Moreover, there are both positive (e.g., caring and strong) and less positive (e.g., fragile and rude) qualities in men and women respectively. It is therefore beneficial to nurture the good qualities of both men and women in young children through toys, so as to couple strength and gentleness (剛柔並濟^{gāngróubìngjì}).

Whilst there have been numerous studies about children's gender stereotypes and their choices of toys, most were conducted in European cultures, with only a few focusing on Hong Kong children. According to the Hong Kong Census and Statistics Department, in 2016, there were 290,000 children aged between 5 and 9. My research could potentially inform these children's teachers in terms of how they might promote gender equality through toys. Most importantly, previous studies had only asked the children why they had chosen some particular toys but not the others, without exploring the reasons behind. In this research, I therefore asked the children directly and analysed the reasons behind their choices. I chose to study children aged between 6 and 8 years old because by then they had already mastered their first language, but unlike their older peers, they were less likely to give adults the 'expected answers'.

There are three main research questions in this study:

- (1) What types of toys do young boys and girls usually choose respectively?
- (2) What are the gender stereotypes which affect the children's choices of toys?

(3) How do family members affect children's choices of gender-typed toys?

The first question is important because it is unclear whether Hong Kong children's preferences for toys are similar to their peers in European cultures. The second question is important because knowing the gender stereotypes that Hong Kong children possess is an important first step to help the children break those stereotypes (if there are any). The third question is crucial because family members play an important role in shaping children's gender development. The data obtained could potentially inform parenting studies which aim to promote gender equality through home intervention.

METHODOLOGY

In this study, qualitative methods were used. I documented the favourite types of toys that the participants owned. I also conducted interviews with the children in order to examine their reasons for choosing particular toys and also their preferences towards gender-typed toys. Factors affecting the children's preferences were analysed.

Participants

Because of the limited time and resources, convenience sampling was used in this research. A primary school in Shatin was the site for the study. 12 children, aged between 6 and 8 years old, were selected from the school as participants (See Table 1). There were three age groups, which were 6, 7 and 8 respectively, in total. In each age group, there were four children: two boys and two girls, in which one boy and one girl had siblings while the other two did not. Participants were recruited by asking every class teacher of Primary 1 to 3 to distribute the consent forms. The collected consent forms were categorized into 12 different groups according to the children's age, gender, and if they had siblings or not. I then randomly selected one student from each group as participants. In the final sample, none of the children were reported to have language impairment or special educational needs.

Procedures

The interviews were semi-structured and contained two parts, and were informed by the research work of Blakemore and Centers (2005). First, the children were asked to briefly introduce the favourite toys that they had. Second, I presented the children with pictures of a range of toys (See Table 2). The children were then asked to choose two or three toys that they loved most and to explain their choices. Gender-typed toys of the opposite gender were also available to ensure that the available options were not limited to what the children had at home. Specifically, the children were asked whether they liked those gender-typed toys and why. Some questions about gender stereotypes such as ‘Why girls should not play with toy guns?’ were also included.

The interviews were conducted at school during recess time for about 10 to 15 minutes. One child was interviewed at a time to ensure that the children could express themselves freely and were not affected by other children.

Table 1. Details of the participants

Participants	Characteristics
6BN	6 year-old boy, without siblings
6BY	6 year-old boy, with an elder sister
6GN	6 year-old girl, without siblings
6GY	6 year-old girl, with an elder brother and a younger sister
7BN	7 year-old boy, without siblings
7BY	7 year-old boy, with a younger brother
7GN	7 year-old girl, without siblings
7GY	7 year-old girl, with a younger brother
8BN	8 year-old boy, without siblings
8BY	8 year-old boy, with two elder sisters and a younger brother
8GN	8 year-old girl, without siblings
8GY	8 year-old girl, with an elder brother

* 6 / 7 / 8: Age B: Boy G: Girl Y: With siblings N: Without siblings

Table 2. List of toys presented to children

Masculine toys	Neutral toys	Feminine toys
Action figure	Cash register	Barbie doll
Weapons	Drum	Princess costume
Fire fighter gear	Play-Doh	Dollhouse
Building / Construction kit	Memory game	Tea set
Bug collection kit	Wooden blocks	Jewellery
Dinosaur	LEGO	Toy kitchen
Police station	Scooter	Beads
Train set	Karaoke machine	Play makeup set
Football	Crayons	Baby doll
Superhero costume	Trampoline	Toy store
Doctor kit	Xylophone	Baby doll stroller

(Blakemore & Centers, 2005)

RESULTS

Preferences for and Categorization of Toys

Generally, boys reported toy cars, LEGO and superhero-related toys as their favourite toys. For girls, fluffy dolls were the most popular chosen items.

In addition, among the toys shown to the participants, the toys preferred by the male participants were either masculine or neutral. On the other hand, the female participants showed more diverse preferences. For the six female participants, five of them included at least one feminine toy in their preferences, while only Participant 8GN indicated preferences for solely neutral toys. Moreover, two of the female participants showed preferences for at least one masculine toy. Overall, the male participants showed clear preferences for masculine toys, while the female participants mostly preferred feminine toys (See Table 3).

When I asked questions such as ‘Which toys do you think boys / girls will like to play with?’ and ‘Who do you think, boys or girls, will like to play with these toys?’, all the participants demonstrated categorization of masculine and feminine toys, regardless of their

own preferences. The toys which they thought to be liked by boys and girls respectively were in line with the categorization of masculine and feminine toys in Blakemore and Centers' (2015) study. For the neutral toys, most of the participants reported that it was fine for both boys and girls to play with them. Although two of the female participants preferred some masculine toys, the way they categorized the gender-typed toys into masculine and feminine toys did not differ from their peers. For example, Participant 7GY said:

I like playing with superhero figures and costumes... I don't really like these (Barbie dolls & princess dolls)... Other girls don't like them (action figures & costumes) because they like girlish things... Toys like Barbie dolls and dollhouses are girls' toys.

Table 3. Participants' choices of and preferences for toys

Participants	Types of toys
6BN	Toy cars, LEGO, toy blocks
6BY	Toy cars, train sets, LEGO, construction kits
6GN	Fluffy dolls, dollhouses, scooters, trampolines, Play-Doh
6GY	Fluffy dolls (teddy bears), dolls (with changeable outfits), dollhouses, princess dolls & outfits, beads, Barbie dolls, baby doll strollers
7BN	Remote cars, LEGO, toy blocks
7BY	Action figures, toy weapons, LEGO
7GN	Fluffy dolls, toy dinosaurs
7GY	Fluffy dolls (teddy bears), toy guns, LEGO, action figures & costumes
8BN	Robots, LEGO, Play-Doh, construction kits, action figures
8BY	Pokemon toys, LEGO, action figures, scooters
8GN	Board games, LEGO, toy blocks, card games, crayons, Play-Doh, sports kits
8GY	Fluffy dolls, board games, Play-Doh, baby doll strollers, crayons, beads, Barbie dolls, princess dolls

Acceptance of Opposite Gender-Typed Toys

The data revealed that it was generally more acceptable for girls to play with masculine toys, than for boys to play with feminine toys. In addition, some participants said it was fine

for girls to play with masculine toys, but they strongly believed that boys should not play with feminine toys. Participant 6GY pointed out:

That's okay [for girls to play with masculine toys] because I also play with them... [But boys] can't [play with feminine toys]. My brother is not willing to play with those toys with me. He said it's disgusting!

Similar ideas were expressed by three other children. See Table 4 for details.

Participant 8BN suggested that both boys and girls did not play with gender-typed toys of the opposite gender, but he showed more negative feelings towards boys playing with feminine toys than girls playing with masculine toys:

Girls don't play with these (masculine) toys. Girls are gentle, these toys are too violent... Boys don't play with girls' toys. They might also play with these (feminine) toys, but it's a shame!

Table 4. Participants' perceptions towards opposite gender-typed toys

Participants	Perceptions
6BY	<i>Boys will play with these (masculine) toys... Actually, I don't really want to play with these (feminine toys). Boys don't play with these (feminine toys)... Girls might play with these (masculine toys). I saw my sister played with them before.</i>
7GN	<i>Boys won't play with these (feminine) toys. If boys play with them, it's a bit weird... Girls can also play with boys' toys, but mostly boys. I don't really want to play with them.</i>
8GY	<i>Boys don't like these (feminine) toys because they're too babyish to them... Girls can also play with boys' toys such as [toy] weapons and cars, but not many people are like that. Some of my friends are like that.</i>

Gender-Role Stereotypes

Specific questions were asked (e.g., who should be the caretaker? Who should drive a car?) in order to solicit the children's gender stereotypes. The results revealed that most of the

participants demonstrated gender stereotypes in social roles. All participants said that the ones who should take care of the family and do housework were mainly women. By contrast, they all answered that the ones who should drive were mostly men. Some participants further explained their answers, which unveiled the underlying gender stereotypes that they had. For instance, Participant 8GN explained: *Because vehicles are dirty and girls don't like to get dirty.* Participant 8BY also argued: *Because girls won't do such thrilling things.*

For who should be scientists, the responses were relatively diverse. Five of them said there should be more male scientists, while two said there should be more female ones. It is noteworthy that five, which was less than half of the participants, argued that both genders should have equal chances of being scientists (See Table 5).

Table 5. Participants' gender stereotypes in social roles

Participants	Take care of the family	Drive	Be scientists
6BN	Women	Men	Men
6BY	Women	Men	Men
6GN	Women	Men	Men
6GY	Women	Men	Women
7BN	Women	Men	Both
7BY	Women	Men	Men
7GN	Women	Men	Women
7GY	Women	Men	Men
8BN	Women	Men	Both
8BY	Women	Men	Both
8GN	Women	Men	Both
8GY	Women	Men	Both

Influences of Siblings on Toy Choices

My next step of investigation was to explore whether family structure (with or without a sibling) affected a child's tolerance for opposite gender-typed toys. The result was revealing.

The children with siblings of the opposite gender seemed to be more willing to play with

opposite gender-typed toys. Some female participants chose to play with certain masculine toys, so that they could play together with their brothers:

'My favourite toys are teddy bears and [toy] guns... It's because with [toy] guns I can play together with my brother.' (Participant 7GY)

'I also play with my brother's toys like the Superman figures... Sometimes I choose to buy some boys' toys to play with my brother. It will be so boring if I don't have any toys to play with him.' (Participant 6GY)

Participant 8GN is an interesting case. Although she did not have any siblings, her tolerance for opposite gender-typed toys was based on what she had observed from her relatives:

I think [girls] won't [play with masculine toys]. But my cousin does because she usually plays with her brother, so maybe she is used to playing with boys' things and likes them.

This might imply that even if a child does not have any siblings, he / she can still model his / her behaviour after other children.

It is noteworthy that when siblings of the opposite gender played together, the toys they played with were either neutral toys such as board games (Participant 8GY) and LEGO (Participants 6BY & 8BY), or masculine toys such as action figures (Participants 6GY & 8BY) and toy weapons (Participant 7GY).

The Factor of Age

The children in this study had 'theories' about the relationship between age and toys. Feminine toys appeared to be considered 'babyish'. Participant 8BN suggested that for boys, 'only babies can play with feminine toys'. However, girls can play with feminine toys regardless of their age.

Similarly, Participant 8GY also proposed that boys did not like feminine toys as they were too babyish to them. I asked her if it was alright for baby boys to play with feminine toys. She responded:

Yes, if they're babies, they can play with these (feminine) toys because they know nothing. When they've grown up, they will know which toys are for boys, and which ones are for girls.

Although Participant 7BN did not explicitly expressed that feminine toys were 'babyish', he appeared to endorse the view that feminine toys were more suitable for young children than for older ones:

For girls' toys, they're mainly girls who play with them. I played house when I was 3 years old, but I've thrown it away already.

DISCUSSION

Hong Kong children's choices of and preferences for toys were influenced by gender stereotypes. The participating children mostly chose and preferred toys which were gender-appropriate for them. This finding is consistent with previous studies which found that children's gender-typed toy preferences appear as early as in early childhood (Biernat, 1991; Freeman, 2007; Peretti & Sydney, 1984; Teglasi, 1981). However, what is noteworthy is that boys showed rather clear preferences towards masculine toys, whereas girls' preferences reflected a greater variation. This can be explained by studies suggesting that gender roles of boys are often more firmly defined than of girls (Fagot & Littman, 1975; Freeman, 2007).

With respect to the categorization of toys, toys such as cars, weapons and construction kits were labelled as 'for boys' by the participants, whereas toys such as dolls, dollhouses and cooking sets were treated as 'girls' toys'. This categorization aligns with previous studies (e.g., Blakemore & Centers, 2005; Schwartz & Markham, 1985). Although two of the female participants preferred some toys of the opposite gender, they knew those toys were masculine

and other girls probably would not like them. This shows that the participants at this age were already aware of gender stereotypes and what is expected of their gender.

Not only did their preferences for gender-typed toys differ, the participants' degree of acceptance towards opposite gender-typed toys varied. It was generally more acceptable for girls to play with masculine toys, than for boys to play with feminine toys, suggesting that there might be a more rigid gender role for boys. In addition, the participants used more negative words and expressed more negative feelings towards boys playing with feminine toys, than girls playing with masculine toys.

This phenomenon was also noted in Freeman's (2007) study. In his study, boys' predicted rate of parents' approval of opposite gender-typed toy choices was lower than that of girls. This might be due to the higher status of men than women in many societies, although gender equality is being increasingly promoted. Masculine behaviours are stereotypically more highly valued than feminine behaviours. Women behaving like men are more acceptable than men behaving like women (Rust et al., 2000). By contrast, women are usually undervalued, other related things such as feminine jobs and toys might therefore become less valued too (Teglasi, 1981). For example, if a girl plays with masculine toys such as a construction kit, people might say that she is tough and good at thinking. However, if a boy plays with feminine toys such as a baby doll, people might think that he is too weak and should be more aggressive.

Apart from the imbalanced social status of men and women, different gender-role stereotypes are also found to be influential in children's toy choices. Children tended to choose toys which were in line with their gender-role stereotypes. In this study, all participants thought that mainly women should be in charge of taking care of the family and doing housework. This echoes with the previous finding that toys such as kitchen sets and baby dolls centring on domestic life were regarded as 'for girls' (Blakemore & Centers, 2015). On the other hand, all participants thought that men were mainly the ones who should drive.

This concurs with the finding that toys such as toy cars and train sets were categorized as ‘for boys’.

Concerning who should be scientists, the participants reported diverse answers. Although the bug collection kit, which is a kind of scientific toys, was regarded as masculine by the participants, past studies often suggested that scientific toys were classified near the neutral point of the scale (see Blakemore & Centers, 2015). This might explain the lack of consensus among the younger participants. But interestingly, the oldest participants (all four 8-year old participants) believed that it was equally possible for both men and women to be scientists. This might be due to the learning arose from increased exposure to a diverse sample of people when they were growing up (Biernat, 1991).

Another focus of this study was to examine the influences of family members on children’s choices of toys. Siblings of the opposite gender were found to be influential in altering children’s choices of toys, making them more willing to play with toys of the opposite gender. Among the 12 participants, five of them had at least one opposite gender sibling. Two of the female participants were found to be influenced by their brothers and played with masculine toys. For another girl, when she played together with her brother, they played with neutral toys. Similarly, for the two boys with sisters, they said they would not play with feminine toys, even when they played with their sisters. Instead, they would only play with neutral toys together. This echoes with the finding that boys set clear lines between themselves and feminine toys. Because girls are expected to be caretakers, they are expected to meet the needs of others, which include playing with toys of the opposite gender.

Rust et al.’s (2000) research might further explain this. They suggested that having an elder brother possibly brings about both masculinization and defeminization in girls. However, having an elder sister is related to only feminization but not demasculinization in boys. It might be because girls are usually more sensitive, they are therefore less likely to impose their own views on their younger brothers. Consequently, girls’ toy choices were

found to be more influenced by their opposite gender siblings than boys'. Rust et al.'s (2000) study only focused on elder siblings' influences on younger ones, whether younger siblings also pose influences on their elder siblings remained unclear. One participant, who had a younger brother, said she loved to play with masculine toys such as toy guns as she could play together with her brother. Though one participant is not representative, it might shed light on future studies that younger siblings might also influence elder siblings in toy choices.

The finding in which the participants thought feminine toys were 'for babies' can actually be illustrated by the idea that gender-typed toy preferences are visible by age 3 (Biernat, 1991; Connor & Serbin, 1977; Maccoby, 1988). Due to the cognitive development and increased exposure to gender stereotypes from means such as the media and interactions with peers as they grow up, children's gender stereotypes steadily increase and become more rigid until the age of around 6 (Maccoby, 1998). By contrast, when children gradually become cognitively mature during middle childhood, their flexibility in gender attitudes also increases (Serbin et al., 1993).

This can be further illustrated by Freeman's (2007) research. The 5-year old participants showed more rigid gender stereotypes than the 3-year-olds in categorizing toys. Moreover, their perceived acceptance of opposite-gender play behaviours from their parents was lower than that of the 3-year-olds'. This might imply that there were more young boys playing with feminine toys than older boys. The participants in the current study might have seen babies playing with feminine toys before but not older boys, so they might have associated feminine toys with babies. Viewing it from another angle, classifying feminine toys as 'babyish' might also imply female's lower social status. Babies share similar stereotypes with female, such as weak and reliant. Therefore, both babies' toys and feminine toys might be less valued than the other toys.

CONCLUSION

The present study highlights the types of toys which Hong Kong children usually chose and preferred. Similar to studies conducted in European cultures, Hong Kong children's gender-typed toy preferences were also observed in early childhood. Their choices of and preferences for toys were affected by their gender stereotypes, and their gender stereotypes were acquired from interactions with their surrounding people and environment. For example, the children in this study believed that women should be responsible for family-related issues, whereas men should drive. Therefore, most of the girls preferred toys such as dolls and most of the boys preferred toys such as toy cars. Hong Kong is a place influenced by the Chinese culture, so gender hierarchy is still visible in our society though gender equality is being advocated nowadays. Masculinity is often more highly valued than femininity, so as the masculine toys. It is also reflected in this study that children showed more acceptance towards girls playing with masculine toys, than boys playing with feminine toys. This study also suggests that having opposite gender siblings could possibly pose influences on children's perceptions of opposite gender-typed toys. This might imply that children's gender-typed toy preferences could actually be altered, by means such as increased exposure to opposite gender-typed toys.

The main limitation of the present study is that the participants might not be representative enough as convenience sampling was used and the sampling size was small. However, the participants were selected randomly and each of them had different characteristics in terms of their (1) age, (2) gender, and (3) if they have siblings or not. This increases the representativeness of the study. Another limitation is that the participants were so young that there were communication and understanding barriers between us. It was sometimes inevitable for me to rephrase my questions and their answers. Despite the limitations, the present study can possibly supplement the previous studies about toys and gender stereotypes. Children nowadays spend less time playing with toys than before. Instead,

some of them spend time playing with gadgets. Further research investigating whether children's game choices are also associated with gender stereotypes is therefore desirable.

(4623 words)

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APPENDIX 1 – INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Can you tell me about 2 to 3 of your favourite toys?
2. Why do you love them most?
3. (Presenting pictures of different toys) If you can choose from these toys, which toys will be your favourite?
 - Which toys do you think boys will like to play with?
 - Which toys do you think girls will like to play with?
 - Who do you think, boys or girls, will like to play with these toys?
4. (Presenting pictures of gender-typed toys) Do you like these toys? Why?
 - Do you think boys / girls (same gender as the participant) will like it or not? Why?
 - Do you think boys / girls (opposite gender as the participant) will like it or not? Why?
 - Follow-up: E.g. Why do you think that girls should not play with toy guns?
5. Do you choose your own toys?
 - No → Who are the ones who choose them for you?
6. Who do you think should take care of babies, cook, iron the clothes, etc.? Men or women? Why?
7. Who do you think should drive a car, planes, ships, etc.? Men or women? Why?
8. Who do you think should be a scientist? Men or women? Why?
9. Have your parents / grandparents told you about how different genders should behave? What are they?
10. (For children with siblings) How often do you play with your brother / sister?
 - Do you share the toys and play together?
 - What toys do you usually play together?
 - Do you think boys / girls (same gender as the participant) will like it or not? Why?

APPENDIX 2 –INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (CHINESE VERSION)

1. 你最喜歡的兩、三款玩具是甚麼？
2. 為甚麼你最喜歡它們？
3. （展示不同玩具的圖片）從這些玩具中，你最喜歡哪兩、三款玩具？
 - 你覺得男孩子會喜歡哪些玩具？
 - 你覺得女孩子會喜歡哪些玩具？
 - 你覺得男孩子還是女孩子會喜歡這些玩具？
4. （展示性別定型玩具的圖片）你喜歡這些玩具嗎？為甚麼？
 - 你覺得其他男孩子／女孩子（受訪者的性別）會喜歡它們嗎？為甚麼？
 - 你覺得其他男孩子／女孩子（與受訪者相反的性別）會喜歡它們嗎？為甚麼？
 - 跟進問題：例：為什麼你覺得女孩子不應該玩玩具槍？
5. 你的玩具是自己選擇的嗎？
 - 否 → 誰替你選擇玩具？
6. 你覺得應該由男生還是女生負責照顧嬰兒、煮飯、燙衣服等？為甚麼？
7. 你覺得應該由男生還是女生駕車、駕船、駕飛機等？為甚麼？
8. 你覺得應該由男生還是女生當科學家？為什麼？
9. 你爸媽／祖父母有沒有告訴你不同性別該怎樣做才恰當？是怎樣？
10. （有兄弟姊妹的受訪者適用）你常常和你的兄弟姊妹一起玩嗎？多久一次？
 - 你們會分享玩具，一起玩嗎？
 - 你們一起玩的玩具多數是甚麼？
 - 你覺得其他男孩子／女孩子（與受訪者相反的性別）會喜歡它們嗎？為甚麼？

APPENDIX 3 – FIELD NOTES OF INTERVIEWS

Participant 6BN

Q1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Toy cars
Q2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is fun to play with
Q3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • LEGO, building blocks • Boys will like: Masculine toys • Girls will like: Feminine toys • Neutral toys: Both boys and girls can play with
Q4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Only boys can play with these (masculine) toys, girls can’t play with the superhero figures because superheroes fight and only boys fight.’ (「男仔先可以玩呢啲玩具，女仔唔可以玩呢啲超級英雄公仔，因為呢啲係會打仗，男仔先會打仗。」) • ‘Girls love to play with these (feminine) toys because they like to play with babyish toys.’ (「女仔鍾意玩呢啲，因為 BB 嘢女仔鍾意玩。」) • ‘Only girls can play with these (feminine toys) because it is very girlish. Because there are princesses, only girls can play with princess dolls.’ (「剩係女仔先可以玩呢啲，因為好女仔，因為有公主，公主得女仔先可以玩。」)
Q5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By himself and Grandmother • Grandmother will not buy him feminine toys
Q6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women • ‘Because most girls iron the clothes.’ (「因為女仔多數都燙衫。」)
Q7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men • ‘Because I saw mostly boys were driving.’ (「因為我見到果啲多數都係男仔。」)
Q8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men • ‘Because girls cannot be scientists.’ (「因為女仔唔可以做科學家。」)
Q9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Grandmother said boys should be brave and can’t cry often’ (「嫲嫲話男仔要堅強啲，唔可以成日喊。」)
Q10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘I won’t play with Barbie dolls with girls because only girls play with them. Girls won’t play with boys’ toys with us too.’ (「我唔會同女仔朋友玩 Barbie，因為係女仔先玩嘅。女仔都唔會同我哋男仔玩啲男仔玩具。」)

Participant 6BY

Q1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Toy cars, train sets
Q2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Like the wheels, like to assemble the rails with Sister
Q3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • LEGO, construction kits (Mum buys a lot of LEGO sets) • Boys like: Masculine toys • Girls like: Feminine toys • Neutral toys: Both boys and girls can play with
Q4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Will not play with feminine toys • ‘Usually, boys like to play with Spiderman toys.’ (「通常啲男仔都係鍾意玩 Spiderman 啲玩具。」) • ‘Boys will play with these (masculine) toys. Actually, I don’t really want to play with these (feminine toys).’ (「男仔會玩呢啲玩具，其實我唔係幾想玩呢啲。」) • ‘Girls might play with these (masculine toys). I saw my sister played with them before.’ (「女仔都可能會玩呢啲，我見我姐姐都玩過。」)
Q5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By himself
Q6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women • ‘I think it is.’ (「我覺得係。」)
Q7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both, but mostly men
Q8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men • ‘Because when I went to the Science Museum, the ones who taught me to make something were often boys.’ (「因為我去過科學館，通常都係啲男仔教整嘢嘅。」)
Q9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Boys should be brave’ (「男仔要勇敢啲。」)
Q10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Twice a week • Play with train sets and LEGO with Sister

Participant 6GN

Q1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fluffy dolls (e.g. ducklings)
Q2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They are so cute
Q3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dollhouses, scooters, trampolines, Play-Doh • Boys like: Masculine toys • Girls like: Feminine toys
Q4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘I won’t play with these (toy dinosaurs), it’s too boyish.’ (「我唔會玩呢啲，呢啲太男仔。」) • ‘I guess other girls also like to play with these (feminine toys).’ (「我估其他女仔都鍾意玩呢啲。」) • Both boys and girls can sometimes play with toys of the opposite gender
Q5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By herself; Mum approves • ‘Mum buys some girls’ toys for me.’ (「媽咪會揀啲女仔玩具畀我。」)
Q6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women • ‘If Mum is not at home, my helper will wash the clothes and sometimes Dad might help. But for most of the time, girls do [housework].’ (「有時媽咪唔喺屋企，工人姐姐會洗衫，有時爸爸可能都會幫手，但係多數都係女仔做。」)
Q7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men • ‘Because I see mostly boys [drive].’ (「因為多數見到男仔。」)
Q8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men, but women can also be
Q9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Mum told me that girls should be gentle.’ (「媽咪話女仔要斯文啲。」)
Q10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If a boy wants to play with masculine toys with her → Will not play with him

Participant 6GY

Q1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fluffy dolls (e.g. rabbits, teddy bears), princess dolls (with changeable outfits)
Q2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can sleep together with the fluffy dolls and play together with Brother and Sister • Can play with the princess dolls with Sister
Q3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dollhouses, princess dolls & outfits, beads, Barbie dolls, baby doll strollers • Boys like: Masculine toys • Girls like: Feminine toys
Q4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘These toys are for boys, my brother likes to play with them. I don’t really like them, but sometimes I play with them with my brother.’ (「呢啲玩具係畀男仔玩嘅，我哥哥鍾意玩呢啲。我就唔係幾鍾意呢啲，不過有時都會同哥哥玩。」) • ‘I also play with my brother’s toys like the Superman figures.’ (「我都會玩哥哥 D 玩具，例如佢個 Superman 公仔。」) • ‘I also have some boys’ toys, like the Spiderman figures.’ (「我都有啲男仔玩具，好似 Spiderman 果啲公仔呢。」) • ‘That’s okay [for girls to play with masculine toys] because I also play with them.’ (「可以，因為我都有玩。」) • ‘[Boys] can’t [play with feminine toys]. My brother is not willing to play with those toys with me. He said it’s disgusting!’ (「唔可以㗎，我哥哥唔肯同我玩啲啲玩具，佢話好核突！」)
Q5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By herself • ‘Sometimes I choose to buy some boys’ toys to play with my brother. It will be so boring if I don’t have any toys to play with him.’ (「有時都會揀啲男仔玩具同阿哥玩，因為如果有玩具同阿哥玩會好悶。」)
Q6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women • ‘Because usually Mum does [the housework], but it should also be okay if boys do it.’ (「因為多數都係媽咪做，不過男仔應該都得。」)
Q7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men • ‘Because most drivers are boys.’ (「因為多數司機都係男仔。」)
Q8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women, sometimes men
Q9	
Q10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Every day • Play with Brother’s toys (e.g. Superman) • ‘Some girls might also like them (masculine toys), but most girls don’t [like them].’ (「有啲女仔可能都鍾意嘅，但多數都唔會。」)

Participant 7BN

Q1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Remote control cars, LEGO
Q2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Remote control cars: Not tiring to play with LEGO: Can learn how things are assembled & how buildings are built
Q3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> LEGO, toy blocks Boys like: Masculine toys Girls like: Feminine toys Neutral toys: Both boys and girls can play with
Q4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ‘Girls might also like boys’ toys, but most of them don’t. But it’s not a must because it’s about your personalities.’ (「女仔都有可能會鍾意男仔啲玩具㗎，不過多數都唔會。但都唔一定嘅，因為呢個係你性格㗎。」) ‘For girls’ toys, they’re mainly girls who play with them. I played house when I was 3 years old, but I’ve thrown it away already.’ (「女仔玩具多數都係女仔玩。我3歲嗰陣都有玩煮飯仔，不過已經掉咗。」)
Q5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> By himself; parents give advice
Q6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both, but mostly women ‘Because housewives are women. Boys can also do [housework], but it’s rare.’ (「因為家庭主婦係女人。男仔都可以做，但好少。」)
Q7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Men, but there are also women ‘Because they are more interested in cars.’ (「因為佢哋對車有興趣㗎。」)
Q8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both ‘See both men and women on TV.’ (「電視度見到又有男又有女。」)
Q9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parents said boys should be brave
Q10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> If a girl wants to play with Barbie dolls with him → Will not play with her

Participant 7BY

Q1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Superman, Captain America & Spiderman figures
Q2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Love the superheroes very much
Q3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • LEGO, construction kits (Mum buys a lot of LEGO sets) • Boys like: Masculine toys • Girls like: Feminine toys • Neutral toys: Both boys and girls can play with
Q4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Will not play with feminine toys; dislike princesses • Other boys will also like the masculine toys • ‘These (feminine) toys are only for girls. Boys won’t like them. Every boy doesn’t like them.’ (「呢啲玩具只係畀女仔玩㗎咋，男仔唔會鍾意，每個男仔都唔鍾意佢哋。」) • ‘I’ve heard a really funny thing from a person. He said his friend is a girl and she likes to play with Iron Man [toys]. His other friend is a boy and he likes to play with Barbie dolls! It’s really funny because very few people are like that.’ (「我聽過一個人講啲好搞笑嘅嘢，佢話佢個朋友係女仔，佢最鍾意玩 Iron Man，另一個朋友係男仔，佢最鍾意玩 Barbie。好好笑，因為好少人係咁樣。」)
Q5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By himself
Q6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women • ‘Because I see Mum holding my baby brother, cooking and ironing the clothes every day.’ (「因為我日日都見到媽咪抱住 BB 細佬、煮飯同燙衫。」)
Q7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mostly men, but some women
Q8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mostly men
Q9	
Q10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Play LEGO together with Brother

Participant 7GN

Q1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fluffy dolls (e.g. Winnie the Pooh)
Q2	
Q3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Toy dinosaurs • Doesn't like feminine toys very much • Boys like: Masculine toys • Girls like: Feminine toys • Neutral toys: Both boys and girls can play with
Q4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'I think other girls like to play with something like Play-Doh, Barbie dolls and playhouse.' (「我諗其他女仔鍾意玩泥膠、Barbie 同煮飯仔呢啲。」) • 'Boys won't play with these (feminine) toys. If boys play with them, it's a bit weird.' (「男仔唔會玩呢啲玩具，如果男仔玩會覺得好奇怪。」) • 'Girls can also play with boys' toys, but mostly boys. I don't really want to play with them.' (「女仔都可以玩男仔啲玩具嘅，不過多數都係男仔。我唔係幾想玩呢啲。」)
Q5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By herself • 'My parents won't buy me boys' toys, they may buy me girls' toys such as Barbie dolls and princess dolls.' (「爸爸媽咪唔會買男仔玩具畀我，佢哋可能會買啲女仔玩具，好似 Barbie 同公主嘅啲。」)
Q6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women • 'Boys won't do much of this (housework).' (「男仔唔會做咁多呢啲。」)
Q7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men
Q8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women • 'Because I usually see female scientists on TV.' (「因為我成日喺電視見到女科學家。」)
Q9	
Q10	

Participant 7GY

Q1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teddy bears, toy guns
Q2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘My favourite toys are teddy bears and [toy] guns.’ (「我最鍾意嘅玩具係熊啤啤同埋槍。」) • ‘It’s because with [toy] guns I can play together with my brother.’ (「因為槍可以同細佬一齊玩。」)
Q3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • LEGO, action figures & costumes • Boys like: Masculine toys • Girls like: Feminine toys • Neutral toys: Both boys and girls can play with
Q4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘I like playing with superhero figures and costumes.’ (「我鍾意玩呢啲超級英雄公仔，呢啲衫我都鍾意。」) • ‘I don’t really like these (Barbie & princess dolls).’ (「呢啲我麻麻咁鍾意。」) • ‘Other girls don’t like them (action figures & costumes) because they like girlish things.’ (「其他女仔唔鍾意呢啲嘢，因為佢哋鍾意女仔嘢。」) • ‘Toys like Barbie dolls and dollhouses are girls’ toys.’ (「Barbie、公仔屋呢啲係女仔玩具。」) • If a girl likes to play with masculine toys → No problem
Q5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By herself
Q6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both, mostly women • ‘Because usually Mum does [the housework].’ (「因為通常都係媽咪做。」)
Q7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men • ‘Because when Dad drives me to school, I usually see men drive.’ (「因為平時爸爸揸車送我返學，成日都見到男仔揸。」)
Q8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mostly men, but women can also be • ‘Because I usually see them on TV.’ (「因為我成日喺電視見到。」)
Q9	
Q10	

Participant 8BN

Q1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Robots
Q2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Read a lot of information about robots
Q3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> LEGO, Play-Doh, construction kits Boys like: Masculine toys Girls like: Feminine toys Neutral toys: Both boys and girls can play with
Q4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ‘Girls don’t play with these (masculine) toys. Girls are gentle, these toys are too violent!’ (「女仔唔會玩呢啲玩具。女仔好斯文，呢啲太暴力喇。」) ‘Boys don’t play with girls’ toys. They might also play with these (feminine) toys, but it’s a shame!’ (「男仔唔玩女仔啲玩具㗎。男仔都可以玩嘅，但好醜怪囉！」) ‘These (feminine) toys seem to be so babyish.’ (「呢啲玩具好似好 BB 咁樣。」) {Can a baby boy play with these toys?} ‘Yes, he can. It’s because these (feminine toys) are suitable for babies, but not for the older ones.’ (「可以，因為呢啲啱啲 BB 玩，唔啱啲大個啲嘅玩。」) {Can a girl of the same age as you play with these?} ‘Yes.’ (「可以。」)
Q5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> By himself If his parents choose toys for him → LEGO
Q6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women ‘Because these kinds of daily life things are done by Mum’ (「因為呢啲生活嘅嘢平時係媽咪做。」)
Q7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both, but mostly men ‘Because I see [them] in my daily life.’ (「因為平時見到。」)
Q8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both ‘Sometimes I see men, sometimes I see women on TV.’ (「我喺電視見到有時男，有時女。」)
Q9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ‘Boys should let ladies go / do something first.’ (「男仔要讓女仔先。」) ‘Dad said boys should be braver.’ (「爸爸話男仔要勇敢啲嘅。」)
Q10	

Participant 8BY

Q1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pokemon toys, LEGO, action figures
Q2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pokemon toys: Can throw them out to play • LEGO: Can build something together with Brother and Sisters • Action figures: Can play together with siblings (e.g. pretend to battle with one another using the figures)
Q3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • LEGO, action figures, scooters • Boys like: Masculine toys • Girls like: Feminine toys • Neutral toys: Both boys and girls can play with
Q4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other boys will also like the masculine toys • ‘Girls won’t play with these (masculine toys) because these are boys’ things.’ (「女仔唔會玩呢啲，因為呢啲係男仔嘢。」) • ‘Boys won’t play with girls’ toys. These are girls’ things because they have dresses! My sister played with Barbie dolls before, she put makeup on the Barbie dolls.’ (「男仔唔會玩女仔啲玩具。呢啲係女仔嘢，因為佢哋有裙㗎！家姐以前有玩 Barbie，佢擺啲 Barbie 嚟幫佢哋化妝。」)
Q5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By himself
Q6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women • ‘Because I don’t like to do [housework], so I think other boys don’t [like to do it] too.’ (「因為我唔鍾意做，所以我覺得其他男仔都唔鍾意。」)
Q7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men • ‘Because girls won’t do such thrilling things.’ (「因為女仔唔會做啲咁刺激嘅嘢。」)
Q8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both • ‘Because I’ve seen many scientists on TV, some are men and some are women.’ (「因為我喺電視見過好多科學家，有啲係男仔，有啲係女仔。」)
Q9	
Q10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Play with LEGO, action figures with Brother and Sisters • If a girl wants to play with feminine toys with him → Will not play with her • ‘I’ll ask her to play with the others.’ (「我會叫佢同第二個玩。」)

Participant 8GN

Q1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Board games (e.g. Monopoly, Chinese checkers), LEGO, toy blocks, card games
Q2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chinese checkers: Can learn how to plan carefully for each step
Q3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Crayons, Play-Doh, LEGO, toy blocks, sports kits Boys like: Masculine toys Girls like: Feminine toys Neutral toys: Both boys and girls can play with
Q4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ‘I think boys won’t play with girls’ toys.’ (「我諗男仔應該唔會玩女仔玩具。」) ‘I think [girls] won’t [play with masculine toys]. But my cousin does because she usually plays with her brother, so maybe she is used to playing with boys’ things and likes them.’ (「我就覺得應該唔會喇。但係我表姐會，因為佢成日同表哥玩呢，所以可能佢就會鍾意男仔嘢囉，玩慣㗎。」)
Q5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> By Aunt and Grandmother, sometimes by herself Aunt & Grandmother: Toys which are beneficial to her (e.g. toy blocks, coloured pencils)
Q6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women, but men can also do ‘Because Grandpa seldom cooks at home. He usually asks Grandma and Aunt [to do].’ (「因為屋企裡面爺爺好少煮飯㗎㗎，通常都係叫嫲嫲、姑姐㗎㗎。」)
Q7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Men ‘Because vehicles are dirty and girls don’t like to get dirty.’ (「因為汽車㗎㗎好污糟，女仔唔鍾意整污糟。」)
Q8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both ‘It depends on whether the person likes Science or not.’ (「睇個個人鍾唔鍾意科學。」)
Q9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ‘Grandpa said girls have to help the family do housework.’ (「爺爺話女仔要成日幫屋企人做家务。」) ‘Men have a higher status because we can’t just ignore them. We must follow what men have said.’ (「男人地位高㗎，因為我哋冇得唔理佢㗎㗎。我哋一定要聽男人講嘅嘢。」)
Q10	

Participant 8GY

Q1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fluffy dolls (e.g. Barnie), board games (e.g. Pictionary, Monopoly, Ludo)
Q2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fluffy dolls: Can hold them like babies • Board games: Can play together with Brother
Q3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Play-Doh, baby doll strollers, crayons, beads, Barbie & princess dolls • Boys like: Masculine toys • Girls like: Feminine toys • Neutral toys: Both boys and girls can play with
Q4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other girls will also like the feminine toys • ‘Boys don’t like these (feminine) toys because they’re too babyish to them.’ (「男仔唔鍾意呢啲玩具㗎，因為呢啲對佢哋嚟講太 BB 喇。」) • {Can the baby boys play with these toys?} ‘Yes, if they’re babies, they can play with these (feminine) toys because they know nothing. When they’ve grown up, they will know which toys are for boys, and which ones are for girls.’ (「如果佢哋係 BB，佢哋就可以玩呢啲玩具，因為佢哋乜都唔知㗎嘛！佢哋大個咗就知邊啲玩具係男仔，邊啲係女仔嘅。」) • ‘Girls can also play with boys’ toys such as [toy] weapons and cars, but not many people are like that. Some of my friends are like that.’ (「女仔都可以玩男仔玩具例如啲武器啊車啊嗰啲，不過唔多人係咁樣嘅，我有啲朋友都係咁樣。」)
Q5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mum gives suggestions • Mostly fluffy dolls and something useful
Q6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women • ‘Because usually Mum does those things’ (「因為大概都係媽咪做啲啲㗎囉。」)
Q7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men • ‘Because the ones I see on the roads are men.’ (「因為平時喺街見到都係男仔。」)
Q8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both
Q9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents said girls should be gentle
Q10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frequently play with Brother • Usually play Pictionary and other board games with Brother • Brother will not play fluffy dolls with her