



**Vietnamese children's play and parents' prejudice, stereotypes and
discrimination on the basis of gender and social classes:**

A quantitative study

by

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A Master's Thesis submitted in fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Erasmus Mundus Joint Master Degree *Play, Education, Toys and Languages*
(PETaL EMJMD)

Universidad de Córdoba

2021

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UNIVERSIDAD DE CÓRDOBA

ABSTRACT

Vietnamese children's play and parents' prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination on the basis of gender and social classes:

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This study aims to explore parents' prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination towards their children's play on the basis of social classes and gender, applying a Likert scale 'Parents' prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination towards their children's play, based on gender and social classes' (PPSD) with 760 Vietnamese parents inhabiting in the country. The Likert scale was built, applying the Delphi method and analysed with Cronbach alpha test and Factor Analysis in order to validate the measurement tool. After that, Descriptive Analysis, Kruskal-Wallis test and Man Whitney U test were utilised to analyse the impact of key factors such as gender, education, income, living areas on parents' prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination towards their children's play. Results show that parents somewhat disagreed with the statements expressing dislike to accents and dialects of children from other social groups. However, they did not show consistency in their dislike towards behaviours and ways of speaking of children from other social classes, in which while some parents agreed, others did not. Although parents were not quite sure if they could accept the values and thoughts of children from other social groups, they quite avoided negative stereotypes as well as discrimination against them. Regarding gender, the study found out that although parents were inconsistent in their affection of children's cross-sex play and the fact that their children like playing with toys associated with the opposite gender, they were consistent in their thinking of solidifying their children's gender attributes through gender-specific toys. Especially, they reached agreement in their action of orientating children's gender through children's play and toys which need to be gender-appropriate. In addition, the study also reported that gender, education, living areas and income affect parents' prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination towards their children's play, based on social class and gender.

Keywords: Play, stereotypes, parents, children, Vietnam.



Highlights:

- People with higher education, especially post-graduate levels and high income, tended to give neutral opinions for statements expressing prejudice and stereotypes towards children's toys and playmates, based on gender. On the contrary, people with lower education and lower income (middle and low income) were likely to slightly agree with those statements.
- In comparison to parents living in suburban and rural areas who somewhat agreed with statements expressing prejudice and stereotypes towards children's toys and playmates based on gender, parents living in cities seemed to show less approval.
- All groups of parents living in different areas were likely to disagree with statements expressing negative stereotypes about children's attributes of other social classes. However, urban residents were stronger in their disagreement in comparison to parents living in rural areas.
- Parents living in urban, suburban and rural areas agreed to guide their children's play in a typical manner to their children's gender but parents from remote areas with difficulties of access only showed slight agreement.
- Females tended to show agreement with the attitude of being worried towards a specific gender of their children (either female or male) regarding their choice of toys ('girl toys' or 'boy toys') and playmates (same sex or the other sex) as well as dislike the influence of the other gendered playmate on their children's way of speaking. However, males tended to choose 'neutral' options.

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A Master's Thesis presented on Play and intercultural education in early childhood in the framework of the Erasmus Mundus Joint Master Degree *Play, Education, Toys and Languages* (PETaL EMJMD).



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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express sincere appreciation to Professor Maria Elena Gómez Parra for her assistance and kind instruction in the preparation of this manuscript. In addition, special thanks to Mr. Alan Dean (Burning2learn UK), whose wisdom, love and care for education and humans actually inspired the author, your spirit always remains. Thanks my strong mom for letting your daughter go that far in the time of uncertainty and the crazy covid pandemic. Thanks family and friends (Giang, Ái Phương, Thùy, Thúy Huyền, Thùy Dzung, Theresa, Giovanna, Hanane, Albina, Citlally, Sara and PETaLitos' family) for your care and support. Thanks professors Elena, Dalila and Esra for your warmth and for organising interesting courses which become part of the thesis.



GLOSSARY

Discrimination: negative treatment of people based on group membership.

Gender segregation: the separation of children into groups of the same-gender or the same-sex.

Gender preference: individual taste or tendency of choosing playmates, partners based on gender.

Gender typing process: the process of acquiring a set of behaviours, interests and personality traits which are more typical for their own sex.

Prejudice: an affective reaction or evaluative judgment of people from a social group, such as gender, ethnicity, etc.

Social class: a group of people sharing the same status in the society, based on their education, cultural and socio-economic backgrounds.

Stereotype: a belief about the features of members of a social group, such as gender, ethnicity, etc.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1. Statement of Problem

Children spend a great amount of time playing. Through play, they explore the world around themselves, discover their instincts, form survival skills and knowledge, and step by step build relationships with other people. Play, therefore, plays an imperative role in children's development (Froebel, 1885; Montessori, 1995; Piaget, 1951). Mentioning play also refers to a play environment which is the condition that can either support or impede and pose a threat to children's play (Kyttä, 2004).

We are living in the world of globalization. However, discrimination based on gender, sociocultural and economic backgrounds is still a chronic issue. This happens not only in adulthood but also in childhood, which can impact children's development negatively. Children are not born with discrimination or bias. However, the environment and teachings of adults can contribute to their prejudice and stereotypes which can lead to bad treatment against a specific group of people.

Family or parents, the first environment that children contact and access, impact children's understanding of the world as well as their behaviours and characteristics. From the aforementioned reasons, it is necessary to investigate parents' prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination towards their children's play on the basis of gender and social classes in order to propose educational solutions for a more cohesive society. This objective is necessary, especially in the context of Vietnam – a multicultural country experiencing painful division throughout its history, with 54 distinct ethnic groups being influenced by different philosophies and religions living together (McCann Cargile et al., 2004; Phung et al., 2017). With this purpose, the research questions and hypotheses of this study are the following:

- Research question 1: Do Vietnamese parents have prejudice and stereotypes on the basis of gender, dialects and accents, as well as social class, regarding their children's play?
- Hypothesis 1: Vietnamese parents do have prejudice and stereotypes on the basis of gender, dialects and accents, as well as social class, regarding their children's play.



- Research question 2: Are there any differences among different groups of participants regarding their education, living areas, income, and gender on their prejudice and stereotypes involving their children's play?
- Hypothesis 2: There are differences among different groups of participants regarding their education, living areas, income and gender on their prejudice and stereotypes involving their children's play.

2. Purpose of the study

The study aims to investigate Vietnamese parents' attitudes towards their children's play, including toys and playmates, on the basis of gender, dialects and accents and social class, as well as to explore if their attitudes are impacted by some social factors, such as, education, living areas, income and gender. In order to achieve the aim, the study points at building and validating a scale as a measurement tool to evaluate parents' prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination towards their children's play, based on gender, dialects and accents and social class.

3. Definition of terms

The concepts of stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination in children's play and toys of this study are based on the concept of racism of Clark et al. (1999) and Mckown (2004) which includes three components: a cognitive component (stereotypes), an affective component (prejudice), and a behavioral component (discrimination). According to Mckown (2004), a stereotype is perceived as a belief about the feature of members of a racial group; a prejudice is believed as an affective reaction or evaluative judgment of people from a specific racial group; and discrimination is explained as negative treatment of people based on group membership.

Similar to Mckown (2004), Locke and Johnston (2001) defined stereotypes as mental representations of social groups and their members which include both positive and negative features and traits as well as expectations of behaviours of the groups' members. Stereotypes are the way the mind applies to simplify and understand the social world. They exist due to the fact that they help each individual save effort to deal with a great amount of information in everyday life. Coming to prejudice, it is defined as the affective nature of humans' response to individuals of other social groups.

According to Locke and Johnston (2001), a notable theory about the relationship between stereotypes and prejudice is Devine's (1989). The central notion of her theory is that when judging any social groups, *all* persons automatically activate



stereotypical information connected with this group, no matter what level of their prejudice. However, the author contends that levels of prejudice will affect the operation of stereotypes, meaning that they can remain active or be inhibited as a result of processing strategies.

Regarding Devine's theory, Locke and Johnston argue that in order to become a non-prejudiced person, we need to experience many cycles of activation and inhibition of stereotypes. The authors also reviewed that there is research evidence which does not support Devine's theory. Instead, they suggest that people are 'at the very least, strategic in their laziness' and 'not everybody automatically activates the stereotype of well-known social groups' (Locke & Johnston, 2001, p. 117)

In this current study, instead of exploring prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination based on 'racial group', they are investigated based on gender, ethnicity and social class which includes different layers including living areas, cultural and socio-economic backgrounds.

Furthermore, Bigler and Liben (2006) proposed a domain-general developmental intergroup theory emphasising on the mechanism driving the formation of stereotypes and prejudice. The mechanism includes four processes. They are: (1) the formation of psychological notice of person features, for instance, explicit labeling of persons based on gender and race; (2) grouping persons based on their salient attributes; (3) the development of stereotyping, bias; and (4) the application of stereotyping to individuals.



Chapter 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. Statement of the research problem

To the author's best knowledge, up to now there has not been a study investigating Vietnamese parents' prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination towards their children's play on the basis of social classes and gender. In addition, although there are many instruments to measure adults' explicit and implicit stereotypes, there is still a lack of scales to measure parents' levels of prejudice, stereotypes towards children's playmates and toys, based on gender, dialects and accents as well as social classes. These are the gaps that this study seeks to cover. In order to fulfill the aforementioned research gaps, the study reviews concepts, theories and empirical studies of the following topics: children's play; children's toys; children's development of gender, concepts of social class, ethnicity and race; children's playmate preferences on the basis of gender, social class, ethnicity and race; children's toy preferences; stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination of adults, regarding children's play and toys; and the relationship between parental and children's prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination in children's play based on social groups.

2. Literature review

2.1 Children's play

According to Sutton-Smith (2001), play is an ambiguous concept. Many activities that humans conduct everyday can be considered play, such as joking and teasing others, collecting models or stamps as a hobby, daydreaming with imagination, playing instruments, celebrating holidays, etc. The aforementioned activities bring pleasure for participants and people carry out them intrinsically without being forced although those activities are diverse in forms, experiences, players and scenarios. The diversity and ambiguity of play make it difficult to define play. Researchers on the area have tried to identify the criteria to differentiate playful from non-playful activities and they have so far agreed on the following ones: enjoyment, flexibility and non-literality (Krasnor and Pepler, 1980; Smith and Vollstedt, 1985; Smith, 2010). According to Smith (2010), enjoyment is understood as the positive affection that play brings to participants. Flexibility refers to the diversity, adaptation and changeability of forms and content of a play. Non-literality or pretense means the pretend element of play which allows objects and actions in reality to be understood in other meanings which are not usual in real life. For instance, a comb can become a gun in a game that children pretend to play



fighting under the theme of superheroes. Krasnor and Pepler (1980) also proposed another criterion of play, which is intrinsic motivation, meaning that play is for its own sake, people play because they are motivated, not because they would like to receive a prize or a reward.

Sutton-Smith (2001) put forward the discourse ‘play as progress’, which is usually applied for children’s play. ‘Play as progress’ explains children’s play as the developmental process of different domains, including cognition, emotions, social competence and group culture. For example, Piaget (1951) proposed children’s developmental stages, which correspond to children’s play stages (from functional play to constructive play, then symbolic play and to games with rules).

Children’s play plays an imperative role in their development in different domains, including cognition, and emotional and social capacities (Piaget, 1951; Sutton-Smith, 2001; Smith, 2010). According to Lester and Russell (2008), the dominant perspective views children’s play as a means of learning and preparing for adulthood. In addition, there is another concept of play in which play is seen as a therapeutic process to heal or solve illnesses or issues related to mental health, emotions, or in a broader meaning, for well-being. The perception that views play as a therapeutic process can be found in the Psychology theories of Sigmund Freud, Carl Gustav Jung, Donald Woods Winnicott and Virginia Axline (Lester & Russell, 2010).

2.2 Children’s toys

Children’s toys participate in children’s play and contribute to affecting children’s understanding of the world. Children’s toys function as media of communication (Wilkinson, 1970). Toys according to Schroeder and Cohen (1971) introduce the child ‘to the realities of the world into which he was growing’ (Schroeder and Cohen, 1971: 11). Considerably, Wilkinson (1974) argues that children’s toys are mechanisms for the acquisition of race, sex roles, values and rules of adult society. Therefore, they function as the tool of guiding children to follow expected future role behaviours.

The assumption of toys as media of communication is proved by some research evidence by Raag and Rackliff (1998) and Freeman (2007). Their research show that children learn sex typical features through toys by grouping toys for girls and toys for boys. Ragg and Rackliff (1998) pointed out that girls knew they were anticipated playing with dolls or cooking sets and boys should play with tools, trucks and cars by answering the questions asking them what they thought about their parents’ opinions if they played with gender-typed toys. All children in the study responded that it would be either ‘good’ or ‘does not matter’ for their mothers if they played with those toys. Similarly, all children except two believed that their fathers would have similar opinions to their mothers when they played



with typical toys for their gender. Freeman (2007) also reported that girls participating in the study predicted parents would agree with cross-gender play between 20% (5-year-old girls' expectation of mothers' agreement) to 40% (3-year-old girls' expectation of fathers' agreement). Boys expected parents would allow cross-gender choices only between 9% (5-year olds' expectation of fathers' approval) and 36% (3-year-olds' expectation of mothers' approval) of the time. Freeman (2007) contends that children are influenced significantly by their context, and they acquire gender stereotypes through toys as well as know acceptable toys for each gender (females or males).

2.3 Children's development of gender, concepts of social class, ethnicity and race

2.3.1. Children's gender development

According to Martin et al. (2002), gender typing process, the process of acquiring a set of behaviours, interests and personality traits which are more typical for their own sex, can be explained by two contrary theories: social learning theories and cognitive theories. The debate between the two aforementioned theories can be traced back to the 1960s with perspectives of Walter Mischel (1966) and Lawrence Kohlberg (1966).

Mischel (1966) reckoned that gender development is strongly influenced by environmental factors including rewards and models. He contended that behaviours anticipate cognitions (e.g., I am rewarded to behave like a girl, then I become a girl). On the contrary, Kohlberg (1966) believed that children's growing insight of gender groups leads them to perform typical gender typed behaviours corresponding to their own sex. He argued that cognition precedes behaviours (e.g., I am a girl and therefore, I do things like a girl).

The issue of gender development was still controversial in 1970s with questions about the process of shaping gender typed behaviours through social forces, especially same-sex modeling (Martin et al., 2002). On the contrary, in 1980s the cognitive approach to gender development achieved gradual development with the gender schema theories, including versions emphasising individual differences (Bem, 1981; Marcus et al., 1982) and those appreciate developmental issues (Liben & Signorella, 1980; Martin & Halverson, 1981). Both two versions of gender schema theories, though differ from Kohlberg's thoughts, still focus on constructive processes related to gender development.

According to Martin et al. (2002), overtime the two approaches to gender development (social learning theories and cognitive theories) have developed to the middle point in which cognitive theories demonstrate more concern in environmental determinants affecting the building and content of gender cognition



while social learning theories show more interests in cognitive and internal factors influencing gender development. In the 1990s, social learning theories integrated cognitive factors to explain gender development, which led to the Social-Cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986; Bussey & Bandura, 1999).

Martin et al. (2002) also reviewed a salient point of the Social-Cognitive theory which is learning through modeling others' behaviours (Bandura, 1977, 1986; Bussey & Bandura, 1999). According to this notion, observation is a significant tool for learning gender roles. In addition, children are able to learn typical behaviours for each gender without the necessity of valuing and being interested in those behaviours. Martin et al. (2002) believe that modeling fills the gap that the primitive social learning approach to gender development proposed by Michel (1966) left. While Michel's social learning approach cannot explain children's ability of learning complex gender-typed behaviours from adults only through rewards without any periods of trials and errors, modeling helps to illustrate how children absorb and internalise information of gender roles from the environment surrounding them.

Gender-related modeling also involves gender self-socialisation which according to Emolu (2014) means that children are socialised to their gender roles and are taught what to be females and what to be males.

It is also notable that gender-related modeling is not limited to copying same-sex models. Instead, children practice the capacity of generating a new series of behaviours from their observation (Martin et al., 2002). Through internal retention, production, and motivation, children probably internalise and comprehend more abstract rules of gender typed behaviours, then can produce new strings of gendered behaviours.

Another remarkable point is that children can choose and form their own environments as well, meaning that children can contribute to their gender role socialisation by their choices of playmates and play activities (Martin et al., 2002). A child who engages in activities with playmates of not only their gender but also the opposite gender can be more flexible in their gender sets of norms. In addition, children can choose and remember social information that corresponds to their own gender schema, and they can ignore, reject the information that is not consistent (Bandura & Bussey, 2004).

According to Emolu (2014), the Cognitive – Developmental Theory was derived from the work of Piaget which strongly emphasises children's stages of development. When children go through these stages, they actively socialise instead of being passive. According to Martin et al. (2002), a vital element of this theory is gender constancy which is characterised by three stages: (1) gender identity (the realisation of being boys or girls), (2) gender stability (the understanding that gender



identity does not change over time), and (3) gender consistency (the recognition that gender identity is not affected by changes in appearance, such as long hair or short hair, activities and traits. From the three stages proposed by the Cognitive - Developmental theory, gender stability and gender consistency are higher levels of gender understanding (Martin et al., 2002). Obviously, without the ability of identifying if a person is either a girl or a boy, children cannot develop to the level of seeing that a female is still a female even if she gets older or changes her appearance over time. Martin et al. (2002) also reviewed that Cognitive – Developmental theory highlights that gender development requires active construction of the meaning of gender categories manipulated by the child him/herself rather than external factors surrounding him/her.

2.3.2 Children's awareness and understanding of social class

According to Kustatcher (2017), research having investigated the relationship between social class and children's everyday lives has mainly been theoretically framed by social reproduction or Bourdieusian approaches, focusing on the role of parents and schooling in the process of shaping children's lives.

Kustatcher (2017) also reviewed that the earliest effort to study children's perspectives and identities of social class can be traced back to the 1950s, aiming to investigate if children could identify their own and others' social class correctly through questionnaires or structured interviews, such as the studies of Centres (1950), Himmelweit et al. (1952); Jahoda (1959). The concept of social class was formed through the notion of occupation and income of parents. Kustatcher (2017) also argues that while these studies attempted to discover children's perception of social class, they actually assumed children's insight not to be equal as adults'. Therefore, if their answers to the questionnaire and the interview did not match grown-up researchers' perspectives and evaluation, regarding social class categorisation and identification, they were assessed as incorrect.

In the 21st century, children's perception of social class has been studied through more child-centred approaches, such as exploring children's views of living in poverty carried out by Ridge (2002); contrasting the perspectives of children from disadvantaged and wealthy backgrounds conducted by Johnson and Hagerman (2006) (Kustatcher, 2017). Kustatcher (2017) also summarised that research has mostly paid attention to middle childhood and youth (starting from 8 years) while the views of younger children have not been concerned, which can be the result of the thinking that children are innocent or incompetent in order to understand social class (Kustatscher, 2015).

The common view of children in all studies reviewed by Kustatscher (2017) put themselves on a middle ground in terms of social class although the children come from different backgrounds. The author contends that this corresponds to the



findings of Savage et al. (2001) that adults positioned themselves as ‘ordinary’, ‘just themselves’, ‘normal’, which already implied ‘other’ in their views. She also reviewed that in children’s understanding of social class, economic status was emphasised strongly, however, there are other aspects that children also focused on regarding social class. They are: relationships with family and peers, emotional well-being and problems around participation. In addition, in recent research, school also became a factor to evaluate social class as it is related to clothing and sweets or taking part in school trips and projects Kustatscher (2017).

2.3.3 Children’s development of awareness and understanding of ethnicity and race

According to Nesdale (2004), children’s development of awareness and understanding ethnicity and race can be explained by three theories: (i) Social identity theory - SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979); (ii) Self-categorisation theory - SCT (Turner et al., 1987) and (iii) Social identity development theory (Nesdale, 2004). SIT and its elaboration SCT propose that prejudice and discrimination against members of other ethnic groups are the outcome of individuals’ inclination to identify with social groups that are considered to be distinguished or superior in comparison with other groups, so as to enhance their self-esteem (Nesdale, 2004). The author argues that SIT ‘is virtually mute on the issue of the development of prejudice in children’ (Nesdale, 2004, p. 225) and proposes SIDT to explain the formation of children’s ethnic prejudice, which is related to children’s awareness of ethnicity.

Social identity development theory (SIDT) puts forward the notion that children who show ethnic prejudice experience four sequential development phases (undifferentiated, ethnic awareness, ethnic preference, ethnic prejudice) with different features of behaviours.

In the first phase – Undifferentiated, before 2-3 years, racial cues are not significant to young children, their response to objects and people initially depends on what attracts their attention.

In the second phase – Ethnic awareness, ethnic awareness starts to appear at around the age of 3, especially in children inhabiting in multiracial societies and they tend to facilitate social grouping based on the colour of skin. Their ethnic awareness begins after adults’ action of identifying or labelling an out-group member as right after being born, children live in an environment with concepts and social categories that are already established. A notable achievement of this phase is children’s ethnic self-identification – the recognition of being a member of a specific group. By reviewing different studies, Nesdale (2004) summarised that self-identification has been reported in 3-year-old children of dominant groups and in virtually all dominant groups of children in multiracial communities by 6 to 7 years old. The author also notes that it is not clear if children’s awareness



of their own ethnic identity appears before or after their awareness of other people's ethnicity. In addition, this phase also pushes the beginning of the next phase which overlaps children's continuous growth of ethnic awareness.

Coming to the third phase – Ethnic preference, it is noteworthy that after the second phase (Self-identification), the child learns that he/she belongs to a particular ethnic group and focuses more on their own group rather than other groups, on similarities rather than differences, on positively distinctive features instead of negative attributes of their own category. Nesdale (2004) emphasises that the focus on or preference for children's own groups instead of rejection for other groups is the key point of this phase.

To the last phase – Ethnic prejudice, it is noteworthy that Nesdale (2004)'s notion is opposite to Aboud's (1988). While Aboud (1988) contends that ethnic prejudice reduces in children from 7 years onwards as they develop their cognitive acquisition with the ability of understanding that different contrary dimensions can exist in one object or person; SIDT proposes that 'it is precisely in this period that prejudice actually crystallises and emerges *in those children who come to hold such attitudes*' (Nesdale, 2004, p. 229), meaning that prejudice does not emerge in all children. SIDT also argues that prejudice requires at least an equal focus on both children's own groups and other groups. Moreover, SIDT puts forward that 'instead of engaging in interethnic play and friendship, prejudice means derogating and discriminating against minority group members whenever occasion arises' (Nesdale, 2004, p. 230).

2.4 Children's playmate preferences on the basis of gender, social class, ethnicity and race

2.4.1 Gender segregation and gender preferences in children's play

a. Gender segregation in children's play

Gender segregation is understood as the separation of children into groups of the same-gender or the same-sex (McCobby & Jacklin, 1978; McCobby, 1988). The two words 'gender' and 'sex' are used interchangeably in this article, following what McCobby (1988) argues that both biological (as often referred to the term 'sex') and social (as often mentioned by the term 'gender') aspects of sex 'interact in any psychological function that we might want to consider' (McCobby, 1988, p. 755). McCobby (1988) explains gender separation by the model including three factors. They are biological, socialisation-personality, and cognitive factors. These three factors are reviewed and compared with other studies in the following section.

Gender segregation in children's play from biological perspectives



Biological perspectives explain gender segregation in children's play by putting forward the concept of play styles (Harten et al. 2008; Mccobby, 1988; Pellegrini & Gustafson, 2005; Serbin et al., 1984; Tonyan & Howes, 2003). According to Fagot (1985), before 1961 research widely accepted that sex differences in children below the age of four were unstable, however, in the eighties of the 20th century, literature generally accepted that children at the age of three or two already showed well-developed sex distinction in their behaviours. By observation, researchers agree that boys and girls are different in play styles, leading to their separation in groups of the same-sex instead of playing in a cross-sex group. The girls tend to have a more gentle play style, contrasting with the play style of boys which is stronger in terms of physicality and more direct regarding their speech acts. Mccobby (1988) witnessed that girls were not passive or inactive in their play, however, they would hardly or almost never throw themselves on the top of another girl jumping on a trampoline, which was observed among boys (Mccobby, 1988, p. 757). Similarly, Pellegrini and Gustafson (2005) observed children playing with objects and found that while girls mostly played with objects in sedentary activities or arts creation, boys were likely to put the objects in an imaginary context with the theme of superhero. Boys were also found to pretend to use objects as weapons more than girls. Harten et al. (2008) also saw that boys preferred playing games asking for large space, such as football while girls often played games which only needed smaller areas, such as shooting goals. The former was competitive and aggressive while the latter was collaborative and took turns. For boys, they were likely to exclude ones who were not competent enough in motor performance. On the contrary, girls tended to include everyone in a play by giving each one a role. Similarly, Tonyan and Howes (2003) also reported significant gender differences among children 37 months and older, in which girls tended to be more engaged in the creative cluster when compared to the gross motor cluster while boys were more interested in activities that require gross motor skills.

Charlesworth and Dzur (1987), Serbin et al. (1984) observed that girls and boys used different techniques to become dominant in a group when playing. For the former, verbal acts, particularly verbal persuasion and polite suggestions were often used (Charlesworth and Dzur, 1987; Serbin et al., 1984). For the latter, contact was often established by rough physical action, such as shouldering (Charlesworth & Dzur, 1987). In addition, boys tended to use more direct demands (Serbin et al., 1984). Serbin et al. also recognised that in the group of mixed-sex children aged three-and-a-half to five-and-a-half years old that they observed, boys were less responsive to polite suggestions offered by girls. Furthermore, Charlesworth and Dzur noted that in the mixed-group with the equal number of boys and girls, boys were the dominant although both boys and girls shared the same amount of time helping each other. Mccobby (1988) based on the findings of the studies by Charles and Dzur (1987) and Serbin et al. (1984) derives that techniques the girls used to become dominant in their play did not show effects when playing with boys. This



is similar to what Mccobby and Jacklin (1987) observed when children were playing in mixed-sex pairs, a boy's prohibiting speech act usually led to the girl's stopping in her disfavour behaviour. However, when the girl addressed a vocal act to prohibit her male partner's unexpected behaviour, it did not affect him. Mccobby (1988) believes that different play styles between boys and girls can explain why at the third year old when children even made inaccurate categorisation of gender when sorting other toddlers (Fagot, 1985), they could still separate into two groups of gender in their play.

Serbin et al. (1994) observed children's interaction in both same-sex play and cross-sex play among fifty-seven children who were from twenty-six to forty months old. They found out that children interacted significantly when playing with playmates of the same gender. On the contrary, when playing with peers of the other gender, the interaction observed was less while parallel play and children's watching behaviours increased. They concluded that children when playing in the same-gender group found partners more compatible than in the mixed-gender group.

Gender segregation in children's play from social and cultural perspectives

Seeing gender segregation from a biological view also implies that gender groups of boys and girls are homogenous and does not take into account individual differences. Mccobby (1988) contends that some boys prefer harsh or rough contact but others do not; similarly while some girls are into dresses and dolls, other girls are not. Therefore, socio-cultural factors need to be considered in order to have an insight of gender separation in children's play.

Socio-cultural factors involve gender shaping variables, such as gender formation taught by adults. Mccobby (1988) points out that adults tend to treat children differently, based on their sex. Furthermore, grown-ups are likely to reinforce children's stereotypes of behaviours, personality traits or abilities that are believed to be appropriate or typical for males and females. Parents form and shape children's gender by offering guidance, toys and games that are considered to be suitable for a specific gender. The hypothesised consequences of this are that children of a given-sex can be similar to others of their gender, regarding personality characteristics or favourite activities, resulting in their seek for the same-gender playmate; and that the more sex-typed children are, the more they tend to play with the games or toys that are believed to match with their gender where they can encounter other playmates who are as sex-typed as them. Those hypotheses explain why children tend to play with mates of the same sex. When girls are taught to play with dolls and dresses, they will go to the corner offering those toys where they can find other girls who are also educated to become feminine like them. This is the reason why gender segregation in children's play is observed. Mccobby and Jacklin (1987) observed that for four-and-a-half year-old children, both boys and girls tended to choose same-sex playmates to play with



even in sex-neutral activities, which was similar to what they did in sex-biased activities. Being exposed to the same range of toys, boys were likely to choose one set and girls chose another. However, the authors also noted that there was significant variability in nursery children's choice of playmates on a given day at school, depending on the play space indoors or outdoors as well. The evidence is that girls' same sex preference was markedly correlated with indoor play and moderately correlated with outdoor play while this phenomenon was not recorded for boys. By reaching the age of six and a half, only girls in the study of Mccobby and Jacklin (1987) performed stable individual variation in their choice of playmates to suggest for an investigation in within-sex factors resulting in children's preferences of same-gender playmates. However, their study also showed that there was not a considerable stability of the within sex-masculinity or femininity in children's play and games as well, suggesting that the frequency of playmate choice (either same-sex or cross-sex) does not belong to within sex-masculinity or femininity personality groups, instead gender segregation is a group phenomenon rather than a reflection of tastes or preferences of individuals.

In addition, parenting is also noteworthy for influencing children's choice of playmates. Mccobby and Jacklin (1987) reported that girls who tended to play with same-gender partners at nursery school had experienced rough play with their fathers when they were twelve to eighteen months. The contrast between girls' rough parenting which is not considered as a typical treatment to females and their preference of same-sex partners to play with is considerably taking into account. This shows that there is not any longitudinal relevance between earlier development of acceptable gender traits and the tendency to play with same-gender mates.

Furthermore, not only pressure from adults leading to gender segregation in children's play, it is also the result of pressure from other peers. Best (1983) interviewed children of grade-school age and found out that when children were caught interacting with a peer from the other gender, other peers would think that they 'like' or 'love' that child. Gottman and Parker (1986) investigated friendships in 7-year-olds children and reported that there were a few friendship pairs reported, and especially the cross-sex friendships were maintained underground, meaning that boys and girls did not show their relationship with each other explicitly at school, however, they kept playing with each other at home or in the privacy. Mccobby (1988) also observed cross-sex play among children however degree of being sex-typed they were. The explanation is that children understand implicit rules in choosing playmates under specific conditions. There are conditions that cross-sex play is acceptable and there are conditions that boys cannot interact with girls, which children perceive and follow.



Moreover, the impact of culture related to specific societies also affects children's play, regarding their choices of playmates. Fouts et al. (2013) explored the influence of community's culture on children's gender segregation in play. The authors compared fifty-six one- to four-year-old children from two societies: Bofi farmers and Bofi foragers in Central Africa in which the former is a community with a markable gender hierarchy and the latter has egalitarian views on gender. The authors found that three- to four-year-olds were more separated by sex than the younger ones (one to two-year-olds); and gender separation were significant among children in the group of Bofi farmers whose have distinct views on society ranking based on gender. On the other hand, forager children did not show considerably that they played with children of the same gender more often than ones of the other gender. The study of Fouts et al. (2013) contributes to prove the effect of culture, background on gender segregation in children's play.

Gender segregation from children's cognitive development

Fagot (1985) found that both boys and girls who could label gender correctly to a set of pictures spent an average of 80% of their time in same-sex groups, while children who could not successfully do the task (below the level of the former) spent about 50% of their time in same-sex groups. Fagot (1985) also questioned if the understanding of gender labels predicted the choice of sex-typical behaviours. He found out that for girls, there was no difference among the three groups of girls (without gender understanding, being able to label gender but not able to correctly answer questions about gender identity and being able to label gender and answer questions about gender identity) in their amount of time spent with male-typical and female-typical toys. However, 'boys without gender labels or gender identity played with dolls at about equal rates as girls, but this behaviour was almost nonexistent in boys who showed some knowledge of gender labels' (Fagot, 1985, p. 94). The study suggests that for girls, the ability of understanding gender identity does not relate to gender typical toys. However, for boys, this ability is strongly correlated.

According to Serbin et al. (1994), segregating children did not perform that they had more knowledge of sex roles, in terms of stereotypes of toys and activities in comparison to non-segregating children. Therefore, Serbin et al. (1994) concluded that there was no proof for the belief that segregation might be an outcome of sex-role awareness.

The emergence of gender segregation in children's play

Researchers have not reached an agreement in their results of the emergence of gender segregation in children's play. Jacklin and Maccoby (1978) observed 33-month-old children and found out that gender segregation in children's play appears around the age of three, which is a group phenomenon rather than



children's gender preferences. Harkness and Super (1985) observed 152 rural Kenyan children aged 18 months to 9 years and reported that there is no gender segregation in peer groups until the age of six. Munroe and Romney (2006) found that older children (7- and 9- year-olds) are much more involved in same-sex aggregation than younger children (3- and 5-year-olds). In addition, older boys display a marked degree of same-sex aggregation when enacting the male-style behaviours of physicality and attention seeking, but girls do not display a similar same-sex aggregation for any category of social behaviours. Children's levels of gender understanding are unrelated to the outcomes.

b. Gender preferences in children's play

Gender preferences differ from gender segregation. While the latter mentions a phenomenon in children's play which was observed when children are around the age of three (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1987; LaFreniere et al., 1984; Serbin et al., 1994), the latter refers to individual taste or tendency of choosing playmates, based on gender. Gender preferences can lead to gender segregation, however, gender segregation cannot be explained only through gender preferences because there are also factors, such as gender awareness or socio-cultural influence.

Methods of researching gender preferences in children's play

There are two major methods of researching gender preferences in children's play. They are observations and tests. In terms of observations, the videos or narratives can record the phenomenon of children's gender segregation and their play styles, however, they cannot answer the question if this phenomenon happens because of children's tastes as there are other factors being involved in children separation in their play, such as gender awareness and implicit rules of conditions that children can interact with playmates of the opposite gender. In addition, the narratives to record children's behaviours are based on subjective observations of the observer as well although each research does build criteria and instruction to observe. Moreover, it is reasonable that the observation design will affect the results of research. The observation design including time, frequency and environment where the observation was done (outdoors or indoors, with or without adults' guide, laboratory or non-laboratory) differs from one research to another. There are cases when each observation lasted for 30 minutes (Harkness & Super, 1985), which might not be sufficient for children to be engaged in their play if they had just started. The observations can be divided into two types of conditions: (i) observing children's play in everyday activities (Harkness & Super, 1985; La Freniere, 1984; Fouts et al., 2013) and (ii) observing children's play in a structured condition like a laboratory (Jacklin & Maccoby, 1978) which is somehow similar to a test.



The tests, on the other hand, can identify children's tastes of choosing playmates, however, it also depends on the test design to verify children's gender preferences in play as there are other elements that need to be taken into account, such as specific games, play space or play environment (with or without adults' observation and care) which can affect children's choice of playmates. If the tests do not consider those aforementioned factors, the results of children's gender preferences in play may not be reliable.

Besides observations and tests, some studies also apply interviews for parents or children's caregivers to investigate gender segregation in children's play, such as the study of Fouts et al., 2013.

The emergence and development of gender preferences in children's play

In this part, only the results of gender preferences in children's play are presented, the results related to gender segregation are mentioned in the previous section. The literature shows that there is inconsistency among different studies researching the emergence of gender preferences in children's play. Abel and Sahinkaya (1962) reported that gender preference for the same sex was observed among four-year-old children. However, according to Maccoby (1988), playmate preferences based on gender appear to be minimal by the age of 6 and above, and for boys this was true at an even younger age. The findings of Maccoby (1998) were opposite to the results of the study by La Freniere (1984). The author found out that 27-month-old girls demonstrated considerable affiliative behaviours towards female peers more frequent than their male playmates. In contrast, boys of the same age did not expose any expectations in their choice of social partners based on gender.

Regarding the development of gender preferences in children's play, La Freniere (1984) reported that girls performed an initial spurt in same-sex attraction which does not rise in later preschool years. In contrast, boys demonstrated a procrastinated interest which keeps accelerating as a linear function of age, and reached a notably higher level of gender segregation than girls. Alexander and Hines (1994) in the test of gender preferences in children's play found out that: "when targets' gender labels and targets' play styles were presented as competing dimensions, boys of all ages chose female targets with masculine play styles over male targets with feminine play styles. In contrast, younger girls (4-5-year-olds) chose female targets with masculine play styles, whereas older girls (6-8-year-olds) chose male targets with feminine play styles. This suggests possible sex differences in the contribution of gender labels and of play styles in the development of children's preferences for same-sexed playmates" (Alexander & Hines, 1994, p. 869).

2.4.2 Children's playmate preferences based on ethnicity and race



a. Methods of researching children's playmate preferences based on ethnicity and race

There are tests and measures to research children's playmate preferences based on ethnicity and race rather than apply observation in daily life activities. First, the visual preference task which shows infants with examples of faces from two different racial groups simultaneously measures the time children spend looking at each example. The time, therefore, is applied to identify children's preferences of race.

Second, explicit racial bias was measured by the "Doll test" designed by Clark and Clark (1947). The study was carried out in the Southern part of the United States when racial separation was very high and race was an organising factor in both children's home life and their school life, as well as defined the hierarchy in the society. The test asked children to choose either a Black or a White doll for each adjective describing each doll, such as 'good', 'bad', 'ugly', 'pretty', which showed their attitudes towards race. The results of the test was that over 95% of the European-American children preferred the lighter doll, whereas only approximately two-thirds of the African-American children preferred the darker doll. Killen and Rutland (2011) pointed out a problem related to the "Doll test" which is that the test only provides two options and forces children to choose one. This forced choice could create ambiguity if the test is to measure children's prejudice or children's preference of playmates coming from their own group to other groups, no matter what other groups are.

Third, racial attitude in children is also measured by the Preschool Racial Attitude Measure – PRAM (Williams et al., 1975). The measure includes six positive and six negative evaluation items related to pro-white/anti-black bias, as well as four gender-stereotype filler items. The original pictures of black and white persons (both women and men) were redrawn to vary hair texture and skin colour. For each adjective evaluating a person, the child was shown two corresponding pictures of a white person and a black person and required to match the adjective with either the picture of a black person or the picture of a white person. To code the test, one point was given if the child selected a white person to a positive assessment as well as a black figure to a negative assessment.

Fourth, racial attitude was measured by the 'Multiresponse Racial Attitude measure' - MRA created by Doyle and Aboud (1995). The MRA was used to measure the bias towards Whites, Blacks, and Native Indians. The tool includes twenty adjectives used to evaluate people (ten positive and ten negative) which were withdrawn from the PRAM, along with four neutral filler items. Each of them was shown along with a concrete behavioral instance depicted exactly in the same way on three cards with the same size. The cards were categorised into three boxes, labeled as belonging to a White child, a Black child, and a Native



Indian child. The pictures in the three boxes share similar drawings of heads and gender, and the only different features are the colour of skin and hair texture. For each adjective, the child was asked to place them in the box or boxes that fit with the adjective.

Fifth, there are recent tests created by Kinzler and colleagues (2007), Kinzler and Spelke (2011) to evaluate infants' social preferences based on language and their preferences for social interactions based on race. The tests provided videos of two individuals from different races: white and black. The two persons offered exactly the same toys to a 10-month-old infant and spoke with their native language. An illusion was created to make the effect that the toys emerging from the screen fell and landed on the table in front of the infant. Infants' manual selections of toys were measured. The research carried out in 2007 showed that infants' choices were strongly affected by the language of the persons offering them toys. They tended to prefer toys from persons speaking the language that they had been exposed to and familiar with. Therefore, in order to measure infants' preference for social interaction based on race and restrict the effect of language, half of the infants were tested with silent videos, however, the persons appearing in the videos still showed their friendliness. In contrast, the rest were tested with the persons speaking their native language when offering children toys.

Then the tests for the babies were applied to children aged five to collect their prediction. They were presented a movie of the white and black persons smiling and offering toys for the babies. Then they were asked to predict which person that the babies would take the toys from. In addition, they were also asked to choose a person to be friends with in the two white and black ones.

b. The emergence and development of children's playmate preferences based on ethnicity and race

According to Killen and Rutland (2011), it has been suggested that in order to have bias or prejudice, children need to be able to sort persons from different social groups. From infancy children grow their capacity of recognising characteristic features of people from their own group and other groups. This has been pointed out by research evidence from the studies of Kelly et al. (2007) and Pauker, Williams and Steele (2016) which reported that the capability to visually differentiate based on race appears early in the stage of infancy. In addition, by three months, children can distinguish faces by race, and at six months they can group faces by race (Pauker, Williams, and Steele, 2016). The ability of categorising different people into groups leads to children's visual preferences for members of their own (Killen & Rutland, 2011).



Therefore, the bias on racial groups depends on the degree of racial diversity that the environment nurturing children offers (Killen & Rutland, 2011). Kelly et al. (2005) found out that by three months, children living in a racially homogenous environment already show preference for their own racial faces. Similarly, Barhaim et al. (2006) reported own-race preference amongst infants living in a racially homogenous environment, however, this phenomenon did not happen in children being exposed to people from different racial groups.

Kinzler and Spelke (2011) report that social preferences based on race emerge between the third and the fifth year of age and do not affect social preferences in infancy. Kinzler et al. (2009) also found out that throughout the preschool years, language rather than race provides a more powerful basis for social salience and preference, and children tend to choose partners who speak similar or native accents than foreign accents.

The two scholars in their review of studies at the beginning of the 21st that applied methods which did not accelerate the importance of race found that they reported quite similar results across different regions, such as the US, Australia and South Africa. For those regions, young racial children displayed equal preference for both members of their own group and the ethnic majority group, but not other ethnic minorities groups (see Killen & Rutland, 2011, p. 46).

Mckown (2004) argued that with age, children's thinking of racism becomes more elaborated and differentiated; and children's concepts of racism are abstract, with the acceleration of coherence with age, and sometimes include causal language. With the ability of perceptual categorization, children also explore and find out their social preferences during their play.

2.4.3 Children's playmate preferences based on social class

According to Mandalaywala et al. (2020), in cultures where there is a relationship between race and socioeconomic status, children often start to base on race to predict social status. Research has predominantly investigated the association between race and status and between race and wealth. The authors reviewed that research pointed out that in the United States and South Africa, preschoolers expect white people to be wealthier than black people by mentioning that the former have possessions and houses with better appearance than the latter. In addition, in the United States, 6-year-old children expect black people to have lower status than the white. Children's views on social status were not influenced by their own race, either black or white.

Moreover, this group of researchers also reviewed how children's views of social status impact their social preferences and behaviours. They summarised that preschoolers prefer people connected with high-wealth items, in comparison to



people with low-wealth items, and children showing their preferences for pro-wealth also demonstrate an implicit pro-White preference.

Mandalaywala et al. (2020) in their study also found out that with 420 children aged 3.5 to 6.9 years old, gender and race were utilised as evidence to expect status in early childhood, however, each variable was associated with different status dimensions and had distinctive outcomes for inter-group attitudes. Children thought boys had higher status as they had more access to resources, such as toys and power of making decisions (e.g. selecting playmates), however, they did not anticipate boys to be wealthier. In addition, beliefs of gender-related status were not connected with gender-related playmate preferences. On the contrary, children anticipated white people to be wealthier than black people, and the perspective that white people have higher status did exist among children. This perspective was weakly associated with pro-white bias. Furthermore, children's anticipation of others' status was not linked to their beliefs about their own status.

2.5 Children's toy preferences

2.5.1 Methods of researching children's toy preferences

Scholars often apply tests or observations with children to study children's toy preferences. For example, Shojaee, Cui and Shahidi (2016) utilised a gender-typed toys checklist and toy cards to explore children's toy preferences. The checklist includes 30 toys whose level of popularity was evaluated by psychologists to select seven toys. For each toy, three pictures were chosen and adhered in a separate card. Each card includes a question with three options if the toy is for boys, girls or for both. Liu et al. (2020) applied observation on the time spent watching toys among different infants in order to investigate their preferences.

According to Davis and Hines (2020), the observation of children's behaviours or measurements based on children's self-reported preferences are considered direct measurements that do not concern adults' reports, such as parents and teachers. The authors divide direct measurements into four groups: (1) free play, (2) visual preference, (3) forced choice and (4) naturalistic approaches. In free play, children are provided with a set of toys and permitted to play with them freely without any instruction. Toys are chosen by the experimenter or other adults and they are sorted into gender categories by researchers (Davis & Hines, 2020). There are studies that add toys that are evaluated to be gender neutral. The amount of time that children play with toys is recorded and counted in order to measure children's toy preferences. Davis and Hines (2020) also noted that the feature of free play is that children's preferences are measured based on their behaviours, however, the starting set of toys is determined by other people instead of the child. In visual preference, instead of measuring the time that



children spend playing with given toys, researchers count the time that children look at each toy in a set of toys. The toys or their images are presented to the child sequentially or side-by-side; and similar to free play, the toys are also assessed if they are typical for girls or boys or they are gender neutral. The characteristic of visual preference is that children's preferences are evaluated based on visual attention instead of physical contact or explicit choice. In forced choice, children are required to choose either a boy-related toy or a girl-related toy. The choices are displayed as a series of questions with pictures. The attribute of this measurement is children's choice which revealed their toy preferences. Finally, regarding naturalistic methods, naturalistic studies targeted to restrict impact of the experimenter on the stimuli available and on the behaviour of children being observed. These methods try to measure children's preferences without priori intention of toys exposure for children to choose. However, due to the fact that toys exposure for children is given by adults, meaning that even if researchers do not want to put any priori determination of the toys offered for children, the impact of adults still exists. Some studies try to overcome this limitation by measuring children's request for toys instead of the toys that they already have.

2.5.2 Factors affecting children's toy preferences

Davis and Hines (2020) after carrying out a systematic review of 75 studies on children's toy preferences found out that both boys and girls preferred toys typical for their gender. Girls also preferred toys that are considered neutral by researchers more than boys. Todd et al. (2017) in their systematic review and meta-analysis with 16 studies reported that sex differences in toy preferences appear very early. To be specific, there is research evidence proving the influence of levels of androgen exposure on infants' object preference. For instance, 3 to 8-month-old boys paid more attention to a truck than a doll while girls at the same age showed more interest in the doll than the truck. Similarly, Emolu (2014) reviewed that even 8-month-old children may already display their preferences for 'boys' or 'girls' toys; and sex differences in toy preferences being recorded in studies can be traced back to 1930s.

Todd et al. (2017) in their meta analysis displayed that there was not any notable effect of adults, study context, geographical location of the study, publication date, child's age, or the inclusion of gender-neutral toys in findings of children's toy preference. The authors contend that this indicates children's toy preference has a biological origin. Moreover, it is noteworthy that their separate analysis of data for boys and girls showed that older boys played more with masculine toys than feminine toys in comparison with younger boys. This means that stereotypical social effects may stay longer for boys or there can be a stronger biological tendency for certain play styles in boys. In addition, girls played more



with feminine toys in earlier studies than in later studies; and boys played more with masculine toys in earlier studies than in studies recently. Their analysis can suggest a change in time in children's toy preference as girls and boys can pay more interest in cross-gendered toys over time.

According to Shojaee, Shojaee, Cui and Shahidi (2016), there are following factors affecting children's toy preferences that have been studied: (1) parents' encouragement or discouragement as well as their rejection and allowance, (2) children's biological sex attributes, (3) age development, and (4) social and economic status which determines children's toy exposure and freedom of choosing toys and playing with the opposite sex. In addition, Liu et al. (2020) also noted that parents' differential socialisation of boys and girls and children's own perspectives regarding gender tend to reflect their cultural background.

Although biological factors have been reported to influence children's toy preferences (see Todd et al., 2017), the study of Shojaee, Shojaee, Cui and Shahidi (2016) found out opposite findings. They showed that children possessed clear gender-typed identification and preferences for some toys, and their preference did not depend on their biological sex. In addition, their study also illustrated several impressive changes in children's toy preferences; that is in their development overtime, children steadily prefer some toys as neutral but not gender-related toys. The changes differed for each toy.

Boe and Woods (2018) in their study researching on the impact of parental socialisation on children at early ages found out that infants showed their preferences for gender-typical toys at the end of the first year but not 5 months. In addition, parents' brief encouragement of playing with toys from each category (dolls and trucks) did not affect infants' preferences. Instead, the types of toys that were exposed to children at home predicted their choices, suggesting that toy exposure during infancy played a role in children's toy preferences.

2.6 Stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination of adults, regarding children's play and toys

The review of stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination in children's play and toys of this study is based on the concept of racism of Clark et al. (1999) and Mckown (2004) which includes three components: a cognitive component (stereotypes), an affective component (prejudice), and a behavioral component (discrimination). According to Mckown (2004), a stereotype is perceived as a belief about the features of members of a racial group; a prejudice is believed as an affective reaction or evaluative judgment of people from a specific racial group; and discrimination is explained as negative treatment of people based on group membership.



Similar to Mckown (2004), Locke and Johnston (2001) defined stereotypes as mental representations of social groups and their members which include both positive and negative features and traits as well as expectations of behaviours of the groups' members. Stereotypes are the way the mind applies to simplify and understand the social world. They exist due to the fact that they help each individual save effort to deal with a great amount of information in everyday life. Coming to prejudice, it is defined as the affective nature of humans' response to individuals of other social groups.

According to Locke and Johnston (2001), a notable theory about the relationship between stereotypes and prejudice is Devine's (1989). The central notion of her theory is that when judging any social groups, *all* persons automatically activate stereotypical information connected with this group, no matter what level of their prejudice. However, the author contends that levels of prejudice will affect the operation of stereotypes, meaning that they can remain active or be inhibited as a result of processing strategies.

Regarding Devine's theory, Locke and Johnston argue that in order to become a non-prejudiced person, we need to experience many cycles of activation and inhibition of stereotypes. The authors also reviewed that there is research evidence which does not support Devine's theory. Instead, they suggest that people are 'at the very least, strategic in their laziness' and 'not everybody automatically activates the stereotype of well-known social groups' (Locke & Johnston, 2001, p. 117)

In this current study, instead of exploring prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination based on 'racial group', they are investigated based on gender, ethnicity and social class which includes different layers including living areas, cultural and socio-economic backgrounds.

Furthermore, Bigler and Liben (2006) proposed a domain-general developmental intergroup theory emphasising on the mechanism driving the formation of stereotypes and prejudice. The mechanism includes four processes. They are: (1) the formation of psychological notice of person features, for instance, explicit labeling of persons based on gender and race; (2) grouping persons based on their salient attributes; (3) the development of stereotyping, bias; and (4) the application of stereotyping to individuals.

2.6.1 Methods of researching stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination of adults regarding children's play and toys

Research on stereotypes based on social groups can be divided into two groups: (1) the group of research studying implicit stereotypes and (2) the group of studies on explicit stereotypes. The implicit stereotypes can be measured by the Implicit



Association Test – IAT (Nosek et al., 2005). The IAT requires participants to categorise items into four superordinate groups. The IAT has five steps below:

- i. In the first step – learning the concept dimension, participants group items from two different concepts into their generalised categories (such as, faces of young persons into the group ‘Young’ and faces of old persons into the group ‘Old’).
- ii. For the second step – learning the attribute dimension, respondents conduct the same task of categorising, but the items present two extremes of one attribute dimension (for instance, beautiful for ‘Good’ while terrible for ‘Bad’).
- iii. Coming to the third step – concept-attribute pairing 1, the two aforementioned tasks are combined. For example, participants after sorting a face into the group of either ‘Old’ or ‘Young’ need to choose one attribute to describe the face, which can be either ‘Good’ or ‘Bad’. The participants only have two options: ‘Young-Bad’ and ‘Old-Good’. Respondents first have 20 trials to practice, which is called ‘the practice block’ before having time of pausing, then they will continue conducting the task with 40 trials (‘the critical block’).
- iv. Then step 4 – learning to switch the spatial location of the concepts, only stimulus items for the target concepts (such as, Old and Young) are sorted for 20 trials, however, in this step the key task is reversed.
- v. In the last step – step 5 – Concept-attribute pairing 2, respondents group items from the target concept and the attribute dimension again, however, the key difference of this step is that it is opposite to step 3. The pair ‘Old-Good’ is replaced with ‘Old-Bad’ while ‘Young-Bad’ is replaced with ‘Young-Good’.

The IAT calculates the speed of steps 3 and 5 when respondents categorise items of concepts and their correspondent attributes to evaluate respondents’ implicit stereotypes. Studies carried out by Endendijk et al. (2013), Endendijk et al. (2019) applied the family-career IAT to assess mothers and fathers’ gender stereotypes.

Furthermore, implicit gender stereotypes can also be measured by the Action Interference Paradigm (AIP). The AIP is based on the potential involvement between an ‘unintended, pre-potent response tendency (i.e. a spontaneous tendency to show a stereotype-congruent response) and the accurate response required in the task (i.e. a stereotype incongruent response)’ (Banse et al., 2010, p. 300). The AIP only provides photographs of toys that are stereotypically gendered, either for girls/ being preferred by girls or for boys/ being preferred by boys.



Therefore, the AIP is suitable for both adults and children who have not learned to read and write. The participants in the AIP need to group the toys either for girls or for boys as quickly as possible. According to Banse et al. (2010):

In order for spontaneous manifestations of gender stereotyping to be assessed, each child completed the toy assignment task in a stereotype-congruent (giving stereotypically male toys to a boy and stereotypically female toys to a girl) and in a stereotype-incongruent (giving stereotypically male toys to a girl and stereotypically female toys to a boy) manner. The assumption was that spontaneous gender- stereotypical action tendencies (e.g. to give a doll to the girl) should facilitate responses when the required response was stereotype-congruent, but interfere with responses when the required response was stereotype-incongruent (i.e. give a doll to the boy) (Banse et al., 2010, p. 300).

In addition, other studies also apply observation with videos and recordings in order to evaluate adults' implicit stereotypes. For instance, the study of Friedman and her colleagues (2007) recorded mothers' comments when reading stories for children. Their statements or questions mentioning traits, behaviours or roles of girls and boys were coded so as to evaluate their stereotypes. These gender-related comments were coded into three dimensions: First, *target* relates to the group that the comments applied to: females, males, or for both genders. Second, *valence* contained three sub-groups: Stereotypic comments recognised and accepted or supported stereotypic roles ("Catherine was brushing her doll."); counter-stereotypic comments invalidated a stereotype or highlighted counter-stereotypic roles ("Basketball is boys' stuff and girls' stuff."); and neutral gender-related comments neither consolidated nor denied stereotypes ("Which chore would you rather do?"). Finally, *mode* refers to whether statements were prescriptive or descriptive. Prescriptive statements clearly endorsed a stereotypic or counter-stereotypic gender role ("I like that the girl is doing the dishes.") while descriptive comments only tried to attract attention to a stereotypic or counter-stereotypic gender role ("Those girls are playing ball.").

Endendijk and her colleagues (2014) also designed and applied *The Gender Stereotypes Picture Book* to measure parents' implicit gender stereotypes. The picture book was built to stimulate parents' comments about gender when talking to their children. There are two versions of the picture book – 'Winter' and 'Summer', having similar format with the same children, however, their activities are different but comparable. One version was given to mothers and the other was given to fathers. The book does not have a plot. The pictures used in the book had been piloted with 98 university students to evaluate if the children and activities in the pictures were understood as they were planned. The university students were asked to



determine the gender of the child in each picture and rate each activity if it is considered (1) *mostly seen as boy activity*, (2) *neutral*, (3) *mostly seen as girl activity*.

Regarding adults' explicit stereotypes based on gender, they are often measured by surveys (such as Pacific Attitudes Towards Gender Scale – PATG by Vaillancourt & Leaper, 1997), being composed of 21 statements in a 7-point Likert scale evaluating perspectives on family, occupational roles, dating, personality traits and activities and overall gender equality.

Explicit stereotyping in parents was also measured with the Occupations and Activities subscales of the Occupations, Activities, and Traits-Attitude Measure (for instance, the study of Meyer and Gelman, 2016). The Occupations subscale (OAT-AM) asked parents to evaluate who should be interested in a series of gender-typed occupations (e.g., teacher, auto mechanic) and their response choices are limited only with: only men; mostly men, some women; both men and women; mostly women, some men; and only women.

In addition, it is noteworthy that there is a version to assess children's gender stereotypes that are correspondent to the OAT for adults as well. This is the Preschool Occupations, Activities, and Traits Attitude Measure (POAT-AM) (Liben and Bigler 2002). The measure is designed for children at the age 3 to 7 years old, asking them similar questions of the OAT-AM. There are studies applying both the OAT-AM and POAT-AM to see if there are correlations between parents' gender stereotypes and children's gender stereotypes.

Explicit gender stereotypes can be measured through interviews as well. For instance, the study of Emolu et al. (2017) applied semi-structured interviews to collect British and Turkish parents' perspectives of gender appropriate play, how parents' behaviours affect children's beliefs of gender roles as well as factors contributing to the formation of children's gender.

Moreover, adults' stereotypes of gender related to their children can be measured by the Child Rearing Sex-Role Attitude Scale (CRSRAS – Freeman, 2007) which includes 19 items, based on a 5-point Likert scale running from 0 (strongly agree) to 4 (strongly disagree). The questionnaire aims to evaluate adults' explicit stereotypes regarding boys and girls' behaviours. Items in the questionnaire were created in a way that covered similar statements about boys and girls. For instance, "Boys who exhibit 'sissy' behaviour will never be well adjusted" and "Girls who are 'tomboys' will never be well adjusted".

2.6.2 Findings of studies on stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination of adults regarding children's play and toys



Regarding adults' reinforcement of bias in children's play based on gender, Lynch (2015) found out that in the context of preschools, teachers of the study are likely to reinforce gender bias by motivating the children, especially the boys, to play only with toys and in activities traditionally associated with their gender. Studies on parents' prejudice and stereotypes in children's play based on gender suggest parents with implicit stereotypes about boys and girls (such as cars are typical toys for boys while dolls are typical toys for girls) were reported to give more positive comments to respond to children's behaviour that is compatible with the stereotype (e.g., boys playing with cars), compared to behaviour which is not, such as boys playing with dolls (Endendijk et al., 2013; Friedman et al., 2007). In addition, Endendijk et al. (2019) suggest that gendered communication is indeed an unconscious process that can be predicted by a person's attention allocation to gendered stimuli. Morawska (2020) carried out a systematic review on studies investigating gendered parenting, which is the way parents treat their children based on their children's gender. The study found that parents did respond differently to their children. To be specific, parents played and gave toys to their daughters and their sons distinctively. Ways of parenting are differently cross-gendered, including child vocalisation, showing emotions, pain responses, discipline, toy play, and anger. For example, parents' language transfers subtle message of gender roles to children (Gelman et al., 2004) and children mention that they expect their parents would not agree children to play with cross-gender toys (Freeman, 2007), and these thoughts affect their selection of toys (Raag and Rackliff, 1998). Morawska (2020) also points out a need for longitudinal studies on the effect of gendered parenting on children's development. In addition, parental responses to their children are led by their stereotypes of gender rather than how children behave in reality.

About adults' bias based on ethnicity and race regarding their children's play, according to Killen and Rutland (2011), in the mid-20th century psychologists mostly analysed children's prejudice as a result of their parents' direct socialization and other sources of social influence, such as mass media (see Killen & Rutland, 2011, p. 45)

2.7 The relationship between parental and children's prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination in children's play based on social groups

According to Nesdale (2004), there are two main groups of approaches explaining children's formation of prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination. The first group emphasises the role of the environment, such as *emotional maladjustment* (Adorno et al., 1950), *social reflection* (Allport, 1954; Rosenfield & Stephan, 1981), social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) and gender schema theory (Bem, 1981, 1983). The second one highlights the role of personal cognition, such as the *socio-cognitive theory* (Aboud, 1988).



Regarding the first group of approaches focusing on external factors affecting children's prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination, the emotional maladjustment approach associates children's prejudice acquisition with the development of a specific personality type. According to this approach, children's prejudice can be an outcome of dictatorial and harshly disciplined parenting. The strength of this approach is that it can explain different levels of personal prejudice, though it cannot explain the existence of common prejudice among different members in a group of people who may not share similar upbringing (see Nesdale, 2004). While the emotional maladjustment approach does not take into account the intergroup impact or the influence of members of dominant groups on ones from minority groups, the social reflection approach concerns children's prejudice in the relationship with the community's attitudes and values that are believed to be transferred from parents (Nesdale, 2004). It can be seen that both the social reflection approach and emotional maladjustment emphasise the role of parents on children's formation of prejudice.

According to Killen and Rutland (2011), research since the 1970s applying explicit measures has questioned if prejudice is transmitted directly from parents to children. And the findings have led researchers to reject the direct connection between parents' attitudes and the growth of children's prejudice.

However, recent research evidence points out that parents' experience of discrimination affects their children (Espinosa et al., 2016; Pirchio et al., 2018; Sinclair et al., 2005). Espinosa et al. (2016) investigate the role that motivational values play in young immigrants' experience of discrimination in Spain and how this role is mediated by parental values. The immigrants of this study have either Moroccan or Romanian ancestors, whose results pointed out that children were impacted by parental values and their own experience of discrimination, they were more exposed to discrimination stress and tend to perceive discrimination. Pirchio et al. (2018) examine the transmission of ethnic prejudice passing down through generations in 3- to 9-year-old children and how it is associated with parenting styles. The study measured parenting styles and their subtle ethnic prejudice as well as their children's implicit and explicit prejudice. The participants were students and their parents in both preschools and primary schools in Rome region, Italy. The study found out that parents' subtle prejudice forecasts children's implicit prejudice regardless of the parenting style, suggesting that children could acquire prejudice by means of parents' implicit cognition, automatic behaviours and educational actions.

In addition, there is also research evidence proving the significance of the cultural context in the growth of implicit racial biases that can be decreased by changing the social context, especially when being exposed more often to members of other groups that challenge stereotypes of these groups. However, the authors



also summarised that studies in social psychology illustrated that prejudice kept going into adulthood and that adults demonstrated strong intergroup biases across a variety of groups and situations. Nesdale (2008) even reported that racial outgroup attitudes either stayed stable through middle childhood into adolescence or became more negative.

Similar to prejudice and stereotypes related to race and ethnicity, the association between parental and children's gender stereotypes can be explained through the social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) and the gender schema theory (Bem, 1981, 1983). From the perspective of the social learning theory, parents play as models for gender stereotypes via their behaviours, jobs and interests. In addition, they also strengthen children's behaviours that are considered typical for their gender (McHale et al., 1999). The studies carried out by Chaplin et al. (2005), Martin and Ross (2005) pointed out that parents treated their sons and daughters differently.

Regarding the gender schema theory (Bem, 1981, 1983), the theory proposes that parents' behaviours towards their children are oriented by gender schemas being composed of gender-typed experiences. Gender stereotypes are considered as the result of gender schematic processing. The notable suggestion of the gender schema theory is that children will internalise gender-typed experiences in their own gender schema (Gelman et al., 2004), which, according to Bem (1981, 1983), is the source of gender stereotypes that can lead to bias actions in the future.

In terms of the group of approaches highlighting children's personal cognitive development, Aboud's (1988) *socio-cognitive theory* argues that children's attitude to other groups are impacted by their development levels in association with two overlapping sequences of perceptual-cognitive development. One sequence relates to the process dominantly influencing children's experience at a specific time. This involves an emotional perceptual process connected with fear of the unknown and attachment to the familiar, leading to the preference for similarities and rejection of differences (such as skin colour, language, body size). After that, cognitive processes increase with the ability of concrete operation to understand that opposite dimensions can exist in one subject, resulting in the capacity of perceiving an individual rather than group-based attributes of people. The second sequence overlaps the first one, which is related to the child's focus of attention. While young children mostly focus on themselves and their preferences, later they can categorise other people into groups and see individuals as members of the groups that they had already identified. Becoming older, children perceive individuals based on their personal characteristics rather than group attributes.

Thus, while the social learning theory and the gender schema theory emphasise the role of parents in forming children's gender stereotypes, the cognitive development model (Aboud, 1988) puts forward the role of children themselves in constructing their own gender schema and gender stereotypes.



Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

1. Participants

The participants of this study are 760 Vietnamese parents (Table 1) who voluntarily filled in a questionnaire evaluating their prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination in children's play on the basis of gender and social classes. Among 760 participants, there are 103 males (13.55%) and 657 females (86.45%). 190 come from urban areas (25%), 337 are from suburban areas (44.34%), 228 are from rural areas (30%), and 5 live in remote areas with difficulties to access (0.66%). Regarding their education, 22 reported that they just graduated from primary schools (2.9%), 104 finished lower secondary education (13.6%), 248 followed vocational education after finishing lower secondary education (32.6%), 58 completed their high school or upper secondary education (7.6%). 283 participants are bachelors (37.2%) and 45 individuals completed their post-graduate (6%). Among them, 40 people obtained a Master Degree (5.4%) and 05 parents (nearly 0.7%) have a PhD degree.

Category	Sub-category	Number of observations	Percentage (%)
Gender	Males	103	13.55
	Females	657	86.45
Education	Primary schools	22	2.9
	Lower secondary education	104	13.6
	Upper secondary education	248	32.6
	Vocational education	58	7.6
	Bachelor	283	37.24
	Master Degree	40	5.4
	PhD Degree	5	0.66
Living areas	Urban areas	190	25
	Suburban areas	337	44.34
	Rural areas	228	30
	Remote areas with difficulties to get access	5	0.66
Income	High income	9	1.2
	Middle income	616	81



	Low income	135	17.8
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2. Research design and tools

The study applies a quantitative research method by using a questionnaire with a Likert scale going from 1 (totally disagree) to 7 (totally agree) to investigate parents' perspectives, emotions and actions regarding their children's play. Based on the literature review, the questionnaire evaluating parents' prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination in children's play on the basis of social groups included: gender, dialects and accents of other regions and ethnicities as well as social classes. The questionnaire was sent to experts (following the Delphi method) to be validated and then sent to the participants in Vietnamese. The translation of the scale was also validated by translation experts, who reviewed the language and made sure that the meaning was appropriately transferred through the translation.

To validate the questionnaire, the following statistics tests were used: Cronbach alpha, Exploratory factor analysis (EFA) and Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). Cronbach alpha was applied to verify the reliability of the scale, while EFA was used to find out the underlying structure of a set of variables and make sure that items constructing the scale were internally consistent. Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) was used to confirm that the model found out from the EFA analysis fit the data. The aforementioned statistics tests were used to find out and exclude the items that did not meet the requirements of internal reliability and consistency.

After validating the questionnaire to measure parents' prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination in children's play, Mann Whitney U test and Kruskal Wallis test were applied to analyse the differences among different groups of parents, regarding their gender, living areas, education, age, and number of children. Due to the fact that the data collected did not meet the assumptions of normality and homogeneity, Kruskal Wallis test was used instead of applying MANOVA in order to avoid type I and type II errors.

The questionnaire obtained after being sent to experts for comments and advice is presented in Table A.1 - Apendices. The questionnaire includes six dimensions with thirty items. The six dimensions are: (i) prejudice based on social class (6 items), (ii) stereotypes based on social class (5 items), (iii) discrimination based on social class (4 items), (iv) prejudice based on gender (6 items), (v) stereotypes based on gender (5 items), and (vi) discrimination based on gender (4 items).



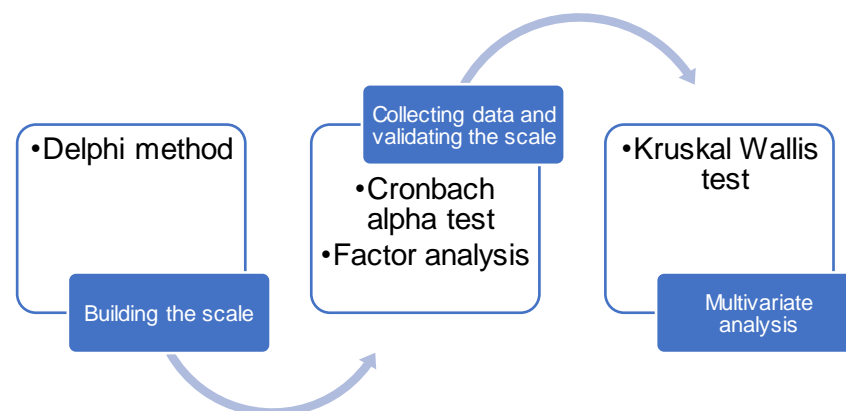
3. Procedure

The procedure of the study starts from building the scale to measure parents' prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination. Then, the scale was sent to experts (following the Delphi method) to revise the language and content. After that, the scale was translated into Vietnamese with the review of translation experts to make sure that the Vietnamese version corresponded to the English version. Finally, the scale in Vietnamese language was sent to the participants to collect data.

Coming to the stage of validating the questionnaire, data with 760 responses were divided into two parts, where each part had 380 responses. One part was used to carry out an Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) and the other was used to conduct a Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA). The sample to carry out the EFA and CFA cannot be the same because of the following reason. EFA is 'useful in searching for structure among a set of variables or as a data reduction method. In this perspective, factor analytic techniques "take what the data give you" and do not set any a priori constraints on the estimation of components or the number of components to be extracted' (Hair et al., 2014, p. 92). On the other hand, CFA – 'assess[es] the degree to which the data meet the expected structure' (Hair et al., 2014, p. 93). Therefore, while the former is to find out structure underlying the data without setting up any restrictions before, the latter already has structure and aims to verify if the data meet the structure proposed. Before conducting EFA, Cronbach alpha reliability test was applied to exclude items that did not meet the requirements of the reliability test.

After validating the questionnaire, the multivariate analysis was applied to explore the differences among different groups.

Figure 1: Methodology Procedure





4. Collection and analysis of data

The data were collected online, using Google form. The participants were informed of the purpose of the study and that their participation is voluntary. The data were collected throughout 3 weeks in January, 2021.

The data were analysed with Cronbach alpha test and Factor Analysis, including EFA and CFA in order to find out the structure underlying the scale as well as to ensure that the model found out fit the data.

In addition, the data were analysed with descriptive statistics in order to see how the data are distributed. Due to the fact that the data are not normally distributed (see Chapter 4), non-parametric tests were applied to analyse the data so as to avoid Errors Type I and Type II. The non-parametric tests utilised include Mann Whitney U test and Kruskal Wallis test (with Dunn's pairwise tests as the post-hoc tests) in order to identify if there are differences among different groups of parents, based on their education, living areas, gender and income.



Chapter 4

FINDINGS

1. Validation of the scale

In the scale (Table A.1 - Appendices), there were four items that needed to be recoded: 1, 9, 14 and 17. The data are divided into two groups: the first sample containing 380 responses is used for Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA), the second sample with similar number of responses (380) is utilised for Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA).

For the first sample, after applying Cronbach alpha test for six dimensions with recoded items, ten items (1, 8, 9, 22, 25, 26, 14, 15, 17, 30) were excluded. Then EFA (Principal Component Analysis with Varimax with Kaiser Normalisation as the rotation method) was applied to identify the structure of the scale. Items 13, 20 were removed because they did not meet the requirements of factor loadings. After applying EFA, new dimensions were formed as the following (Figure 2):

- Dimension 1: items 2, 3, 4
- Dimension 2: items 5, 6
- Dimension 3: items 7, 10, 11, 12
- Dimension 4: items 18, 19, 21
- Dimension 5: items 16, 23, 24
- Dimension 6: items 27, 28, 29

Results of the Cronbach alpha test for the new dimensions formed in the first sample are presented in the Table 2:

Table 2: Reliability test for the first sample with new dimensions formed

Dimension	Cronbach alpha
Dimension 1	0.827
Dimension 2	0.867
Dimension 3	0.802
Dimension 4	0.817
Dimension 5	0.760
Dimension 6	0.856

After that, CFA was applied to confirm the model with new dimensions. It is notable that CFA and EFA were applied in two different samples as explained in



the Methods (each sample contains 380 responses). The results of CFA proved the fitness of the model (Chi-square test: $X^2=295.229$, $df = 120$, $p < .001$; other fit measures – see Table 3)

Table 3: Fit indices and other fit measures of the scale

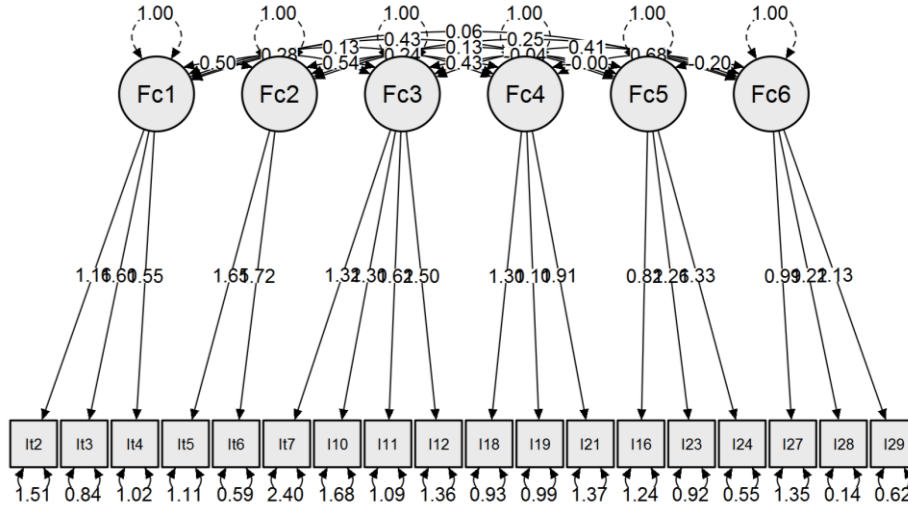
Fit indices

Index	Value
Comparative Fit Index (CFI)	0.946
Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI)	0.931
Bentler-Bonett Non-normed Fit Index (NNFI)	0.931
Bentler-Bonett Normed Fit Index (NFI)	0.913
Parsimony Normed Fit Index (PNFI)	0.716
Bollen's Relative Fit Index (RFI)	0.889
Bollen's Incremental Fit Index (IFI)	0.947
Relative Noncentrality Index (RNI)	0.946

Other fit measures

Metric	Value
Root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA)	0.062
RMSEA 90% CI lower bound	0.053
RMSEA 90% CI upper bound	0.071
RMSEA p-value	0.014
Standardized root mean square residual (SRMR)	0.057
Hoelter's critical N ($\alpha = .05$)	189.652
Hoelter's critical N ($\alpha = .01$)	205.590
Goodness of fit index (GFI)	0.922
McDonald fit index (MFI)	0.794
Expected cross validation index (ECVI)	1.045

Figure 2: New dimensions of the scale with their corresponding items



Cronbach alpha test used to analyse the reliability of the scale with the second sample applied for CFA gives high results, proving the reliability of the scale (Table 4):

Table 4: Reliability test for the second sample with new dimensions formed

Dimension	Cronbach alpha
Dimension 1	0.837
Dimension 2	0.870
Dimension 3	0.830
Dimension 4	0.755
Dimension 5	0.795
Dimension 6	0.829

With new dimensions formed, the validated scale named ‘Parents’ prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination towards their children’s play, based on gender and social classes’ (PPSD) took 18 items divided into 6 dimensions (see Table A.2 of the Appendixes). The dimensions are: (i) Prejudice against dialects and accents; (ii) Prejudice against behaviours and ways of speaking related to social class; (iii) Beliefs of children’s attributes based on their social class; (iv) Prejudice against boys and girls; (v) Attitudes towards children’s toys and playmates; (vi) Orientation regarding children’s toys and play.



2. Vietnamese parents’ prejudice, stereotypes, discrimination on the basis of gender and social class regarding their children’s play

2.1 General results

The descriptive analysis of parents’ prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination on the basis of gender and social class regarding their children’s play is presented in Table 5:

Table 5: Descriptive Statistics of data collected

	Descriptive Statistics				
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Item 1	760	1	7	2.61	1.682
Item 2	760	1	7	3.00	1.830
Item 3	760	1	7	3.16	1.804
Item 4	760	1	7	4.14	1.994
Item 5	760	1	7	4.24	1.914
Item 6	760	1	7	3.83	1.670
Item 7	760	1	7	2.18	1.416
Item 8	760	1	7	2.43	1.487
Item 9	760	1	7	2.48	1.575
Item 10	760	1	7	4.72	1.870
Item 11	760	1	7	4.62	1.835
Item 12	760	1	7	4.78	1.812
Item 13	760	1	7	4.70	2.043
Item 14	760	1	7	5.65	1.579
Item 15	760	1	7	4.73	1.809
Item 16	760	1	7	5.84	1.501
Item 17	760	1	7	5.92	1.390
Item 18	760	1	7	5.82	1.442
Dimension 1	760	1.00	7.00	2.9250	1.53544
Dimension 2	760	1.00	7.00	4.1901	1.83753
Dimension 3	760	1.00	7.00	2.7303	1.12234
Dimension 4	760	1.00	7.00	4.7066	1.55926
Dimension 5	760	1.00	7.00	5.0281	1.30428
Dimension 6	760	1.00	7.00	5.8588	1.26027
Valid N (listwise)	760				

For the first dimension (i.e., Prejudice against dialects and accents), the mean achieved is 2.9 and the standard deviation is 1.5 in the scale ranging from 1 (totally disagree) to 7 (totally agree) with point 4 standing at the middle, expressing neutral



opinions. This means that generally, parents somewhat disagreed with the statements making up the first dimension, but their disagreement was not strong. The standard deviation is 1.5, suggesting that the spread of the data ranges from disagree to slightly agree. All items in the first dimension express the dislike to dialects and accents of their children's playmates.

Regarding the second dimension (i.e., Prejudice against behaviours and ways of speaking related to social class), the mean obtained is 4.1 and the standard deviation is 1.8. The mean shows that parents' opinions were in the middle of the scale, that is, they neither agreed nor disagreed. The standard deviation is quite high, indicating that parents' perspectives range from 'disagree' (the point 2 on the scale) to 'agree' (the point 6 on the scale); and the agreement among different parents was not consistent. Both items in the second dimension demonstrate parents' dislike of ways of speaking and behaviours of children coming from other social classes. Results of the second dimension show that parents did not reach agreement in their prejudice against behaviours and ways of speaking of children from other social classes (i.e., while some parents showed disagreement, others showed agreement).

In terms of the third dimension (i.e., Beliefs of children's attributes based on their social class), the first item describes parents' difficulties on accepting the thoughts and values of children from other social classes while the next two items of the third dimension show negative stereotypes towards children from other social classes. The last item demonstrates parents' discrimination against children's playmates from a different social class. For the first item of this dimension, the mean got is 3.8, while standard deviation is 1.7. The mean is nearly in the middle of the scale, and the standard deviation is nearly 2, meaning that parents' opinions range from 'slightly disagree' to 'slightly agree'. For the next two items, the means are around point 2 – disagree and standard deviation is around 1.4, indicating that parents were quite consistent in their disagreement with negative stereotypes towards children from other social classes. Regarding the last item, the mean is 2.5 (disagree) and standard deviation is 1.6, making parents' perspectives lie on the side of disagreement, showing parents' disapproval of discrimination against their children's playmates who come from a different social class. The third dimension illustrates that although parents were not quite sure if they could accept the values and thoughts of children from other social groups, they quite avoided negative stereotypes as well as discrimination against them.

Coming to the fourth dimension (i.e., Prejudice against boys and girls), the first two items in this dimension express parents' worry towards a specific gender of their children (either female or male) regarding their choice of toys ('girl toys' or 'boy toys') and playmates (same sex or the other sex). In addition, the last item also displays parents' dislike towards the influence of the other gendered playmate on their children's way of speaking. The means of the first two items were quite



comparable (4.7 and 4.6) and lay between point 4 – neutral and point 5 – somewhat agree, suggesting that parents somehow showed worry about their children’s gender through their choice of toys and playmates, no matter whether they are girls or boys. There was neither more worry for boys nor for girls. For the last item of this dimension, the mean obtained is 4.8, nearly point 5 – somewhat agree and the standard deviation is 1.8, meaning that parents’ opinions ranged from 3 – somewhat disagree to 5.6 – more than somewhat agree. This shows that more parents were likely to dislike if their children are influenced by ways of speaking of the other gendered playmate.

Regarding the fifth dimension (i.e., Attitudes towards children’s toys and playmates), the first item demonstrates parents’ uncomfortable feelings against children’s favour of toys connected with the other gender while the next two items show parents’ approval of gender-specific toys and same-sex playmates. The mean of the first item is 4.7, nearly 5 – somewhat agree, showing that parents tended to feel uncomfortable with their children’s favour of toys associated with the opposite gender. However, the standard deviation is high (2), suggesting that parent’s opinions were not consistent, ranging from somewhat disagree to agree. The mean of the second item is 5.7, nearly 6 – agree and the standard deviation is 1.6, making parents’ opinions lay totally on the side of agreement (4 to 7), illustrating that parents highly approved to identify and solidify their children’s gender attributes through toy exposure which should be gender-specific. About the last item, the mean is 4.7 (nearly 5 – somewhat agree) and the standard deviation is 1.8, making the data range from 3 – disagree to 6.5 (in the middle between agree and totally agree). The last item of this dimension shows that parents tended to prefer their children to play with same-sex playmates more than cross-sex playmates although there was not consistency among different parents. Results of the fifth dimension indicate that parents believed in the function of gender-specific toys as a message to build and solidify their children’s gender attributes. In general, parents tended to be uncomfortable if children like playing with toys connected with the opposite gender and they also preferred children to play with same-sex playmates more than cross-sex playmates, although inconsistency existed among a number of parents.

In terms of the last dimension (i.e., Orientation regarding children’s toys and play), the three items of this dimension show how parents orientate children to choose toys and play based on their gender. The first item mentions toy exposure that parents offer their children, which is described as gender typical - ‘I do not buy toys that are not specific to my children’s gender, such as buying dolls for boys’. The mean of this item is 5.8, nearly 6 – agree and the standard deviation is 1.5, making the data stand totally on the side of agreement (4 to 7). This suggests that parents highly approved to avoid providing children with toys that are not typical for their gender. The next two items are related to parents’ advice of their children’s play that should be appropriate to their biological gender. Both items got quite similar



means (5.9 and 5.8) and similar standard deviation (around 1.4), making parents' opinions lie completely on the side of agreement. It can be seen that the last dimension shows agreement among different parents that they agreed with the notion that their children's play should be appropriate to their biological gender and that they avoided buying toys that did not match their children's gender.

Results of the last three dimensions show that although parents could be inconsistent in their affection of children's cross-sex play and the fact that their children like playing with toys associated with the opposite gender, they were consistent in their thinking of solidifying their children's gender attributes through gender-specific toys. Especially, they reached agreement in their action of orientating children's gender through children's play and toys which need to be gender-appropriate.

2.2 Differences among different groups

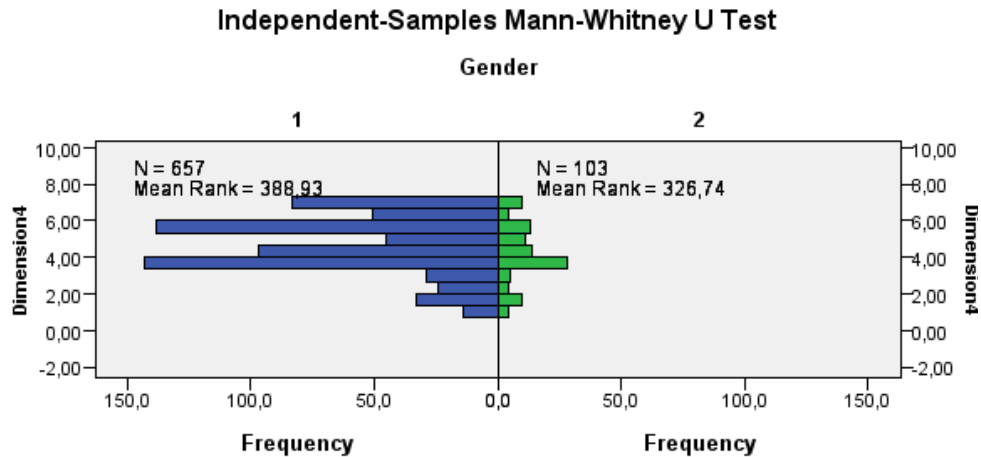
Due to the fact that the data collected are not normally distributed, Kruskal-Wallis test and Mann Whitney U test were applied to analyse the differences among different groups, regarding their age, gender, education, living areas, and income.

Parents of different groups of age are not different in their opinions about children's play, regarding their children's playmates and toys. However, coming to other factors: gender, education, living areas and income, parents show differences in their perspectives. Therefore, gender, education, living areas and income are elements affecting parents' prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination towards their children's play, based on social class and gender.

Regarding gender, the both are similar in their viewpoints of the five dimensions of the scale. However, they are different in their perspectives of dimension 4 - Prejudice against boys and girls ($p = .007$). From the Barchart 1 and Table 6, while females tended to show agreement with the items making up this dimension ($M = 4.8$), males tended to choose 'neutral' opinions ($M = 4.3$).



Barchart 1: Gender differences in parents' prejudice against boys and girls, regarding their children's play (dimension 4)



Gender: 1: females; 2: males

Table 6: Descriptive analysis for dimension 4 with two groups of gender

Report

Dimension 4

Gender	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Median
1	4.7692	657	1.54384	4.6667
2	4.3074	103	1.60520	4.3333
Total	4.7066	760	1.55926	4.6667

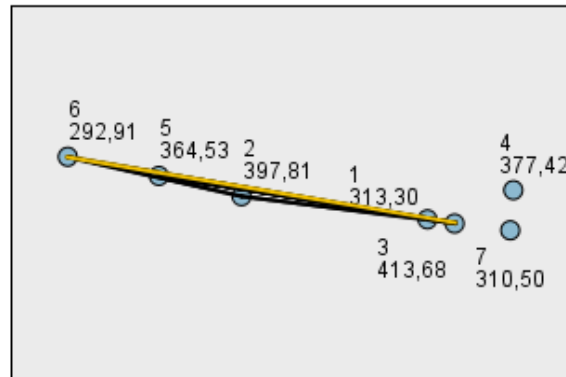
Gender: 1: females; 2: males

Based on education, parents are different in dimension 5 (i.e., Attitudes towards children's toys and playmates), based on gender ($p = .010$). To be specific, the group of parents obtaining a Master Degree is different from the group of parents finishing Upper secondary education ($p=.025$; adjusted by using the Bonferroni correction).



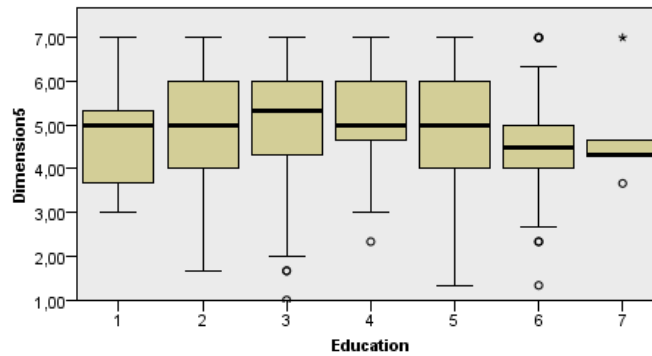
Figure 3: Differences among different groups of parents based on their education, regarding their attitudes towards children’s toys and playmates, based on gender (dimension 5)

Pairwise Comparisons of Education



Each node shows the sample average rank of Education.

Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test



Total N	760
Test Statistic	16,893
Degrees of Freedom	6
Asymptotic Sig. (2-sided test)	,010

1. The test statistic is adjusted for ties.

Group 1: Primary education

Group 2: Lower secondary education



- Group 3: Upper secondary education
- Group 4: Vocational education
- Group 5: Bachelor degree
- Group 6: Master Degree
- Group 7: PhD Degree

From Table 7, it can be seen that parents completing Upper secondary education tended to show agreement with statements making up dimension 5 (M = 5.2) and they had the highest mean, while parents holding a Master Degree got the lowest mean (M = 4.5), which is in the middle between ‘neutral’ and ‘somewhat agree’. The median value of the former is 5.3 (slightly higher than point 5 – somewhat agree) while that one of the latter is 4.5 (slightly higher than point 4 – neutral). It is also noteworthy that while the median value collected from the first five groups (groups 1 to 5, referring to parents having education levels less than post graduate) is 5 (somewhat agree), the median value collected for parents finishing post graduate is around 4.5 (slightly higher than point 4 – neutral).

Table 7: Descriptive analysis for different groups of education levels, regarding their attitudes towards children’s toys and playmates, based on gender (dimension 5)

Report

Dimension 5

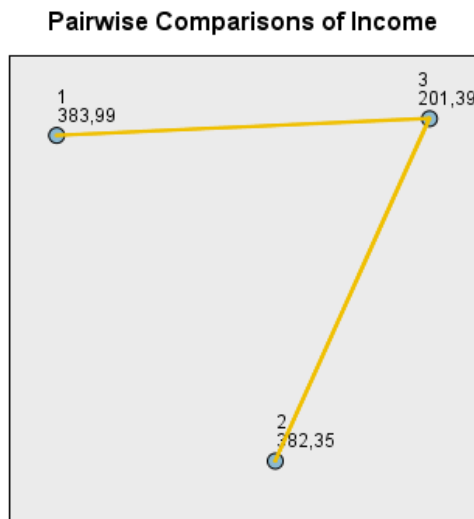
Education	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Median
1	4.6970	22	1.14508	5.0000
2	5.1026	104	1.35904	5.0000
3	5.2245	248	1.24623	5.3333
4	5.0632	58	1.16388	5.0000
5	4.9211	283	1.34819	5.0000
6	4.5333	40	1.31570	4.5000
7	4.8000	5	1.28236	4.3333
Total	5.0281	760	1.30428	5.0000

- Group 1: Primary education
- Group 2: Lower secondary education
- Group 3: Upper secondary education
- Group 4: Vocational education
- Group 5: Bachelor degree
- Group 6: Master Degree
- Group 7: PhD Degree



Based on parents' income, Kruskal-Wallis test points out a difference between the mean ranks of at least one pair of groups in dimension 5 (i.e., Attitudes towards children's toys and playmates) ($p = .047$). Dunn's pairwise tests were carried out for the three pairs of groups of incomes (high, medium, low). There is strong evidence ($p = .041$, adjusted by using the Bonferroni correction) of a difference between the high-income group and the medium-income group. In addition, the high-income group also differed from the low-income group ($p = .046$, adjusted using the Bonferroni correction). There are, though, not any differences between the low-income group and the middle-income group.

Figure 4: Differences among different groups of parents based on their income, regarding their attitudes towards children's toys and playmates, based on gender (dimension 5)



Each node shows the sample average rank of Income.

Sample 1-Sam...	Test Statistic	Std. Error	Std. Test Statistic	Sig.	Adj.Sig.
3-2	180,963	73,418	2,465	,014	,041
3-1	182,604	75,278	2,426	,015	,046
2-1	1,641	20,780	,079	,937	1,000

From Table 8, it can be seen that people with high income tended to give neutral opinions ($M = 4$) while people with low and middle income ($M = 5$) were likely to agree with statements showing prejudice and stereotypes for children's toys and playmates, based on gender.



Table 8: Descriptive analysis for different groups of income, regarding their attitudes towards children’s toys and playmates, based on gender (dimension 5)

Report

Dimension 5

Income	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Median
1	4.9975	135	1.46122	5.0000
2	5.0482	616	1.27034	5.0000
3	4.1111	9	.76376	4.0000
Total	5.0281	760	1.30428	5.0000

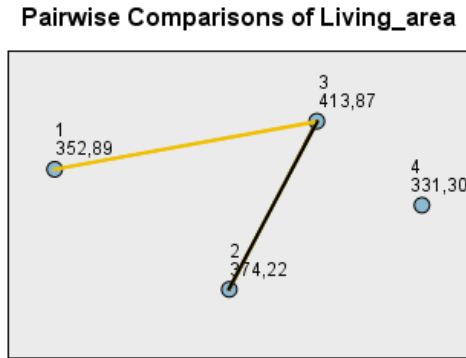
- 1: low income
- 2: middle income
- 3: high income

From Table 8 and Table 9 it can be seen that people with higher education, especially post-graduate levels and high income tended to give neutral opinions for statements expressing prejudice and stereotypes towards children’s toys and playmates based on gender. On the contrary, people with lower education and lower income (middle and low income) were likely to slightly agree with those statements.

Regarding the living areas, Kruskal-Wallis test also found a difference between the mean ranks of at least one pair of groups in three dimensions (3, 5, and 6). In terms of dimension 3 (i.e., Beliefs of children’s attributes based on their social class), parents living in rural areas are different from parents inhabiting urban areas ($p=.027$, adjusted by using the Bonferroni correction).



Figure 5: Differences among different groups of parents based on their living areas, regarding their beliefs of children’s attributes based on their social class (dimension 3)



Each node shows the sample average rank of Living_area.

- Group 1: parents living in urban areas
- Group 2: parents living in suburban areas
- Group 3: parents living in rural areas
- Group 4: parents living in remote areas with difficulties of getting access

Based on Table 9, all groups of parents living in different areas were likely to disagree with statements expressing negative stereotypes about children’s attributes of other social classes. However, urban residents were stronger ($M = 2.6$) in their disagreement in comparison to parents living in rural areas ($M = 2.9$).

Table 9: Descriptive analysis for different groups of living areas, regarding beliefs of children’s attributes based on their social class (dimension 3)

Report

Dimension 3

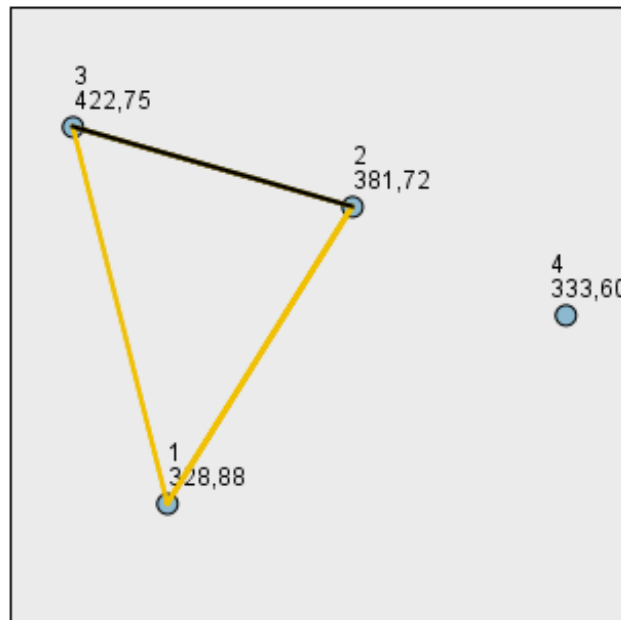
Living area	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Median
1	2.6000	190	1.09526	2.5000
2	2.6869	337	1.06237	2.5000
3	2.9079	228	1.21629	2.7500
4	2.5000	5	.86603	2.2500
Total	2.7303	760	1.12234	2.5000



Regarding dimension 5, there are two differences between two pairs of groups: i. parents living in urban areas and the ones living in suburban areas ($p=.046$); and ii. parents living in urban areas and parents inhabiting in rural areas ($p=.000$).

Figure 6: Differences among different groups of parents based on their living areas, regarding their attitudes towards children's toys and playmates (dimension 5)

Pairwise Comparisons of Living_area



Each node shows the sample average rank of Living_area.

- Group 1: parents living in urban areas
- Group 2: parents living in suburban areas
- Group 3: parents living in rural areas
- Group 4: parents living in remote areas with difficulties of getting access

From Table 10 it can be seen that in comparison to parents inhabiting in suburban areas ($M = 5$) and rural areas ($M = 5.3$) who somewhat agreed with statements expressing prejudice and stereotypes towards children's toys and playmates based on gender, parents living in cities seemed to show less approval ($M = 4.7$).



Table 10: Descriptive analysis for different groups of living areas, regarding their attitudes towards children’s toys and playmates (dimension 5)

Report

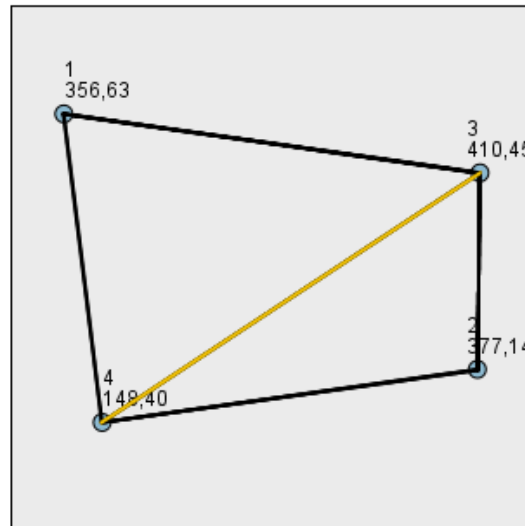
Dimension 5

Living area	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Median
1	4.7105	190	1.37922	4.6667
2	5.0465	337	1.25389	5.0000
3	5.2675	228	1.27134	5.3333
4	4.9333	5	1.01105	4.6667
Total	5.0281	760	1.30428	5.0000

In terms of dimension 6, parents living in remote areas with difficulties in getting access are different from parents living in rural areas ($p=.04$).

Figure 7: Differences among different groups of parents based on their living areas, regarding their orientation towards their children’s toys and play, based on gender (dimension 6)

Pairwise Comparisons of Living_area



Each node shows the sample average rank of Living_area.

Group 1: parents living in urban areas



- Group 2: parents living in suburban areas
- Group 3: parents living in rural areas
- Group 4: parents living in remote areas with difficulties of getting access

From Table 11, parents living in urban areas (M = 5.7), suburban areas (M = 5.8) and rural areas (M = 6) agreed to guide their children’s play in a typical manner to their gender, but parents from remote areas with difficulties of access only showed slight agreement (M = 4.8, Std. Deviation = 0.3).

Table 11: Descriptive analysis for different groups of living areas, regarding orientation towards their children’s toys and play, based on gender (dimension 6)

Report

Dimension 6

Living area	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Median
1	5.7140	190	1.33094	6.0000
2	5.8398	337	1.26696	6.0000
3	6.0307	228	1.17717	6.3333
4	4.8000	5	.29814	4.6667
Total	5.8588	760	1.26027	6.0000

To summarise, results show that parents’ prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination towards their children’s play, based on social class and gender are different regarding parents’ gender, education, living areas and income.



Chapter 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

1. Discussion

Results of this study prove the hypotheses that Vietnamese parents have prejudice and stereotypes on the basis of gender, dialects and accents, as well as social class, regarding their children's play. In addition, there are differences among different groups of participants, regarding their gender, education, living areas, and income on their prejudice and stereotypes involving their children's play. The results will be discussed related to the following theories: Intersectionality theory (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991) and Stereotypes and Prejudice (Devine, 1989).

The intersectionality theory requires an intersectional approach which takes into account multiple co-constructing categories, such as race, gender, ethnicity that are believed to play equally imperative role in viewing prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination towards a person. According to Carastathis (2014, p. 307):

Four main analytic benefits are imputed to intersectionality as a research methodology or theoretical framework: simultaneity, complexity, irreducibility, and inclusivity. In contrast to unitary or additive approaches to theorizing oppression, which privilege a foundational category and either ignore or merely 'add' others to it, intersectionality insists that multiple, co-constituting analytic categories are operative and equally salient in constructing institutionalized practices and lived experiences.

Based on the intersectionality theory, identity is not defined as a collection of many separate attributes related to regions, religions or other social groups, but they are actually a mixture. Maaloof (2012, p. 2) argues:

Identity can't be compartmentalized. You can't divide it up into halves or thirds or any other separate segments. I haven't got several identities: I've got just one, made up of many components in a mixture that is unique to me, just as other people's identity is unique to them as individuals.

From the perspective of the intersectionality theory, both parents and children's prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination need to be seen in their complexity of mixing diverse categories, such as, gender, education levels, living areas, social class, etc. The mixture of different factors makes the identity of a person affect their viewpoints and attitudes, which is shown in the results of this study.



Regarding Devine's theory of stereotypes and prejudice, according to Locke and Johnston (2001), the central notion of her theory is that when judging any social groups, *all* persons automatically activate stereotypical information connected with this group, regardless of their level of prejudice. However, the author contends that levels of prejudice will affect the operation of stereotypes, meaning that they can remain active or be inhibited as a result of processing strategies. Locke and Johnston (2001) argue that based on Devine's theory, in order to become a non-prejudiced person, we need to experience many cycles of activation and inhibition of stereotypes. The authors also reviewed that there is research evidence which does not support Devine's theory. Instead, they suggest that people are:

at the very least, strategic in their laziness [and] not everybody automatically activates the stereotype of well-known social groups' as there is research evidence illustrating that 'only high-prejudice people activate stereotypes in response to category labels. In other words, when we are required to think about a group about whom a stereotype exists, only those of us who are prejudiced towards the target group will evoke the stereotype (Locke & Johnston, 2001, p. 117).

This can explain the results of this study, while some participants chose 'neutral' options and disagreement with statements showing bias on a social group, whereas others chose 'agreement'. This phenomenon can be the result of two different processes: i. Either activating negative stereotypes when they already have prejudice against a particular group, so that they can quickly show agreement with such stereotypes (they chose the 'agreement' options); or ii. Applying strategies of being lazy to avoid time and effort to activate stereotypes towards that group (where they chose the 'neutral' or 'disagreement' options).

This study has implications in both research and practice. To the author's best knowledge, this study is the first research on Vietnamese parents' prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination towards their children's play on the basis of social classes and gender. The study also builds and validates a scale to measure parents' levels of prejudice, stereotypes towards children's playmates and toys, based on gender, dialects and accents as well as social classes. In terms of practice, the results of the study show that all Vietnamese parents participating in the study show prejudice and stereotypes in their children's playmates and toys, so they encourage gender-typical play. Moreover, some participants show dislike towards behaviours and ways of speaking of children from other social classes. This can provide a picture of parents' perspectives of children's play to help educators plan some strategies to enhance parents' awareness of children's freedom of choices in their play, which can benefit their development as they can be themselves and not be judged. In addition, it can contribute to creating a more inclusive play environment



in which children who are different regarding their gender, ways of behaviour and speaking are not excluded.

The study has some limitations. First, the sample of the study is not representative for the population of Vietnamese parents. Second, the study applies a self-report to evaluate parents' prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination, which can be adjusted according to parents' wish. Therefore, more research reporting parents' implicit prejudice and stereotypes towards their children's play should be conducted to analyze possible gaps between parents' self-reports and what actually happens in their practice.

2. Conclusions

The study found out that, generally, parents somewhat disagreed with the statements expressing dislike to accents and dialects of children from other social groups. However, they did not show consistency in their dislike towards behaviours and ways of speaking of children from other social classes, in which while some parents agreed others did not. Although parents were not quite sure if they could accept the values and thoughts of children from other social groups, they quite avoided negative stereotypes as well as discrimination against them. Regarding gender, the study found out that although parents were inconsistent in their affection of children's cross-sex play and the fact that their children like playing with toys associated with the opposite gender, they were consistent in their thinking of solidifying their children's gender attributes through gender-specific toys. Especially, they reached agreement in their action of orientating children's gender through children's play and toys which need to be gender-appropriate.

Futhermore, the study also reported that gender, education, living areas and income affect parents' prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination towards their children's play, based on social class and gender. First, people with higher education, especially post-graduate levels and high income tended to give neutral opinions for statements expressing prejudice and stereotypes towards children's toys and playmates, based on gender. On the contrary, people with lower education and lower income (middle and low income) were likely to slightly agree with those statements. Second, in comparison to parents inhabiting suburban and rural areas who somewhat agreed with statements expressing prejudice and stereotypes towards children's toys and playmates based on gender, parents living in cities seemed to show less approval. Third, all groups of parents living in different areas were likely to disagree with statements expressing negative stereotypes about children's attributes of other social classes, however, urban residents were stronger in their disagreement in comparison to parents living in rural areas. Fourth, parents living in urban areas, suburban and rural areas agreed to guide their children's play in a typical manner to their children's gender but parents from remote areas with difficulties of getting access only showed slight agreement. Fifth, females tended



to show agreement with the attitude of being worried towards a specific gender of their children (either female or male) regarding their choice of toys ('girl toys' or 'boy toys') and playmates (same sex or the other sex) as well as dislike the influence of the other gendered playmate on their children's way of speaking. However, males tended to choose 'neutral' options.



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APPENDICES

Table A.1: The questionnaire obtained after the Delphi method	
SOCIAL GROUPS	
1.	*PS1. I prefer my children to play with peers coming from the same social class compared to another social class (social class includes social, economic and cultural layers). (reversed)
2.	PS2. I do not like my children to play with peers who speak with other accents.
3.	PS3. I do not like my children to be influenced by another dialect of children coming from other regions.
4.	PS4. I do not like my children to be influenced by another dialect of children coming from other ethnic groups.
5.	PS5. I do not like my children to be influenced by behaviours of peers from other social classes.
6.	PS6. I do not like my children to be influenced by ways of speaking of peers from other social classes.
7.	SS1. I think children from a different social class adopt other thoughts, views and values that I might find difficult to accept.
8.	SS2. I think playing with peers coming from families of the same social class is good for my children.
9.	*SS3. I think my children should play with peers from other social classes. (reversed)
10.	SS4. I think children from a low social class are not well behaved.
11.	SS5. I think children from a high social class are not well behaved.
12.	DS1. I do not allow my children to play with peers from a different social class.
13.	DS2. I do not allow my children to play with peers who speak a different dialect.
14.	* DS3. I often create opportunities for my children to play with peers from other regions. (reversed)



15. DS4. I will fix my children's speech if they adopt the dialect from other regions.
PS: Prejudice based on social class, SS: Stereotypes based on social class, DS: Discrimination based on social class
GENDER
16. PG1. I feel uncomfortable if my children like playing with toys associated with the opposite gender (for example, boys who like dolls or dresses).
17. * PG2. I feel comfortable if my children like playing with toys associated with the opposite gender (for example, girls who like playing fighting with guns). (reversed)
18. PG3. I am more worried about a boy playing with mostly girls' and feminine toys (like dolls and makeup toys) than a girl playing with mostly boys' and masculine toys (like cars and policemen).
19. PG4. I am more worried about a girl playing with mostly boys' and masculine toys (like cars and policemen) than a boy playing with mostly girls' and feminine toys (like dolls and makeup toys).
20. PG5. I do not like my children to be influenced by behaviours of peers of the opposite gender (for example, I do not like my boy to play make up which is a typical behaviour of a girl).
21. PG6. I do not like my children to be influenced by ways of speaking of peers of the opposite gender (for example, I do not like my boy to speak in a soft and sweet way while my girl speaks loud in a demanding way).
22. SG1. I think my son(s) should play with masculine toys (like cars) and my daughter(s) should play with feminine toys (like dolls).
23. SG2. I think playing with gender-specific toys helps children identify with and solidify the attributes of their gender.
24. SG3. I think my son(s) should mostly play with boys and my daughter(s) should mostly play with girls.
25. SG4. I think my son(s) should behave like a boy and my daughter(s) should behave like a girl.
26. SG5. I think my son(s) should speak like a boy and my daughter(s) should speak like a girl.
27. DG1. I do not buy toys that are not specific to my children's gender, such as buying dolls for boys.



28. DG2. If I have a son, I explain to him that boys should play with masculine toys like cars instead of playing with dolls.

29. DG3. If I have a daughter, I explain to her that girls should play with feminine toys like dolls instead of playing with masculine toys like cars.

30. DG4. I allow my child access to play with any toys he/she prefers.

PG: Prejudice based on gender; SG: Stereotypes based on gender; DG: Discrimination based on gender



Table A.2: Final version of the scale ‘Parents’ prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination towards their children’s play, based on gender and social classes’ (PPSD)

Prejudice against dialects and accents	1. I do not like my children to play with peers who speak with other accents. Tôi không thích (các) con mình chơi với bạn nói giọng khác (ví dụ: giọng địa phương, giọng của một nhóm xã hội khác ở địa phương mình).
	2. I do not like my children to be influenced by another dialect of children coming from other regions. Tôi không thích (các) con mình bị ảnh hưởng bởi tiếng địa phương của những đứa trẻ tới từ các vùng miền khác (ví dụ: ở các tỉnh miền Trung và miền Nam, từ 'chén' được dùng để chỉ cái bát, như 'một chén cơm' thay vì 'một bát cơm' như cách nói của người dân các tỉnh miền Bắc).
	3. I do not like my children to be influenced by another dialect of children coming from other ethnic groups. Tôi không thích (các) con mình bị ảnh hưởng bởi cách nói của những đứa trẻ tới từ các nhóm dân tộc khác.
Prejudice against behaviours and ways of speaking related to social class	4. I do not like my children to be influenced by behaviours of peers from other social classes. Tôi không thích (các) con mình bị ảnh hưởng bởi hành vi của các bạn tới từ các tầng lớp xã hội khác.
	5. I do not like my children to be influenced by ways of speaking of peers from other social classes. Tôi không thích (các) con mình bị ảnh hưởng bởi cách nói năng của các bạn tới từ các tầng lớp xã hội khác.
Beliefs of children’s attributes based on their social class	6. I think children from a different social class have views, values, and thoughts which I might find difficult to accept. Tôi nghĩ những đứa trẻ tới từ một tầng lớp xã hội khác có những suy nghĩ, quan điểm và đề cao các giá trị mà mình có thể cảm thấy khó chấp nhận.



	<p>7. I think children from a low social class are not well behaved. Tôi nghĩ những đứa trẻ tới từ tầng lớp hạ lưu cư xử không tốt.</p>
	<p>8. I think children from a high social class are not well behaved. Tôi nghĩ những đứa trẻ tới từ tầng lớp thượng lưu cư xử không tốt.</p>
	<p>9. I do not allow my children to play with peers from a different social class. Tôi không cho phép con mình chơi với những bạn tới từ tầng lớp xã hội khác.</p>
Prejudice against boys and girls	<p>10. I am more worried about a boy playing with mostly girls' and feminine toys (like dolls and makeup toys) than a girl playing with mostly boys' and masculine toys (like cars and policemen). Tôi lo ngại nhiều hơn khi một bé trai phần lớn chơi với các bạn nữ và những đồ chơi nữ tính (chẳng hạn như búp bê hay đồ chơi trang điểm) hơn là bé gái phần lớn chơi với các bạn nam và đồ chơi nam tính (như là ô tô và cảnh sát).</p>
	<p>11. I am more worried about a girl playing with mostly boys' and masculine toys (like cars and policemen) than a boy playing with mostly girls' and feminine toys (like dolls and makeup toys). Tôi lo ngại nhiều hơn khi một bé gái phần lớn chơi với các bạn nam và đồ chơi nam tính (như là ô tô và cảnh sát) hơn là bé trai phần lớn chơi với các bạn gái và đồ chơi nữ tính (như là búp bê và đồ chơi trang điểm).</p>
	<p>12. I do not like my children to be influenced by ways of speaking of peers of the opposite gender (for example, I do not like my boy to speak in a soft and sweet way while my girl speaks loud in a demanding way). Tôi không thích (các) con mình bị ảnh hưởng bởi cách nói năng của bạn khác giới (ví dụ, tôi không thích con trai mình ăn nói mềm mỏng và ngọt ngào trong khi con gái mình ăn nói một cách trịch thượng).</p>



Attitudes towards children's toys and playmates	<p>13. I feel uncomfortable if my children like playing with toys associated to the opposite gender (for example, boys who like dolls or dresses). Tôi cảm thấy không thoải mái nếu (các) con mình thích chơi đồ chơi liên quan tới giới tính khác (ví dụ, các bé trai thích chơi búp bê hoặc váy đầm).</p>
	<p>14. I think playing with gender-specific toys helps children identify with and solidify the attributes of their gender. Tôi nghĩ chơi những đồ chơi thể hiện rõ giới tính giúp trẻ xác định và củng cố những phẩm chất về giới của mình.</p>
	<p>15. I think my son(s) should mostly play with boys and my daughter(s) should mostly play with girls. Tôi nghĩ con trai tôi nên chơi phần đông với các bạn nam và con gái tôi nên chơi phần đông với các bạn nữ.</p>
Orientation regarding children's toys and play	<p>16. I do not buy toys that are not specific to my children's gender, such as buying dolls for boys. Tôi không mua đồ chơi mà không phù hợp với giới tính của con mình, như mua búp bê cho con trai.</p>
	<p>17. If I have a son, I explain to him that boys should play with masculine toys like cars instead of playing with dolls. Nếu có con trai, tôi giải thích với con rằng con trai nên chơi đồ chơi nam tính, như ô tô thay vì chơi búp bê.</p>
	<p>18. If I have a daughter, I explain to her that girls should play with feminine toys like dolls instead of playing with masculine toys like cars. Nếu có con gái, tôi giải thích với con rằng con gái nên chơi đồ chơi nữ tính như búp bê thay vì chơi đồ chơi nam tính như ô tô.</p>



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