



# Let Toys Be Toys

**Who gets to play?**

**What do toy ads on UK TV tell children about boys' and girls' play?**

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[lettoysbetoys.org.uk](http://lettoysbetoys.org.uk)

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## About Let Toys Be Toys

The Let Toys Be Toys Campaign is asking the toy and publishing industries to stop limiting children's interests by promoting some toys and books as only suitable for girls, and others only for boys. Since the campaign launch in 2012 fourteen retailers have agreed to remove 'Boys' and 'Girls' signs from instore, and nine publishers have agreed to phase out books 'for Girls' or 'for Boys'.

In 2012 and 2013 we reviewed the use of gender in toy stores to market toys, finding a 60% reduction in the use of 'boys' and 'girls' signs in one year. In 2014 we reviewed online shopping sites selling toys and children's books finding a 46% reduction in the use of gender categorisation over two years. [See website for further details.](#)

In 2015 we have looked at how boys and girls are represented in TV advertisements for toys in the UK.

## What do TV toy ads tell children about girls' and boys' play?

If you think toys and toy advertising are trivial, just ask a kid how much they matter.

Companies spend billions of pounds each year trying to influence children's choice of toys – money they wouldn't spend if it had no effect. Their agenda is maximum profits. It's clearly in their interests to carve up the children's toy market into clear segments, and convince children, and their parents, that boys and girls need different toys.

Research shows that children are influenced by marketing, and that gender labels affect their decisions. We need to recognise the role big companies have in telling boys and girls what they are supposed to like, and ask ourselves whether we, as parents and carers, are happy with corporate interests dictating to our children in this way.

The point is not whether boys and girls may (or may not) have different tendencies in the way they play. The point is that assuming that gender is a good guide to a child's interests and personality ignores them as individuals and puts limits on their chances to play and learn. Some kids will fit the mould, but many won't, and almost none will fit it all the time.

A child should feel free to pick up and play with any toy they like, providing that it's safe and age-appropriate. Marketing toys by gender [limits children's choices](#), [limits their chances to learn and develop](#) and [feeds bullying](#).

Recent research by the Young Women's Trust found that [young women have more stereotyped views about the work that's suitable for men and women than older women do](#). Given the slow, but real progress women have made in many areas of work and public life, we have to ask ourselves where these narrow ideas come from.

Gender-stereotyped marketing to children has massively increased since the 1970s. NPR has made the connection that when home computers were marketed to boys from the early 1980s the number of

female computer science graduates dropped dramatically and [women stopped coding](#). A Mighty Girl has a good [summary](#).

Clearly, one individual ad showing a boy with a car or a girl with a doll isn't the problem – it's the cumulative message that builds up from the fact that the vast majority of ads repeat the same narrow stereotypes about boys' and girls' play.

We believe that gender inequality is learned. If we want young people to grow up believing that all options are open to them in their studies, career paths and life choices we need to stop teaching them as children that only certain activities are suitable for boys or for girls.

We're calling on toy companies to act more responsibly, and use their creativity and innovation to market toys without falling back on harmful and limiting stereotypes.

## What we did

Our volunteer researchers watched a total of over 30 hours of children's programming on UK commercial channels to see what toy ads are telling children about boys' and girls' play. To minimise subjectivity, ads were categorised according to whether they included only boys (29%), only girls (26%), both girls and boys (32%), or no children at all (13%). We then looked at the broad category of toy, how boys and girls are shown at play, the voiceover, and the key words in the script.

## What we found

We found that a majority of ads showed boys and girls playing separately in stereotypical ways, presenting a clear message to children about the toys and play styles that children of their gender are meant to like.

The good news is that boys and girls were represented in broadly similar numbers, and that just under a third of ads showed girls and boys playing together.

## Highlights:

**Ads featuring boys** are predominantly for vehicles, action figure dolls, construction sets and toy weapons. Boys are shown as active and aggressive, and the language used emphasises control, power and conflict. (See word cloud below). ***No ads for baby or fashion dolls included boys.***

**Ads featuring girls** are predominantly for dolls, glamour and grooming and have an overwhelming emphasis on appearance, performance, nurturing and relationships. Girls are largely shown as relatively passive and rarely active other than dancing. The language used in the ads focuses on fantasy, beauty and relationships. (See word cloud) ***Of 25 ads for toy vehicles, only one included a girl.***

**Ads featuring boys and girls together** are dominated by a few categories (action/board games, art/craft materials, interactive toys and soft toys). All the ads for action games, (for games such as 'Og on the Bog' or 'Guess Who extra electronic') featured boys and girls together, or featured no children

(1 ad). However, boys outnumbered girls 3:2 in these ads and all 19 ads had male voiceovers, suggesting that, as all too often, something that's perceived as 'gender neutral' is actually mostly male.

There are some ads which show one boy playing alongside girls in a gentler and more co-operative way, in ads with softer colour palettes and female voiceovers more typical of the 'girl-only' ads. (eg Little Live Pets, DigiFriends, Care Bears Singalongs) or in a creative way with art materials. However, **there is only one example of a girl being included in a more 'boy-coded' ad.** (Marvel Superhero Mania).

We would see this as similar to the way that female characters are removed from merchandising product lines aimed at boys – a belief on the part of marketers that if girls are present, boys will be alarmed that the product isn't safely 'for boys'.

## How do ads show boys?

29% (69 adverts) of the ads showed only boys (or in a few cases, featured girls, but only as an audience, or the target of boys' play (eg girls screaming and running away from the boy's Wild Pets remote control spider.)

Boys' ads were dominated by:

- Vehicles (21)
- Action figure dolls (11)
- Weapons (6)

As well as showing stereotypical choices of toy, the ads showed boys as active, often aggressive, with strong themes of control and mastery of the toys. Boys are often shown operating complex equipment, and are often leaping and jumping or running. Colours include bright neons, saturated colours and black, language is active and aggressive, music is often loud rock. 97% of the ads (68 out of 70) had male voiceovers. (The two exceptions, MegaBlocs Thomas and Friends, and In the Night Garden Ninky Nonk train set, are both targeted at very young children.)

[Hovertech Target FX](#) (Flair Toys) illustrates the loud rock music, emphatic male voiceover and emphasis on action of many boy-only ads.

Ads featuring boys focused on adventure and excitement, even when this clashes with the product itself. Eg the interactive [storytelling Peter Rabbit](#) (Vivid) is a soft toy for young children's bedtime stories, but the ad had lively orchestral music and emphasises excitement and adventure.

## What words were used in ads featuring boys?

The language in ads featuring only boys was dominated by themes of mastery (control, power, build, explore) and conflict (battle, attack, weapons, kick, smash).



- loading weapons

Boys were featured alongside girls in ads for art and craft sets, and also for soft toys and interactive toys such as Little Live Pets, so boys were sometimes seen playing in a gentler and/or more creative way, but only when girls were present. No boy-only ads showed boys singing or dancing; again, boys were only shown doing these activities when girls were present.

## How do ads show girls?

26% of the adverts (62 ads) showed only girls. Girls were shown as much less physically active with a strong emphasis on co-operation and interaction. Colour themes were sedate pinks and pastels, with gentle, tinkling music, or bouncy pop. Of the 62 ads, all but three (5%) had female voiceovers.

There is a strong emphasis on appearance, clothes and make up (fashion dolls, nail polish, Selfie Snaps), nurturing and domesticity (baby dolls, domestic toys) and also on creativity and self-expression (art materials, singing and dancing).

[Orbeez Foot Spa](#) and [Shaky Shake Nails](#) are examples of beauty/grooming toys. Only girls feature in the ads, the colour palette is pink/pastel colours, voiceovers are female.

The advert for [Nerf Rebelle toy bow and arrows](#) (Hasbro) stands out as the only ad to feature girls as physically active doing anything other than dancing. A group of girls tackle an assault course, but the emphasis is on teamwork and communication as well as achievement, conflict or mastery.

Most common categories were:

- Fashion dolls eg Disney princess, Bratz (10 ads)
- Beauty/glamour/jewellery, eg Girls' World, Shaky shake Nails (8 ads)
- Domestic eg baby doll, toy oven, dolls house (12 ads)
- Animal character eg My Little Pony (6 ads) and animal soft toys (6 ads)
- Art/craft materials (9 ads)

## What words are used in ads featuring girls?

Key words used in ads featuring only girls focused on appearance and beauty (fashion, hair, style, accessories) magic and fantasy (magic, dream, make believe), and relationships (love, friends, friendship).



- cuddling toys/dolls
- taking selfies
- riding on a roundabout
- using a computer
- tackling obstacle course, climbing, shooting targets, high-fiving

Among ads showing both boys and girls there were few ads with a strong adventure/active theme (Marvel Superhero action figure dolls, 'Miles from Tomorrow' playsets), and only one focused on toy vehicles (Fisher Price SkyWay). As there were no girl-only vehicle ads and only one girl-only weapons ad (Nerf Rebelle) girls were very rarely shown as physically active other than dancing.

## How did ads show children playing together?

75 ads (32% of the total) included both boys and girls. Ads featuring both boys and girls tended to have a more varied colour palette and a focus on family fun (action games, card games and board games accounted for 31% of ads including both boys and girls) and/or learning.

The following product categories dominated ads including both boys and girls.

- Action/Board/Card Games (23 ads)
- Interactive Toys (11 ads)
- Soft Toys (7 ads)
- Playsets/character playsets, eg Peppa Pig, Miles from Tomorrow mostly targeted at younger children. (10 ads)

## Toy categories

### Action games

All the ads in this category, for games such as 'Og on the Bog' or 'Guess Who extra electronic' featured boys and girls together, or featured no children (1 ad). However, boys outnumber girls 3:2 in these ads and all 19 ads had male voiceovers, suggesting that, as all too often, something that's perceived as 'gender neutral' is actually mostly male. It reinforces the message that parents often give boys, that girls can do 'boy' things but boys can't do 'girl' things; boys are shown as not wanting to play with girls, thus diminishing the girl's position.

### Board games

While four out of the five ads included boys and girls the ads still often draw on stereotypes – eg girls and boys are shown playing Monopoly World Edition – when a girl 'wins' London, she's crowned Queen, when a boy 'wins' New York, he's shown in a suit, running a business.

No boys were included in the ad for Dream Phone, a board game where players compete to work out who their secret admirer might be.

## Interactive toys

At first glance this category seems more balanced, with 11 out of 18 ads including both boys and girls. However, the ads are still very gendered. Ads for interactive toys where the focus is on affectionate interactions and cuddly animals (eg Little Live Pets, Care Bears Singalongs, DigiFriends DigiOwls) either include only girls (2 ads) or a girl or girls with one boy (10 ads).

For example, in the ad for [DigiFriends DigiOwls](#) (Silverlit Toys) a boy was shown playing with the toys alongside two girls. The ad (and others such as Little Live Pets) fits the conventions for girl-only ads with light music, pastel colours and female voiceovers etc.

In the four ads featuring only boys, the interactions with the toy were more focused on action/control, with 'scary' animals such as dinosaurs and scorpions rather than cuddly animals. (MIPosaur, Tekstar Scorpion, Zoomer Chomplings). For example, in the [Zoomer Chomplingz](#) (SpinMaster) ad, three boys play with the toy, no girls appear. The play focuses on chasing, biting and playing tricks.

Girls and adult women do feature in the ad for [I Que robot](#) (Vivid), but do not speak. Four boys compete to ask the most difficult questions of the robot, but no girls are involved at all. Why couldn't this ad have included a girl asking a difficult question, instead of being the audience?

As noted above, the interactive storytelling Peter Rabbit is a soft toy for young children's bedtime stories, but the ad, which features a very young boy (aged 2-3) having a bedtime story with his mother, had exciting orchestral music and emphasised excitement and adventure rather than calming bedtime cuddles.

## Dolls

There was a big difference in the kind of dolls included in ads featuring boys, and those in ads featuring girls.

Girls are shown playing with baby dolls (4 ads) such as Baby Born, caring and nurturing 'just like Mummy', and fashion dolls (11 ads) such as 'Selfie Snaps Bratz' dolls and 'Singalong Elsa Frozen Doll', where the emphasis is on appearance, clothes, grooming and performance. These ads all have female voiceovers. There were no ads showing boys playing with fashion or baby dolls, though there were some ads showing younger boys playing with interactive toys (eg Little Live Pets) and character playsets (eg Peppa Pig) alongside girls.

Ads for action figure dolls emphasise action, conflict and aggression/ rescue. All have male voiceovers. Of 13 ads for action figures, only 1 (Marvel Superhero Mania) included a girl. 11 ads showed boys only.

## Vehicles

Out of the 26 ads for toy vehicles, only 1 ([Fisher Price Little People SkyWay](#)) included a (toddler) girl. 22 ads showed boys only, 3 included no children. All the vehicle ads had male voiceovers with the exception of the Fisher Price ad above.

## Weapons

Of 7 ads for toy weapons, only one featured girls (Nerf Rebelle) – the ad featured girls only.

## Art/craft materials

It was encouraging that nine ads for art and craft toys showed boys and girls together, some in a genuinely balanced way eg [CraZsand](#) (CraZart). Another eight featured only girls.

Of the 19 total ads, just one featured only boys, [Quixels](#) (Moose Toys). The ad says: “The only limit is your imagination...” but has a limited idea about how far boys' imaginations can stretch, continuing, “You can create monsters, warriors, ninjas, skeletons and more.” Boys are shown 'blasting' their designs with a water pistol to fuse them. (The product is similar to HAMA beads, which are marketed and presented in an inclusive way.)

## Beauty/glamour

Eight girls-only ads were for products focused on beauty, glamour and grooming, such as the Girls' World styling head and the Orbeez foot spa or Bangle Blitz (John Adams). No boys were included in these, or in any ads for jewellery making or fashion/style toys such as nail polish.

## Dressing up

None of the five ads for dressing up costumes showed both boys and girls. Three boy-only ads showed superhero costumes. Two girl-only ads showed princess dresses.

## Animal toys

Animals seem to be strongly associated with girls, with 12 ads for animal character or soft toys showing only girls. There were no equivalent ads for animal-themed toys featuring only boys.

## What's the problem with advertising toys by gender?

There is no such thing as a 'girls' toy' or a 'boys' toy'. There are just toys.

The trend in retail is to move away from categorising by gender as [our research has shown](#), but the way that toys themselves are packaged and promoted to children gives powerful messages about how boys and girls should behave.

It may be more comfortable to believe that children aren't really influenced by marketing, or signs in shops, but children have been shown to much more positively respond towards toys that are clearly marketed as appropriate for their gender, whether this identification is achieved through use of colour (Cunningham & Macrae, 2011; Weisgram, Fulcher & Dinella, 2014) or clear 'for boys' or 'for girls' labelling (Weisgram, Fulcher & Dinella, 2014). This association between colour and gender has been demonstrated in children around the age of two (LoBue & deLoache, 2011; Wong & Hines, 2015) meaning that these cultural messages encouraged by toy advertising are understood at a very young age.

It has also been shown that advertisements influence children's judgement when determining whether toys are 'for boys' or 'for girls' (Pike & Jennings, 2005).

When children see girls and boys being offered such different opportunities to play, what are they supposed to conclude? Girls are being taught that they are expected to enjoy the activities of nurturing, domesticity and self-care. These are direct reflections of female-dominated (and lower status) sectors in the workforce; teaching, nursing, animal care. Feminine 'soft skills' of co-operation and caring are prioritised. A constant emphasis on appearance and pleasing others pushes girls into stereotypical paths and undermines their confidence.

Boys, in the other hand are taught that they are expected to extract enjoyment from competition, action, movement, and excitement. Getting ahead and taking risks are prioritised.

This not only reflects onto the segregation of the workforce but can also relate to the expectations of boys' behaviour in school. Research has shown that from a very young age, children think boys are academically inferior to girls, **that they believe adults think so too**, and that those beliefs hinder boys' school achievement. If boys are encouraged to think that 'real boys' are only interested in action and excitement, and if adults believe that 'boys will be boys' and nothing else can be expected of them, what are the implications for boys' learning and achievement?

The skills that are encouraged, praised and developed in childhood will naturally feed into the academic and career choices children make as they grow older. When we give boys the idea that their play is limited to vehicles and conflict, we take away opportunities to develop their abilities to nurture, empathise and be creative. Failing to offer girls chances to build and construct means they miss out the chance to hone their spatial skills and build, and reinforces the stereotype that girls are weaker in technical subjects.

We believe that gender inequality is learned. If we want young people to grow up believing that all options are open to them in their studies and career paths, we need to stop teaching them as children that only certain activities are suitable for boys or for girls.

## What do parents think?

Quotes from our volunteer researchers, and from parents commenting on our Facebook page.

"[The marketing team] are the ones who are responsible if boys get picked on for having a 'girls toy'."

"They always have about 1 girl to every 5 boys pictured on bicycles in catalogues. Boys AND girls love bikes!"

"Gender based advertising reinforces the idea that some things are for boys and some things are for girls, and it can do a lot of damage."

"I find the difference in the advert type is striking - they are ALL very, very targeted. No unisex at all. So much so that when the boy one comes on after the girl one it looks really bizarre."

"One that bugged me was the oh so subtle gender stereotyping in the playmobil ad. The rescue set voiced by an excited animated male voice and the animal clinic set in the same ad voiced by a calm female voice. Subtle, oh so subtle, but my 5 year old picked up on it and it made her cross."

"I was gobsmacked by the foot spa ad. Surely a 'stressed out' 10 year old should be heading to the park to burn off some energy?"

"Dancing. The girls always seem to be dancing."

"We rarely watch commercial tv (thank goodness for CBeebies!), but watched a film over the weekend. I was shocked by the gender stereotypes in the adverts! My son watched an advert about a doll, and turned to his sister, saying, "Look, dolls are for girls, see?" When I asked him what he meant, he said that pink = girls, he wasn't a girl. That meant he couldn't play with that doll. "

"When I was little the adverts were the best bit, I learned all the jingles and acted them out in the playground. I'd love my children to get the same joy from watching ads but I'm finding myself relying more and more on children's channels without adverts. So many of them have an overwhelmingly sexist message it just doesn't feel fun anymore."

'To be honest, I believe ads are, or will be, a less potent force than they used to be, as children and their grown ups today can often so easily skip through them. That said, there is no excuse for the gendered stereotyping which colours almost all toy ads aimed at children over a certain age. Why not just present the toy in all its glory and let children decide for themselves whether it is for them or not? Using not-so-subtle coding to suggest 'boys will like this' or 'girls will like this' makes other children look at a toy and feel it is not for them which is sad and unnecessary. I wish the manufacturers and ad-makers would realise they have a great opportunity here to shake up the tired old approach and lead the way with a much more modern depiction of boys and girls playing together with all those cool toys that are out there. And THAT might stop me fast forwarding through the ad breaks!'

## What do children think?

*They are influenced by ads and packaging:*

"My sister can play with this too." Matthew, aged 5, pointing at the box of his new marble run, which had a boy and a girl on the pack. Sure enough, his sister did enjoy playing with it too!

"If you are someone who does not let toys be toys, you would think that the secret diary is for girls only. But it's not'. Marcus, age 5

"The girls' ads are made soppy because of the stupid voices, they're all pink.' Marianne, age 8

"Mummy, until you made me watch those adverts and miss the rest of Be Cool Scooby Doo, I didn't notice that the boys in adverts don't really play with girls, they're horrible to them. If I'm like that I have to have a time out." Adam, age 6

"Why are daddies always idiots in adverts?" Adam, age 6

"... my best friend (a boy) would think it looks like it's for girls as some girls were playing with it"

"'Operation' is for everybody in the whole wide world!"

"If the ad [ Build a Bear My Little Pony] showed boys it would still be for girls... If it showed a teddy bear it's for boys and girls..."

## Acknowledgements

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## Appendix 1: About the research

Nine volunteers viewed ads during three hours of programming at different times of day, for 11 different channels available in the UK, covering preschool programming up to tweens. Volunteers recorded details of toy adverts only. The ads were viewed during the period 31<sup>st</sup> Aug – 15<sup>th</sup> October. Over 350 adverts were logged in total, reduced to 237 once duplicates had been removed.

Adverts were viewed at varying times of day for each channel between 06:00 and 20:00.

Researchers divided the adverts into four categories:

- Boys, 29% (69 adverts) Ads with only boys and, in a couple of cases, girls as an audience to play.
- Girls, 26% (62 adverts) Ads with only girls and, in one case, a boy as an audience to play.
- Both, 32% (75 adverts) Ads including both boys and girls playing.
- No children, 13% (31 adverts) Ads containing only animated characters or toys.

### Products by Classification

Product	Female					
Action figure dolls	0					
<b>Action Game</b>	<b>0</b>					
<b>Animal Character</b>	<b>6</b>					
<b>Animal Soft Toy</b>	<b>6</b>					
Art	9					
<b>Beauty/Bodv Image/</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>8</b>	
	11	0	0	6	17	
Interactive Toys	2	4	11	1	18	
<b>PlaySet</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>22</b>	
<b>Vehicles</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>25</b>	
Video Games	1	1	1	3	6	
<b>Weapon</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>7</b>	
	62	69	75	31	237	

## Appendix 2: research overview

### Let Toys Be Toys: What the academic evidence says on gender and advertising

It has been estimated that the annual cost of advertising campaigns directed towards children is more than \$15billion (McNeal, 1999), due in part to the increasing financial power of children themselves and also to the increasing influence that children have over their parents spending habits (Strasburger, Wilson & Jordan, 2009).

The acquisition of a gender identity is a process that begins before birth (Franklin, 2012); the consumer choices made during the pre-natal period, for example, reflect stereotypical ideas about boys and girls with the purchase of blue and pink clothing (Paoletti, 2012; Pomerleau et al., 1990) and the gendered decorating of nursery spaces (Cieraad, 2007; Rheingold & Cook, 1975). The reinforcement of cultural gender identities continues throughout childhood, particularly through the use of toys. Toys rated as 'for boys' have been shown to be more aggressive or violent (such as weapons or military action figures), more fun, more risky and more exciting, as opposed to toys 'for girls' which are more focused on domestic activities, improving physical appearance and more nurturing (Blakemore & Centers, 2005).

In a recent analysis of the Disney Store website, for example, it was found that 'boys toys' are likely to include vehicles, weapons and construction toys while 'girls toys' tend to be confined to toys associated with image (such as cosmetics and jewellery) and those associated with domestic work (such as pretend cooking sets) (Auster & Mansbach, 2012).

The reinforcement of stereotypical gender roles can also be seen in children's books with male characters showing strong career but weak parenting skills, while female characters are depicted as having good abilities within the domestic sphere (Anderson & Hamilton, 2005). Even colouring books are likely to reinforce gender stereotypes with preponderance of male characters that are more likely to be depicted being active and in roles of power (Fitzpatrick & McPherson, 2010). It is through these cultural cues and representations of gendered behaviour that children strengthen their ideas of what it means to be feminine or masculine (Bem, 1981; Richardson & Wearing, 2014).

It has been documented that adverts featuring only girls are more likely to be located within a domestic setting, whereas boy-only adverts tended to feature locations outside of the home (Larson, 2001); in terms of gender stereotypical behaviours the girl-only adverts were more likely to depict co-operation while the boys engaged in more competitive or violent interactions (Kahlenberg & Hein, 2010; Larson, 2001; Martínez, Nicolás & Salas, 2013).

Even the colour palettes used in advertising are reinforcing contemporary gendered stereotypes with boys' toys more likely to be associated with bold and bright colours and girls toys and adverts featuring the colour pink and associated pastel tones (Auster & Mansbach, 2012; Kahlenberg & Hein, 2010).

These advertising messages are so strong that children have been shown to much more positively

respond towards toys that are clearly marketed as appropriate for their gender, whether this identification is achieved through use of colour (Cunningham & Macrae, 2011; Weisgram, Fulcher & Dinella, 2014) or clear 'for boys' or 'for girls' labelling (Weisgram, Fulcher & Dinella, 2014). This association between colour and gender has been demonstrated in children around the age of two (LoBue & deLoache, 2011; Wong & Hines, 2015) meaning that these cultural messages encouraged by toy advertising are understood at a very young age.

It has also been demonstrated that children are susceptible to the impact of commercials when determining whether toys are 'for boys' or 'for girls' (Pike & Jennings, 2005).

The above findings regarding toy advertising directed towards boys and girls have been demonstrated repeatedly across countries and across decades demonstrating a remarkable consistency in which adverts are reinforcing, promoting and perpetuating traditional ideas regarding gender roles. The recent research conducted by Let Toys Be Toys is further evidence that there is still a long road to travel before children and their toys are not confined to the gendered stereotypes reinforced by advertisers.

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