Parents were asked to complete an information form when they registered their children in an early childhood education center. Answers to a question on the form concerning each child's favorite play activities at home were collected and examined in terms of sex differences. The parents in this study reported the same sex difference in children's play activities that have been observed in preschool settings. More boys than girls play with vehicles and blocks at home and in the preschool setting. More girls than boys are involved in art activities and dramatic play. The question might be: does the home play influence the preschool play or does the preschool play influence the home play or does the play of one setting reinforce and interact with the other. Certainly, the findings again illustrate the powerful influence of society's traditional attitudes toward sex roles. A 31-item bibliography concludes the document.
SEX STEREOTYPING OF YOUNG CHILDREN’S PLAY IN THE HOME

Dr. Betty Spillers Beeson and Dr. R. Ann Williams

Introduction

Since sex stereotyping limits and prevents both boys and girls from achieving their true potential, it becomes a crucial factor in the development of young children. A growing body of research indicates that play is also a key to children’s learning and development. There is sex stereotyping of young children’s play in the preschool setting. Is there sex stereotyping of play in the home?

In the past, it was a generally accepted fact that sex role differentiation could be attributed to genetic and biological differences. Researchers continue to study and document this area, such as brain research indicating differences in brain functioning (Restak, 1979), and studies delving into sex differences in spatial perceptions (Eliot and Fralley, 1976). Today, the importance of cultural influences on the development of sex role differentiation is also widely recognized (Lewis, 1972; Birns, 1976; Zaichkowsky et al., 1982). Sex role stereotyping found in television programs, school curricula, and career opportunities is an example of often arbitrary cultural influences that shape sex roles in American society.

Historically, children’s play has mirrored society’s traditional attitudes toward sex roles. These traditional labelings of male and female play activities reflect the common beliefs society has held in regard to sex stereotyping. Boys are more active, noisier, and messier than girls. Girls are less active, quieter, and neater than boys. Boys excel in large muscle activities and girls in fine muscle activities. These are examples of how
sexism tends to limit the play opportunities of children.

Sex role stereotyping in play begins early and continues throughout childhood. Sex differences have been reported in the play activities of infants (Lewis, 1972), toddlers (Lowe, 1975; Fein, 1975 and Weinraub et al., 1984), preschoolers (see Table 1), school age children (Lever, 1976), and preadolescents (Erikson, 1951).

Some of the sex differences reported in the play activities of preschoolers in the last fifty years are given in Table 1. An examination

TABLE 1

PREVIOUS STUDIES REPORTING SEX DIFFERENCES IN PLAY ACTIVITIES OF YOUNG CHILDREN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Findings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Williams &amp; Beeson</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Blocks, wheeled vehicles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1980)</td>
<td></td>
<td>water/sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beeson &amp; Williams</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Art activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1979)</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Blocks, wheeled vehicles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>water/sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Art Activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Blocks, wheeled vehicles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Art activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Art activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Blocks, wheeled vehicles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Art activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Tires, crates, wheeled vehicles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Climbing frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sand, tractor, climbing frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Arts &amp; crafts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dolls, formal games</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Blocks, vehicles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Dolls, furniture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dolls, art activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Doll area, art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shure (1963)</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Blocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Art activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vance &amp; McCall (1934)</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Blocks, trains, kiddie-kars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parten (1933)</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Blocks, trains, kiddie-kars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Art activities, houseplay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of these findings illustrates that boys participate in play activities that society considers masculine while girls participate in activities considered feminine.

Most available research on toy selection and toy preference has been conducted in an experimental or preschool setting. There is a dearth of research documenting the selection and preference of toys in the home. Two such studies report that sex stereotyping has been found in the use of toys in the home environment (Fagot, 1975; Giddings and Halverson, 1981). Boys played with blocks and manipulated objects such as transportation toys more than girls. The girls focused their time on dolls, dancing, and dress-up.

Rheingold and Cook (1975) surveyed the furnishings and toys found in the bedrooms of ninety-six children. The researchers assumed that differences would serve as an indicator of parental ideas about sex appropriateness of toys and room decor. The boys' rooms contained more vehicles, educational-art materials, sports equipment, machines, and military toys. Girls were provided dolls, dollhouses, and domestic toys. The girls' rooms were decorated with ruffles and floral motifs; those of boys, with animals.

In addition to the toys provided in the home, parents influence their children's play by encouraging sex appropriate play activities and discouraging cross-sexed toy play (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974; Langlois and Downs, 1980).

Parents influence their children's learning and development by the toys they buy for their children and the play that they encourage (Abubato, 1985).
Setting of the Study

An early childhood laboratory was the setting for this study. It is one of three early childhood education centers maintained by the department of elementary education at a midwestern university.

The primary goals of the Early Enrichment Laboratory, as described in its handbook, are to provide:

- a model early childhood program
- positive support and encouragement for parents as teachers
- a visitation site for child care workers
- a research facility for the study of young children
- observation, participation, and teaching experiences for undergraduate and graduate students.

To facilitate parent support and learning, an adult is required to remain with each child during each session. The laboratory is directed by a professor of Early Childhood Education and has two graduate students as teachers. The teachers changed each year of this study; however, the director remained constant.

The program meets twice a week for two hours each session. The morning session is for younger children, and the afternoon session is for older children.

Play is recognized as an important learning medium for young children. Opportunities are provided for a wide range of individual and small group activities including: blocks, water play, sand play, art activities, and dramatic play. Particular attention is given to language development. Fingerplays, songs, and discussions are all important aspects of the program.
The Subjects

The 329 children involved in the study were enrolled in the Early Enrichment Laboratory during a nine year period, beginning in September, 1977 and continuing through May, 1986. There were 169 males and 160 females, ranging in age from under two years old to over four years old as shown in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 2</th>
<th>AGE AND SEX OF SUBJECTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex of subjects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of subjects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 2 years old</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 years old</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 years old</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 years old and over</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An effort was made to maintain a fairly even number of boys and girls. Table 3 indicates this was true throughout the nine years of the study with the exception of 1984 when there were nearly twice the number of boys as girls.

An analysis of the ages of the children attending each of the nine years is presented in Table 4. There was a gradual shift in age from older
TABLE 3
SEX OF SUBJECTS BY YEAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

to younger participants in the program. Overall, there was a lower number of four-year-olds and above.

TABLE 4
AGE OF SUBJECTS BY YEAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>under 2 years</th>
<th>2 years</th>
<th>3 years</th>
<th>4 years and over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The children involved in this study represented a wide range of racial and socioeconomic backgrounds. Children of faculty, staff, university students, and the community-at-large were represented in fairly equal proportions. A small number of foreign-born children also attended the
program. Families in which both parents were employed outside the home, as well as single-parent families were represented.

Collection of Data

Parents of the children involved in the study were asked to complete an information form at the time of registration for the Early Enrichment Laboratory. The parents were asked to complete the response form as accurately as possible, since it would provide valuable information to help the teachers "better understand and work with your child." Parents were aware that the responses might be used for research purposes. The parents completed the form immediately at the time of distribution.

The information form was one and one-half pages long and contained general information pertaining to the child, as well as an activity preference question. The question was open-ended: "What are your child's favorite play activities?" The parent was instructed to indicate toy choices that their child preferred on a fairly consistent basis over a long period of time. The same registration procedure and form was followed for nine consecutive years.

Based on Rubin's categories of play (1977), the following categories were included: vehicle play, art, table activities, dramatic play, guns, books, water play, outdoor play, and blocks. The responses on the information forms were then labeled according to category. For example, if a parent indicated that play with dolls was a favorite activity, it was coded as dramatic play. If a parent indicated that playing with puzzles was a favorite activity, it was coded as a table activity. Responses were recorded on the basis of year, sex, and age of the child.
Parents had the option of giving more than one response to the open-ended activity choice question. All responses were included in the study.

Analysis of Data

The data were initially analyzed to determine which play activities were reported by parents to be favorites among their children. Table 5 gives the proportion of children whose parents named that play activity as a favorite. Almost half of the parents reported that dramatic play was a favorite play activity of their children. Other popular activities were play with vehicles, books, and outdoor play. Play activities which were least popular, as reported by parents, included: guns, water play, and blocks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vehicles</td>
<td>.482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>.220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table Activities</td>
<td>.226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dramatic Play</td>
<td>.665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guns</td>
<td>.067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td>.418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Play</td>
<td>.131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoor Play</td>
<td>.323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blocks</td>
<td>.140</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data were also analyzed in terms of favorite play activities for boys and for girls. As presented in Table 6, there were some differences in the proportion of males to females. Over two-thirds of the parents reported that their sons enjoyed playing with vehicles; only one-fourth of
the parents of girls reported vehicle play as a favorite among their daughters.

### TABLE 6
PARENTS' PERCEPTION OF MALE'S AND FEMALE'S PLAY ACTIVITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vehicles</td>
<td>.696</td>
<td>.256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>.161</td>
<td>.281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table Activities</td>
<td>.220</td>
<td>.231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dramatic Play</td>
<td>.524</td>
<td>.813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guns</td>
<td>.065</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td>.429</td>
<td>.496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Play</td>
<td>.143</td>
<td>.119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoor Play</td>
<td>.333</td>
<td>.313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blocks</td>
<td>.190</td>
<td>.087</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To test if these differences between the proportion of males and the proportion of females were significant, the data were analyzed using a t-test at a .05 level of significance. Table 7 indicates that there was a significant difference in the activity preferences of males versus females.

There was a statistically significant difference for wheeled vehicles (p<.0001). According to the parents, more males than females chose wheeled vehicles as a favorite play activity.

There was a statistically significant difference in play with blocks (p<.01). According to the parents, more males than females chose blocks as a favorite play activity.

There was also a statistically significant sex difference for art activities (p<.01). According to the parents, more females than males chose art as a favorite play activity.

Finally, there was a statistically significant sex difference for
dramatic play (p<.001). According to the parents, more females than males chose dramatic play as a favorite play activity.

**TABLE 7**

**ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE PLAY ACTIVITY PREFERENCES OF MALES AND FEMALES AS REPORTED BY PARENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Hypoth. SS</th>
<th>Hypoth. MS</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sign of t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vehicles</td>
<td>15.879</td>
<td>3.589</td>
<td>8.855</td>
<td>.000 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>.190</td>
<td>1.190</td>
<td>2.656</td>
<td>.008 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table Activities</td>
<td>.010</td>
<td>.010</td>
<td>6.237</td>
<td>.812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dramatic Play</td>
<td>6.830</td>
<td>6.830</td>
<td>5.796</td>
<td>.000 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guns</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.118</td>
<td>.906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td>.041</td>
<td>.041</td>
<td>.408</td>
<td>.683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>.048</td>
<td>.048</td>
<td>.645</td>
<td>.519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoor</td>
<td>.035</td>
<td>.035</td>
<td>.402</td>
<td>.688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blocks</td>
<td>.869</td>
<td>.869</td>
<td>2.706</td>
<td>.007 *</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Conclusions**

The findings of sex stereotyping in the play of young children in this study are comparable to those reported in Table 1. The parents in this study reported the same sex difference in children's play activities that have been observed in the preschool settings. More boys than girls play with vehicles and blocks at home and in the preschool setting. More girls than boys are involved in art activities and dramatic play. The question might be: does the home play influence the preschool play or does the preschool play influence the home play or does the play of one setting reinforce and interact with the other. Certainly, the findings again illustrate the powerful influence of society's traditional attitudes toward sex roles.

Various intervention techniques have been used to modify sex stereotyping in group settings. Modeling of inappropriate sex typed play (Wolf, 1973, 1975, 1976) and rewarding cross-sex play (Servin, Tunick and Sternglanz, 1977) have produced mixed results. The results in this study may help to explain why attempts of various
programs to reduce sex stereotyping have not been extremely effective. One or two hours of intervention two or three times per week may not erase hours and days of sex stereotyped play that is allowed if not encouraged at home. Children can play with the toys that are available to them. They can not play with toys that they do not have. To bring about real change in the play activities of young children, parents will need to be made aware of how sex stereotyping limits children's play activities and may limit children from developing their full potential. Until sex stereotyped play at home is changed, little progress can be made in the preschool setting.

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