

# The Depiction of Gender Roles in a Singaporean Parenting Magazine

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**Abstract:** This paper reports the analysis of 22 pictures and 5 full text articles from the Singaporean parenting e-magazine, *The New Age Parents* [1] to examine how gender roles of both parents and children in Singapore are depicted. Especially, such aspects as colours, clothing, toys, accessories, postures in the pictures and linguistic usage in the texts are scrutinised. The findings indicate that in all images, the fathers have a proclivity to stand more in the foreground or in a protective stance. In contrast, these pictures present mothers holding their babies tenderly, positioned on the inside, which denotes “the weaker sex” of mothers. The images also show that pink and light colours are associated with girls and mothers, while blue, primary and bold colours are connected with boys and fathers. In addition, the articles describe the parenting roles of mothers more than those of fathers. Even when fathers’ roles are discussed, they are referred to or compared to those of the mothers. None of the articles advocates any change in the mothers’ roles, whereas, it is recommended that paternal roles should be slightly modified to be tenderer and include certain tasks for fathers that used to be associated with only mothers.

*Keywords:* Singapore, gender roles, parenting.

## 1. Introduction

This study addresses the issue of how gender roles are depicted in a Singaporean parenting magazine, *The New Age Parents* [1]. Being a cultural artifact, magazines reflect the everyday lives of people and how social and political philosophies are perceived. Besides, magazines have long played a key role in all classes, races, and genders and are a fertile space for the expression of social and political

philosophies [2]. In such a specialised magazine as a parenting one, the ideologies and descriptions of this specific theme are obviously highlighted. Readers of such a magazine undoubtedly include a majority of parents and those who wish to become parents as well as general readers. Besides, a parenting e-magazine because it is a window into attitudes concerning gender since it captures assumptions about the roles of not only boys and girls, but also fathers and mothers. Parenting magazines have been regarded as a source of information and advice to form a view of what ideal parents and children are like [3].

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This paper aims to find out how gender roles are represented in the depiction of both parents and children in a Singaporean e-magazine. In terms of images, the investigation explores how specific aspects such as colours, clothing, toys, accessories, postures, etc. are associated with each gender. As for the linguistic components in the e-magazine's articles, the expressions assuming the mother and father roles, pronouns, and content words relating to both genders are analysed.

## 2. Issues related to gender roles in parenting

### 2.1. Definition of gender

While nowadays, some people tend to use the two terms "sex" and "gender" interchangeably, a distinction may be made. According to the World Health Organisation (WHO) [4], "sex" refers to the biological and physiological characteristics that define men and women, whereas "gender" refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women [4]. In other words, by this definition, "Male" and "Female" would most suitably fall into the category of "sex", while "Masculine" or "Feminine" into that of "gender".

### 2.2. Stereotyping of gender roles in parenting

"Mothering" is a term commonly heard referring to the act of caring and bringing up a child. Yet, "fathering" is rarely heard nor used. It is interesting to reflect that "fathering", unlike "mothering", according to Forste [5], means to be the breadwinner of the family and to support some particular activities on some occasions. However, the traditional views of being a father

have undergone some changes over time. Researching the American society, Forste suggests that nowadays, fathers are not only responsible for paying the bills and dealing with money matters, they also want a closer bond with their children and to be more of a nurturing father. As the American society is a mixed culture and changing, fathering has become a mosaic.

### 2.3. Gender issues in Singapore

Gender issues are a topic of debate in Singapore. One of the key aims of AWARE's 2004 [6], a project advocating equality in parenthood, was to endorse gender equality to alleviate the pressure of fertility and caregiving on women. The academic literature suggests that there is gender bias in Singapore. Tan [7] points out that official publications indicate indirectly the gendered polarities between male and female roles in the Singaporean society. Men are considered the protectors, whereas women are the reproducers of the nation.

Unlike the roles of men, according to the article *Women in Singapore* [8], women in Singapore are circumscribed by three roles. They have to balance a traditional role in the home with being creative and prolific corporate workers. Additionally, Singaporean women are expected to have a high level of education but their presence in managerial positions is still proportionately lower than that of their male counterparts (*Women in Singapore*). However, according to Tan [7], men in Singapore are still considered "the head of the household and its breadwinner".

### 2.4. Family in Singapore

Due to the influence of Confucianism and Asian authenticity, which refer to the pure

Asian features, Singapore is a patriarchal society with typical patriarchal families in which women bring up their children in the right values of a safe, stable and loving space [7]. Tan also claims that even though men and women nowadays are more equal in both fields of work and family, the existence of the polarised public mindset and gender division has cast the Singaporean man to be an “aggressive and rational protector” and the Singaporean woman a “caring and consensus-seeking reproducer and nurturer”.

From a different perspective, Wei-Jun Jean Yeung reported in the *International Conference on Fatherhood in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Asia* that contemporary Singaporean fathers are very involved in various aspects of childcare and their children’s lives since childbirth [9].

### 3. The Study

#### 3.1. Methods

The information for this investigation was taken from the Singaporean e-magazine *TheNew Age Parents* [1]. Twenty-two images (coded from pic. 1 to 22) from 21 different articles in this e-magazine were chosen for analysis (see Appendix A for a sample picture). The coding includes colours, looking at camera/not looking at camera, props/toys/accessories, active/passive stance, dominant/dominated position, and the relative background/foreground positions of the human subjects. The justification for this choice of coding is because these elements often demonstrate gender differences and are repeated throughout the e-magazine. The features under these coding themes were

compiled and presented in a table as attached in Appendix C.

Besides, 5 articles of full text (see Appendix B for a sample article) were randomly picked from the e-magazine in order to analyse their linguistic components and content that might show how roles of the two genders are viewed in parenting in Singaporean families. After thorough analysis, all the magazine article contents were grouped into different themes, including the gendered use of the pronoun “he” to address babies, assumptions about mother and father roles, and assumptions about boy/girl clothing as well as activities.

#### 3.2. Findings

##### 3.2.1. Gender roles via images

###### **Colours**

With regards to colours, 15 pictures out of 22 clearly distinguish between boys and girls or men and women in a gendered manner. The male subject wears blue in all 15 pictures except for pic. 3 where the son is dressed in a pink shirt. However, in this photo, the father wears a blue shirt. Besides, fourteen pictures out of 22 contain images of women, girls and toys that are conventionally considered to be for girls. The dominant colours for them are pink (in 8 photos), and other common colours include light blue, light yellow, light green, white, etc. This excludes pic. 9 in which the mother wears black.

###### **Gaze at camera**

Nine out of 22 photos reflect gender distinction through the differences in the gaze of each family member at the camera. Specifically, fathers usually look directly into the camera in a ready-to-go and confident manner (Pic. 1, 2, 8 and 11). Mothers and daughters gaze at the camera in a way that

indicates they are posing for a photograph (Pic. 2, 8, 11, 14 and 19). Sons, by contrast, often look away from the camera, and seem to be naturally engaged in their own activities (Pic. 1, 2, 5, 11, 15, 19 and 20).

### ***Props, toys and accessories***

There is a sharp distinction between the two genders in terms of props, toys and accessories. Boys are often photographed with toys such as trucks, cars, balls, denoting strength and science, etc. whilst girls in the pictures often use things that have light colours, curvy, soft-looking, and are related to princesses and house chores. For instance, pictures pic. 21 and pic. 22 expose two contrasting photos of a typical boys' room and a typical girls' room. The former is blue with Superman pictures, planes and soccer ball, whilst the latter is pink with a lot of teddy bears and pink girls' accessories.

### ***Active / Passive***

It is common throughout the different photos that males (sons and fathers) are shown to be more active and they appear to be more engaged in their activities. Even if they are presented in a passive manner, their glance or posture suggests that they are "ready for action". As for females (daughters and mothers), the photos reveal them in passive (sitting, being carried), genteel and posing positions, sometimes with their heads slightly tilted.

### ***Dominant / Dominated and Positioning in photos***

In pic. 3, 7 and 10, the fathers are featured as being more dominant in the way that he is punishing his child (pic. 3) or overseeing and protecting his wife and child (pic. 7 and 10). The positioning of the male subjects in photos also contributes to this "manly" role. The way subjects are positioned in the photos from 1 to 4 and 7 to 12 subtly expresses gender roles in

parenting. The fathers often stand more in the foreground or on the outside, in the position of the dominant protectors, meanwhile, the mothers and children are often placed on the inside, behind or held by the fathers.

### ***3.2.2. Analysis of text articles***

#### **a. Linguistic usage: The universal "he"**

The first linguistic feature that emerges from the passages is the pronoun "he/him". In the article *Getting to Know your Baby* [10], the pronoun "him" is used to refer to both male and female children. For example,

*Don't you sometimes wish your baby came with an instruction manual that included personalized directions on how to (1) get him to stop crying, (2) help him sleep, (3) make him laugh and (4) make him feel secure?*

Despite the fact that the accompanying picture features a baby girl and the article is referring to all babies in general, the author sticks to the "he" pronoun throughout the article, except for the final paragraph where she uses "he or she".

*In the end, take the time to really get to know your child at every level at every age, the way he or she has been wired to be – not the way you hope he or she would be. And know yourself and your partner's own values and limits.*

Clearly, the fact that the writer switched to use both "he" and "she" in the end of the article suggests that she knows these pronouns refer to two different genders but she subconsciously employed "he/him" to refer to both at the beginning.

#### **b. Content**

*Assumptions about mother/father roles (including assumptions about who reads the magazine)*

In the article *Voice of a Single Father* [11] the author describes Kelvin, a single father whose wife died of cancer. She writes:

*The need to be both gentle and firm at the same time is a constant challenge for Kelvin.*

*Kelvin shares that one of the daily challenges he has in raising Janice can be simple tasks like getting her dressed up for school. "It can be challenging trying to get a pony tail up, or at least get her hair tied up nicely so that she looks neat and pretty when she goes to school." His hands fumbles each time he tries to get a rubber band across the bunch of tiny fragile hair.*

*The special moments where he felt everything was worth it was the times when Janice wants to hold his hand to sleep and cuddle him to find security, or when she randomly approaches Kelvin for a hug.*

*"I don't cook that well, so my mother-in-law whips up the most delicious and healthy meal for Janice."*

The implication of the text is that it is the proper role of women or mothers to deal with household chores (e.g. cooking), care-taking and nurturing whereas men or fathers are supposed to be "firm". Therefore,

*Roles of a mother and father do differ, so even when mum is no longer around, there is really no way a father can fill those shoes.*

The assumption of distinct mother/father roles is also mentioned in the article *Juggling Fatherhood and Husbandhood* [12]:

*Some suggestions that may impress her which has totally impressed me:*

*Bathe the baby when you are home*

*Be the diaper changing machine*

*Washing the dishes. I always feel very loved when my dirty dishes suddenly disappears from my sink! It's like MAGIC!*

*Washing of her breast pump and milk bottles and sterilizing them at the end of the day*

*Take the first morning duty before you head to work, to diaper change the baby making him/her happy before he/she is passed to mummy for milk*

*Feed the baby at certain time of the day*

Although the text does not directly say that these jobs (e.g. changing diapers for the baby, washing the dishes, etc.) are not the usual jobs for fathers, or that they are the daily chores of a mother, the phrase "impress her" implies that in fact they are not, and by doing them the husband would be able to impress his wife and take some burden off her shoulders.

***Gendered assumptions about boy/girl clothing, activities, etc.***

In the advertisement for the branded toys LEGO – DUPLO (*Review of LegoDuplo*) [13], the author writes:

*Boys' First Love*

*The new Police Range– Make your boy the hero of the day by being a smart police officer who helps to chase the robbers and captures the escaped prisoners in his police car ...*

*Car Transporter– That's the boys' all-time favourite. Pretend to be a driver of the car-transporter and deliver the brand new cars to the showroom...*

This description clearly characterises boys as being strong, tough, brave and that they wish to become "hero of the day", they like cars and do dangerous tasks. These assumptions somehow have shaped the children's thoughts,

behaviours and aspirations from a very young age.

In this same article, aside the products mentioned above, the author also introduces another product of the same brand:

*Going for Grocery Shopping...*

*Market Place: hustle and bustle under a red umbrella*

*Mm, fresh strawberries, crunchy yellow corn on the cob, and shiny tomatoes – yummy! The greengrocer is getting ready for another beautiful day! He sets up his fresh fruit, vegetables and bread – and shades everything with the umbrella.*

*The Market Place appeals to both boys and girls.*

Unlike the other products *The new Police Range* or *Car Transporter* which are said to be for boys, this product, *Going for Grocery Shopping*, is claimed to appeal to both boys and girls, with this sentence being highlighted to attract attention. To an extent, there is an underlying assumption that this runs counter to the norm about what boys like and what girls like. It also implies that girls are more likely not to like *Police* or *Car* toys, but rather *Grocery Shopping*, which is more of a woman's daily activity.

#### ***Gendered assumption about mothers' roles***

Unlike the roles of a father who has to be tough, firm, assertive, protective and be a breadwinner, a mother is described as having more tasks in the household and has to do more with caretaking and emotional matters within the family. What follows is an extract from the article *Time out for Mummies: Ways and Places to Unwind and De-stress* [14]

*Motherhood is a never-ending 24/7 journey of putting the needs of a little one before*

*yourself, grappling with the emotional upheavals and constant second guessing that comes with the territory, and battling the Z-monster during the day thanks to interrupted sleep at night. It can often seem like a thankless task of daily routine, a treadmill that you can't step off without everything falling to pieces!*

Another extract from this same article also emphasises the role of mothers:

*It's not easy to trust your children to a care-giver – sometimes it can even be scary leaving them alone with your husband for more than an hour.*

Motherhood, as depicted in this excerpt, seems to be a stressful job which requires more sacrifice and deals with more subtle issues because child-rearing is a demanding and difficult job. It cannot be handled well, as assumed by the author of this article, even by the husband. It reflects the assumptions of the norm of mothers looking after children, fathers only doing it because of a departure from the norm, and therefore, involves risks.

### *3.3 Discussion of the findings*

#### *3.3.1. Image analysis*

In all images with fathers together with mother and/or children, the fathers have a proclivity to stand outside or in front. This indicates the fact that fathers are regarded as protectors and the head of the family. Their positioning shows the value of the patriarchal family in Singapore as described by Tan [7]. In addition, the pictures reveal that the roles of the mother, even in this modern society, tend to have a touch of traditional values and conform to the Confucian standards. These pictures present mothers holding their babies tenderly, positioned on the inside in comparison to the man's position.

Specifically, with regards to colours, pink and light colours are associated with girls and mothers, suggesting gentleness and femininity, while blue, primary and bold colours are associated with boys and fathers, expressing audacity and masculinity. It can be seen that gender division exists even in the use of colours. To put in another way, gender division is deeply rooted in the mindset of Singaporean writers and their imagined audience.

Not only is there a difference in colour choice, the most subtle act of gazing (or not) at the camera is also subconsciously associated with gender roles. As for toys, they are play-things that help children develop physically and cognitively. It seems as though toy producers and even parents who buy toys for their children have presumed what the role of their children should be and prepare for what they are to grow up into in the future. Again, boys will be protectors and doing more challenging jobs whereas girls will be caring for the family and children. Whether the subjects of the photos seem active or passive also has to do with what gender they belong to. Males are often made more active, assertive and stronger, and females tend to be gentle and vulnerable with a glimpse of uncertainty in the way they tilt their heads. Dominance and the positioning of subjects, too, differ between the genders in the photos. This denotes the “stronger” sex and the “weaker” sex. It implies males in a patriarchal society or family are often more dominant and that males protect females and children for females are considered weaker and need to be protected.

### 3.3.2. Text analysis

Among the 5 articles, the roles of fathers are rarely mentioned explicitly. Even though the articles are entitled *Juggling Fatherhood and Husbandhood* [12] *Voice of a Single Father*

[11], the content apparently addresses the crucial tasks done by mothers. This indicates that even though the fathers play a vital role in child upbringing, the role of the mother is still very indispensable. Single fathers, like the father in *Voice of a Single Father*, have to face the challenge of being both a father and a mother, role-wise. For other fathers, it is suggested that they get involved in roles that are supposedly for mothers such as caring for the baby/child and trivial chores around the house, because although such matters are considered not to be of concern for fathers, doing them not only contributes to the child’s development, but also mitigates the stress that mothers often have to deal with on their own. It is interesting to know that both of these articles are about fathers, however their roles are discussed in relation to those of mothers. The author seems to advise the fathers to adopt at least some roles of the mothers. It can, therefore, be deduced that the roles of mothers are very crucial in the upbringing of children.

The texts/articles confirm what Tan [7] and Forste [5] say about the maternal roles in parenting, which are child-rearing, nurturing and home-making. None of the articles suggests any changes in the mothers’ roles, but as for those of the father, it is recommended that they should be slightly modified to be tenderer and include certain tasks that used to be associated with only mothers [9]. This is especially important in the cases where mothers are not present (due to death or divorce).

## 4. Conclusion

The findings and analysis of 22 pictures and 5 articles of full text evidently shows how gender roles are depicted in the Singaporean e-

magazine, *The New Age Parents* [1]. Women retain their roles of being the tender nurturer whereas men have an inclination to be more protective, and adopt the role of breadwinners. The femininity or masculinity is culturally coded and that is clearly reflected in *The New Age Parents* where the assumption reflects that such parenting jobs such as nurturing, child rearing, diaper changing or cooking and so on should be reserved for women.

The findings of this paper are very specific to the Singaporean culture through the lens of an e-magazine. The pictures extracted illustrate social assumptions of gender roles. For example, since childhood boys are surrounded by “masculine” toys and the conventional colour blue. Besides, they learn to “play fight” which fosters their strength and “manly” manner and to be strong in order to prepare them to be the future protectors. In contrast, girls are surrounded by “feminine” toys and the colour pink. They play with dolls, dress up, etc. to help them get acquainted with the mothers’ role in the future and grow up to be nurturing people. Besides, the articles extracted from the magazine contains language depicting such work as child-rearing, nurturing and home-making for mothers and it is implied that fathers are not able to do these jobs as well as their female counterparts.

## 5. Limitations

Some limitations are unavoidable in writing this paper. First of all, the photographs and articles were only chosen from the most recent issues of *The New Age Parents*. This may not be able to show the changes in gender roles over a longer period of time. There is also a problem with generalisation since only one e-

magazine was used as a resource for research and analysis. Another drawback of this paper is that the data were taken from a lesser-known “web only” magazine because the writer encountered difficulties in accessing copies of a popular print parenting magazine.

## 6. Further research

Future studies in this area should explore a wider range of photos and articles from a greater number of magazines and a wider range of mass media (blogs, websites, T.V. programmes) to avoid the problems of generalisation. Furthermore, it is worth noting that most families in Singapore have “maids” (domestic helpers) who also play a role in the caring of the children. Parenting magazines fail to acknowledge the roles of these people. Occasionally, there are a few articles addressing these “invisible characters”, but the focus is on choosing “good maids” rather than on recognising their substantial role as caregivers. It would, thus, be worthwhile to do research into this issue as well.

This study has focused on published articles and images. Another method of research could be looking into Internet forums and blogs where readers’ voices are heard in the form of comments on articles, questions, etc. These more spontaneous and interactive texts might give us a greater insight into gendered thinking than more carefully composed articles.

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## Mô tả vai trò giới được thể hiện trong một tạp chí dành cho người làm cha mẹ ở Singapore

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**Tóm tắt:** Bài báo này trình bày kết quả phân tích 22 hình ảnh và 5 bài báo từ một tạp chí điện tử chuyên đề về làm cha mẹ ở Singapore, *The New Age Parents* [1] nhằm tìm hiểu vai trò giới của cha mẹ và con cái ở đất nước này. Việc phân tích cụ thể tập trung vào các phương diện như màu sắc, áo quần, đồ chơi, phụ kiện, dáng vẻ của cha mẹ và con cái trong các hình ảnh. Ngoài ra, ngôn ngữ sử dụng trong các bài báo cũng được xem xét. Kết quả nghiên cứu cho thấy rằng trong tất cả các hình ảnh, các người cha có khuynh hướng đứng phía trước hay có dáng vẻ bảo vệ. Trái lại, trong các hình ảnh này các người mẹ ôm con một cách dịu dàng, đứng phía trong thể hiện tính cách của "phái yếu". Các hình ảnh cũng cho thấy rằng các màu hồng và gam màu sáng nhẹ được sử dụng bởi các em gái và các người mẹ trong khi đó màu xanh và màu đậm được sử dụng bởi các em trai và các người cha. Ngoài ra, các bài báo mô tả vai trò của người mẹ nhiều hơn vai trò của người cha. Kể cả khi vai trò của người cha được thảo luận, các vai trò này được so với các vai trò của người mẹ. Không có bài báo nào ủng hộ sự thay đổi vai trò của người mẹ. Tuy vậy các bài báo khuyến khích vai trò của cha mẹ nên nhẹ nhàng hơn và gợi ý một số công việc cho người cha, những việc mà trước đây chỉ gắn kết với người mẹ.

*Từ khóa:* Singapore, vai trò giới, vai trò của cha mẹ.

## Appendices

### Appendix A – Sample Picture



Exercising together as a family.

### Appendix B: Sample article

#### **Juggling Fatherhood and Husbandhood**

You are now happily married to your lovely wife and feel that it's time to be a father! You and your wife are now expecting your little bundle of joy, to welcome him/her to the world. But remember, being a daddy does not mean you stop being a hubby to your wife! This Father's Day, we list down 10 useful tips on how fathers can strategize and find their way to their wife's heart during the first year of their newborn.

1. **Do what you want when the wife and baby are asleep.**

Gaming, eating, sleeping or watching your favorite soccer game. But watch the clock! Do remember to get sufficient rest and sleep for your work the next day!



**2. Psyche and de-role yourself off your work at the end of the day after work,** by the lift or before you open the

door of the house “I am a father and a husband, NOT a worker/engineer/teacher” then

breathe and enter the house. This preparation of your mind and heart will go a long way in helping manage the many roles you need to take as a man!

A friend I know shares with me that for the 13 years of his parenthood, he has always spent about an hour each time inside his car at his home carpark and process the day and work, to de-role from wears the role of a husband and a father before he enters his house after work. By doing so, it helps mentally prepare for what’s ahead in the house – possibly a tired wife, cranky kids, a messy house misses their father and wants all of his attention.

**3. Discuss on the roles and duties you would take (household and caring for baby) so that du clearly defined.**

Some suggestions that may impress her, which has totally impressed me:

- Bathe the baby when you are home
- Be the diaper changing machine
- Washing the dishes. I always feel very loved when my dirty dishes suddenly disappears from my s MAGIC!
- Washing of her breast pump and milk bottles and sterilizing them at the end of the day
- Take the first morning duty before you head to work, to diaper change the baby making him/her h he/she is passed to mummy for milk
- Feed the baby at certain time of the day

**4. Manage expectations and roles before the arrival of your child** such as the standard of clean house, and trusting you as the father to care for the child.

**5. Give overflowing words of praises, encouragement and affirmation to your wife.**

This period of time can be a very sensitive period for her where her hormones adjusts after an epi strenuous delivery and she is also trying to find her footing in managing her hay-wired emotions a instincts for the child. She may also be going through mild post-natal blues, so watch out for her!

### Appendix C: Coding of pictures

Codes							
Pic.	Description	Colours	Looking at camera / focusing on activity (not looking at camera)	Props, toys and Accessories	Active / Passive	Dominant / Dominated	Positions
1		light blue tone	Son looking away from camera		Son: active (smiling, playing)		Father supporting the son
2		son: light blue, father: red, daughter: light pink, mother: yellow	Son looking away from camera, daughter looking into the camera	bicycles (daughter: pink, girly bike with pink helmet. Son: red and black bike with black helmet)			Father and son on the outside, mother and daughter in the middle
3		Father in blue, son in pink		Father holding a strap		Father being dominant	Father standing up, son scooching down, covering himself
4			Everyone looking into the camera	Daughters wearing princess dress up crowns and dresses	Passive		Father having a position slightly more in the foreground
5			Both father and son not looking into the camera	Soccer ball	Active (both father and son emerged in their activity/game)		
6			Boy looking into the camera	Wearing glasses, holding books with scientific term in the background	passive, but seemingly active		

7		Father in blue, mother in pink, baby in white				Father seems to be in the dominant position	Father has his arm around the mother and playing with the baby, mother holding the baby
8		Everyone wearing clothes with a tone of blue, but the mother and daughter are wearing lighter clothes while the son and father with darker coloured clothes.		Mother wearing hijab Daughter wearing a bow headband			Mother holding the baby
9							Mother holding the baby
10		Father wearing blue, mother wearing white			Mother being more passive, father more active / protective	Father more dominant	Father has his arm around the mother, one arm over the tummy in a protective and caring way
11		Father and son wearing blue, daughter wearing pink	Daughter looking into the camera, son looking away from the camera		Son being more active, playing		Father behind, in a protective position
12					Husband in a more active role		Wife on husband's back,

					carrying his wife, wife kissing her husband		husband holds a supporting role/position
13				Baby girls with accessories and head bands, hats, etc. Baby boys without them, more simple clothes			
14		Pink in different tones	looking at the camera	Pink chair, pink socks, pink ribbons on her hair	Passive, sitting		
15		Boy in blue shirt	Looking away from camera	no accessories	seems more active, standing up		
16	Toys for girls, simulates doing housework activities	baby blue, light yellow, light green, light pink. (baby colours)					
17	Ball, toy for boys, active functions, pops up when flattened	red, yellow, blue (basic colours)					
18	Bubble wand toys for girls, curly, fragile, with fake jewels	sparkly, purple, blue, yellow, orange					
19	Connectable bits	Girl: wearing purple, toy made of baby coloured bits (light pink, purple,	Girl looking into the camera, posing for the photo. Boy focusing on his toy	Girl: head band, flowers. Boy: car, no other accessories.	Girl: posing more passively. Boy: seemingly actively engaged in his play		

		green, etc.). Boy: wearing brown and black, toy made of more defined colours of blue, yellow, black and white.	car, not looking into the camera				
20		Red	Not looking into camera, focused on his activity of playing	trucks, cup with a cartoon bulldozer picture on it.	Very actively playing with his truck, strongly handling his toy truck, possibly trying to make it move in the way that he wants, engaged		