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**Adolescent girls' perception of gender roles and gender identities:  
A qualitative study**

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**Adolescent girls' perception of gender roles and gender identities:  
A qualitative study**

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**Abstract**

Twenty adolescent girls aged 15 to 18 in Hong Kong were asked to take pictures from the media that could illustrate “what girls or women should or should not be; and what girls or women should or should not do”. Face-to-face interviews were conducted after the photo-taking week. Four dominant themes were generated from “what girls or women should or should not be”, including (1) Appearance, (2) Personality, (3) Skills and vocation, and (4) Healthy and natural. Seven dominant themes were generated from “what girls or women should or should not do”, including (1) Appearance, (2) Activities, interest, and lifestyle, (3) Health and safety, (4) Family, (5) Relationships, (6) Work and others, and (7) Care people and environment. The findings show that adolescent girls pay much attention to images about slimming, body image and physical appearance. They criticized some female images as unrealistic and appreciated female images that were natural.

**Keywords:** media effects, socialization, autovideography, Hong Kong

## **Biography**

Kara Chan (Ph.D., City University of Hong Kong) is Professor and Head in the Department of Communication Studies at Hong Kong Baptist University. She teaches advertising and communication campaigns. Her research areas are about cross-cultural consumer studies, advertising and children, and gender portrayal in advertising. She has published over one hundred journal articles and book chapters. Her articles published in *Journal of Consumer Marketing* and *Young Consumers* had won four Emerald Literati Network Awards for Excellence in 2006 to 2008, and in 2012. Contact of Kara Chan is [karachan@hkbu.edu.hk](mailto:karachan@hkbu.edu.hk)

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## **1. Introduction**

Hong Kong has a media saturated environment. People in Hong Kong are exposed to images, ideas and stereotypes and the sources go well beyond the perceived singular dominance of television that is found in media effects and content analysis research. Adolescent girls are exposed to messages that tell them how they should act, how they should look, who they should idolize and the limits of their aspirations. Primary among these messages are advertising, and content analysis research tells us that advertising is filled with gender-based stereotypes and role definitions that may or may not be consistent with social or cultural norms and the development of the woman or girl according to her potential (Moon & Chan, 2002). Media learning research, including Bandura's Social Learning Theory (1986) and Gerbner and his colleagues' Cultivation Theory (1994), suggests that these messages have an effect on the individual's sense of self and behavior. What is missing is an understanding of the process from the message to cognition and behavior through the individual's exposure, attention and perception. This is particularly true in the multi-channel media environment that currently exists globally. Previous studies discovered a limited literature to build a program of research focused on the consumption, attention and cognition of the media messages (Chan & McNeal, 2002; Williams & Williams, 2000). Consumers and advertisers are growing-up in a visual age, and are accustomed to using the computer as a portal into the worlds of information, entertainment, buying, selling, working, and communicating. Images place an important role in each of these spheres of activity (Belk & Kozinets, 2005). The current study introduces a visual method by asking interviewees to collect images and discuss their interpretation of these images. Using a qualitative approach, the identifies how processes such as social learning occur in the real world and discover ways to more effectively study these processes on a large scale. Researchers, such as Bandura (1986), have shown that attention and processing are important parts of the theoretical process of social learning. The current study will examine these processes in context in order to more fully develop and explicate the theory that is globally relevant.

## **2. Literature review**

### **2.1 Gender and gender equality**

While sex is a biological phenomenon, gender is a psychological and social phenomenon that describes the cultural associations and expectations relating to one's biological sex (Rice & Dolgin, 2005). Sex differentiation takes place as children gradually learn to be masculine or feminine according to culturally established gender identification expectations and their interpretation of them (Trepanier-Street, Romatowski, & McNair, 1990). Gender roles refer to the behaviors that men and women are expected to engage (Rice & Dolgin, 2005). According to the social learning theory, a child learns sex-appropriate behaviors through a combination of reward, punishment, direct instruction, and modeling (Bandura, 1986). Media offer many behavioral models for audience members and therefore have the potential to play a part in gender role socialization (Wong & Chan, 2006). Geen (1994) suggested that children might not imitate the behaviors shown in media immediately, but would store the information in memory and retrieve it in real life situations. Children were more likely to imitate behaviors performed by the same-sex rather than by the opposite-sex individuals (Bussey & Perry, 1982). Children were also more likely to model behaviors, culturally defined as "gender appropriate" for the child (Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1961).

As a Chinese society, Hong Kong is paternal-oriented. The Confucian Chinese tradition favors males as they are responsible to pass down their family names. Chinese culture accords greater esteem, privileges, and status to males and there are more restrictive prescriptions for the role of women. Women are expected to submerge their individuality to the family, following the orders of their fathers when young, their husbands when married, and their sons when widowed. The virtues for a woman are defined narrowly in her role as wife and mother (Cheung, 1996). Women occupy only 18 percent of the elected member seats of the Legislative Council in Hong Kong. Females make up over half of the work force in the region but have difficulties in securing leadership positions. There was a sharp fall off in women at higher levels in business (The Women's Foundation, 2006). A survey of 2,010 Hong Kong people found that both male and female respondents are gender stereotypic (Women's Commission, 2003). The authors attributed the finding to the deep-seated notion of stereotype that has been inherited from

families, the education system, and the society (Fung & Ma, 2000). In another survey, only 28 percent of respondents considered that women could “fully realize their potential” (Women’s Commission, 2003).

## **2.2 Theoretical framework**

Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1986) and Cultivation Theory (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorelli, 1994) form the bases for a great deal of media effects research from the empirical social scientific perspective. These theories focus primarily on television effects, with little or no consideration of the matrix of media inputs that people encounter in everyday life. Williams and Williams (2000) studies of media consumption and effects in Southern Africa considered media consumption as a complex integration of multiple inputs that reach far beyond television alone. This recognition of multiple media inputs is becoming increasingly important in the Internet age as people are globally decreasing their use of television, increasing their use of the Internet and diversifying their sources of information and entertainment.

Giddens’ theory of structuration (1991) proposes that the social structure, represented by traditions, institutions, moral codes, and norms of doing things, is the outcome of the repetition of the decisions of individual choices. However, when people opt to ignore the social structure, or replace them by alternative ways of doing things, the social structure will change (Gauntlett, 2008). With the recent improvement in education of females, and the social environment toward a more gender equal society, male dominance and female submission may be changing in Hong Kong and across greater-China.

## **3. Research objective**

Adolescents’ processing of gender images in the media is an under-studied topic in the research on youth and the media. A study was conducted on processing of gender images in media by Hong Kong girls aged 10-12 (Chan, Tufte, Cappello, & Williams, 2011). Do the patterns change for adolescent girls aged beyond 12? How do adolescent girls select, assimilate, and evaluate advertising images of females in today’s societies? This study was designed to examine adolescent girls’ perceptions of gender roles in media images.

## **4. Method**

### **4.1 Sample**

Videographic data (Belk & Kozinets, 2005) were collected by asking participants to record images from the media that they encountered in their every-day experience. A visual method was considered relevant and feasible because taking and sharing pictures has become an important part of the typical adolescent's lifestyle.

The participants were 20 adolescent girls aged 15 to 18 studying in Hong Kong. All were recruited through personal networks. Ten of the interviewees were studying at a local school using Chinese as the medium of instruction and ten were studying at an international school using English as the medium of instruction. Sixteen interviewees were Chinese and four were Caucasians.

### **4.2 Procedures**

The participants were interviewed in June to December 2010 in Hong Kong. Before a face-to-face interview, each interviewee was instructed follows:

“Please take 7 to 10 digital photographs each day for a week from any medium that are about what girls or women should be or should not be, or what girls or women should do or should not do. The images can come from all sorts of media, including newspapers, magazines, outdoor posters, television programs, Mass Transit Railway posters, web sites, books and so on. The media should be the one you are exposed to or sometimes use in your daily life. The media can be aimed at people like you or aimed at people who are different from you.”

After a week of collecting images, an individual face-to-face interview was conducted in English by a researcher (one of the authors together with a female graduate research assistant who is fluent in English and Chinese). The respondents reviewed the photos they had taken and interpreted the images one by one. The interviews took place at their schools. The duration of the interviews ranged from 10 to 50 minutes. All interviews were audio recorded.

### **4.3 Data analysis**

The respondents' interpretations were categorized and sorted into an Excel file. An answer was sorted into the “what girls or women should be” category if it described a



person and into the “what girls or women should do” category if it specified a behavior. The comparison analysis method was used throughout the process of data analysis (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). Responses from the photos and the interviews were compared and contrasted across the sample constantly and systematically (Strauss, 1987). Major themes were identified from the responses. Responses with similar meaning were categorized as having the same theme. The theme classifications were identified, discussed, and agreed by both authors. Representative photos and quotes were selected.

## **5. Findings**

### **5.1 What girls or women should or should not be**

Based on the digital images that interviewees had taken, they were asked what girls or women should be or should not be. Altogether 188 responses were reported. Analysis of the interviews generates four dominant themes. These themes include (1) Appearance, (2) Personality, (3) Skills and vocation, and (4) Healthy and natural. Table 1 shows the results. The following paragraphs elaborate the four themes in details.

*Theme 1: appearance.* The theme that received the largest number of responses was about physical appearance. Interviewees mentioned 93 times about how girls or women should look. Six out of 20 interviewees reported 38 times that girls or women should not be skinny. Most of the skinny female images were western models featured in fashion magazines. Interviewees commented that these girls or women were unrealistic, ridiculous, weird, or unnatural. Here is a typical quote:

“To be honest you should never ever starve your body and make it suffers just to make you think that if you lost this much weight then you’ll be accepted into society. Some girls are really obsessed with their weight. I don’t think you should always look at the numbers. Because just because someone looks really thin doesn’t necessarily mean they are healthy.” (age 15, an international school student).

Two interviewees mentioned two western actresses who had anorexia. One interviewee said, “Keira Knightly is classic skinniest person on earth. She is so thin that she disturbs me.” Another interviewee said, “Nichole Ritchie is seen everywhere and she is so thin. It’s just not really a good the idea for her to go around. It becomes the cool thing to do

and going out and everything. She's really not stunning and mature." An interviewee showed a photo of an anorexic girl and gave the following comment.

"I think it's really sad and it's getting more and more common because it's been shared everywhere. Many people are affected by it." (age 15, an international school student)

Two interviewees mentioned 24 times that girls or women should look natural. They thought girls or women who look natural were those who wear light makeup and wear normal outfit. They should not wear heavy makeup and wear slutty clothing. Also, they should not look unnatural or weird.

One interviewee chose an advertisement in a magazine and said the woman in the ad looked nature and not artificial. She thought that was cool because it was usually straight noses and big eyes models in the ad. The interviewee also said, "Girls or women don't have to be blonds and wear slutty clothing. I don't think they even look that attractive."

Other interviewees reported that girls or women should look clean, neat, and tidy. They should not be sexy, wild, or messy. Girls or women's appearance need not be perfect as it is unrealistic.

*Theme 2: personality.* The theme that received the second largest number of responses was about personality. Interviewees mentioned 59 times about what kind of girls or women the interviewee should be. The personality trait that appeared the most frequently in the interviews was 'be yourself'. Eight interviewees mentioned 9 times that girls or women should be true to themselves. They should be true to who they are and should not try to imitate others. Four interviewees mentioned that girls or women should not imitate celebrity. They perceived that there was beauty in each girl. Females should not imitate some women that are known as attractive. One interviewee mentioned a celebrity in Hong Kong and said,

"Look at her white skin. It is emphasized in Hong Kong and generally people in HK want to be like her but I think you could be different in the society. You don't have to be like that." (age 18, an international school student)

Interviewees emphasized that they should be themselves on physical appearance. Here is another quote:

“It’s okay to be your kind of thing. I don’t like everyone think that what is beautiful are high cheekbones, high nose, big eyes, and clear skin. Everyone is just beautiful in their own special way.” (age 17, an international school student)

Four interviewees mentioned that girls or women should have confidence. They should have high self-esteem and always smile. Three interviewees said girls or women should not be rude. Two interviewees thought girls or women should accept their body image. One of them said, “There is nothing wrong with being too skinny or too fat. You shouldn’t be called ugly.” One interviewee said girls should not be upset over trivial matters. Here is the quote:

“I don’t think that girls should be upset over little things such as their parents don’t give them what they want. I think they really don’t need to think your life is over because of one small thing in your life. That’s not how it should be.” (age 15, an international school student)

*Theme 3: skills and vocation.* Interviewees mentioned 29 times about what kind of job she should take and what kind of skill she should have. Four interviewees reported that girls or women should be hardworking. They should try their best and work hard at their jobs. They have to be very serious at work. One interviewee mentioned three times that girls or women should be successful. A successful woman should be elegant and very mature. Here is a quote to illustrate her successful role model:

“I really admire her because she is beautiful and she has a good job. She is a CEO of a company and she works as a host in television. She has a master or doctorate degree in the University of Hong Kong. She is a successful role model to me.” (age 18, an international school student)

Two interviewees mentioned that girls or women should be knowledgeable. One of them thought, “Knowledge can change a woman’s life. If you get knowledge, you can do as good as man, not only stay in house to be a housewife.”

*Theme 4: healthy and natural.* Interviewees mentioned 7 times about physical and mental well-being of girls or women. Interviewees reported that girls or women should be healthy, sporty, and natural.

## 5.2 What girls or women should or should not do

Interviewees were asked what girls or women should do or should not do, with reference to the digital images that they had taken. Altogether 358 responses were reported. Analysis of the interviews generates seven dominant themes. These themes include (1) Appearance, (2) Activities, interest, and lifestyle, (3) Health and safety, (4) Family, (5) Relationships, (6) Work and others, and (7) Care people and environment. Table 2 summarizes the results. The following paragraphs elaborate the seven themes in details.

*Theme 1: appearance.* The theme that received the largest number of responses was also about physical appearance. Interviewees mentioned 93 times about how girls or women should look, what kind of clothes a girl should wear, and their attitudes toward wearing makeup. Eleven out of 20 interviewees reported 17 times that girls or women should not have cosmetic surgery. Two typical quotes are as follows:

“That is just so ridiculous. How can you not be thinking ‘oh yeah she’s had an eye widening surgery’. I just hate it.” (age 17, an international school student)

“I think she’s doing Botox and it’s bad for you in general because you need to accept the way you look. You don’t have to be so insecure because there are people that will accept you for what you look like. For people who won’t, you just have to find the one who will.” (age 15, an international school student)

Interviewees reported that girls or women should not change the way they look. Plastic surgery is ridiculous and unnecessary as injecting chemicals into their bodies will hurt their bodies. However, one interviewee mentioned that girls or women should have freedom to change their appearance and gave the following comment.

“If I have something too ugly, I will do it but I think now I am Ok, so then I will not do. Some people’s appearances affect their lives seriously. I think they should have the right to do the plastic surgery.” (age 17, a local school student)

Four interviewees mentioned 6 times that girls or women should not wear sexy clothes. One interviewee commented that underage girls should not wear sexy clothes. She said,

“I just thought it was pretty short for a dress. Even if you’re older you need to respect your image.” (age 15, an international school student)

Interviewees reported that it is wrong to show body in a sexy way. One interviewee said, “It just shows people that you want attention for the wrong reasons.” Another interviewee said girls should not dress older than her age and gave the following comment.

“This is kind of making young girls making them older than they should. I know its part of teen culture but I think it is kind of putting those adult elements in a bit too early. I can see the ages of the girls. I would think that they are fifteen years old and I think that’s not how you should look because you are only 15. You shouldn’t be dressed in that way.” (age 16, an international school student)

Six interviewees mentioned 8 times that girls or women should not wear makeup or heavy makeup. Interviewees reported that girls or women do not need the makeup. It completely changes their look and color using foundation. Here is a typical quote:

“How old is she? She’s not young and I just dislike how much makeup she had on. I think she should just learn to embrace that she’s not as young as she used to be and that doesn’t matter anymore. It’s not what you look like that should make you happy.” (age 15, an international school student)

On the other hand, five interviewees mentioned 6 times that girls or women should wear makeup or light makeup. Interviewees thought females look good with a bit of mascara and eye shadow. Girls or women should have some make up in a natural way. They should have makeup when they go out to socialize or to attend an important party. Having make-up will improve her confidence.

*Theme 2: activities, interest, and lifestyle.* Interviewees mentioned 76 times about what kind of activities, interest and lifestyle girls or women should have. Six interviewees mentioned 9 times that girls or women should know how to cook or good at cooking. Interviewees thought cooking is essential of making her a good wife. When women get married, they have to cook food for their family members. One interviewee said cooking was a woman’s job. However, another interviewee thought responsible for cooking was a stereotypical female role.

Five interviewees reported that girls or women should enjoy their life and have fun. They should know how to enjoy herself. Other interviewees reported that girls or women should do different types of activities, such as dancing, playing piano, doing yoga, doing spa, jogging, shopping, etc.

*Theme 3: health and safety.* The theme that received the third largest number of responses was about health and safety issues. Interviewees mentioned 63 times about the kinds of activities that enhance or threaten the well-being of females. Seven interviewees mentioned 12 times that girls or women should do more exercise. They said doing more exercise make them healthy and help maintaining body shape. Girls or women should do all kinds of exercise. Doing more exercise can relieve the pressure and develop good sportsmanship.

Interviewees commented that girls or women should not smoke, drink, or take drugs. Seven interviewees reported 12 times that girls or women should not smoke. Interviewees knew smoking damages health. They perceived that girls or women who smoke have a bad image. Here is a typical quote:

“This woman is smoking. Her face looks very happy but the results after she smokes for a long time are serious. She may have bad breath. Her fingers will turn yellow and her face will not be beautiful again.” (age 17, a local school student)

Eight interviewees reported 9 times that girls or women should not take drug. They perceived that it is not a good behavior and not good to health. Interviewees mentioned 7 times that girls or women should not drink as it damages the kidney. They may make bad decision after binge drink. Interviewees said girls or women should eat more and eat healthily, and should not eat junk food.

*Theme 4: family.* Interviewees mentioned 42 times about marriage, pregnancy, and be a mother. Six interviewees mentioned 11 times that girls or women should have a marriage and have a family. They perceived that marriage is important to a woman. One interviewee considered that every girl deserves to have a good family. Getting married is part of their life. Six interviewees reported 8 times that girls or women should be a mother to have a baby. One interviewee considered that a woman bearing a baby is part of her life. Here is a typical quote:

“Many women like to take photos when they are pregnant and they think this is the most beautiful time of their life. I just think mothers are great.” (age 17, a local school student)

Another interviewee perceived that “Only a women can bear a child. Her body is unique to be able to get pregnant. It is very special to women, as men cannot do it. Only we have

this ability.” Interviewees mentioned that women should take care of own children. Girls should not get pregnant at a young age or get pregnant before marriage. They should also maintain good relation with parents.

*Theme 5: relationship.* Interviewees reported 36 times about how girls or women should interact with others. Interviewees mentioned that girls or women should develop and maintain friendship. Here is a typical quote:

“Girls should be happy with their friends. They don’t always need to be around like a hundred people to feel happy. Even if you have a small group of friends and you know them well, I’d much rather has that than knowing a hundred people but we don’t know each other well.” (age 15, an international school student)

Interviewees thought girls or women can have a good job and manage own life. In this way, they do not need to depend on men. One interviewee mentioned that girls or women should not isolate others. They should accept each other, regardless of their body size and nationality. Here is the quote to illustrate why girls or women should not isolate others.

“Sometimes girls can be quite mean toward each other simply because they are not similar to them. It’s wrong and it’s not nice to isolate people who you think are different because there’s always going to be one thing about them that you are going to find really great.” (age 15, an international school student).

The same interviewee showed a photo of five women with different body size holding each other’s hands, and a photo of five girls with different nationality smiling together and said,

“Different women have different body sizes. They are all happy, as they are accepting each other. Not one of them was excluded. I think women should be close with each other. I think that’s how we make them happy.”

“You can actually see that there are a lot of nationalities here and it’s good to do that because I think the future should be more accepting towards everyone that even if you are a different color, you should still be treated the same.” (age 15, an international school student).

*Theme 6: work and others.* Interviewees reported 30 times about how girls or women should approach their studies and work. Interviewees reported that girls should study hard and go to university. They commented that women should have a career and have

achievement. An interviewee thought girls should learn more things and gave the following comment.

“This is a local Chinese girl and I think she represents nowadays women that we should learn more things and should be well equipped. Women shouldn’t be controlled by men. In Chinese society, it is always the man that is the boss and the situation is changing now.” (age 18, an international school student)

*Theme 7: care people and environment.* A total of 18 responses brought up by interviewees were about how girls or women love and concern for others and the willingness to make an effort for social causes. Interviewees mentioned 8 times that girls or women should help the needy. An interviewee thought, “It’s good for girls to help other people. When you help people, people will always give back to you.” Interviewees considered that they should care about the environment and love animals.

## **6. Discussion for future research**

The current study uncovered female gender roles and identities perceived by a small group of adolescent girls in Hong Kong. The results shed insights of psychographics of adolescents in terms of gender roles and gender identities. Adolescent girls in this study endorsed both traditional as well as modernized gender roles. The emphasis on marriage and pregnancy was traditional while the emphasis on living own’s dream was contemporary. The study also demonstrated that they read female images in the media in a critical way. They showed dissatisfaction of female images in the media that were too skinny or too artificial. They were attracted by female images that were feminine, natural, and with light make up. A further study is proposed to measure the endorsement of these female gender roles among adolescent girls in Hong Kong or in other Chinese societies using quantitative methodology.



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Table 1. Summary of results for “What girls or women should be or should not be”

<i>Theme(total frequency)</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
<i>Appearance (93)</i>	
not skinny	38
natural looking	24
not flawless skin	3
have own style	3
not sexy and wild	2
not messy	2
(For working class lady) look like an office lady	1
acne free and white skin	1
clean and tidy	1
cute	1
flexible physically	1
hot	1
look like characters in "Sex and the City"	1
mysterious beauty	1
neat and tidy	1
normal body shape	1
normal body size	1
not be a rock and roll girl	1
not be perfect in appearance	1
not care too much about outlook	1
not look weird	1
not perfect	1
not too skinny and having big breast	1
simple appearance	1
slim after giving baby	1
not sexy to get media exposure	1
not naked in public	1
<i>Personality (59)</i>	
be yourself	9
not materialistic	4
not rude	4
have confidence	4
accept own body image	3
have table manners/ well-mannered	3
brave	2
gentle	2

<i>Theme(total frequency)</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
kind	2
strong	2
accept own skin color	1
active	1
be nice and not aggressive	1
caring	1
charming	1
different	1
elegant	1
elegant and smart	1
express yourself	1
have a good heart	1
have own personality	1
innocent	1
not aggressive	1
not bad tempered	1
not get upset over small things	1
not mean	1
not nervous	1
not having princess sickness	1
not sad	1
not show off	1
optimistic	1
passionate	1
thoughtful	1
quiet	1
 <i>Skills and vocation (29)</i>	
hardworking	4
successful	3
knowledgeable	2
be a professional	2
all-rounder	1
be a driver	1
be a graduate	1
dedicated to job	1
have an education	1
intellectual	1
intelligent	1
not achieve in career	1

<i>Theme(total frequency)</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
not be a drug dealer	1
not be a hawker	1
not cheapen own talent	1
not late for school or work	1
practical in studies and work	1
skillful in crafts	1
strong and helpful in work	1
take her job seriously	1
talented	1
talented and competitive	1
<i>Healthy and natural (7)</i>	
healthy	3
not fat	2
close to the nature	1
sporty	1

Table 2. Summary of results for “What girls or women should do or should not do”

<i>Theme(total frequency)</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
<i>Appearance (93)</i>	
not have cosmetic surgery	17
not wear sexy clothes	6
not wear heavy makeup	5
wear makeup	4
not wear makeup	3
wear light makeup	2
not dress older than her age	2
not stand in sexy pose	2
not wear high end clothing	2
smile	2
take care of skin	2
wear accessories	2
not follow the fashion trend	2
have cosmetic surgery	1
(For bride) wear wedding dress	1
avoid the sun to keep skin white	1
cover mouth when yawning	1
have beautiful finger nails	1
not body building	1
not create perfect body	1
not cut the hair too short	1
not take rude pose	1
not dress inappropriately	1
not dress like a man	1
not dye hair	1
not edit own photos to look prettier	1
not expose hips	1
not highlight hair	1
not lose weight dramatically	1
not take a slimming course	1
not follow the trend of being slim	1
not undergo breast enlargement	1
not use perfume to make oneself sexier	1
not wear a hat	1
not wear accessories	1
not wear in black	1
not wear outrageous makeup	1
not wear revealing dress	1

<i>Theme(total frequency)</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
not wear stripper heels	1
not wear wild clothes	1
not whiten skin	1
take care of face and skin	1
take care of hair	1
try different kinds of clothes or customs	1
wear beautiful clothes	1
wear clothes you like	1
wear cool clothes	1
wear denim	1
wear dress	1
wear high heel shoe	1
wear light perfume	1
wear nice clothes	1
wear normal clothes	1
wear pretty clothes	1
wear special clothes	1
<i>Activities, interest, and lifestyle (76)</i>	
know how to cook	5
enjoy life and have fun	5
good at cooking	4
dance	3
do yoga	3
do housework	3
do spa	2
play piano	2
pursue her dream	2
read	2
not obsess in diamond/ jewelry	2
cleaning	1
do something interesting	1
dress like cartoon characters	1
eat ice-cream when unhappy	1
express yourself	1
go on a trip alone	1
go shopping	1
go to beach with others	1
have a simple life	1
have a snap in the afternoon	1

<i>Theme(total frequency)</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
have own life	1
reflect on life	1
join a sorority	1
join happy fair	1
learn about own culture e.g. the Cantonese opera	1
learn at old age	1
make clothes for husband or children	1
make desserts for love ones	1
make handicraft	1
make room clean and tidy	1
not ask children to go cat walk	1
not buy material things to fill up life	1
not carry heavy things	1
not consume entertainment news	1
not Cosplay	1
not dance ballet	1
not go to pubs or discos	1
not know how to cook	1
not manipulate life	1
not owned branded handbag	1
not waste life	1
organize a family day	1
plan life	1
play dragon boat	1
play sports as well as guys	1
play tricks	1
play with children	1
release pressure	1
jog	1
sing	1
take photos	1
travel	1
try different foods	1
<i>Health and safety (63)</i>	
do more exercise	12
not smoke	12
not take drug	9
not drink	7
eat healthily	6



<i>Theme(total frequency)</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
not smoke when pregnant	2
have body check	1
eat	1
eat more meat	1
have cervical test	1
have gardasil injections	1
have sex education	1
not bulimic and vomit	1
not eat junk food	1
not foot binding	1
not give out flyers in public areas while crowded	1
not take medicine to improve body	1
not wear a ring on the mouth	1
prevent breast cancer	1
prevent cervix cancer	1
walk on zebra-crossing	1
<i>Family (42)</i>	
have a marriage/ a family	11
have a baby/ be a mother	8
take care of children	5
good relation with parents	3
marry and plan	2
teach children well	2
not have baby at a young age	2
(for wife) massage her husband	1
deserve a marriage that will be happy	1
get married and be a good wife	1
not get pregnant before marriage	1
stay home and have a baby	1
stay single	1
treat son well	1
enjoy a small wedding	1
take care of siblings	1
<i>Relationships (36)</i>	
develop and maintain friendship	4
not depend on men	3
accept each other	2
not compensated dating	2

<i>Theme(total frequency)</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
not slap others	2
express her emotions	2
communicate with kids	1
communicate with others	1
connect father and children	1
date	1
find true love	1
have a religion	1
let relationship happen naturally	1
not argue with husband	1
not be too thoughtful to boyfriend or husband	1
not gain power by all means	1
not give courtship advice	1
not have casual sex with men	1
not have sex in the public area	1
not have unprotected sex at a young age	1
not isolate others	1
not meet bad guys	1
not punish others	1
not take nude pictures	1
not use body to make money	1
prepare the living for husband and children	1
take initiative to express love	1
<i>Work and others (30)</i>	
study hard	4
go to university	2
have a career	2
have achievement in work	2
not fight	2
behave well	1
do job as well as men	1
focus on business	1
good at presentation	1
have achievement in study	1
involve into political events	1
learn more things	1
not enter an industry by all means	1
not fight for power	1
not kill others	1

<i>Theme(total frequency)</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
not prostitutes	1
not screw up own life	1
not sexy to make money	1
not treat female as inferior	1
not use body to make money	1
obey laws	1
operate a business	1
strike for own right and freedom	1
<i>Care people and environment (18)</i>	
help the needy	8
care about the environment	2
love animals	2
care the elderly	2
eat organic food	1
have a good heart to people	1
not litter	1
save the world	1