

Istituto degli Innocenti



Boys in Care

Strengthening Boys to Pursue Care Occupations

Transnational Report

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<http://www.boys-in-care.eu>



Center of Women's Studies and Policies



* This report is the result of the collaboration of the respective authors, however with regards to the allocation of the various sections we specify as follows:

The following chapters are by Marc Gartner: 1.1. Situation; 3.1. Approach/methods and 3.2 Country overview. The following chapters are by Elli Scambor: 1.2. Caring Masculinities; 2.2. Occupational segregation and men in professional care work. The following chapter was written jointly by Marc Gartner and Elli Scambor: 1.3. Project and report. The following chapters are by Erika Bernacchi: 2.1. Overview about gender inequality in partner countries; 2.3. Unpaid Care Work; 2.4. Segregation in schools and vocational choices Chapter 3.3 Synthesis and section IV. Conclusions were written jointly by the three authors.

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I. Introduction

1.1. Situation

In Europe and beyond, gender relations have changed profoundly in the past decades, which to a great deal is also taking place in work life (Scambor et al. 2013, Galinsky et al. 2011). On the one hand, women challenged the traditional gendered division of labour and claimed higher positions and more economic independence as their labour market participation rose. On the other hand, men's social role changed: many rejected the notion of devoting their lives only to careers and work, at the cost of missing valuable time with their families and social environments. Others were hit by unemployment or decrease of wages which did not allow the maintenance of the traditional male-as-breadwinner model. However, in spite of convergence and trends towards more equality, the level of horizontal segregation remains high and stable: While women are underrepresented in different occupations of science, technology, engineering and mathematics (usually referred to as STEM), men's share in occupations of social, medical or educational care is very low (see chapter 2.2.). Accordingly, in many EU member states the number of men in the field of health and welfare is still below 10% in secondary education (Scambor et al. 2013). Due to its implications on work status and wages, horizontal segregation is one of the major factors opposed to gender equality. In some countries, efforts have been made to enable or foster women's careers in STEM occupations (see chapter III.). On the contrary, only few initiatives emerged that help to promote untypical educational and occupational choices for boys and men.

Gender researchers emphasize the relevance of gender sensitive approaches in occupational education (Faulstich-Wieland 2014, Scambor et al. 2013, Hrzeniak 2013, Buschmeyer 2013, Hanlon 2012, Lehn 2003), also in order to support boys and young men to connect to care occupations¹. Lehn (2006) highlighted that boys who break with gender-cultural expectations have a special need for counselling and support while many of them feel that they have been left alone with their choices. This demonstrates the lack of concerning vocational counselling for boys that does depict career paths in care professions as legitimate and worthwhile for boys. Recent research in male kindergarten teachers (Buschmeyer 2013) and elder carers (Hrzenjak 2013) pointed to the need for supporting men in changing their role in society and in purposely evading traditional norms of masculinity. Caring men can serve as important role models for boys and other men. With more men in care work, the heterogeneity of masculinities can gain more recognition and rigid gender norms can be loosened. Men in caring roles show opportunities for other men to deepen caring relations and contribute to a healthier and more caring society.

This might have positive consequences for men themselves as well as for the existing gender order. That is why, as argued by Hanlon (2012), men in care work should be supported as a gender equality intervention.

¹ In this project, we define care occupations as a type of employment (including self-employment) directly for and in contact with people, in order to increase their well-being and/or education. Many initiatives like Boys' Days in Austria and Germany mainly or only focus on social, educational and nursery occupations, respectively occupations with and for people that have particular caring needs, like children, ill or sick, disabled, and elderly.

1.2. Caring Masculinities

European studies in the last two decades like *Work Changes Gender* (Puchert et al. 2005), *FOCUS* (Langvasbråten and Teigen 2006) or the *Study on the Role of Men in Gender Equality* (Scambor et al. 2013) show increasing empirical evidence of men in unpaid care work. Based on changing gender relations in European societies (e.g. increasing women's education and labour market participation), traditional male breadwinner and female carer roles have become challenged, and new ways have to be found to distribute unpaid care work equally (Heilmann & Scholz 2017). On the labour market, especially traditional male dominated breadwinner models have become challenged (Chapman, 2004), due to a shift from a continuous full-time work to an increase of discontinuous, flexible and insecure working patterns - men's prospects in secure long-term employment cannot be put into practice any longer. Under these conditions Holter (2003) speaks about a shift in men's gender ideal from breadwinner, in which men act as primary earners in their families, towards more *caring masculinities*, in which men participate in caregiving. The *Study on the Role of Men in Gender Equality* outlined a convergence of basic labour market characteristics between women and men (e.g. employment, work time, job losses), and it also showed an empirical connection between work satisfaction and actual working time: male employees are most satisfied with their working conditions in countries where weekly working hours are comparable low, while they are least satisfied in countries with the highest numbers of weekly working hours. Apart from labour market changes and based on changing gender relations in European societies, expectations on gender equal share of care and especially equal share of care for children are evident (Heilmann & Scholz 2017).

In recent years, the notion of *caring masculinities* has been addressed in conferences (e.g. *International Conference on Men and Equal Opportunities* 2016 in Luxemburg; see Scambor et al. 2016) studies and scientific papers (Hanlon 2012, Scambor et al. 2014, Elliott 2016). The *Study on the Role of Men in Gender Equality* located 'caring masculinity' both as a vision and target as well as part of men's present life patterns. The concept was based upon Fraser's (1996) model of gender equality, in which "care" is defined as the basis for social and economic cooperation, a human norm which applies to both men and women (not a female task). Therefore the concept of "care" has to be understood in a wide sense in order to avoid essentialist perspectives and meet complex life requirements: "..." *men are not just fathers, and care should not be limited solely to childcare tasks (like feeding babies, putting them to bed, helping children with their homework). Care encompasses more: emotional support, showing affection, and is a deeper kind of attention to children's needs and the needs of others, such as friends, the elderly, neighbours, work colleagues and family members.*" (Scambor et al. 2013: 151)

We know from recent studies that many men say 'yes' to an equal distribution of paid and unpaid labour and increasingly want to become involved in active fatherhood. But other aspects of care will have to be added to complete the picture. Elliott (2016) suggested to include the rejection of domination and the integration of values of care, such as positive emotion, interdependence, and relationality as central features of *caring masculinities*. She distinguished two dimensions: 'to care for' (in the sense of tasks and care duties carried about by men) and 'to care about', which reflects "the affective, emotional aspects of care" (ibid.: 249). Men's rejection of violence and the ability to connect to others are 'care about' issues, as well as self-care by reducing risk-taking lifestyles. "From this perspective, men can

benefit from gender equality because gender equality questions social norms that are also disadvantageous for men.” (Scambor et al. 2013: 151)

Scambor, Holter and Theunert (2016) have developed policy recommendations, based on the Luxemburg conference in 2016, through which *caring masculinities* can be encouraged in everyday life. First of all, men should get the opportunity to become agents of change (Kimmel 2007), which means that men should be involved in critical questions about accountability, dominant behaviour, and blind spots. Second, it has to be understood as a cross-cutting issue, because it impacts different politics (e.g. labour-, social-, education politics). Third, the benefits of gender equality have to be outlined: “... *investment in early childhood education, prevention and health promotion, extra-familial mentoring, parental and fatherhood leave policies yield economic returns. At the same time, as noted, an equal sharing of caregiving involves basic questions of fairness and justice that are key issues by themselves.*” Fourth, “... ‘care’ does not only mean a form of activity, but stands for an attitude of connectedness. Seen with through this lens, ‘care’ is an alternative to a neoliberal-patriarchal understanding of economic activity.” (Scambor et al. 2016: 36)

In this report, we refer to *caring masculinities* as a guideline model that comprises men’s caring activities (mainly, but not restricted to, professions) and a change among men towards gender equality (not restricted to the labour market).

1.3. Project and report

Boys in Care (BiC) is an EU project carried out in six countries: Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, Italy, Lithuania, and Slovenia. It aims...

- ... to assess and further develop educational and counselling tools and mechanisms for teachers and vocational counsellors,
- ... to train teachers and vocational counsellors in supporting boys to experience caring skills and competences not restricted by traditional gender role expectations,
- ... to tackle gender stereotypes in education and career choices focusing on boys in care occupations,
- ... to challenge gender stereotypes surrounding men in caring professions and make good examples of men in care occupations more visible,
- ... to question traditional care-less concepts of masculinities and broadening the range of career paths for boys and men.

BiC’s target groups are teachers, vocational counsellors and policy makers in the field of schooling and labour market. Main beneficiaries are boys who need gender sensitive vocational support to pursue education and careers in care professions.

The report at hand is a transnational synthesis of analyses carried out in the six countries involved in BiC. This report reflects the structure and method of the Country Reports in which these analyses are outlined: We start with a comparative panorama of the national background structures of the countries involved (Chapter II: labour market and gender segregation, paid and unpaid care work, education). We consider this a necessary step to understand the structural and cultural framework conditions of the countries where measures are to be implemented. Based on analyses presented in the Country Reports, we give an overview of materials and measures of occupational education, if available also with a focus on men in care occupations (Chapter III). After summarizing common problems and points of critique, best practice examples are presented. We conclude with the results and perspectives of the project we consider most important (Chapter IV).

II. National insights

2.1. Overview about gender inequality in partner countries

The partner countries of the *Boys in Care* project have different situations in relation to gender inequality and different policies aiming at promoting gender equality which are also the result of specific historical trajectories and welfare traditions. In Eastern European countries there is a legacy of the socialist system that aimed at promoting women's participation in the labour market and supporting families through the provision of child care services. However, there are important national variations both in relation to women's employment and to work-life balance policies, as it will be detailed below. For instance Slovenia is the only country of the *Boys in Care* project which is above the EU average of the Gender Equality Index, even though Lithuania has a higher share of employed women. Bulgaria's situation is characterised by a contradiction in terms of gender equality: on the one hand there is a widespread belief that the 'women's question' has been solved in the socialist period which led to women's emancipation in terms of occupation, on the other hand according to the 2017 Eurobarometer Survey on gender equality, Bulgaria is the EU country most prone to stereotypes based on gender. There is a discrepancy between gender roles in public and private life, as socialist gender construction did not seriously question the power asymmetry and division of labour within the family².

In Italy, literature refers to a 'Mediterranean model of welfare state' (Rosselli 2014) which is characterized by both a low fertility rate (1.34 child per woman in 2016, one of the lowest in the world) and a low women's employment rate (48.1% in 2016). Austria figures at mid-level in comparison with EU countries as regards gender segregation of educational and vocational choice patterns, participation in unpaid labour, health aspects but has one of the highest pay gaps at EU level (21.7% in 2015). Germany is characterised by the second highest employment rate of women in the EU. However, women perform 52.4% more unpaid work than man (gender care gap); 27% of the female and 16% of the male labour force work in the low wage sector³. Moreover in the education system there is still a legacy of the education system of the separation of the State during the cold war. It is only in the last two decades that the share of female University students reached equal numbers to that of male students throughout Germany.

Overall at EU level, according to the **Gender Equality Index**, progress towards gender equality in the EU-28 in the last ten years (2005-2015) has been rather slow. The Gender Equality Index refers to six domains (work, money, knowledge, time, power, health) complemented by two additional domains referring to violence and intersecting inequalities. Each domain contains subdomains for a total of 31 indicators.⁴

The average EU-28 of the Gender Equality Index in 2015 was 66.2 out of 100 with room for improvement in every Member State. All the countries participating in the *Boys in Care*

² Daskalova, Krassimira. Bulgarian women's history and the socialist myths: admin.cwsp.bg/upload/docs/history_and_myths_en.pdf

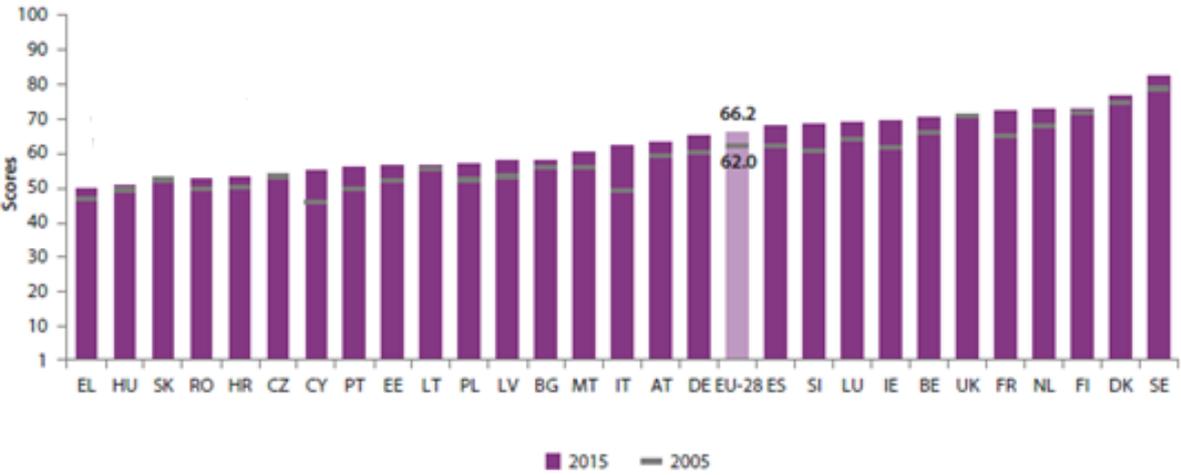
³

<https://www.dstatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/VerdiensteArbeitskosten/Arbeitnehmerverdienste/BroschuereVerdiensteBlick0160013179004.pdf?blob=publicationFile>

⁴ For an explanation of the Gender Equality Index, please see: <http://eige.europa.eu/gender-equality-index>; the full report is available at: <http://eige.europa.eu/rdc/eige-publications/gender-equality-index-2017-measuring-gender-equality-european-union-2005-2015-report>

project are positioned below the EU average except for Slovenia. Germany and Austria are very close to the EU average, while Italy, Bulgaria and Lithuania are below those. However, Italy is indicated as the country with the largest improvement (+12.9%) in the 10 year period of 2005-2015. In general the area which saw the greatest improvement is the area of power, while gender inequalities have increased in the domain of time, in particular in the area of unpaid care work there has been almost no improvement towards gender equality in the last 10 years.

Figure 1: Gender Equality Index, scores for EU member states, 2005 and 2015

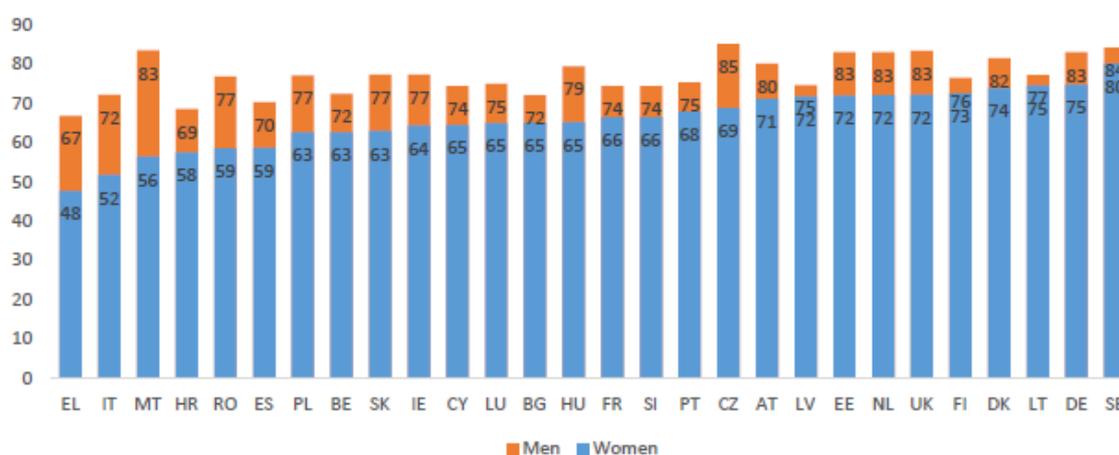


Source: Gender Equality Index 2017 – Measuring gender equality in the European Union 2005-2015

In the area of **work** (which scores an average of 71.5%) there has been a slow progress, the participation of women in employment remains much lower than men’s. Germany has the second highest level of women’s participation in employment (75%), similar to Lithuania (75-77%), Austria has also a rather high employment rate (71%) while Italy has the second lowest (52%), and the other two *Boys in Care* countries stand in middle positions (Bulgaria 65%, Slovenia 66%). However, it is also important to emphasise that this data refers to both full time and part time work. When we consider the incidence of part time work this tends to be lower in Eastern European Member States, while the part-time work and other forms of atypical employment is growing in the EU-15. (Eurofund 2017)

Concerning ex-socialist countries, in many cases female employment decreased due to a variety of reasons often quite different between the countries (for instance a general increase in unemployment during the transition period, neoliberal and/or more gender conservative tendencies, a reduction in child care facilities etc). In the Bulgarian case where women’s labour participation rate was very high during the socialist regime (> 90 %) it dropped after the transition to a market economy, especially due to high levels of general unemployment.

Figure 2: Women's and men's employment rate, per member state, people age 20-64 (2016)



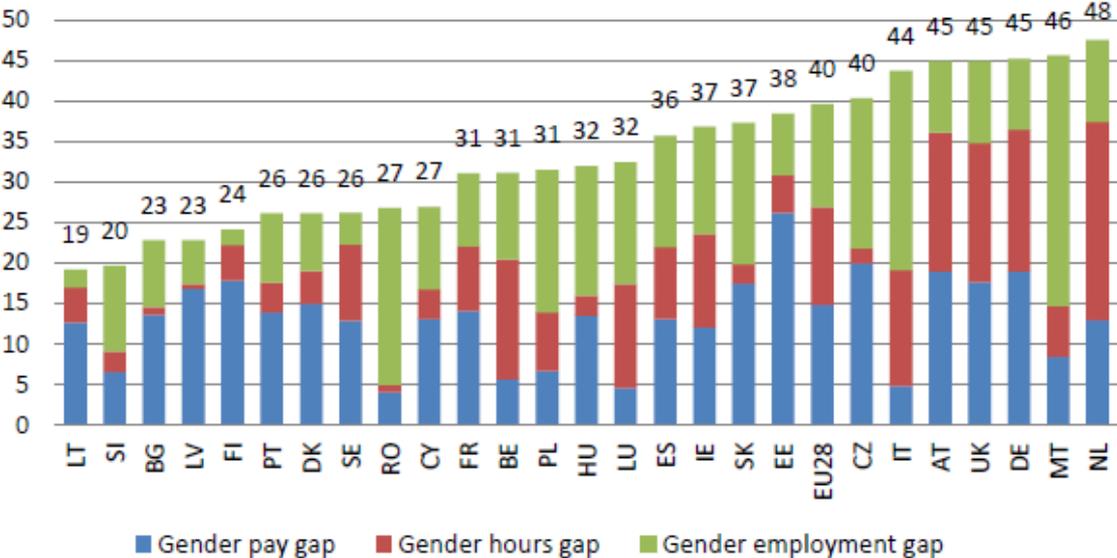
Source: Eurostat, Labour Force Survey

Gender segregation in the professional field persists, in particular over the past 10 years men's share of employment in education, health and social work has remained stable at 8 % of employed men, in contrast to the share of women employed in these sectors (30 %), which increased by 2 % (Eurostat, EU LFS, lfsa_egan2, as reported in the Gender Equality Index 2017 Report).

Among the partner countries of *Boys in Care*, only Germany is above the EU average. In Austria about two thirds of female employees are in typically feminised jobs and a similar percentage is valid for men in typically masculinised sectors. This situation appears rather stable as gender segregation in the labour market has barely decreased in the last ten years. In Italy gender segregation in the labour market follows gender segregation in education. The share of men in care professions is low. For instance, OECD data (2017) indicate that only 0.7% of men are teachers in pre-primary schools, 3.6% in primary schools, 22% in secondary schools of first level and 34.2% of second level. In Slovenia gender segregation is above the EU average and has remained the same for the past decade (Kanjuro Mrčela et al. 2016). Women dominate in the fields of healthcare and social security (80.8 %), education (78.9 %), hospitality (64.1 %). Gender segregation in the employment is present also in Lithuania. For instance, only 0.51% men work in pre-school education, while the percentage of men employed in health and social work activities has remained around 14% from 2003 to 2015 (was 12.8% in 2001). Research has identified that men who change profession in the care field as social workers often do so after some personal crises or difficult personal experience. The interviewed men highlighted the importance of their male identity while being a social worker as a manager in the community (Mazeikiene/Dorelaitiene, 2011). In Bulgaria the literature about gender segregation in occupation however limited shows the increase of female over-representation in the sector of education (women's percentage went from around 75% in the '80s to around 80%-82% in the year 2010-2014) and in the sector of health and social work (which equally went from about 74% in the '80s to about 80% in 2010-2014). On the other hand Bulgaria is among the EU countries with the least gender gap in employment segregation, according to the EU Gender Index. The EIGE report (2017) also emphasises how gender segregation is one of the major causes of the **gender pay gap**, the pension gap and women's overall economic dependence throughout life course. Limited work-life balance has a negative impact for both women and men but women with children are particularly affected.

The 2017 Report on equality between women and men in the EU indicates that the most comprehensive indicator of labour market inequalities is the **gender gap in earnings** which compiles inequalities resulting from the gaps in pay, working hours and employment. It shows that the EU is still far from reaching gender equality on the labour market. Countries partners of the *Boys in Care* project are positioned very differently with the Eastern European countries (Lithuania, Slovenia and Bulgaria) among those with the least gender gap and Italy, Austria and Germany among those with the largest gender gap. Notwithstanding the good results in Eastern Europe countries, it appears that at least in the Bulgarian case gender inequalities in income have widened since the 1990s, but with 13.6% in 2016 the gap ranges below the EU average (Dimova/Kmetova 2018).

Figure 3: Overall gender earnings gap, and contribution of the pay gap in pay, working hours and employment, 2014, EU-28:



Source: Eurostat, Structure of Earnings Survey (EL and HR missing)

Concerning **work-life balance policies** the situation in EU countries is rather diverse. Measures about parental leave varies from country to country although leave reserved for fathers tends to be far shorter than maternity and parental leave in all countries based on OECD data (see Figure 4). In particular concerning the paid leave reserved for fathers among the countries in partnership with the *Boys in Care* project, it ranges from 0 weeks in Italy to 2 weeks in Bulgaria and Slovenia, 4 weeks in Lithuania to 9 weeks in Germany and Austria.⁵ In Eastern European countries there is generally still a legacy of the socialist system allowing for long parental leaves aimed at promoting gender equality and women’s participation in the labour force. For instance in Slovenia parental leaves last 1 year: 105 days belong to the mother exclusively while 260 days can be shared among parents. In 2003 this scheme was supplemented by 2 weeks non transferrable paid paternal leave in order to encourage men in child care. According to the Workforce Survey (2010) these 2 weeks were used by 75% of fathers for the youngest child, while child nursing and care leave was used only by 7% of men and 93% of women. In Lithuania parental leave allows one parent to choose either one

⁵ For an overview about maternity, parental and father leaves in OECD countries please see: <http://www.oecd.org/gender/data/length-of-maternity-leave-parental-leave-and-paid-father-specific-leave.htm>

year fully paid child care leave or two years leave with the possibility to work part time during the second year of leave. The allocation of child-care leave between women and men remains uneven even though there has been some progress over recent years. Men's involvement in parental leaves went from around 7% from 2009 to 2012, increasing to 11.5% in 2013, 17.4% in 2014, and reaching above 20% in 2015-2016. In Bulgaria the maternity leave is 410 days, 45 of which are used before the birth, with compensation of 90% of the previous income. With the mother's consent, when the child reaches six months of age, the leave can be transferred to the father for the rest of the period with the same level of financial compensation. The first six months are not transferable. Since 2009, the father is entitled to 15 days of paid parental leave, however data from 2015 and 2016 indicate that only about 4-4.5% of fathers took advantage of this leave. In 2004 unpaid leave to raise a child up to the age of 8 was introduced in the Labour Code, but this parental leave is still used predominantly by mothers.

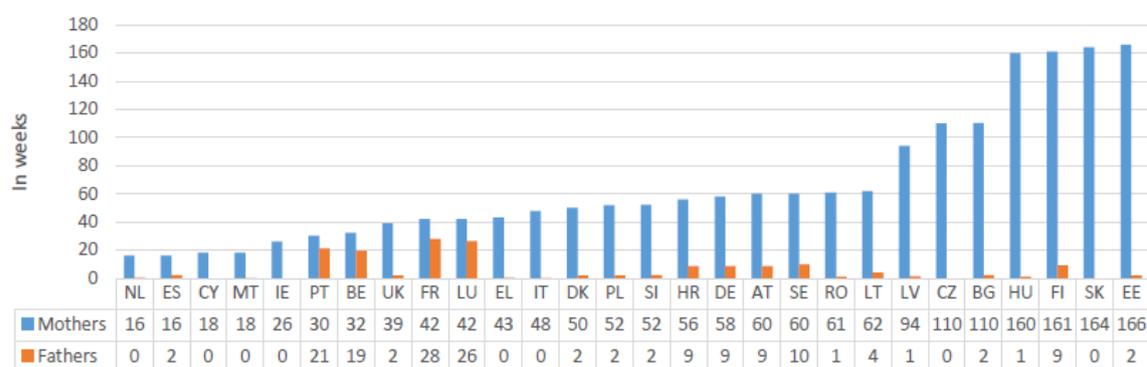
In Italy compulsory maternity leave is 5 months while parental leave is 26 weeks and no parental leave exists reserved for fathers which is fully non transferrable. In 2014 only 7% of fathers took parental leaves.

In Germany, the Parental Allowance (Elterngeld, 65-100% of the net wage) supports parental leave up to 14 months (as a total leave, with a maximum eligibility of 12 months for one parent), or up to 28 months (as a supplement for part time work, called Elterngeld Plus). In 2014, 34.2 % of the fathers received parental allowance, which is 2.2% more than in 2013 and subject to a constant increase since the law was introduced. However, 79% request parental allowance for only 2 months, while mothers' share is usually much higher (OECD 2016: 99f).

In Austria, parental leave and childcare allowance regulations have changed in March 2017. Until that time, five different models allowed one partner to use 2, 3, 4, or 6 months of 14, 18, 24 or 36 months childcare allowance, based on flat rates of 436€, 624€, 800€, 1,000€ or 80% of net income for the 12+2 model, respectively. The rate of fathers making use of childcare allowance increased from 2003 (1.56%) to the year 2016 (4.18%)⁶. Especially the 80% income based model of childcare allowance has increased in popularity among men: from 2010 to the year 2016, the rate of fathers making use of this childcare allowance model increased from 7.5% to 24.5% (see Posch 2017). In March 2017 a more flexible model was implemented allowing parents to choose between 456 and 1063 days of parental leave (a minimum of 20% of the duration are reserved for each partner). Furthermore an equal share of care bonus (€1,000) was implemented for couples who share childcare allowance (50:50 or 60:40). A family time bonus for fathers – also implemented in March 2017 – should help fathers who take the opportunity for parental leave just after the baby was born (up to 31 days).

⁶ Statistik Austria Hrsg. (2016) Kinderbetreuungsgeldbezieherinnen und -bezieher nach Geschlecht 2008 bis 2015 Wien: Statistik Austria; link (aufgerufen am 18.9.2017): https://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/soziales/sozialleistungen_auf_bunde_sebene/familienleistungen/index.html

Figure 4: Length of total paid leave available to mothers and length of total paid leave reserved for fathers (in weeks), 2016



Source: OECD, Family database, 2016. Note: 'Total paid leave available to mothers' refers to all weeks of paid maternity leave and all weeks of employment-protected paid parental and home care leave that can be used by the mother. This includes any weeks that are an individual entitlement or that are reserved for the mother, and those that are a sharable or family entitlement. Any weeks of parental leave that are reserved for the exclusive use of the father are excluded. 'Total paid leave reserved for fathers' refers to all weeks of paid paternity leave, any weeks of paid parental or home care leave that can be used only by the father (or 'other' parent) and cannot be transferred to the mother, plus any weeks of sharable paid leave that must be taken by the father (or 'other' parent) in order for the family to qualify for 'bonus' weeks of paid parental leave. Weeks are included only if they are fully non-transferable. Any entitlements that are initially given to the father but can be transferred to the mother are excluded.

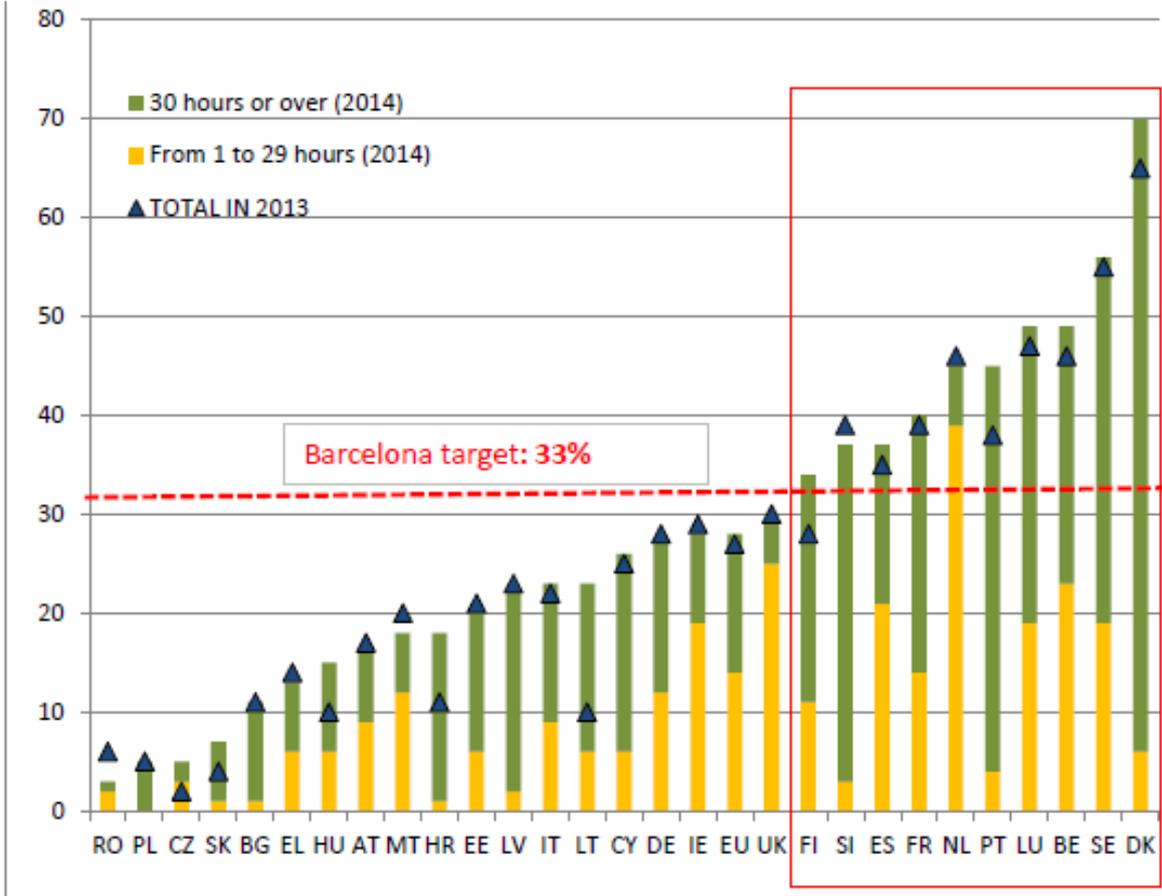
Concerning the provision of early childhood education and care services, in 2014 only ten Member States met the Barcelona targets of 33 % of children below three years old in formal care structures - among the *Boys in Care* partners only Slovenia - and only nine met the target of 90 % of children between three and school-age in formal care (see Figure 5).

In 2016 the EU Commission approved a recommendation addressed to 10 EU countries concerning work-life balance policies (among the partners of the *Boys in Care* project Germany, Italy, Austria were included) in order to invite them to improve the provision of quality, affordable, full time childcare, access to long term care and removal of obstacles and disincentives to economic independence.

The results of the Gender Equality Index support the need for further strengthening work-life balance policies. Lessening the disproportionately negative impact of parenthood on women requires not only state provision of care services and leave policies, but also supporting and encouraging a more equal division of care between parents. An individual entitlement to parental leave clearly encourages men's take-up of the leave and them taking full responsibility for the care of children, but other policy measures and normative, life-course and workplace factors also shape the care division between men and women (Wall/O'Brien, 2017).

In conclusion, the situation about gender equality in the countries *Boys in Care* project partners varies in relation to the detailed dimensions in relation to female participation in the labour market, gender segregation in employment, gender pay gap and family-work balance policies. Notwithstanding national variations there is room for improvement in each country and in particular gender segregation is present in all countries and the percentage of men employed in the care sector is low in all the countries involved.

Figure 5: Proportion of children under three cared for by formal arrangements, 2014:



Source: Eurostat, EU-Survey on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC).

2.2. Occupational segregation and men in professional care work

Recent studies show that men are increasingly involved in unpaid care work. At the same time European countries are characterised by a very pronounced horizontal segregation in the labour market and a persistent under-representation of men in paid care work is reported. ‘Appropriate’ occupations for men and women are still evident in the labour market and, as the following data show, gender segregation in occupations and in economic sectors continues to be a universal characteristic of the labour market in Europe. In the 2017 Report on Equality between Women and Men in the EU, where a special focus was put on the development of gender segregation in occupations and in economic sectors, 24.3% for occupational segregation and 18.9% for sectoral segregation were reported for 2014. The index in the following table shows the “proportion of the employed population that would need to change occupation/sector in order to bring about an even distribution of men and women across occupations or sectors. The index varies between 0 (no segregation) and 50 (complete segregation).” (EU 2017: 57)

Figure 6: Gender Segregation in Occupations and Economic Sectors (2005, 2010, 2014)⁷

	Gender segregation in occupations			Gender segregation in sectors		
	2005	2010	2015	2005	2010	2015
EU27	24,8	24,9	24,3	17,8	19,1	18,9
EU28		24,9	24,3		19,1	18,9
Austria	26,4	25,9	27,4	19,0	19,3	19,4
Belgium	25,4	25,4	26,4	17,5	19,5	20,2
Bulgaria	27,8	28,9	28,6	19,2	21,1	21,9
Croatia	27,7	28,0	28,2	18,5	20,6	21,0
Cyprus	29,9	28,9	28,9	20,0	20,0	19,5
Czech Rep.	28,4	28,3	28,2	19,1	20,9	21,5
Denmark	26,8	25,7	24,9	18,8	19,5	19,2
Estonia	30,0	30,6	30,9	24,2	25,7	25,0
Finland	29,3	28,6	27,5	22,2	23,7	23,8
France	26,3	26,1	25,9	17,3	19,1	18,7
Germany	26,2	26,1	25,3	18,2	19,4	19,5
Greece	22,4	21,9	19,0	16,0	16,1	13,5
Hungary	28,6	27,7	28,0	19,8	20,7	20,5
Ireland	27,4	26,2	26,2	22,6	21,2	21,3
Italy	23,6	24,7	24,8	17,8	19,7	19,5
Latvia	27,9	28,0	28,9	21,6	24,2	24,8
Lithuania	27,0	28,8	28,2	22,0	22,0	22,4
Luxembourg	26,4	23,4	23,0	17,4	16,0	15,8
Malta	23,3	24,0	24,9	15,5	16,3	17,2
Netherlands	26,1	25,0	24,9	17,6	19,4	18,1
Poland	25,2	26,0	26,9	18,8	20,5	21,5
Portugal	26,0	26,4	25,7	20,3	21,2	21,1
Romania	19,3	22,0	23,0	14,9	16,7	18,1
Slovakia	29,6	31,1	29,5	22,5	25,2	23,6
Slovenia	27,3	25,8	26,2	18,0	19,0	19,5
Spain	26,5	26,5	25,2	20,3	20,4	19,4
Sweden	27,2	26,1	25,0	21,5	21,5	20,6
UK	25,9	24,4	23,4	18,6	19,4	18,4

Source: Eurostat, Labour Force Survey; EU 2017: 57.

Furthermore recent research confirms that sectoral gender segregation has a significant influence on the gender pay gap in all EU countries (Boll et al. 2016): men and women enter different paid sectors, the lower paid sectors are predominately entered by women. As Figure 6 shows, sectoral segregation has evolved slowly and in some countries even increased between 2005 and 2014.

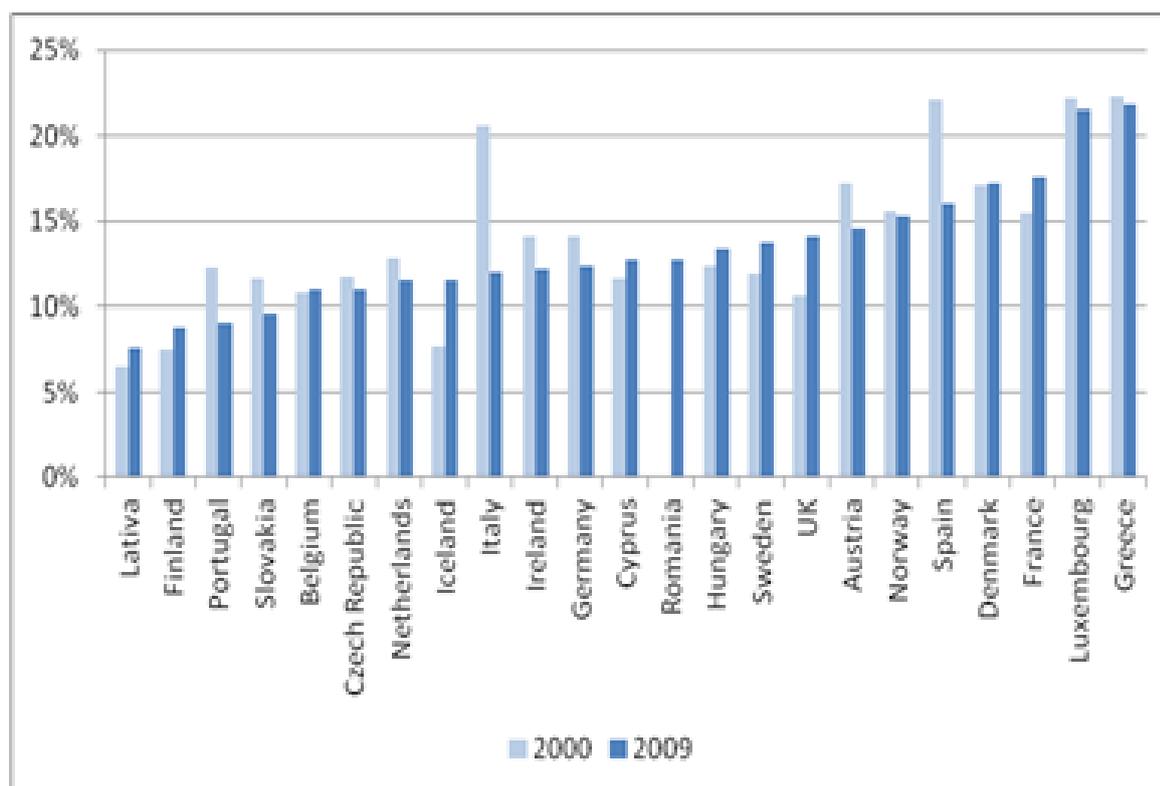
Occupation and sectoral segregation is already rooted in education, where gender patterns in different fields of studies (secondary and tertiary education) are persistent, with young women predominantly present in social, care and welfare-education, while the rate of (young) men is high in technical education (see below chapter 2.4).

Focusing on care work throughout Europe, men's under-representation in professional care work is remarkable. The following Figure (7), displayed in the *Study on the Role of Men in Gender Equality* (Scambor et al. 2013), shows the development of men's rate among paid care work between 2000 and 2009.⁸

⁷ Sectoral segregation refers to the phenomenon that men and women are often highly represented in certain sectors (e.g. health care). Within a sector, occupational segregation is evident: women and men are over-represented in certain occupations (e.g. nurse). Occupational and sectoral segregation are main causes of the gender pay gap (<https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/observatories/eurwork/industrial-relations-dictionary/segregation>).

⁸ The following occupations are included in the indicator 'care work': Nursing and midwifery professionals, primary and pre-primary education teaching professionals, special education teaching professionals, nursing

Figure 7: Share of men among 'care workers' by country, in %, 2000 and 2009



Source: Eurostat, LFS 2000 Q4 (with the following exceptions: Cyprus, Iceland, Luxembourg, Sweden 2000 Q2, Germany 2002 Q2 and France 2000 Q1) and 2009 Q4; Scambor et al. 2013: 60.

Countries with male participation rates in paid care work above 15% in 2009 are widespread in different regions all over Europe, ranging from the north to the south (e.g. Denmark, Greece, France). In half of the countries shown in the graph a decline in men's share of paid care work is reported between 2000 and 2009 - pronounced in countries like Austria, Italy, Spain and Portugal. Many of these countries share similar experiences, as they have undertaken regulations of feminised migrant paid care work in the past decade (see Scambor et al. 2015). In 2009, Bettio & Verashchagina have shown that increasing rates of migrant workers in care occupations can lead to challenges in occupational segregation and to an under-valuation of paid care work too, due to cheap jobs.

Based on this data we can conclude that an already feminised sector has experienced a further decline of men in paid care work. Such developments reflect prevailing gender norms in societies (care jobs as 'women's jobs', men do not want to 'compete' with 'natural caregivers'), but also more tangible reasons like working conditions (e.g. low salaries) as well as a lack of male role models and insufficient information for boys at school about paid care work.

Nevertheless it has to be mentioned that paid care work, (e.g. for children or elderly), is a globally growing sector, which leads to new benefits in terms of safe and secure conditions in the future.⁹

and midwifery associate professionals, primary education teaching associate professionals, pre-primary education teaching associate professionals, special education teaching associate professionals, other teaching associate professionals, social work associate professionals and personal care and related workers.

⁹ IDS POLICY BRIEFING ISSUE 130 • MARCH 2017 www.ids

Concerning men's share of paid care work in the *BiC* partner countries, we summarize the most significant data and developments:

In **Austria** around two thirds of employed women are in so-called 'women-jobs' and about as much men are employed in 'men-jobs'. "*Women are consequently concentrated within a much narrower professional field, while men inhabit a broader professional spectrum*" (Bergmann et al. 2017: 186). Studies of recent years demonstrate that gender segregation of the labour market has barely decreased (Kreimer/Mora 2013, Leitner/Dibiasi 2015, Tschenett 2015). The fact that work patterns of men and women become increasingly similar (e.g. working hours, cf. Scambor et al. 2013) opens up new work-life-balance perspectives for young men. Nevertheless Austria has been categorized in transnational comparison studies as one of the European countries with the highest segregation ratio (ibid. p. 53). This situation is challenging, as vertical and horizontal segregation are connected: "*The average income of women and men in highly segregated women-jobs (with less than 15% men) is the lowest. In male-dominated fields the income of women is higher, even though the gender wage gap between men and women in this field is higher (Leitner/Dibiasi 2015)*" (Bergmann et al. 2017: 187). The empowerment of boys and young men in untypical professional fields is supported by action programs like *Boys' Day* (since 2008) but so far there is little shift in attitudes, even though masculine stereotyped work sectors vanish (e.g. manufacturing/production) (cf. Scambor et al. 2013). The 'Top Ten Jobs' among men are still fairly traditional men-jobs¹⁰. Care-professions have an increasing impact on the labour market. In addition, expanding work opportunities in elementary education and education can be expected¹¹. Men's share in paid care work in Austria was at 15% in 2009 (14% EU). The slightly decreasing share rate of men between 2000 and 2009 is connected to legal regulations for informal care work (24 hours care) that affected female employment earlier (Arbeitsmarktservice Österreich 2013). In 2014/2015 the share of men in care-professions in elderly care homes, stationary treatment facilities and elderly homes was comparatively high (21%). In the same year men made up 9% of teachers in elementary schools and 1.4% of pre-school and kindergarten-teachers (*Boys' Day* Unterrichtsmaterialien 2016: 4; Statistik Austria 2016) - these professions are crucial for alternative forms and expressions of masculinity which are oriented towards care-responsibilities ('*caring masculinities*', cf. Scambor et al. 2015). As long as 'men's' jobs still provide better structural conditions than 'women's' jobs, a low men's participation rate is to be expected. Career options and comparatively high wages are valued highly as young men oscillate towards a male breadwinner model (cf. Schlaffer et al. 2004). Also, men in care-professions are confronted with prejudices which make job-entry more difficult (e.g. not being a 'real' man; a general suspicion of being a potential sexual offender (cf. Cremers & Krabel, 2012). On the other side, current research shows that the daily professional routines can be developed very well and many examples show that men in untypical professional fields are being welcomed very positively by colleagues, supervisors, and by those they serve (cf. for example Ganß 2011).

In **Bulgaria** statistics on the labour market from the socialist period show that there were professions and occupations where women were overrepresented, e.g. finance and insurance (82.2%), education (75.8%), health (73.8%), and trade (65.0%) in 1989. During the 1990's the occupational structure in Bulgaria was predominated by mixed sex occupations, and current analysis on sectoral and occupational structure indicates that gender segregation exists and deepens over the years, and the occupational segregation has

¹⁰ wko.at/statistik/wgraf/2017_03_Lehrlinge_Burschen_2016.pdf

¹¹ http://bis.ams.or.at/qualibarometer/top_berufsbereich.php?id=94

increased both for high and low level occupations (Beleva et al. 2008). Statistical data show the increase of female overrepresentation in the sectors of education (74.3% in 1980 and 80.8% in 2014) in and of human health and social work (74.3% in 1980 and 79.1% in 2014) (Tsanov 2017). During the transition period copying with the hard employment situation women turned rather to choose typical 'female' occupations and professions. Horizontal (occupational and sectoral) gender segregation at the labour market in particular is an almost untouched issue in the state efforts to achieve gender equality (ibid.), and it is directly related to income inequality and the evaluation of jobs.

The majority of female-dominated sectors and occupations are characterised by high income inequality. For example, in the financial, educational and health sectors, the pay inequality is high and the occupations of the schoolteachers, cleaners, sales assistants and supermarket cashiers are low. According to the recent data of the National Statistical Institute (NSI) on employment by economic activity grouping and sex in 2016, the "Education" and "Human health and social work activities" are the most feminized professions. Here men are respectively 19.09% and 21.2% of the total number of all employed. The available national statistics data show that the numbers of men, working in kindergartens increased from 45 in the whole country (in 2000) to 199 in 2016, most of whom are men in the age group of (45-60 years). There is no specific research work on the reasons for that increase and it represents an interest for us to explore deeper. In recent years more men are choosing the profession of nurses in a hospital, which is a completely new phenomenon in Bulgaria. The naming of the male nurse in Bulgarian language is still under question (medical brother or health brother?), and it is discussed about to which extent it is ethical to have men in this profession. According to the Association of Nurses in 2014 there were 48 male graduates from the universities across the country which provide education for health care professionals - nurses. As many patients address men as doctors, male nurses need to explain their function and duties. In 2015 there were only 20 male nurses who had graduated this specialty and who worked mainly in surgery and intensive care departments. In **Germany** men and women still restrict their career choices to female or male-dominated careers¹². 58% of the employed men work in male-dominated occupations and 52% of employed women work in female-dominated occupations - only about 10% women and men work in occupations dominated by the other sex (German government 2017).¹³ Horizontal segregation is closely related with societal norms and values, which shape gender regimes and gender role expectations in school, in families as well as in vocational guidance, impacting on career choices of young men and women (Bundesregierung 2017). Care occupations are female-dominated in Germany, with 80% of the employees being female. An accepted definition of care occupations includes all occupations in the field of social work, health and care (for children elderly people, people with special needs or sick people) and education. Recently this group has been broadened by adding services close to home (ibid.). In the different fields of care work the rate of male employee is quite diverse: in early-childhood care for example there are only 5% male employees whereas in outpatient care

¹² Female- and male-dominated jobs are here defined by a workforce of 70% or more female or male employees respectively

¹³ The female-dominated labour market segments in 2015 were medicinal and non-medicinal health care professions (with 82.6% female employees), cleaning occupations (76.7% female employees) and social and cultural services (73.7% female employees). The male-dominated segments are occupations in the agricultural, forestry and horticultural sector (71.1% male employees), security occupations (71.2% male employees), IT- and natural sciences services (76.2% male employees), traffic and logistics occupations (79.8% male employees), manufacturing occupations (83.1% male employees), engineering occupations (86.9% male employees) and Construction occupations (93.8% male employees) (Hobler/Pfahl/Horvath 2017)

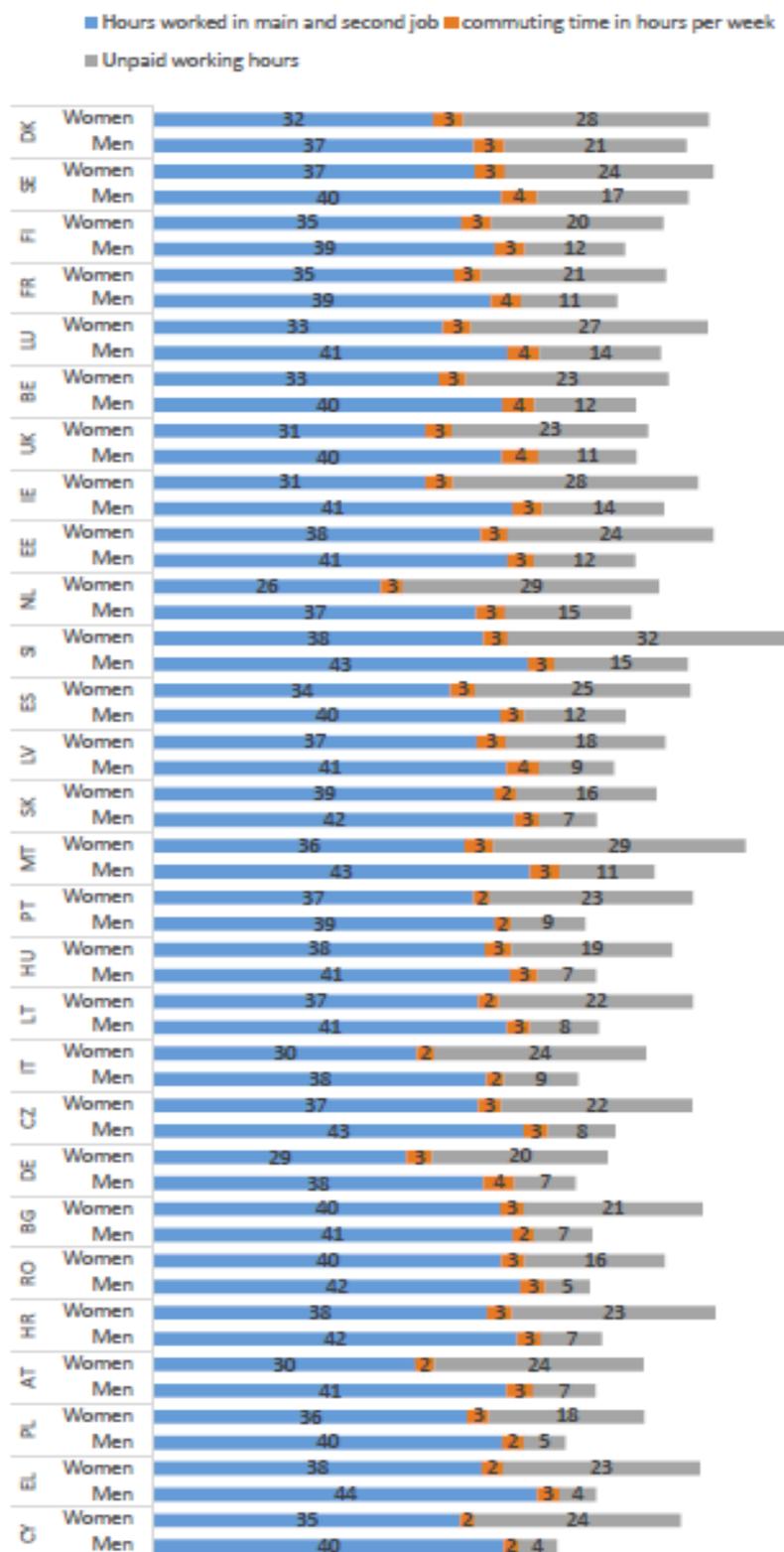
12% of the employed are male and in inpatient care 15% of the workforce is male. However, between 2007 and 2016 the absolute number of male kindergarten teachers tripled to about 22,000 (while their share doubled from 2.2 % to 4.3 %).¹⁴ Female-dominated careers, overall, are characterized by lower wages as well as more cost-intensive ways of vocational training.

In **Italy** data on men in paid care work show that the share rate of men among care workers was among the highest in 2000 (with Spain, Greece, Luxembourg and Austria) (20.6%), but it almost halved during nine years, leading to a rate of 12% in 2009. Concerning the presence of men in the teaching profession data show that it raises with the grade of the school. For instance if only 0.7% of the teaching staff in pre-primary school are men, this percentage raises to 3.6% in primary school, 22% in secondary school of first level and 34.2% of second level (OECD 2017). Higher salaries and career perspectives as well as the fact that higher education means more cognitive and less caring content are based upon these developments by scientists (Ruspini in Scambor et al. 2013: annex 3.13 and annex 3.14). The feminization of the teaching profession started in the 19th century with the training of female teachers, due to a need to provide for elementary teaching through limited financial resources. In the 20th century, particularly starting from 1962 with the institution of the 'middle school' (for children aged 11-14 years) the phenomenon of the feminization of school resumes and increases until today. Women become the majority of teachers not only in primary schools, but also secondary. Furthermore, the feminization of the teaching profession has not given rise to a systematic critical reflection on gender stereotypes. Various studies exposed the inability or unwillingness by female teachers, or at a least the majority of them, to actively oppose a sexist and conservative culture that – paradoxically – penalized their own gender (Belotti 1978; Olivieri 1996). In recent years a growing number of initiatives have been organized in schools addressing the issue of gender norms and stereotypes carried out either internally by the school or by non-profit associations financed with school funding, however their impact still needs to be thoroughly assessed.

In **Lithuania** some current research focused on the phenomenon of men's choices for care professions, showing that men tend to change professions towards care work after some personal crises or other difficult experience. In qualitative research, benefits of care work were highlighted by interviewed men. In their narratives about the choices to become a social worker the interviewed men highlighted the importance of male identity while being a social worker as a manager in the community. As social workers they demonstrated their leadership skills, power and authority and success in their work and activities (Mazeikiene/Dorelaitiene, 2011). Statistical data show that men mainly choose occupations in work fields with good career perspective – care professions are not part of these fields of work. For example, only 0.51% men and 99.48% women work in pre-school educational institutions (Department of Statistics 2016). Regardless of the high numbers of women teachers at schools (87.7% of teachers are women and 12.3% are men), men serve as 37.4% of general school headmasters. There is a tendency that the number of male teachers increases in higher educational institutions (30% male teachers in vocational schools, 32.7% in colleges, and 47.4% male academic staff). Though male professionals in vocational and high education levels is lower than 50%, male leadership dominates in all type of educational settings (59.4% male heads in vocational schools, 50% in colleges, and 85.7% in universities).

14 In 2008, the federal *Act on the Increase of Kindergarten Facilities* was implemented. Consequently, the number of kindergarten teachers (male and female) increased from 325,000 (2007) to 508,000 (2016). At the same time, men's share grew from 2.2 % to 4.3 %. It is even higher in Berlin (9.2 %) and Hamburg (9.9 %), see: http://mika.koordination-maennerinkitas.de/fileadmin/company/pdf/Koordinationsstelle/Maenneranteil_BL-07-16.pdf.

Figure 8: Paid work, commuting and unpaid work by country and gender:



Source: Eurofound, 2015 European Working Condition Survey

In **Slovenia**, gender segregation, professional (25.8%) and sectoral (19.9%), is above the EU average and remains the same for the past decade (Kanjuro Mrčela et al. 2016). Across branches, women dominate in the field of healthcare and social security (80.8%), education (78.9%), and hospitality (64.1%), while they are in the minority in the field of construction (11.7 %), traffic and warehousing (17.1%) and electricity, gas and steam supply (20.5%). In

the field of information and communication industry the share of women is 29.9% (ReNPEMŽM15–2). The share of men employed as kindergarten teachers or assistants has increased by 1% in the past decade, but still has not reached 3% of all employees. Pedagogical personnel in preschool education consists predominantly of women. In school year 2013/14, the share of men among professional workers working with the age group of 1-4 year olds was 2%. In 2016, 98% of kindergarten teachers and assistants were women. Pedagogical personnel on the level of primary education is also dominated by women (88% in 2013/14) (Vrabič Kek et al. 2016). The percentage of employed male teachers in the first and the second triad of primary education remains practically the same (3% in 2001 and 2.8% in 2010). Also home-based care and assistance services are performed predominantly by women (96.9%). Programmes of personal assistance (assistance for persons with disabilities) employed 392 persons in 2015, including 23% men (Smolej et al. 2016). In long-term care providers consisting of one fifth of men (in personal assistance 23.5% and in private occupational activity centres 21.2%). Private patronage service does not employ any male caregivers.

In 2010, 35.4% of men were employed in occupations of health care professionals, professionals of medical biology, life or biotechnical sciences; in 2015, the share of men dropped significantly to a total of 23.3%. In the field of education professionals, the percentage of employed men decreased from 19.4% in 2010 to 18.1% in 2015.

It can be summarized that - albeit differentiated - horizontal segregation is visible in every EU country and, more specifically, in the countries of the BiC project consortium. The sector(s) of care work are highly feminized, with particular long-term increases in Bulgaria and Italy. On the other hand, there is also an increase of men's share at least in some care professions in many countries (like nursing in Bulgaria). Also, political framework decisions (like the expansion of child care facilities in Germany) create new options (like a higher demand also for male kindergarten teachers).

2.3. Unpaid Care Work

The *2017 Report on Equality between Women and Men in the European Union* shows that women still “do the lion's share of housework and care” (EU 2017: 12) in European societies. In 2015, men spend less than 10 hours per week and women spend 22 hours in unpaid work on average, with big differences between countries. More equal share rates are reported for Nordic countries. Furthermore there is a gender difference to be noticed according to tasks: “Women tend to perform more routine, labour-intensive and rigidly scheduled tasks, in rapid alternation or even simultaneously. This is notably the case when they enter motherhood, but also if they care for elderly or disabled relatives. In the latter case, they tend to be more involved if care becomes more intensive and regular: among 18-64 year olds, 20% of women and 18% of men were informal caregivers, of which 7% of women provided care on a daily basis compared to 4% of men.” (EU 2017: 12)

The Gender Equality Index 2017 (based on data in 2015) shows that the area of time use is still one where significant inequalities between women and men exist and are even increasing.¹⁵ There also exists a big difference between caring for people and caring for

¹⁵ With a score of 65.7, the domain of time has the third lowest score in the Gender Equality Index (with a score of 100 meaning the absence of gender equality). The score in 2015 was 1 point lower than in 2005 and a further 3.2 points lower than the score of 2012. This shows that changes in the organisation of time between women and men are not linear and that in 2015 the situation had become more unequal than it was 10 years ago.

household duties. The average share rate of men taking care of people (unpaid work) was higher than the rate of men taking care for cooking and other household activities.

Figure 9: Care activities, Gender, in %, 2015

Country	People caring for and educating their children or grandchildren, elderly or people with disabilities, every day (%)		People doing cooking and/or household, every day (%)	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
EU-28	37.5	24.7	78.7	33.7

Source: Gender Equality Index 2017¹⁶

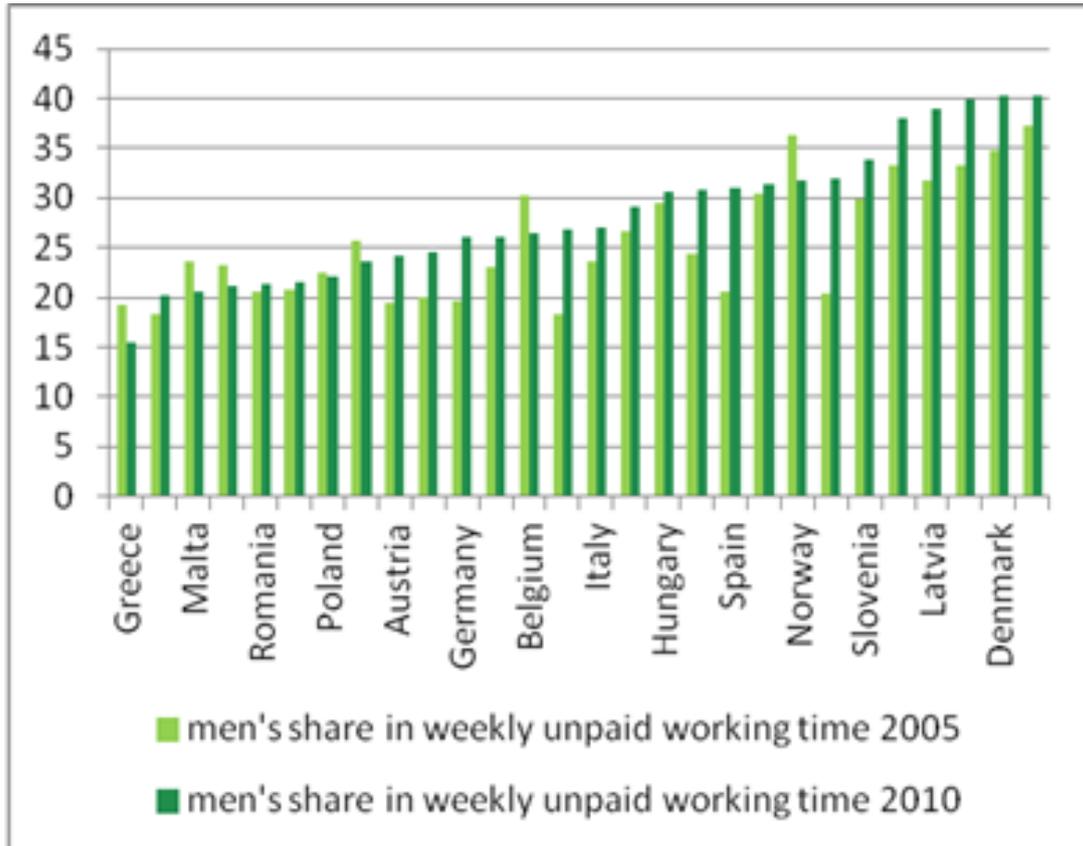
The *Study on the Role of Men in Gender Equality* provided empirical evidence of men’s share in unpaid work. In the 1990’s, women’s increasing participation in paid work reduced their time for unpaid work, which consequently lead to an increase of men’s share of unpaid care work.

This situation changed in the early 2000s. Time use studies between 2001 and 2011 have shown that the rate of men doing unpaid care work increased in absolute numbers (Kitterød 2014), with big differences in European countries: “In 2010, their weekly unpaid working time varied from 15.5% in Greece to more than double this figure, 40.3%, in Sweden.” (Scambor et al. 2015)

Figure 10 shows large variations between countries, but at the same time it shows changes: men’s share of unpaid care work has increased in many European countries, with high rates in Northern Europe, where men’s share of care and domestic work is more than two times higher, compared to Southern and Post-socialist countries with the lowest values. How can this be explained?

¹⁶ <http://eige.europa.eu/gender-equality-index/2015/domain/time>

Figure 10: Share in weekly unpaid working time, (self-)/employed men, by country, in %, 2005 and 2010



Source: *The Study on the Role of Men in Gender Equality*. Scambor et al. 2013: 81.

“Generally different leave regulations, labour market structures, family traditions as well as different gender equality processes and gender contracts have a large impact on structural variation. In some member states social policy is directed towards redistribution of work and care between the genders with great support for men’s larger involvement in care. In other countries policies are directed towards re-traditionalisation of gender roles.” (Scambor et al. 2015: 66f.)

Especially structural variation like for example the possibility for paternity leave or father quota, but also gender equality policies have large impacts on men’s involvement in unpaid care work. While the first policies have “started out from the needs of the better educated” in recent years men’s involvement in unpaid care work has widened its scope and has become a principal issue.

The EU Gender Equality Index score varies significantly among Member States from 42.7 points in Bulgaria to 90.1 points in Sweden. Among the partner countries of the *Boys in Care* project, all except Slovenia (with a score of 72.9) are below the EU average ranging from 50.6% in Lithuania to 59.3% in Italy and 61.2% in Austria, up to 65% in Germany, which is near the EU average. Here is a summary of each country’s situation:

In **Austria**, unpaid care work is strongly divided between women and men, based on a male-breadwinner-female-co-earner-model if parents take care for children under the age of 14 . Women still perform about 66% of unpaid work and men perform 34% (household duties, childcare, care work for adults, and volunteer work). For paid work the numbers are flipped: 39% of paid work is being performed by women and 61% by men (cf. Statistik Austria 2009).

If only data of employed persons are being considered, the share of men engaged in unpaid work is slightly higher (38%). The distribution of unpaid care work is mirrored in the share of male recipients of childcare allowance (Kinderbetreuungsgeld). Although the male rate doubled between 2006 (8%) and 2012 (17%), men embrace shorter time periods of allowance, whereas women generally choose longer allowance options (cf. Riesenfelder and Danzer 2015). Because men take shorter parental leaves only 4.2% of childcare days were used by men. In the year 2002 this share has been 1.7% (cf. Reidl & Schiffbänker 2013).

In **Bulgaria** the unpaid care for children, elderly and dependent persons is predominately provided by women in families. According to the most recent time use survey (2010), women spend more daily time with household and family care than men (on average with 2:10 hours more). There are considerable gender differences regarding the continuity and character of the household work. Men and women are spending equal time studying and playing with children. However, men participate mainly in recreation and leisure activities and sports with the kids, while women spend more time for physical care of children. Care for elderly and sick family members is an important reason for taking unpaid sick leave among women. In 2015, 10 times more women than men took leave in order to care for a sick family member (about 13,000 men, compared with 133,000 women).

In **Germany** the part-time rate of men in paid labour has increased between 2003 and 2014. High increases were shown for employed men: Part time work among men more than quadrupled (from 4.4% in 1991 to 20.1% in 2014) (Wanger 2015). Nevertheless women still work more hours than men in Germany, this is due to the higher share of unpaid care work performed by women, especially amongst single mothers and women in part-time (Hobler et. al. 2017, Klünder 2017). As is stated in the summary expertise for the second Gender equality report of the German Government *“The Gender Care Gap is 52.4 % (based on the most recent Time Usage Survey 2012/2013), which means women perform 52.4 % more unpaid care work than men, every day. This is equivalent to one hour and 27 minutes more care work daily”* (Sachverständigenkommission 2017: 7). This is due to a working model where in heterosexual relationships there is a classical male breadwinner or a model in which women are incorporated as supplementary earners of a family into the labour market and are responsible for most of the care work.

In **Italy** an increasing body of academic literature addresses the changing role of men in the Italian society in recent decades, focusing on issues related to fatherhood, work, health, identities and violence, sexuality (Bellassai 2004, 2011; Ciccone 2009, 2012, Corbisiero and Monaco, 2017). They also address the issue of men in education (Bellassai, 2010, Deiana e Greco, 2012; Mappelli e Ulivieri, 2012). In general, studies on men in care work rather focus on paid work, on the issue of men as caregivers in elderly care, or on the contribution of migrant men (Ambrosini and Beccalli 2009; Scrinzi and Gallo 2016). Studies about men in unpaid care (Ruspini 2011) suggest that these men (house-husbands, stay-at-home fathers) encounter discrimination. Whereas society is more accepting of women working as much as men, men are stigmatized if they engage in housework and child care activities, whether by their parents, employers, or society at large. (Ruspini, unpublished).

In **Lithuania** child-care leave is fully institutionalised and aligned with workforce participation of women and men. A fixed duration for maternity leave (56 days) and paternity leave (one month) and parental leave is defined. Even though the allocation of child-care leave between women and men remains very uneven (2016: 78,6% women, 21,4% men) it has changed during the last years (2010: 92,5% women, 7,5% men). Nevertheless women continue being the main carers in the family. Financial arguments are common explanations by men to justify their decision for not taking paternity leave. Additionally, cultural and

ideological aspects (gender roles) hinder men from taking an active father role. Child care is usually assumed to be a “woman’s job”. Therefore quantitative research identifies a huge gap in distribution of paid and unpaid work: women spend four hours less than men doing paid work per week, but 14 hours more for unpaid work. Gendered imbalances of unpaid care work are usually not problematized both in the private sphere and in policy discourse. Qualitative research shows that the breadwinner role is highly internalised in men’s perception about fatherhood (Tereškinas 2011, Sumškaite 2014, 2014a). Researchers like Bucaite-Vilke et al. (2012) or Pilinkaite-Sotirovic (2014) investigating women’s disadvantaged position in labour market, society and culture, argue that Lithuania’s society continues to prioritize a traditional gender system and maintain traditional gender-role stereotypes such as women’s duties as care-takers and men’s as breadwinners. While policies on equal opportunities have encouraged women’s role in employment, men’s role in (unpaid) care work has been ignored.

Slovenia offers a high-quality scheme of parental rights and financial compensations. Parental leave lasts 1 year (105 for the mother exclusively, 260 days can be shared) and a 90% compensation rate, covered by the state and included in a pension qualifying period. In 2003, a 15-day non-transferable paid paternal leave was implemented with the intention of encouraging inclusion of men in child care. In 2014, the period was extended to 30-days paternal leave (Hrženjak 2016). Due to a well-developed public institutional childcare system, following socialist principles of economic independence and full social citizenship, the rate of women in full-time employment is one of the highest in Europe. But since 2004, when Slovenia introduced a measure that enables parents to work reduced working time (based on work-family balance and ‘women friendly policies’), the share of women working reduced working time is witnessing a constant increase: while it was 6% in 2006, it was 15.8% in 2015.¹⁷

Especially in younger generations, traditional types of family where care for children and dependent family members and housekeeping is the realm of women while men ‘help’ occasionally, is prevailing in Slovenia. Men seem to be more equally involved in care for children, while household work is still in the realm of women. According to data of Workforce Survey (2010), 75% of men made use of the 15-day paternal leave for the youngest child, while care leave was used only by 7% of men. Two thirds of these fathers utilized up to three months of it, while only one third of them used 7-12 months of parental leave. Employed men spent 15 hours per week for child care, while employed women spent 25. For housekeeping and cooking men spent 10 and women 14 hours per week (Eurofound 2012).

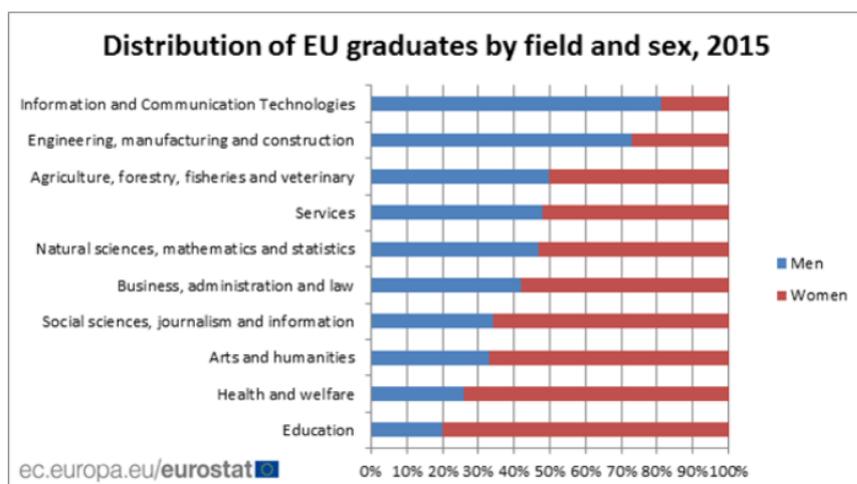
2.4 Segregation in schools and vocational choices

European data show that education career paths are gender segregated with a clear tendency for girls and boys to follow traditional paths. Boys are more likely to pursue a career in scientific-technical fields, while girls concentrate in humanities and are more prone to choose occupations in the education or care sectors. According to the Eurostat statistics on education, of the almost 5 million tertiary education students graduated in the European Union (EU) in 2015, 58% were women and 42% men. Male dominated fields are 'Information and Communication Technologies' (where men account for 81% of the graduates) and 'Engineering, manufacturing and construction' (73%). On the other hand, four out of five

¹⁷ Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia.

graduates in 'Education' are women (80%). Another field where women are largely overrepresented is 'Health and welfare', with 74% female graduates. (Data source: Eurostat, Education statistics).

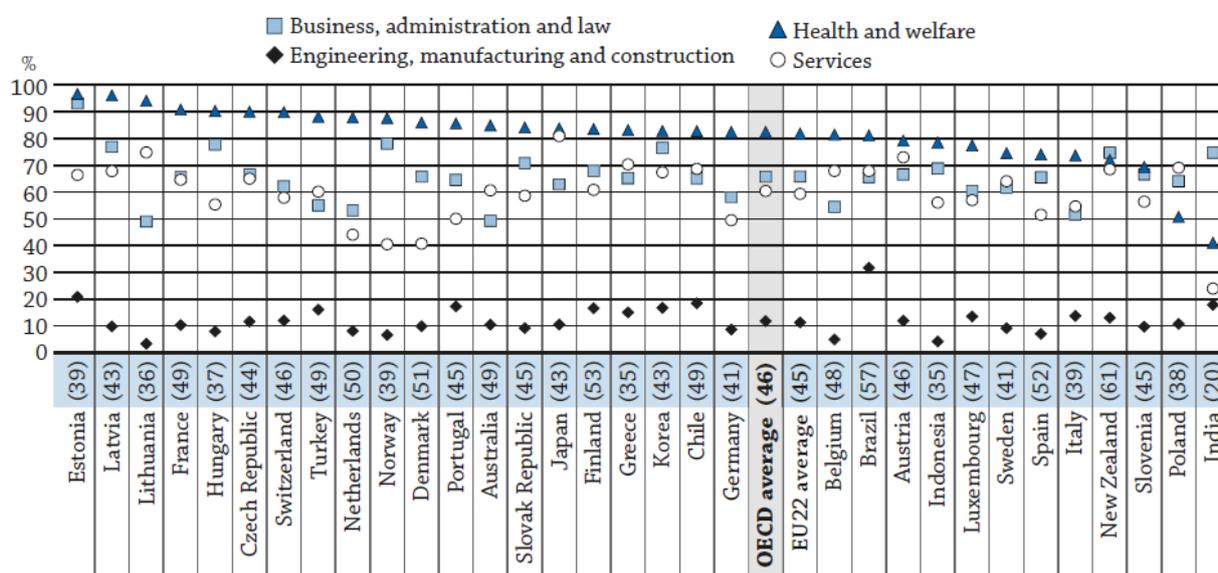
Figure 11: Distribution of EU graduates by field and sex, 2015



Source: Eurostat¹⁸

According to OECD (2017) data, women are over-represented in health and welfare, where they make up 80% of the graduates. In this field, the share of female graduates exceeds 70% in all countries except India (41%), Poland (51%) and Slovenia (69%).

Figure 12: Share of female graduates from upper secondary vocational programmes by field of study (2015)



Note: The number in parentheses corresponds to the share of female graduates (all fields combined).

Countries are ranked in descending order of the share of female graduates from upper secondary vocational programmes in health and welfare.

Source: OECD/UIS/Eurostat (2017), Table A2.1. See Annex 3 for notes (www.oecd.org/education/education-at-a-glance-19991487.htm).

StatLink <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933557014>

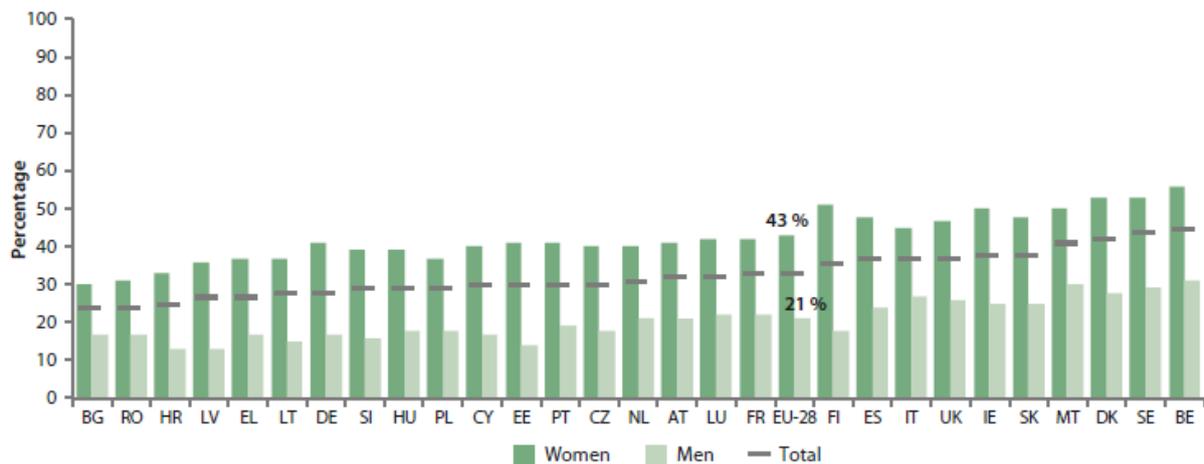
¹⁸ <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-eurostat-news/-/DDN-20170710-1?inheritRedirect=true&>

The OECD /PISA¹⁹ data shows that in 2015 **only ca. 5.9% of the boys plan a career as doctors and nurses**, versus a ca. 17.4% of the girls, hence girls are 2.9 times more likely to engage in a career in these fields. On the other hand around 12.2% of the boys plan a career in engineering or science, versus only a ca. 5.3% of the girls, hence boys are 2.4 times more likely than girls to expect a career in this in these fields.

Data from the EU Gender Equality Index indicate that the domain of knowledge is one of the domains where a reversal of gender gap was registered during the last decade — women are outperforming men in educational attainment in most Member States. Overall in the EU-28, there is an equal proportion of women and men tertiary graduates and an equal share of women and men participating in education and lifelong learning (although the latter very low). However, gender segregation in education remains a challenge that according to the report seriously holds back progress in gender equality in the area of knowledge.

Two to almost three times more women than men choose to study education, health and welfare, and this trend has not changed since 2005.

Figure 13: Women and men studying in the fields of education, health and welfare, humanities and the arts by EU member states (% , out of all male and female tertiary students), 2015



Source: Eurostat, Education Statistics (educ_uoe_enrt03).

Nearly half of all women (43 %) in tertiary education studied either education, health and welfare, humanities or the arts, in contrast to only 21 % of male tertiary students who were enrolled in these fields in 2015 (Figure 13). In the Gender Equality Index, gender segregation is measured by the gender gap in the latter, where women represent around three quarters of tertiary students in the fields of education (78%), health and welfare (71%) and humanities and the arts (65%) in the EU.

Concerning gender segregation in the education systems of the BiC partner countries, we present here below a summary of the most significant data.

The **Austrian** school and vocational system is quite gendered. Like in many countries, educational and professional choices have to be made in an age period (13-14 years) which is characterized by strong gender identification (Gotfredson 2005) and as a consequence a narrowing of vocational choices takes place based on the ‘sameness taboo’ (Krabel 2006).

¹⁹ <http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/docserver/download/76e7442c-en.pdf?expires=1494424253&id=id&accname=guest&checksum=48B2B6ED6BA1EC438151628AA4667BDC>

The secondary level II offers three types of schools.²⁰ The total body of students distributes evenly across schools; about one-third of students are in each school type (male-dominated, female-dominated, gender balanced). That also means that two thirds of all students are in highly gender segregated school types (more than 66.6% boys and girls). 61% of boys were attending male-dominated schools. The share of boys in school forms that are stereotyped as female is slightly increasing over time (cf. Bruneforth et al. 2016).

According to the national report on education 2015 secondary level II schools are comparatively less segregated, because *“...more than two thirds of all secondary level II students attend a relatively gender-balanced school, 29% are in female dominated schools”* (Bruneforth et al. 2016: 126). In contrast segregation is at its peak in vocational schools: *“57% of students train for professions in fields characterized by more than two thirds of male apprentices, 32% are in professions with a share of female labour force of more than two thirds, and only 11% of apprentices train for professional fields lacking a string dominance of one gender.”* (Bruneforth et al. 2016: 126)

The share of boys in social work mid-level schools such as the school for early childhood educators (BAFEP) was 7.2% and 5.2% in 2010/11. More than 80% of students attending professional schools were in male-dominated professional tracks, while the different typologies of schools preparing for jobs in the social area and elementary pedagogy sector are attended mostly by females. Some progress towards a less gender segregated system in education has been registered following the *Boys’ Day* and *Girls’ Day* initiatives (see chapter III)

In **Bulgaria** the percentage of women in tertiary school is rather high following a tradition of the socialist period in which the government established 50:50 educational quotas including in the in STEM subjects. In the academic year 2016/2017 the number of women enrolled for the four year educational qualification bachelor degree was 52% of the total, while in the year 2016 the percentage of women graduated with a bachelor degree was 59.5%. Similarly, in the academic year 2016/2017 the percentage of women enrolled for a master degree at University was 57.6%, while the percentage of women graduates in the same degree was almost two thirds (64.2%). Concerning the teaching personnel the overwhelming majority is composed of women (85%) although the number of male teachers has slightly increased over the last two year.

In **Germany**, vocational training is gendered in several ways. First, school-based training is rather taken up by women (72% of trainees in this field in 2015 were female) while dual training is rather taken up by men (60% of all trainees in this field were male in 2015, Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung 2016). Furthermore, amongst the 20 most popular occupational trainings for men (chosen by 57.5% of all male trainees), there was no care related job. For women the number is even higher; 69.7% of female trainees choose one of the top 20 female jobs in 2016. Thus men and women still limit their vocational choices to a very narrow set of job opportunities.

At university level, study courses related to care are predominantly attended by female students. The 13 university study courses²¹ related to the care sector, all but two had less

²⁰ A general secondary level II school (Allgemeinbildende Höhere Schule, AHS), vocational school (BS) as well as vocational secondary level II schools (BMS und BHS). In terms of gender segregation these schools can be described as gender typical (monopolized by one gender) or as relatively balanced (AHS).

²¹ The 13 university courses are: applied social science, early childhood education, educational science (pedagogy), health education, medicine (general medicine), non-medical health care, professions/therapies, nursing science/nursing management, primary school education/primary level education, psychology, school pedagogy, social pedagogy, social work, special needs education.

than 30% males enrolled in 2015. Five courses (Early Childhood Education, Primary School Education, Health Education, Social Pedagogy and Special Needs Education) even had less than 20% of male students.

In **Italy**, gender segregation emerges clearly in secondary education especially in the schools where the subjects of study are traditionally gendered. For instance, girls constitute the overwhelming majority of students in human sciences high schools (89.1%), a typology of school which prepares for teaching and care professions that emerge, with no surprise, among the most feminized professions (Ministry of Education, 2017) Data about **tertiary education** also confirm a strong gender segregation. Women constitute the vast majority of graduates in the subjects of teaching (94%), linguistics (85%), psychology (83%), health professions (69%) and literature (69%). Conversely, they are a minority of graduates in the sectors of engineering (25%), sciences (34%) and of physical education (37%) (Almalaurea, 2016).

In **Lithuania**, the analysis of statistical data suggests a clear horizontal segregation along gender lines in professional choices. In vocational training men prefer to choose engineering professions, construction and transport, while women choose social service-based professions. In higher education establishments, women accounted for the largest proportion in welfare (84%), journalism and information (82%), health (79%), and humanities (76%), men – in information and communication technologies (86%), engineering (84%), and transport services (81%). Data from the Department of Statistics from 2004 till 2016 shows the tendencies of low men's involvement in care professions throughout the period, more than 10 years. Men's choices in teacher training occupation significantly decreased from 20.7 % in 2004-2005 to 5.3% in 2015-2016. Low men's involvement in health care and welfare professional fields did not change during the last decade and remained stable up to 11.5%.

In **Slovenia**, data about gender segregation in education started to be collected systematically only in recent years. Comparison from school years 2010/2011 and school years 2015/2016 show that in secondary schools preparing for professions in the field of health care²² male students are around 30% while for secondary schools preparing for pre-school education the percentage of male students rose from 6%-7% in 2010/2011 to around 10% in 2015/2016. Gender based data change slightly when we look at the completion of education in the same programmes. In some cases (especially in the years 2010/2011) data show a substantial school leaving (for instance the percentage of male students in school for nursing assistant was about 27% while the percentage of those who completed the school was only about 19%).

In conclusion, European data shows that in the EU-28, there is an equal proportion of women and men tertiary graduates with women outperforming men in educational attainment in most Member States. However gender segregation persists and is regarded as one of the most serious challenges to the achievement of gender equality. It is also significant to note that two to almost three times more women than men choose to study education, health and welfare, and this trend has not changed since 2005 (Gender Equality Index).

Gender segregation in education has a number of implications also in relation to the occupational field. As noted in the OECD report *“From the economic point of view, gender imbalances in fields of study may translate into imbalances in the labour market, and there is evidence of gains in GDP from more equal participation between male and female workers*

²² Nursing assistant, health care technicians, health care, health care (VTE).

(Elborgh-Woytek et al., 2013). There is also a moral imperative to ensure that men and women have the same opportunities in their personal and professional lives. In this regard, formal education plays an important role (OECD, 2015b).” (OECD, 2017: 57)

Finally, data show that early measures against segregation are needed and should be promoted by relevant authorities for both girls and boys in order to promote the presence of girls in the STEM subjects and of boys in the areas of education, health and welfare and in order to encourage young people to choose their educational and profession based on their skills and preferences, instead of social and family expectations.

III. Analysis of measures and materials

3.1. Approach/methods

Studies on the current situation of the partner countries participating in BiC are a necessary step towards the implementation of appropriate measures. To this end, we have summarized the analyses of measures and key figures compiled in the BiC Country Reports (Bernacchi/Biemmi 2018, Dimova/Kmetova 2018, Gärtner/Scambor 2018, Hrženjak et al. 2018, Jankauskaite/Pilinkaite Sotirovic 2018, Rieske/Täubrich 2018). The consortium agreed on measures and materials mainly from these contexts: programmes and initiatives aimed at men in care professions and used in schools, employment offices and other contexts.²³ The analyses were based on the 3-R method, which is often used in gender analysis (cf. Bergmann/Pimminger 2004), here in a slightly modified form. The main question was: Which representations, resources and realities (norms and values) with regard to gender are to be identified in the material?

The results in each country can be followed in the respective Country Reports. In this chapter, we summarize the outcomes and give examples of common problems occurring in the materials and measures, of good practices and potential starting points to improve the respective situations in regard to boys/men and care occupations.

3.2. Country overview

Austria

Measures and materials aiming at men in feminized and/or women in masculinized occupations

The federal government of Austria established, similar to other German speaking countries, an annual *Boys' Day*. It started in 2008, as an initiative complementing the already existing *Girls' Day*. Both initiatives aim at reducing gender stereotypical occupational orientation among pupils. It is important that these are not single initiatives, but integrated in an environment of measures against horizontal segregation, most of them aiming at women in STEM occupations (like FEMtech – Women in Research & Technology or FIT – Women in Technology). *Boys' Day's* target group are boys aged 10-18 years, providing the opportunity for them to explore the care-oriented workplaces and meet male role models in care-professions. Besides an action day in the Ministry for Social Affairs and workshops, excursions in preschools, hospitals, elderly care institutions and other organizations are held. The initiative receives annual evaluation, which revealed that the number of participating boys increased up to about 4500 in 2015. Results also show that images of typical men/women-jobs change among 60% of the participating boys (2015). The same share of boys state that they received ideas and tips for their vocational choice (cf. BMASK 2015). In the same year still a third of all participants could imagine to actually work in a care-profession.

²³ It was the aim to collect as many resources as available in each country, although, due to restricted time and resources of the project, this can only be seen as a starting point in a work in progress.

The integrated workshops with boys do not only aim at occupational stereotypes, but also focus on developing a “modern model of masculinity” (BMASK 2015b). Although many exercises and measures conducted are considered sound by the authors of the Austrian BiC Country Report, it is doubtful that a half-day workshop can be more than a first step (Gärtner/Scambor 2018).



Social Works: Kindergartenpädagogin

Boys' Day video: Social Works – Kindergarten teacher

Videos produced in preparation of the *Boys' Day* 2015 present male protagonists of different care-occupations like social workers, primary school teachers, nurses or kindergarten teachers. On different levels they provide information on these jobs, on access options and qualification required as well as daily routines, activities and wage levels. (Limited) diversity, in terms of life-style and models of masculinity, among men who do care-jobs is represented. But non-white men (like refugees and other migrants) are 'exclusively' displayed in the series *Social Culture*, which implicitly leads to the association of in- and out-group constellations and the risk of ethnization.²⁴ Most of the professionally conducted videos are both realistic, and at the same time promotion of a notion of care-jobs as “cool jobs for men”. So they break stereotypes of non-masculine care-jobs and, at the same time, reaffirm (at least some) stereotypes of cool, autonomous, hegemonic masculinity.

²⁴ In this context, we define “ethnization” not only as attributions of phenomena to specific cultures, but in a more normative way, as stereotypical, often power-related (see Jäger 2000). In the case of Austrian materials, we found ethnic attributions in some cases, like the exoticizing cliché of a rhythm- and body-oriented African man (which sometimes appear as postcolonial perspectives on ‘brown men’, see Spivak 2008).



Social Culture: Kindergartenpädagogin/-pädagogin

Boys' Day video: Social Culture – Kindergarten pedagogue

Measures and materials in schools

The Federal Ministry for Education (BMB) features a network and a collection of information & counselling material on occupational orientation (IBOBB). Occupational orientation is a school subject, mostly in the 7th/8th grade (13 and 14 year old pupils). An analysis was conducted on three textbooks of different school forms: the medium secondary level I (NMS), the high school secondary level I (AHS), and the vocational schools (Polytechnicals).

The occupational information given is mostly aiming at both genders. In all of the books we can find non-traditional gender representations of occupations. The materials for AHS and in particular NMS aim to avoid glaring gender stereotypes in occupational orientation. This is displayed for example by females interested in technology, males in housework etc. However, men in caring roles are only visible in small numbers. Paternal leave is a left-out topic in all books, and work-family balance is presented as a female topic. Especially the vocational school book shows more gender stereotypical images of jobs and activities. It also affirms the female houseworkers (while demanding improvements of their social position), and ridicules men doing housework.

The vocational school book needs an intensive rework in terms of gender stereotypes to meet the ministry's requirements for gender sensitive occupational orientation. But also the other materials could profit a lot from a discussion of *caring masculinities*, like paternal leave or men in care jobs. Especially the social benefit of care occupations and the integration of men into these would be useful.

Measures and materials of labour market services and other institutions

The *Austrian Labour Market Service (AMS)* features many materials for younger people's occupational orientation, like *Berufsinformations-Computer* (Vocational Information Computer), *AMS-Karrierekompass* (Career Compass), and the brochure *Berufe 'Soziales'* (Professions 'Social Sector'). Also, some of these materials reflect upon gender stereotypes, aiming to highlight alternative models (focusing more on girls). These materials have not been analyzed in depth for this particular study.

Conclusion

Materials aiming at a reduction of gender stereotypical occupational choices are available in all areas. Although men/boys in care are considered by and large, their consideration lags behind women's/girls'. The Boys' Day is integrated in an environment reflecting upon and aiming to reduce gender segregation on the labour market. The initiative itself is important, while materials, especially the videos, can only be seen as a starting point waiting for further development; more diversity and reflection of stereotypes and masculinity models are still necessary.

Bulgaria

Measures and materials aiming at men in feminized and/or women in masculinized occupations

While no initiatives focus on boys/men in care occupations, two initiatives are committed to support girls in STEM occupations:

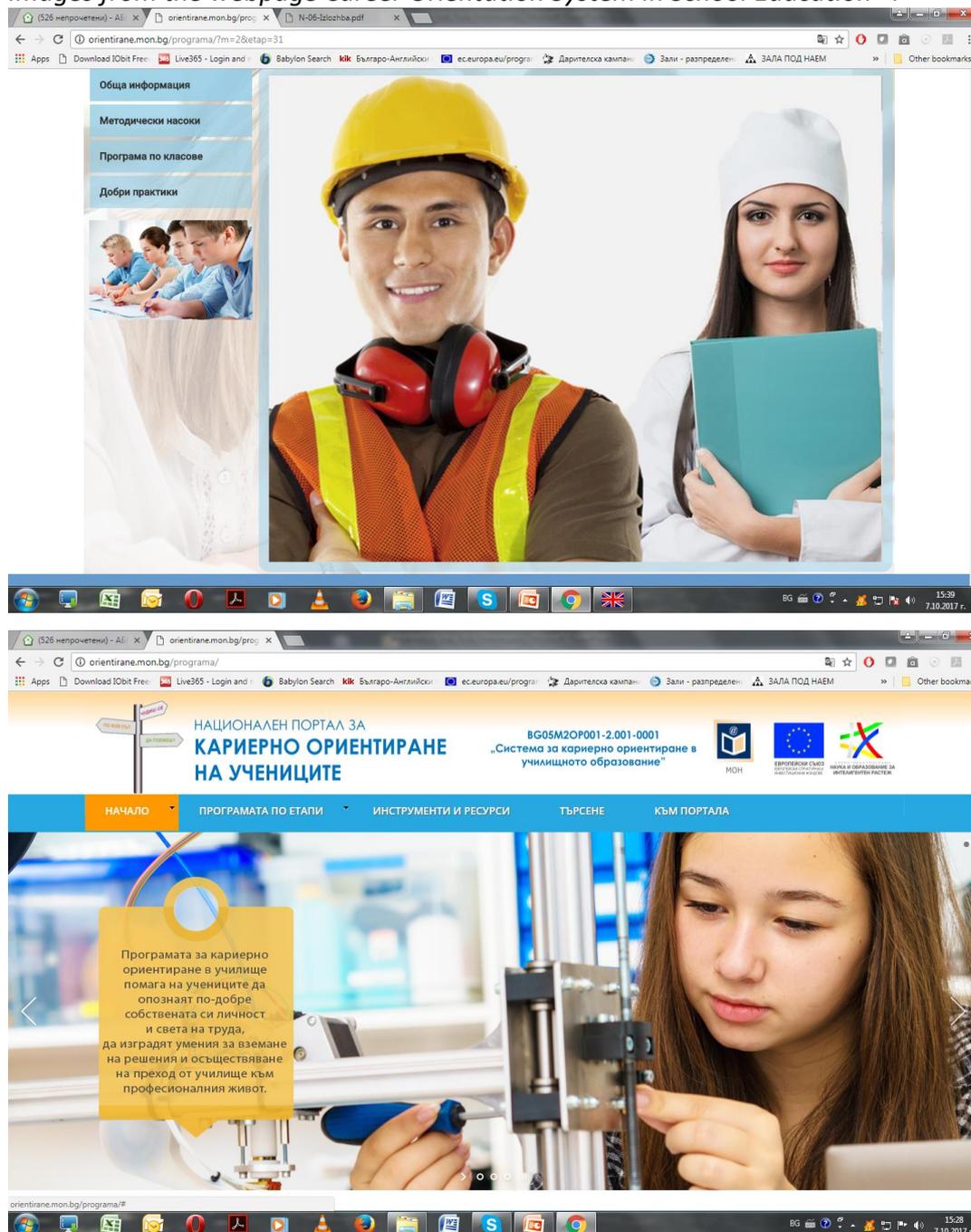
Entrepregirl, a project by the *Bulgarian Centre of Women in Technologies*, was awarded by the European Commission. Within a period of four years, it fosters (about 200) girls' technology and business ideas towards entrepreneurship.

Rails Girls is an international initiative originally from Finland, introduced in Bulgaria in 2013. It hosts an annual weekend workshop on technology, free for all girls interested: *"Rails for Girls wants to empower girls to build the capacity and acquire the tools to conquer the last online frontier. The events are organized together with local sponsors."* (Dimova/Kmetova 2018: 19).

Measures and materials in schools

Vocational orientation in schools usually starts at the age of 13/14 and comprises training aspects. It is complemented by vocational orientation (and training) in upper secondary school. However, according to the Bulgarian Country Report, its effect on women is insignificant, while for men it reproduces stereotypical career trajectories. The resource portal for career orientation by the Ministry of Education features the richest resources on occupational orientation available in Bulgaria. Its target groups are teachers and students. It features good practices, programmes for career orientation, videos, exercises and other materials. However, only few materials are not gender-stereotypical, and men in care professions are not represented. Besides methods mostly suitable for boys and girls and exercises for self-evaluation and training, a short video treats job-related gender stereotypes and non-stereotypical choices (men as cooks, women in railway engineering), but only superficially and without a clear message and with only little information. On the visual level of the portal, the authors of the Bulgarian Country Report identified *"many examples for gender typical choices or career orientation and in some cases illustration of female atypical choices, encouraging girls to think about and consider also these opportunities. The group of boys who might or are encouraged to have in mind also care professions is not present at all."* (Dimova/Kmetova 2018: 26)

Images from the webpage Career Orientation System in School Education²⁵:



Measures and materials of labour market services and other institutions

Among the eight materials presented in the Bulgarian Country Report, public labour market service is not named as an author of materials nor initiatives. Most initiatives and materials are connected to various projects supported by EU programs (such as Erasmus), or, like the Guidelines for career orientation for teenagers, have been developed by the MOST-BG foundation with the support of the Ministry of Education. Here we can find one of the very rare examples of the successful female career of Oprah Winfrey (Dimova/Kmetova 2018: 22), while care occupations are usually not even a topic of the texts. The authors also remark that the material presents to some extent stereotypical examples of profiles of boys and girls

²⁵ <http://orientirane.mon.bg/programa>

in situations of career choices: “(...) We did not find any example of boys and girls who are interested in gender atypical professions and confronting the inconvenient situations to overcome their own stereotypes and also those of their parents and society.” (ibid.)

Conclusion

Gender stereotypes seem to be a blind spot in most of the Bulgarian materials and should be introduced on a larger scale in the countries’ occupational education system. There are some examples that can serve as a first approach that could to be discussed, deepened by information and theoretical framing and thus be more convincing. Instead of promoting only traditional and stereotypical trajectories for boys, their motivations could be researched and analysed in a more open way; thus, those interested in various fields of care could be supported actively. The authors of the Bulgarian Country Report propose to build a more positive (non-gendered) image of care work, and to show its societal potential. This should also be a task for the different agencies of occupational orientation, schools (and the Ministry of Education) and labour market services, but also foundations and initiatives focusing at vocational education. Last but not least, Dimova/Kmetova (2018) recommend the introduction of *Boys’ Days* and *Girls’ Days* and to improve actions focusing on boys in care.

Germany

Measures and materials aiming at men in feminized and/or women in masculinized occupations

In Germany, there exist various projects on gender and occupational orientation both for girls/women and for boys/men. We selected the following ones to briefly describe them: *Boys’ Day*, *New Paths in Career and Life Planning for Boys (NPfB)*, *Social Boys*, *Men in Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC)*, and *Free From Clichée*.

Similarly to Austria and Switzerland²⁶, the *Boys’ Day* takes place annually, extending the *Girls’ Day* that was established in 2001. The *Boys’ Day* started on a local level in some areas in 2005, and was implemented on a national level in 2011 and was since then accompanied by a broad public relations campaign. In 2017, more than 30,000 participated. According to the evaluation, 92% of participants of trial days in 2011 and 88% of participants in workshops and seminars in 2011 rated their experience as “very good” (Bundesweite Koordinierungsstelle *Boys’ Day* – Jungen-Zukunftstag 2011).

Boys’ Day activities have been organized by the nationwide network and platform *New Paths in Career and Life Planning for Boys (NPfB)*. Since 2005, it received funding by the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth and carries out various projects and campaigns. The activities of *NPfB* are not limited to vocational guidance; they focus on gender-sensitive career and life orientation for boys through producing informational material, organising conferences and meetings, bringing together practitioners and researchers and doing further networking activities. Both *Boys’ Day* and *NPfB* launched a media-set for teachers and pedagogues involved in working with boys. It contains posters (see example below) and informational materials in the areas social skills, gender roles, and vocational guidance.

²⁶ In Switzerland, the annual action “National Future Day – Change of ends for girls and boys” was established. It succeeded the “Daughter’s Day”, comparable with the “Girls’ Day” in other countries (http://www.raonline.ch/pages/edu/pro/edu_girllday01.html).



Poster from the mediaset of Boys' Day/NPfB. The slogan on the shirt says: "Soccer players win championships. I give the impulse to run." The slogan below on the right side says: "Shape the future, become a kindergarten teacher!"

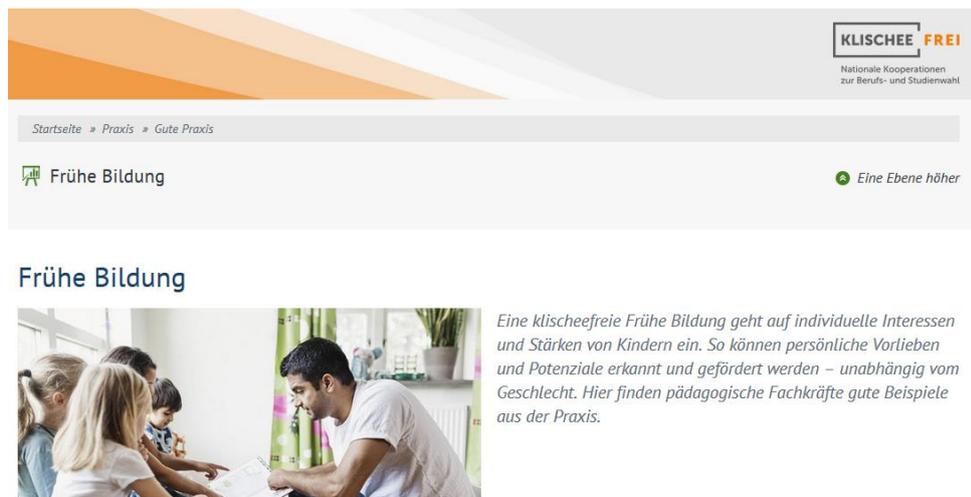
A less well known activity is *Soziale Jungs (Social Boys)* which currently is offered by different institutions in about 20 locations in Germany. Similarly to the *Boys' Day*, it aims at broadening men's career choices, especially into care occupations. *Soziale Jungs* provides a platform for boys aged 13 or 14 (depending on the region) to find a long term (1 year) voluntary service in institutions such as hospitals, kindergartens, elderly care facilities or sheltered workshops, about half a day per week. This is accompanied by regular reflection groups with pedagogues for participating boys.

The coordination centre *Men in Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC)*²⁷ is developing strategies to increase the proportion of male ECEC workers and to establish gender-sensitive pedagogy in ECEC. In order to achieve this objective and to improve the prospects for male ECEC workers in the long term, the centre promotes the dialogue between politics, practice and research. It also disseminates results from the project "MORE men in day-care centres" -

²⁷ <http://www.koordination-maennerinkitas.de>

16 model projects with 1,300 day-care centres in 13 federal states were funded with a total of more than 13 million euros. Between 2011 and 2013, they have tried out the model of attracting more male specialists for daycare centres.

Since the end of 2016, there is a new governmental initiative under the title *Klischeefrei* (*Free From Clichée*, www.klischee-frei.de), connecting a wide range of actors in the field of vocational guidance, including *New Paths in Career and Life Planning* for Boys, federal ministries, state ministries, unions, universities and the German federal labour market authority, who aim to implement vocational guidance for boys and girls without gender-stereotypes. First activities focus on awareness raising and on providing informational material for vocational guidance, like an explanatory video clip²⁸.



The screenshot shows the website interface for 'Klischeefrei'. At the top right, there is a logo for 'KLISCHEE FREI' with the text 'Nationale Kooperationen zur Berufs- und Studienwahl' below it. A breadcrumb trail reads 'Startseite » Praxis » Gute Praxis'. Below this, there is a navigation bar with 'Frühe Bildung' and a button labeled 'Eine Ebene höher'. The main content area features the heading 'Frühe Bildung' and a photograph of a male teacher interacting with a group of children. To the right of the photo is a text block: 'Eine klischeefreie Frühe Bildung geht auf individuelle Interessen und Stärken von Kindern ein. So können persönliche Vorlieben und Potenziale erkannt und gefördert werden – unabhängig vom Geschlecht. Hier finden pädagogische Fachkräfte gute Beispiele aus der Praxis.'

Screenshot of Klischeefrei.de (Free From Clichée), promoting non-stereotypical occupational education

These main activities are complemented by others, like the initiative *Daddy be cool*, which offers training for boys of 7th grade in parenting (<http://www.pb-paritaet.de/daddyBcool>). Like in Austria, there exists an environment of various initiatives for women and girls in masculinized areas of work (mostly STEM), like (among many others) *Femtec e.V.*, *Life e.V.*, or the *National Agreement for Women in STEM professions (Komm mach MINT)*. The latter is coordinated by the Bielefeld based Competence Centre Technology-Diversity-Equal-opportunities, which also coordinates the aforementioned Boys' Day and *NPfB*. This very much underlines the value of a coordination of projects aiming at men/boys with those aiming at women/girls.

Measures and materials in schools

Vocational guidance is part of German school curricula, which differ between the 16 country states. It is mainly carried out in secondary schools by a wide range of counsellors including teachers. In Berlin, different activities between grade 7 and 10 include educational activities around vocational choice, internships, and transition guidance. Activities are carried out in cooperation with the employment agency. The internship curriculum introduced in 2010 *“does not treat care occupations as equal to other occupations... social skills are thus degraded, (while) non-social and non-relational aspects are overstressed”* (Rieske/Täubrich 2018)

²⁸ https://www.klischee-frei.de/de/klischeefrei_55929.php

The *Career Choice Passport*, selected by the German BiC team, is a workbook and documentation folder for secondary school students. This 56 pages folder with information and worksheets is used across Germany and recommended as a resource for Berlin schools. Although quite useful and not too gender normative, the book shows only few references to care and *caring masculinities*: While the Boys' Day is mentioned, care jobs in general are not represented frequently in this book. The authors of the German BiC Country Report state: "*Non-binary people or men and women with gender nonconforming attributes are not represented.*" (Rieske/Täubrich 2018: 26) Men and women are not ascribed to particular interests or occupational fields; readers are encouraged to consider fields outside gender stereotypes. "*However, further impulses to reflect the influence of gender and other social norms on one's development and orientation process are not included*" (ibid.).

Measures and materials of labour market services and other institutions

The employment agency cooperates with schools, but also offers independent tools. One of those is the website planet-beruf.de. Its online tools and learning material address young people, focussing on occupations that can be learnt in a training (vocational school with or without apprenticeship, but as opposed to studying at university). With regard to vocational orientation, it presents tools that can assist young people in finding occupations that meet their strengths and interests and provides information about occupational fields and actual occupations. Rieske/Täubrich (2018) consider it appropriate, gender inclusive (within the framework of binary gender) and partly also ethnically diverse. Planet-beruf.de includes care occupations, "*also as something that requires certain qualifications and abilities, against the notion that 'care' is a matter of personal (feminine) traits.*" (ibid.: 29)

The *Federal Centre for Health Education* launched the project *Come-on-Tour*²⁹. A central element is an (adventurous, experience oriented) training workshop of 2 hours, where pupils learn about their strengths (e.g.: numbers, hands, service, environment, talking, systems, and phantasy). Elements of sex education and discussions about gender equality are integrated in the workshop. A video presents what can be expected from the workshop.³⁰ Additionally, material for teachers is available in this project.

Another project is *beroobi*, an online tool developed by the Cologne Institute of Economic Research, focusing on information about occupations. It also presents some care occupations (kindergarten educator, nurse for elderly people, social care worker – professionals working with people with intellectual disabilities). The profiles present information as text and videos, each occupation presenting one young person doing it and talking about their job. Some men are represented in care occupations (kindergarten teacher, elder care nurse), while only very few women are shown in the area of technology and engineering.

Conclusion

²⁹ <http://komm-auf-tour.de>.

³⁰ <http://komm-auf-tour.de/projekt/projektbeschreibung-staerkeansatz>.

Like in Austria (and even more so), the Boys' Day in Germany is not one out of a few isolated projects or initiatives, but located in a quite developed environment on gender sensitive occupational orientation. There is a range of programs and materials for men/boys on care jobs that can provide ideas for all partners (*Vielfalt Mann, Soziale Jungs, Daddy be cool*). Also, not only hegemonic models of men and masculinity are represented. Rieske and Täubrich (2018) suggest, that more (gender) diversity, and challenges of existing gender norms in the context of occupations, but also in terms of heteronormativity, would be suitable next steps in Germany.

Italy

Measures and materials aiming at men in feminized and/or women in masculinized occupations

No initiatives aiming at boys and occupations of care and/or education could be identified in Italy. This fact was (in general) already mentioned in an EU resolution in 2013.

A ministerial project *STEM month*, implemented by the Ministry of Education in close cooperation with companies, aims at girls and young women. In 2016, about 50 primary and secondary schools participated in this initiative; materials like videos and texts are produced for this initiative and are available on the Ministry website.

Measures and materials in schools

Measures or materials of occupational orientation in Italian schools could not be identified.

Two studies are discussed in the Italian BiC Country Report (Bernacchi/Biemmi 2018):

Biemmi (2010) analysed school textbooks by ten major publishers, edited at the beginning of the 2000s; the books' target group have been fourth grade elementary for pupils aged 9-10. Corsini and Scierri (2016) studied textbooks edited in the years 2008-2010 and 2014, methodologically close to Biemmi (2010). Both studies reveal similar, very stereotyped and traditional gender constructions in the respective books. Biemmi states a numerically stronger representation of the male gender, ascribing men a wider range of professions, affirming their closer connection to public spaces, whereas women are ascribed to a narrower range of jobs, to the home, care and maternity. The whole set of conservative gender attributes is attached, as Bernacchi/Biemmi (2018) write: *"Men are described as brave, determined, proud and gratified; women as caring, sweet, patient and sensitive. The images, on the other hand, merely confirm the fact of inequality between the sexes, making things worse. In the overview, the male gender is still favoured, while the female remains in the background, as if less important and interesting."* Education and care are described as mothers' and women's activities. Men are shown as breadwinners or brave and important figures, or as scholars and representatives of culture. In the later study by Corsini and Scierri (2016), stereotypes are no less obvious: *"(M)ale characters are overwhelming if compared with female ones, (they are almost twice) and their presence increases if the story takes place in open spaces, or in the past, or in case of adventure stories. Gender discrimination is perhaps more evident in the world of professions."* Bernacchi/Biemmi (2018) summarize, that the presented *"definition of rigid, stereotyped gender roles is harmful and limiting for both sexes, not just for females"* (ibid.: 29); thus, they plead for a broader gender model that is less restricted and more integrative for both genders.

The report also refers to the existence of EU-funded project *Polite* which gave rise to a voluntary code for publishers and specific toolkits aimed at avoiding gender stereotypes in school text books. However, the analysis conducted by Corsini and Scierri (2016) found no

substantial differences in terms of gender representations between those publishers that adhered to the Polite Code and those who didn't, thus showing the need to revise and update this project in order to meet the aims for which it was devised.

Measures and materials of labour market services and other institutions

At www.istruzione.it, the Ministry of Education, University and Research offers a school guidance and vocational training website. This is a virtual guide for lower (11-13 years old) and upper secondary school students (13-18 years) to help them choose a successive path of education. Different paths and, subsequently, educational and occupational fields are introduced, giving information of prerequisites (like interest), competences acquired during the training or studies, and job descriptions. This is conducted via texts and videos.

Analysing the line of social and health care courses, Bernacchi/Biemmi (2018) identify a contradiction between the texts presenting the courses which convey a gender neutral message and videos which have a highly stereotypical approach: The whole line of care professions is described as a female one, targeting girls and women, as care is reaffirmed as a feminine activity (with the exception of men as leaders). Care is not described as a profession that requires competences, skills and education, but rather desire to help others. Diversity in terms of ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender identity, dis-/ability etc. is left out. The line of human sciences, focusing on psychology, is portrayed quite (gender) stereotypically, too. Bernacchi/Biemmi (2018: 38) conclude: *"From the video it is possible to draw the conclusion that the profession of teacher as well as that of psychologist (the two privileged professional careers for this course) are both female professions. A boy who watches this video is obviously not stimulated to embark on this path."*

Some lines of work, such as agriculture, arts, and medicine, are presented less stereotypically in terms of depiction, while professions after higher technical institutes again show a typical division between 'female' care and 'male' technology (see image below³¹).



Screenshot from the website www.istruzione.it of the Ministry of Education, University and Research

Conclusion

³¹ <http://www.istruzione.it/orientamento/its.html#sthash.yEUhisFB.dpbs>

Italy presents a highly stereotypical way of educational materials, and up to now little initiatives to tackle horizontal segregation in this field. In materials used in schools, as the BiC Country Report authors state, “*textbooks continue to present a very rigid, sexist and anachronistic concept of gender*” (Bernacchi/Biemmi 2018: 42). Notwithstanding the recent approval of legislation as well as the carrying out of projects promoting gender equality and the prevention of gender based violence in schools, projects in this area have not been carried out on a systematic basis and have not lead to overall changes in the school curriculum. However, they see the existing STEM month for girls and young women as “*a valuable model or starting point in order to promote similar experiences addressed to boys in the area of care*” (Bernacchi/Biemmi 2018: 16). On existing platforms, care occupations are not presented as attractive for boys or men – if they are not entirely shown as non-professions, attributed to ‘female care’. Potential action fields in Italy are identified: a de-stereotyping of school books, reworking presentations of educative paths & professions, and a model project of a care month/week/day in cooperation with the STEM month players. A possible instrument to reach these aims suggested by Bernacchi/Biemmi (2018) is “*to build a steering group of gender experts, politicians, teachers, school book publishers and PR experts not only to revise the Code of Conduct but also to develop examples for more gender equal vocational orientation material.*” (ibid.: 43)

Lithuania

Measures and materials aiming at men in feminized and/or women in masculinized occupations

Similarly to Italy, no measures for boys/men in care occupations could be identified in Lithuania. For girls/women, there are some initiatives connected to STEM occupations:

- a mentoring program *Women Go Tech*
- a *School Education Gateway*: an informational website showing role models, providing inspiration for females in this field.
- a Facebook site *Mothers for STEM*: a support group to encourage girls at schools to engage in STEM.

Measures and materials in schools

The material analysed in the Lithuanian BiC Country Report (Jankauskaite/Pilinkaite Sotirovic 2018) is attributed to ‘measures in schools’, although it also crosses this category. It is selected from the project *Career training and developing monitoring models in general and vocational education* (2010-2014). Here, the main material in terms of quantity and quality for occupational orientation in Lithuania was developed. The project team cooperated with the Ministry of Education, the Education Development Centre and the Informal Education Centre of Lithuanian Pupils. According to the project evaluation in 2014, measures have only been implemented in 20% of the targeted schools.

Central material outcome was the webpage *mukis.lt* with information and consultations on vocational counseling for school students, teachers and parents. For consultants at schools, the project provides a small info folder on gender stereotypes, however without targeting boys and care. There is also a separate 5-page information sheet about the importance of gender equality in the students’ career training, that informs teaching staff about gender stereotypes, suggesting them to encourage students to critically reflect those and make life choices more independently. The video series *Try a profession* was analysed by Jankauskaite

and Pilinkaite Sotirovic (2018).³² In summary, the films show a bias towards prestigious, masculinized professions; thus, care occupations are hardly represented, and men in care occupations even less: all four examples of care occupations (of 101 occupations in total) are represented by females (see example below). However, in general women are significantly underrepresented in relation to their real labour market participation.



*Pictures of Mukis.lt representing professions: nurse*³³

All these tendencies (underrepresentation of women, low representation of care occupations, no representation of men in care jobs) can also be found in the images of *mukis.lt*. As in the videos, diversity aspects in terms of ethnicity, religion etc. are invisible.

The section *Guidelines for Career: Student's book* comprises tips for self-evaluation in terms of talent and interest, information about career possibilities and learning, and exercises for the development of skills in order to plan and choose a career path. The examples follow gender stereotypical ascriptions (girls choose arts, social studies etc., while men chose technology, science etc.). Accordingly and unsurprisingly, a nurse is presented as “*a young woman who successfully graduated from medical school*”, while the story about a team leader is represented by a man. *Education for Career. The Teacher's book* (Jankauskaite/Pilinkaite Sotirovic 2018), by the same authors of above, follows the structure of the student's book. Here, too, care occupations are underrepresented, in particular in connection to men. In general, gender stereotypical notions are present. There are also some passages that encourage critical reflection of stereotypes, but concrete methods of implementation are missing.

The *Guide for social enterprise* by the Ministry of Economy (2015) is also represented at *mukis.lt*. According Jankauskaite/Pilinkaite Sotirovic (2018), it “*provides material about how to create a social business which aims at improving social conditions for those in need. (...) It does not explicitly cover the topics of gender equality or men in care professions (...) Text and visual representation correlates to certain extent to women and men's roles.*” (ibid.: 33ff)

³² http://www.mukis.lt/lt/profesiju_filmai.html, also available on Youtube.

³³ http://www.mukis.lt/lt/profesiju_nuotraukos/alb_75.html

People located outdoors are usually men, indoors usually women (which follows the classic, patriarchal divide of the public and the family sphere).

Who will we be in the future? is a training book for pupils of the 5th and 6th grade. It contains tests and exercises (with visuals) for self-evaluation and a (preliminary) examination of occupational perspectives. It basically works via examples of boys and girls in particular situations related to professions. While the numeric representation is quite gender equal, underlying ascriptions ('male' leadership vs. 'female' care) and professional choices presented in examples are quite gender stereotypical and traditional.

Measures and materials of labour market services and other institutions

Activities of labour market services and similar institutions could not be identified. However, measures mentioned in the last paragraph might also be used outside schools.

Conclusion

While no measures for orientation are addressed directly to boys/men and care, the website mukis.lt provides some environment for further development (or re-work in terms of stereotypes). Jankauskaite/Pilinkaite Sotirovic (2018) state that, "*caring professions in general are not strongly promoted for young people to choose... (and) men are hardly encouraged*". (ibid.: 38) Also, traditionalist gender stereotypes are visible which affirm a narrowing of life and career courses, ascribing care, humanities and social/care jobs to females, and technology and transport to males. A potential project might be to make care occupations more visible in general. As Jankauskaite/Pilinkaite Sotirovic(2018) state, "*teachers should obtain knowledge to motivate both boys and girls to enter to care professions, which can be the potentials for self-realization, innovation and change in society.*" In terms of reducing gender stereotypes, "*(t)he produced materials in other countries serve as a good framework to transfer the Jankauskaite/Pilinkaite Sotirovic (2018) theme to the local context.*" (ibid.: 39) In the medium term, the adaption of a *Girls' Day* and *Boys' Day* in the Lithuanian context might be an option.

Slovenia

Measures and materials aiming at men in feminized and/or women in masculinized occupations

Beyond the fact that in Slovenia there are "*very rare studies of inclusion of men/boys in care occupations*" (Hrženjak et al. 2018), there are no specific initiatives to be identified on this topic. There is, however, a project *Encouraging and motivating young women in their decision on vocational career* for girls of 7th, 8th and 9th grade. This includes the event *A day for the girls*. Materials that specifically encourage boys to choose care jobs are rare in Slovenia, but the project *Vocational weaving mill* shows a promising approach.

Measures and materials in schools

In Slovenia, primary schools regularly and systematically implement counselling/orientation in terms of pupils' further education; this includes information days for secondary schools. The process of vocational orientation and training intensifies in secondary school. Reflection of gender stereotypes in job orientation mainly aims at girls/women in masculinized occupations.

The web portal *My Choice*³⁴, provides current information on vocations, educational programmes and schools. Here, men are represented in the context of care jobs, but quite inadequately. E.g., a 'doctor' is presented as an illustration for the text on home carers, while 'kindergarten teacher' as a 'fun job' etc. In the videos on this portal, men are portrayed in care occupations, including daily routines and all sorts of activities. Markers of diversity are missing.

The website by a private company, www.otroci.org, features worksheets on occupations, work-life etc. Its target groups are parents, children and primary school teachers. The material, however, contains quite gender-stereotypical job ascriptions, like a worksheet specifying 'feminine' and 'masculine' occupations. Hrženjak et al. (2018) note: *"Men are linked to occupations directly connected to power, control, activity – with gendered trades. Women are in this worksheet represented as side-actors in occupations that are traditionally represented as occupations in which men are successful (especially in the first assignment)."* (ibid.: 37)

The Guide for Vocational orientation in 7th and 8th grade of primary school guide (Arčon/Leban, 2000) addresses professional services and counselling workers who work with primary school pupils and their parents. It comprises a work program for occupational orientation, including exercises for self-evaluation and models for different activities. Generic masculine grammar is used throughout, exceptions are only feminized jobs. Depictions of occupations, but also of attributes and skills, usually follow traditional gender stereotypes.

Measures and materials of labour market services and other institutions

³⁴ www.mojazbira.si



Image of the website of Vocational weaving mill for boys = girls³⁵

The project *Vocational weaving mill for boys = girls*³⁶ by the *Prizma Foundation* (supported by the Ministry of Labour, Family, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities) in Štajerska region in 2016. In their own words, the project *“aims to overcome gender stereotypes impacting key decisions of pupils of final years of primary schools regarding their educational and vocational paths”* (Hrženjak et al. 2018: 32). Within the project span, different activities were carried out, like an interactive workshops for pupils, parents, counselling services in four primary schools, an art context about the notion of ‘Women in engineering, why not? / Men in preschool education, why not?’, and a final conference. While gender representations on the website are only binary masculine and feminine, age is a visible marker of diversity. Besides an equal representation of men and women, both genders are also shown in non-stereotypical occupations (like men in kindergarten, see image above). There are minor incoherencies and lack of information that blur this positive impression, and care activities presented by a male nurse highlight mostly technical and organisational skills. But the Slovenian Country Report also points out that, *“the project recognizes that women in masculinised occupations and men in feminised occupations are confronted with gender stereotypes. It also warns that gender differentiation starts already with secondary school enrolment, where girls numerically dominate in general programmes, such as textile, economy, healthcare, education, social sciences, culture and personal services, while the share of boys is predominant in programmes, such as forestry, carpentry, construction,*

³⁵ <http://www.fundacija-prizma.si/index.php/en/novice/2-staticni-prispevki/330-tkalnica-poklicev-za-fante-punce>.

³⁶ *Tkalnica poklicev za fante = punce*, <http://www.fundacija-prizma.si/index.php/en/novice/2-staticni-prispevki/330-tkalnica-poklicev-za-fante-punce>, last viewed Dec. 8, 2017.

printing and graphic design, electro technics, computer science, engineering and mining.” (ibid.: 32)

My neighbourhood (Moja sošeska) DVD is the result of a project implemented by 23 Institutes and *My Neighbourhood Institute* in 2007.³⁷ It presents daily routines, job descriptions and employment conditions in different occupations (like cook, carpenter, tourist animator, kindergarten teacher, ecological farming engineer, physical therapist, engineer), also with videos. The female-only kindergarten teachers are merely shown in a ‘motherly’ role, downplaying professional requirements of this occupation. Hrženjak et al. (2018) plea for also showing men doing the job “*as it would establish a relation between men and care work.*” (ibid.: 35)

Conclusion

Horizontal segregation in Slovenian materials is mainly addressed as a women’s issue; an exception is the *Vocational weaving mill for boys = girls*. Hrženjak et al. (2018) state that there are “*no materials on vocational orientation focusing directly on boys and encouraging them to decide for care occupations*” (ibid.: 38). The infrastructure in terms of occupational orientation and counselling is quite well developed. It is, however, blurred by gender stereotypical representations, if gender is visible at all. Thus, gender sensitive information materials on care occupations, especially for primary schools, are needed. As a beginning of projects reflecting gender stereotypes in occupations, the *Vocational weaving mill* might nevertheless serve as a good practice approach.

3.3. Synthesis

The overview over the participating countries’ achievements in occupational gender-sensitive initiatives revealed the following results:

- Gender stereotypes in occupations are well-known in every country and culture. Often there exist initiatives targeting girls and/or women. Targeting boys and men as a gendered group is a rather new development, if it happens at all.
- There exists a significant difference in implementation of occupational orientation measures for boys and men: Germany (2005) and Austria (2008) began these about a decade ago, situated in an environment of both initiatives for women and girls, and gender-sensitive educative methods for boys and men. The other countries implemented little or no such measures so far. However, also here we find differences: In Slovenia, the infrastructure of and experience with occupational orientation at schools is remarkable, and a small number of generally gender-sensitive materials exist. In other countries, the state of implementation is weaker, but there are some first initiatives on the level of occupational orientation (Lithuania), in terms of improving girls’ access to STEM careers (Italy, Lithuania), or on the level of studying gender stereotypes in schoolbooks (Italy).

It seems quite clear that measures in the single countries have to respond to the problems and different situations. Before passing on to conclusions, we first summarize some common observations and problems, as well as good practice aspects, both being helpful when conceptualizing measures.

³⁷ The project was financed by the European Union Community initiative programme Slovenia-Hungary-Croatia of Interreg IIIA Programme

Overall observations: What needs to be improved?

Most problematic aspects in the European material can be attributed to one of the following aspects: *gender, diversity, occupational orientation* or *care professions*:

- In terms of *gender*, men and care are usually not connected in the informational materials of most countries (and mostly there are no particular measures to be identified); exceptions are the German and Austrian materials related to *Boys' Days*, *NPfB*, etc. The absence or marginalization of men and care is not restricted to occupations. There is also only little coverage of paternity issues related to men. Care is stereotypically ascribed to femininity & women, while technology is ascribed to masculinity & men, etc. Even if in some countries and materials the perspective is widened, there is no doubt that this is the hegemonic model across the participating countries; insofar, the negative results of the Italian schoolbook analyses are just the tip of an iceberg of a systematically stereotypical gender logic in European countries. Moreover, generic masculine grammar is not reflected in every language where this is relevant, which was in particular identified by the Italian and the Slovenian team. It is also a common and general problem in many German texts as well, but efforts have been made on the level of public administration, both in Germany and Austria, to be more inclusive.
- *Diversity*: This aspect is missing in materials of most countries. In Austrian Boys' Day videos, ethnicity (of migrant men) is singled out: The result is a homogenous divide into 'autochthonously' white Austrian men (in the series *Social Works* and *Social Fighters*) and migrant men (*Social Culture*). Moreover, the importance of cooperation of employees of different groups (of gender, but not restricted to it) should be emphasized – especially in care jobs. Here again, the example of the Austrian Boys' Day video of a kindergarten teacher, who seems to work autonomously, while his female colleagues are in the background. In reality, this does not work, neither in kindergartens nor in hospitals. Care work is done by a diverse range of people, and usually means cooperation in diversity, which should be represented in the materials.
- In some cases, we found a quite weak infrastructure in terms of *occupational orientation* outside of schools. Where systematic counseling is implemented, it often lacks of gender sensitivity or basic gender competency. Thus, where occupational orientation is implemented systematically, it can even foster gender-stereotypical career choices, which is the case in Bulgarian schools. In few cases (like in Italy), occupational counseling in schools rather consists of formal information only, without training or self-evaluative exercises.
- *Care* seems generally not being highlighted as a professional field of future relevance. This seems to apply for most countries, but it is particularly highlighted in the Bulgarian report. This contrasts with the increasing importance of the third (service) sector in all partner countries (e.g. aging societies or the economic and social relevance of early childhood education). This devaluation can be seen in connection with a widespread situation of underpay in relation to complexity or responsibility, and of course with feminization. Also, the access to care occupations should be reflected in a more intersectional way: If this access is only allowed by tertiary education, many boys and young men with lower school grades – often with a migration or from a lower class background – are excluded. So initiatives should address the higher as well as lower educated boys.

Maybe low-threshold options such as assistant jobs in education or other care institutions might serve as an entry point

Good practices and ideas for transfer and implementation

- In Italy, the deep analysis of gender representations in school books provides a good knowledge basis and arguments for a change. For other countries, the intensive studies of both Biemmi (2010) and Corsini and Scierri (2016) can serve as models. For Italy itself, an implementation of the Polite code against stereotypes in schoolbooks – which is worth being reflected also by other countries – is still lacking, which is highlighted by Bernacchi/Biemmi (2018).
- Boys' Days experiences in Austria and Germany, their conceptual material, workshop programmes can obviously serve as generic models for countries without or little measures aiming on boys and men. However, stereotypes and other lacks (e.g. in terms of diversity) that became visible in the analysis should be critically reflected in the transfer/conceptualization. In particular, visual material used in Germany like posters provide good models for transfer. Moreover, the evaluation insight of Boys' Days & *NPfB* in Germany might be valuable for a potential transfer. The authors mention – among other points – that while voluntary measures might meet the interest of students better, non-voluntary measures might release boys and young men better from peer pressure: they might feel no or less need to justify their interest in activities that are not associated with men or virility. On the other hand, the discourses on “women's jobs” might re-affirm/re-produce the errant notion “that a ‘real’ man is not interested in these occupations and needs to be brought to this interest” (Debus/Stuve in Rieske/Täubrich 2018: 31); boys and young men sometimes have a much higher interest in care jobs than pedagogues and actors in the context of occupational orientation assume (ibid.).
- Other German projects can offer inspiration and insight for the international transfer:
 - *Soziale Jungs/Social Boys*: social skills trainings and the reflection of masculine role models;
 - Federal initiative *Männer in Kitas/Men in kindergartens*: support mechanism including research and networking, role models, public visibility;
 - *Daddy be cool*: reflections on *caring masculinities* in families and private life (like ‘What does it mean to be a father?’).
- Slovenian project *Vocational weaving mill for boys = girls*³⁸ by the *Prizma Foundation* seems to set a promising focus against gender stereotypes. However limited its implementation may be, this is the only project identified in BiC partner countries outside Austria and Germany that actually has this focus in terms of work-life. So, with a reflection on its limitations and the ambition to take a further step, this project may serve as a medium advanced model.
- On occupational orientation in schools, the Country Reports show different positive examples:
 - Cooperation of schools and other institutions (namely labour agencies/services) can be important, which works good in Berlin and other German regions;

³⁸ *Tkalnica poklicev za fante = punce*, <http://www.fundacija-prizma.si/index.php/en/novice/2-staticni-prispevki/330-tkalnica-poklicev-za-fante-punce>, last viewed Dec. 8, 2017.

- *IBOBB* in Austria offers a good infrastructure of information, exchange, further development (both on a federal and regional level);
- In Slovenia, a systematic implementation of occupational orientation throughout the school career takes place, including the web portal *My Choice*; however, gender, diversity and care need to be integrated in a better and less stereotypical way, according to Hrženjak et al. (2018).
- The Lithuanian *Guide for Social Enterprises* can be inspiring in other countries; however, gender equality, diversity and *caring masculinities* should be integrated in a better way.
- German Country Report offers some valuable hints for implementation:
 - Gender-inclusive representation and language should be implemented (not only representing male and female identities but also transgender and non-binary identities);
 - Present ethnically diverse representations in photos and names when trainees/professionals in the occupation;
 - Representation of diversity of men and women in various, non-stereotypical occupations and activities, including many photos of boys/men in care occupations;
 - Informational material that presents care occupations as equally important to other occupations;
 - Use visually appealing and interactive online tools (as opposed to information presented merely as a pdf-file with lots of text), see e.g. <http://www.berooobi.de/berufe/erzieher>;
 - Visual representations of occupations or activities without actual persons – this bypasses all the problems of representations. An example was what happened in *berooobi* where there were photos representing what a worker sees themselves while doing the job (i.e. children, toys, a bed, medicine, ...)
 - Information not only on occupations that can be learnt in a training but also on occupations that require a university degree. The *berooobi* website is one example of how this could be done – presenting occupations that require training, but also providing information about how to make a career in these fields which may include studying (for elderly care nurse, for example, this includes occupations such as geriatric psychologist, care manager or social worker).
 - Focussing on strengths and interests without gendering them, e.g. by showing both men and women doing certain activities.
 - Videos explaining strengths to young people (and showing both men and women in these strengths), thus making the thinking about strengths accessible to everyone (Rieske/Täubrich 2018, mostly literal quotes with modest modification).

IV. Conclusions

A major learning from the studies of both national situations and initiatives/materials is that the implementation of support for *caring masculinities* is both necessary and a difficult task: A closer link of men and professional care is key to tackle horizontal (and thus, vertical) gender segregation which is a major and persistent problem of labour markets in the EU. We also learned that gendered stereotypes related to work are to be found in materials in every participant country. Some countries made significant progress in building gender sensitive programmes of occupational orientation, some of which also focus on men and care; other countries, however, do not offer gender reflection in occupational orientation nor care initiatives for boys and men. We have to carefully distinguish between labour market structures and materials when talking about each countries' situation: In Slovenia and other countries, for instance, horizontal segregation is lower than in countries featuring more advanced materials, measures and discourses (like Germany and Austria).

Gendered labour segregation is in most countries connected with a high level of educational segregation, such as segregated school types or gendered school subjects. Since the project BiC is far too limited to identify differentiated solutions on this level, we strongly advise political players to address the issue of segregation and equal opportunities on the level of educational policies. The level of gender stereotypes and ascriptions in school materials might also be further addressed in broader, national and international initiatives for structural changes of education systems.

On the level of direct approaches, initiatives and educational/training material, national contexts might be important for implementation. The implementation of measures focusing on boys/young men and care professions are recommended in every country and are already envisaged by the project partners. In many countries, there already exist programmes to increase the number of women and to enhance their situation in STEM occupations and professions. The according networks, programmes and players can be supporters of programmes towards *caring masculinities*. In Germany, the Competence Center Technology-Diversity-Equal Chances³⁹, which carries out initiatives for women/girls (like the Girls' Day) and for men/boys (like *New Paths for Boys* etc.) is a player in both areas that can serve as a good practice example. Within the project terms, BiC country teams will intensively assess transfer options of measures and/or materials used in the other countries by 2019. These might comprise initiatives that do not only target students, but also address the unconscious bias of teachers, consultants and other players in this area. BiC partners will offer trainings and capacity building programmes in all countries participating.

From the Country Reports as well as from the mutual learning seminars some risks have been taken into consideration, namely: the risk of reproducing gender stereotypes while trying to make care occupations appealing to boys; the possible 'hijacking' of the topic by groups that ignore or affirm gender inequality and unilaterally victimise men/boys; resistance from women/women's organizations who are (rightly) concerned about the position of (and resources for) women and thus (wrongly) oppose initiatives that are concerned with new/better solutions also for men and boys. Initiatives aimed at girls and

³⁹ <https://www.kompetenzz.de/English-Information>.

boys within the same framework might offer better solutions and more fruitful discussions than gender-separated and polarizing initiatives.

But we also learned that European societies should reflect and acknowledge the value of care work. This also means better payment and recognition for professional care workers, but it is not restricted to these. It also means the insight that democratic and inclusive societies depend on care on many levels, the more in an ageing society. Here is also a chance to promote caring jobs as relatively secure jobs with future prospects.

Finally, we like to point out a finding from the research on initiatives against occupational segregation. Although there is a statistical difference in the interests of girls and boys in terms of activities and occupations, German educational researcher Hannelore Faulstich-Wieland (2014) warns educators and teachers to jump to quick conclusions. The assumption that students are not interested in jobs that are predominantly chosen by the other sex can actually hinder boys and girls to act in a non-stereotypical way, whereas assuming that boys and girls are interested also supports these choices. What is needed is a good level of reflection of gender stereotypes on the side of actors in the field of occupational orientation, and the didactical and social skills to support broader perspective and empower students to find and pursue their own ways.

V. Country Sheets

Austria	
National Situation/Segregation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Persistent gender segregation on labour markets and in schools (two thirds of which show gender segregation). • While (young) women slightly modify occupational choices, (young) men keep traditional choices; men's share among nurses is 15%, in kindergartens 1.4 % (2014/15). • For more than a decade, emerging environment of measures tackling horizontal segregation; first aiming at girls/women, some already at boys/men.
Vocational system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational and vocational guidance is provided by different institutions (schools, Labour Market Service, NGO) • Focus on the age group of student (13-14 years of age), mandatory for 7th and 8th grade in school • Different measures: individual counselling, 2 hour lesson units in middle school, integrated in (e.g. German language) lessons in secondary level I schools • External vocational counselling and workshops through vocational information centres at the labour market service • Different professionals are responsible for the provision of these services in school (e.g. student and education counsellors, vocational orientation teachers and coordinators, as well as youth coaches and school psychologists) and in Vocational Information Centres (e.g. trainers); furthermore social workers in NGO provide special initiatives targeting girls in MINT fields of education and work and boys in care work (e.g. <i>Boys' Day</i>, <i>Girls' Day</i>, <i>Daughters' Day</i>).
Measures and materials in occupational orientation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Measures aiming at women in masculinized occupations: Girls' Days, annually; FEMtech – Women in Research & Technology; FIT -Women into Technology. • Measures and materials aiming at men in feminized occupations: Boys' Days, annually (including videos, workshops and other material). • Measures and materials in schools: Federal Ministry (BMB) collection of information & counselling material (IBOBB): Homepage & other material; Occupational orientation as a school subject in 7th/8th grade; School books according to this subject • Measures and materials of labour market services and other institutions: BIC (Vocational Information Webpage), AMS-Karrierekompass (Career Compass): internet-portal on education, profession, and careers, including videos (https://www.karrierevideos.at), AMS Research Network, Brochure ""Berufe 'Soziales'"" (""Professions 'Social Sector'"," base for career videos)
Needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tackling horizontal segregation of school types on the level of educational policy. • More (gender) diversity and less masculinity stereotypes in materials; transfer good examples from Boys' Day materials into school books/materials. • Reflect diversity and intersectionality in the material; instead of distinguishing between "migrants" and "autochthonous Austrians", reflect on the multi-ethnic reality in the Austrian society. • Also apply an intersectional approach in teaching and consultancy; e.g., age and different qualification levels should be reflected when addressing target groups. • Capacity building trainings in the Austrian regions, addressing various actors in the field of occupational orientation to facilitate exchange and mutual learning.

Bulgaria

National Situation/Segregation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decrease of men in care jobs, from about 26 % (1980) of men to less than 20 % (2014) • No data available for particular care occupations • Limited access for boys/men to study midwifery (while gynaecologist is a usual male occupation) • Nursing profession in Bulgarian language is in only in feminine form and this is a barrier for boys and young men to consider it at all as a professional choice • No national research on caring masculinities • No research on career orientation for boys and girls separately, including examples of atypical profession or occupation choices • Scarce national research work on men’s role in families
Vocational system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vocational education starts in the sixth grade (13 or 14 years old students) • Until the age of 16, some vocational education elements are included in the training curricula. • Afterwards students obtain an initial level qualification in a certain occupational field • A similar mechanism exists for students in vocational upper secondary schools. • School-to-work transitions are embedded in the institutional structures of educational systems. • The educational system shapes the gendered occupational trajectories for men, but neither vocational, nor higher education has a significant effect for women: men with vocational education are more likely to work in male-typed occupations, and, higher educated men are more likely to choose gender mixed occupations • Specific initiatives targeting girls in STEM (e.g. <i>Entrepregirl</i> or <i>Rails Girls</i>) have been implemented from 2013 until nowadays
Measures and materials in occupational orientation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Measures aiming at women in masculinized occupations: <i>Entrepregirl</i> and <i>Rails Girls</i> • Measures and materials aiming at men in feminized occupations: unknown or not available • Measures and materials in schools AND measures and materials of labour market services and other institutions (no clear distinction): About 10 different initiatives and groups of materials have been identified, some of which are used in different school grades; only few examples are not gender stereotypical; <i>Resource portal on career orientation for students</i> of the Ministry of Education; <i>Guidelines for professional orientation in health and social care</i>; portal for occupational orientation <i>No AIM, no GAIN; 100+ Enlightenment Best Practices</i> e-book; <i>Guideline on Professional Orientation</i> (for teachers, students, trainers and partners); <i>Guidelines for career orientation for teenagers</i>, developed by the MOST-BG foundation with the support of the Ministry of Education; <i>My career</i>, annual guideline for professions and career development.
Needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Get to a common societal understanding both of care work and of gender equality; plus to establish a national research (including data) and public discourse on their intersections; • enhance the image of care work, show (also boys, parents, teachers and counsellors) its potential both for society and for the labour market, and professionalize it; • introduce <i>Boys’ Days</i> and <i>Girls’ Days</i> and improve actions focusing on boys in care.

Germany	
National Situation/Segregation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender pay gap (21 %) and level of segregation both high, with 80 % female employees in care occupations (2017). • School based vocational training is a female domain (72 %), while dual training is a male one (60 %, 2015). • Public occupational orientation differs between federal states, is seen as a life-long process and implemented in schools, universities and the employment agencies. • In terms of gender and occupational orientation, there has grown an environment of gender-sensitive approaches
Vocational system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Germany, educational policy lies mainly in the hands of the regional (Länder) governments. The German Report describes the specific situation in Berlin: vocational education starts in year 7 (comprehensive schools) or in year 8 (grammar school) in secondary schools • Vocational training offers are directed towards an assistance of students to make vocational choices according to their strengths and interests • Four forms of vocational guidance exist at school (educational activities around vocational choice, internships and other forms of contact with working realities, documentation of the process and transition guidance) • Schools are obliged to create a concept for occupational orientation (responsible teachers have to cooperate with the employment agency) • Educational activities include skills assessments, providing information for parents (gender-sensitivity is unclear) and practical experience (e.g. from one-day experience in year 7 to longer internship in year 10) • <i>Boys' Day</i> and <i>Girls' Day</i> offers are defined as one-day-internship; furthermore a social internship is recommended.
Measures and materials in occupational orientation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Measures aiming at women in masculinized occupations. Various initiatives like <i>Femtec</i>, <i>Life eV.</i>, http://www.komm-mach-mint.de, <i>Girls' Day</i> since 2001. • Measures and materials aiming at men in feminized occupations: <i>Boys' Day</i>, annually since 2005/2011, including campaign/posters <i>Vielfalt Mann</i> (<i>Men's Diversity</i>) for men in kindergartens; <i>Neue Wege für Jungs</i> (<i>New Paths in Career and Life Planning for Boys</i> (start in 2005); <i>Soziale Jungs, Männer in Kitas</i> (<i>Men in Kindergartens</i>, studies and campaign), <i>klischee-frei.de</i>, <i>Daddy be cool</i> (Parit. Bildungswerk): Training of boys of 7th grade in parenting • Measures and materials in schools: Vocational guidance as part of school curricula; Workbook <i>Career choice passport</i> • Measures and materials of labour market services and other institutions: <i>Federal Centre for Health Education</i>: komm-auf-tour.de; <i>Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft</i>: beroobi.de, <i>Employment agency</i>: planet-beruf.de
Needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More concepts and trainings for teachers to reflect on <i>Boys' Day</i> activities, so that these activities are more connected and integrated into the context of vocational education in schools. • More diversity in existing materials, addressing other life-realities as that of white heterosexual couples • Informational material and tools should focus on occupations that can be learnt in a training, as well as university education, so as to show the broadest variety of possible options • The system of vocational education needs to address the inequalities between school-based training and dual-training and balance the inherent flaw of some education having to be paid for and others being salaried.

Italy

National Situation/Segregation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Mediterranean model of welfare state” characterized by both a low fertility rate (1.34 child per woman in 2016) and a low women’s employment rate (48.1% in 2016). • Horizontal segregation about EU average. • Share of men in care occupations dropped from 20.6% (2000) to 12% (2009); • Men’s percentage in the teaching professions rises with the age of pupils (from 0.7% in pre-primary schools to 3.6% in primary schools, 22% in secondary schools of first level and 34.2% of second level) • Gender segregation is evident in secondary and tertiary education (e.g girls constitute the overwhelming majority of students in human sciences high schools (89.1%); and as graduates in the subjects of teaching (94%), linguistics (85%), psychology (83%), health professions (69%)
Vocational system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 2013, <i>Guidelines for lifelong guidance</i> was issued, with the aim of contributing to the effort to define a consistent education system focused on the person and his/her needs, aiming (among other things) to promote full and active employability and social inclusion • A central role in the system of education guidance and vocational training is acknowledged to the school (basic orientation skills, key citizenship skills, accompanying activities and consultancy) • Moreover, the <i>Guidelines</i> specify how external professionals need to be involved in the school in some cases, bringing in special competences which are requested to support the young people in the transition between school and work, for a full social and labour inclusion • Gender issues are not mentioned in the <i>Guidelines</i> • The current school guidance system is characterised by its merely information-based character (offering lists about schools and graduate courses, limited school guidance services) • Guidance services are available immediately before choosing the upper secondary school (at the third year of the lower secondary) or the University (at the last year of the upper secondary) without covering the whole time-span of studies • Connections between gender and the education choices are still lacking in guidance services at school.
Measures and materials in occupational orientation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Measures aiming at women in masculinized occupations: <i>STEM month</i> of schools in cooperation with companies • Measures and materials aiming at men in feminized occupations: unknown or not available • Measures and materials in schools: <i>School guidance and vocational training website</i> of the Ministry of Education, University and Research; Professional institute for social & health services. • Measures and materials of labour market services and other institutions: unknown or not available
Needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational and informational material addressed to boys and to teachers/vocational counsellors on the involvement of boys in care work • Training courses addressed to teachers/vocational counsellors on the involvement of boys in care work • Organization of national initiatives, such as <i>Boys’ Day</i>. • Setting up of a group of experts to revise the implementation of the Polite Code for publishers against stereotypes in school books

Lithuania

National Situation/Segregation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Horizontal segregation above EU average, with only 0,51 % men in pre school institutions • Although care work is feminized, leadership in organizations of care work is masculinized
Vocational system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two key documents provide general guidelines on vocational training/counselling: The law on vocational education system and regulations on the implementation of vocational counselling • The <i>Program on Career Education</i> (approved in 2014) indicates vocational counselling should be an integrated issue in all disciplines and grades in general education: elementary school (1-4 grades), second level (5-8 grades), third level (9-10 grades) and fourth level (11-12 grades); on other levels cycle of the activities should be organized • Vocational education ('career competence') should include the following topics: self-awareness, learning of career opportunities, career planning and career realization • Main subjects in the system of educational career services are vocational counsellors and teachers (school), informal education institutions, municipal institutions, employers, voluntaries (regional level) and authorised institution by Ministry of Education (national level) • A critical evaluation of the professional counselling system by the state audit addressed issues like absent methodology and information on long-term vocational counselling plans while gender equality aspects were not addressed in the evaluation • Specific initiatives targeting boys in care professions do not exist
Measures and materials in occupational orientation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Measures aiming at women in masculinized occupations: Mentoring program <i>Women Go Tech</i>; <i>School Education Gateway</i>: informational thematic website - role models, inspiration; <i>FB: Mothers for STEM</i>: support group. • Measures and materials aiming at men in feminized occupations: unknown or not available. • Measures and materials in schools- Program on Career Education in schools (2014) with training for different grades/ages; <i>Career Education and Development of Monitoring Models in general and vocational education</i>, project by the Information Education Centre of Lithuanian Pupils (since 2010) including website <i>mukis.lt</i> for occupational orientation; Guidelines for Career: Students' & teachers' book; Ministry of Economy (2015): Guide for a social enterprise; <i>Who will we be in future?</i> Training book 5th/6th grade. • Measures and materials of labour market services and other institutions: unknown or not available.
Needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review of textbooks and materials, at all levels of education, to eliminate gender stereotypes and critically assess education and professional segregation along gender lines. • Projects and activities to target girls in STEM and boys in care occupations • Initiatives to address gender-biases of teachers and vocational consultants. • Initiatives for girls and boys at school similar to Girls' Day and Boys' Day and encourage their engagement in untypical professions for their gender groups.

Slovenia

National Situation/Segregation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Horizontal segregation slightly above EU average without significant change • Low participation of men in care sector: health care and social security (19.2 %), education (21.1) • Slight increase in male kindergarten teachers and assistants to about 3 %
Vocational system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School counselling services play a key role in vocational orientation • <i>Guidelines for School Counselling Services</i> (1999) define the tasks of vocational counselling; performed by professionals (psychologists, pedagogues, educational counsellors, remedial teachers) • Vocational orientation consists of the following activities that are implemented by school counselling services: informing (about further education, vocations and possibilities of employment), diagnosis, vocational counselling & guidance, placement, representation, feedback informing and monitoring • School counselling service (pupils, parents and school management) helps pupils to plan their educational and vocational path (in cooperation with the Employment Service) • Intensive vocational counselling starts in penultimate grade of primary school (at the age of 13-14): school counselling service performs a test of pupil's abilities in cooperation with Employment Service. In the last grade also a survey on vocational choices and a test of vocational interests is performed • Vocational orientation is also performed in local and regional offices of the Employment Service and in Vocational Information and Counselling Centres (e.g. team consultations at schools, work with parents, ability test, providing information material)
Measures and materials in occupational orientation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Measures aiming at women in masculinized occupations: Project <i>Encouraging and motivating young women in their decisions about vocational careers</i> for girls of 7th, 8th and 9th grade • Measures and materials aiming at men in feminized occupations: unknown or not available. • Measures and materials in schools: systematic vocational counselling about further education in primary schools, information days in secondary schools; websites <i>My Choice</i> and <i>www.otroci.org</i> (by a private company, target groups: parents, children and primary school teachers; contains worksheets on occupations, work-life, etc.) • Measures and materials of labour market services and other institutions: project <i>Vocational weaving mill for boys = girls</i>: challenges structural gender stereotypes, while stereotypical stereotypes are still present (men = technical activities)
Needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need for gender sensitive vocational counselling. • Need for informational materials on care occupations for primary school pupils, as well as tools for addressing boys interested in care occupations. • Training courses for two target groups: counsellors in the Employment Services of Slovenia and in the Vocational Information and Counselling Centres (CIPS) as well as school counselling service. • Introducing a support action for boys in the counselling system (comparable with Boys' Day) which would complement Girls' Day.

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