Review of existing Learning Materials and Support Actions for Boys in Care in Germany

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1. National insights on caring occupations/professions & gender

1.1. Introduction

The gendered dimensions of education and employment in Germany are getting more and more attention, one proof of this are the two gender equality reports by the German Government published in 2011 and 2017 respectively (Bundesregierung 2011, Bundesregierung 2017). The focus in these is still mainly on the chances of women to participate in the labour market, but the topic of equal sharing of care work between men and women is also raised. Furthermore, gender stereotypes are named as inhibiting the career choices of men and women (Bundesregierung 2017: 84). The changes of these stereotypes in the field of education during the last decades will be briefly highlighted here followed by a discussion on the challenges that are still persistent when it comes to employment and the distribution of care work.

1.1.1. Education

When looking at the educational system in Germany, one necessarily has to deal with the division of Germany during the cold war and the different educational systems created within the two separate states. Both countries set out with an educational system that held a lot of inequalities, leading to more men leaving school with a higher education and having access to university education.

In former western Germany, the share of girls with a school certificate granting them access to university only reached their share of the total population in the 1980s. In the former eastern Germany, this had already been the case two decades earlier. The GDR also managed to raise the share of female university students accordingly through measures benefitting students with children, including free childcare at universities and increased student grants for students with children. In the federal republic of Germany, the heightened level of educational equality in school training did not lead to a direct increase in women’s share of university students. Only in the last two decades has the share of female university students reached equally high numbers as that of male students in reunified Germany and a certain degree of gender equality in access to education has been achieved (Geißler 2014).

Whereas measures in the 20th century had girls and women as targets to strengthen their access to education, a discourse of boys as “losers” in education has gained traction during the last decade. In this discourse, the fact that boys, on average, have lower grades than girls and that a higher proportion of girls leaves school with a higher education, are seen as evidence of educational disadvantages shifting towards boys. One main argument in the discourse is that there are too many women in primary education which leads to boys lacking male figures and role models in education. A more balanced view on the issue has to take into account the dynamics of masculinity and the pressures exerted on boys to fulfil expecta-
tions towards them as males. Furthermore, there are other social factors that correlate with boys leaving school with a low or no certificate at all, such as economic status, educational background of their parents or a migration background (for further discussions see Rieske 2011).

1.1.2. Employment and care-work distribution

The employment rate of women in Germany has steadily increased over the last decade from 63% in 2005 to 73% in 2014. During the same period, the employment rate of men has increased slightly from 76% in 2005 to 83% in 2014. The total employment rate is 78% – the second highest within the EU after Sweden with 80%. Also the employment rate of women in Germany is the second highest in Europe, against with Sweden having the highest rate with 78% (Statistisches Bundesamt 2016a). The increase in employment is mainly due to an increase in part-time employment for both men and women, with more than half of the employed women working part-time whereas one fifth of all men are employed part-time. In 2014 57.8% of all employed women were working part-time (compared to 35% in 1991). During the same period, part time work amongst men more than quadrupled (from 4.4% in 1991 to 20.1% in 2014) (Wanger 2015).

In total, however, women work more hours than men in Germany, which 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: 6ff. and Klünder 2017). 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 – one hour and 27 minutes every day. (Agency for Second Gender Equality Report 2017: 7). This is mainly attributed to the male breadwinner model.

In contrast to this, 34.2% of fathers requested Elterngeld (literally “parent’s money”) in 2014, a state financed payment for the maximum duration of 12 months to support parents taking parental leave after the birth of a child. In 2008, only 20.8% of men requested Elterngeld. However, 79% of fathers request Elterngeld for only 2 months, which is a means of prolonging the payment period to a total of 14 months, if the partner requests the initial 12 months (OECD 2016: 99ff).

On top of the gender care gap, the gender pay gap – the difference in men’s and women’s wages expressed as a percentage of men’s wage –, in Germany was 21% (with huge regional differences) in 2015 and has not changed significantly within the last decade (Bundesregierung 2017: 94).

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1 The Gender Care Gap is an index for how much more unpaid care work women perform compared to men on a daily basis.
1.2. Data on education disaggregated by gender

Within the German educational system, there has been a clear change in the access of women to educational possibilities. However, the vocational choices made by women and men remain within classical male or female career patterns.

1.2.1. Germany’s school system

Germany’s educational system is not uniform, as it is regulated by the 16 federal states. There are some common denominators though. There is compulsive schooling until the age of 16 and primary schooling usually starts for children aged six years and in most federal states continues until the age of 10 (with some exceptions, e.g. Berlin until the age of 12). After primary school, there is the so called secondary schooling level I (until age 16) which has been split into three school types for many years: (I) Hauptschule (general secondary school), (II) Realschule (intermediate school) and (III) Gymnasium (grammar school). The first one ends after class 10 and awards a certificate after grade 9 (general secondary school leaving certificate), intermediate school also ends after class 10 and awards the intermediate school leaving certificate, pupils at grammar school can leave after the 10th grade with an intermediate school leaving certificate or continue with secondary schooling level II until grade 12 or 13, depending on the federal state, to achieve an entrance qualification for universities. The intermediate school leaving certificate is needed for a lot of jobs that require further vocational training in a wide range of professions and also grants the possibility to reach an entrance qualification for universities through further education schools.

In recent years, a lot of federal states have implemented Gesamtschulen (comprehensive schools) that do not segregate pupils until grade 10. Some of these schools have different classes for the different school types, and in others, the children are mixed at first and learn separately later during their school life.

Table 1: School leavers with and without degree in 2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Certificate</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Without any degree (after 10 years of compulsive schooling)</td>
<td>4,4%</td>
<td>6,7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With general secondary school certificate</td>
<td>13,9%</td>
<td>19,1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With intermediate school leaving certificate</td>
<td>43,7%</td>
<td>43,7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With an entrance qualification for universities</td>
<td>37,9%</td>
<td>30,3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt 2016b
As can be seen in the statistics, more women than men leave school with a higher certificate and thus have the possibility to enrol in university education. However, amongst school leavers with an entrance qualification for university, men are more likely to enrol at university. For example, female first semester students made up 49% of newly enrolled students in 2015 (Statistisches Bundesamt 2017a, own calculations). Thus the bigger number of women achieving higher certificates in school is not reflected in an equally higher number of female university students.

1.2.2. Vocational Education in Germany

In Germany, vocational education takes place mainly in three different forms:

- a university education either at a general university or at a university of applied sciences or a university of education which focusses on teacher education,

- an apprenticeship that involves alternating periods of learning at school and of learning/working at a company, or

- a school-based training which also involves learning at companies/facilities, but to a smaller extent.

Training for care occupations is mostly done in a school-based form (nursing, kindergarten teachers, occupational therapists, physiotherapists), some training also takes place at universities (early childhood education, primary education, social work). Apart from studying, the main difference between a dual and a school-based training is fee and income: Trainees in the dual system earn money while trainees in the school-based system don’t. The latter often have to pay a fee for their education. Thus, education for most care professions comes with additional costs for the period of the vocational training.

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 chose 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, courses related to care are predominantly taken up by female students. As can be seen below, amongst the 13 university courses related to the care sector, all but two had less than 30% males enrolled in 2015.
The two exceptions are medicine with 39% male students and school pedagogy with 36% male students. Five courses (Early Childhood Education, Primary School Education, Health Education, Social Pedagogy and Special Needs Education) even had less than 20% of male students.

1.3. Data on occupation disaggregated by gender

The trends visible in education can also be seen on the labour market, as career choices have been slow to undergo changes. Men and women still restrict their career choices to female or male-dominated careers. 58% of the employed men work in male-majority occupations, 52% of employed women work in female-majority occupations and only about 10% of women and men work in occupations in which the other sex is the majority (Bundesregierung 2017: 84).²

² Female- and male-majority jobs are here defined by a workforce of 70% or more female or male employees respectively. Usually, the term “female/male dominated occupations” is used for this. However, the term “dominance” is a problematic one in this context because a group that is the majority not necessarily dominates a field culturally. For example, Beverly McPhail (2004) has argued that while women may constitute the majority of professionals in social work, they do not have control of the profession. Curricular contents are rather dominated by the work of male researchers and there are still androcentric logics in the field. She argues that it would be more accurate to refer to social work as a “male-dominated female majority profession.”
In 2015, the female-majority labour market segments were medical and non-medical 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-majority 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).

This form of horizontal segregation must be seen not only as a result of individual choice but as an effect of societal norms, values and role expectations. This is a view also voiced in the Second Equality Report of the German Government, which names gender expectations formed in school, family and vocational counselling as impacting on career choices of young men and women (Bundesregierung 2017: 85).

Care occupations are female-majority occupations in Germany, with 80% of the employees being female (Bundesregierung 2017: 142). The term “care” is not used for as wide a range of professions as in English. One increasingly accepted definition of care occupations includes all occupations in the field of social work, health and care (for young children, elderly people, people with special needs or ill people) and education. Recently, this group has been broadened by adding household-related services (Bundesregierung 2017: 142).

In the different fields of care work, the range of male employees varies. For example, male employees form 5% of all employees in early childhood care, 12% in outpatient care, 15% in inpatient care. Female-majority careers, overall, are characterized by lower wages as well as more cost-intensive ways of vocational training (see 1.1.). Thus, the imbalance between male- and female-majority occupations is two-fold.

1.4. System of vocational guidance

Similar to school education, vocational guidance (the guidance of vocational/career choices) is organized at the federal state level: There is no common implementation of vocational guidance in all of Germany, but the 16 federal states do share some common ground. Vocational guidance takes place at schools and universities as well as during unemployment counselling and further education. In schools, vocational guidance is mainly carried out in secondary schools by a wide range of counsellors including teachers (with or without special training), social workers, school psychologists and vocational counsellors of the local employment offices. In all federal states, vocational guidance is a mandatory part of school curricula and partially integrated into specific classes, e.g. civics, ergonomics, or economics and law. These classes are supplemented by mandatory internships for pupils at secondary schools (Jenschke/Schober/Frübing 2011: 6-8).
Universities have an obligation to provide vocational guidance to students. Guidance is mainly provided by the student guidance and counselling centres or local employment offices. On a faculty level, sometimes trained staff are charged with vocational guidance (Jenschke/Schober/Frübing 2011: 8-9).

Vocational guidance is increasingly thought of as a life-long process and as part of further education and unemployment counselling. Vocational counselling offered by communes are often connected to further education. During unemployment, employment offices are charged with vocational counselling and also with offering opportunities for further training when appropriate. Additionally, there is a wide variety of other offers of vocational guidance provided by a range of actors including unions, trade associations, programmes by the federal government and private institutions (Jenschke/Schober/Frübing 2011: 9-11).

1.4.1. Vocational orientation guidance in Berlin

Below, the specific situation in the city state of Berlin will be analysed, as most project activities in Germany will probably be carried out there. In Berlin, vocational orientation guidance is regulated by a concept passed in 2015. According to this, all secondary schools are tasked with raising students’ interest in vocational training and/ or attending university and to assist them in making vocational choices according to their strengths and interests and not according to gender stereotypes. From year 7 (comprehensive schools) or 8 (grammar school) on, there have to be offers for all students. There are four forms of vocational guidance at schools:

- educational activities around vocational choice
- internships and other forms of contact with work realities
- documentation of the process
- transition guidance.

Schools are obliged to create a concept for occupational orientation guidance. One teacher is responsible for this topic – implementing the concept, but also counselling pupils and offering regular consultation hours – and has to cooperate with a representative from the employment agency.

The educational activities include skills assessments of pupils and providing information for parents. It is not clear whether the skills assessments are gender-sensitive. For practical experience, the following is suggested in the concept: a one-day experience in year 7, a one-week experience in year 8, a 2/3-week-experience in year 9 and a further internship in year 10. It is suggested to use the Boys’Day and Girls’Day offers for the one-day-internships. It is also suggested to consider a social internship as an option which means to participate in a social occupation two hours per week for a whole year.
The internship in year 9 is part of the school subject economy-labour-technology, which was introduced in 2010. Sadly, the curriculum for this subject does not treat care occupations as equal to other occupations. The 12 core competences that pupils are supposed to acquire in this subject include information technology, designing products, symbolic illustration, using technologies and materials science – but no social skills. Social work is an elective topic (two subjects have to be chosen out of three). However, the title is “Social Work in the Household and in a Profession” – social skills are thus degraded in a double way: as an option (as opposed to obligatory subjects such as creating a product), and as something not only professional (while other skills are not taught as something important in private life as well). Also, due to the definition of the 12 core competences, even within the subject, non-social and non-relational aspects are overemphasized.

For the documentation, the concept suggests using portfolio instruments and names the career choice passport as one recommendation (see analysis in chapter 2.2.2). For the transition, a mandatory consultation for every pupil during their final year is foreseen and if there is no employment perspective, the employment agency will be informed and will contact the pupil or their parents. This might create a disturbance in the relationship between the pupil and the teacher responsible for occupational choice guidance, as the role of that teacher mixes supportive consultation with disciplinary sanctioning (through the cooperation with the employment agency which might not act out sanctioning on students but is known for its sanctioning instruments with people receiving social benefits). Schools are supposed to document the plans of their pupils by the means of an anonymous data collection that differentiates the data according to gender, migration background, disability, and certificate. The implementation of the concept is to be evaluated by the Berlin senate annually. However, as there was a change in the concept in 2016, such an evaluation has not taken place yet.
1.4.2. Activities to promote gender-untypical occupations amongst boys

Boys’Day

Activities to promote gender-untypical occupations amongst boys have been carried out in Germany for more than a decade. Best known is the so-called Boys’Day, which started as regional initiatives around 2005 and has been held on a national level since 2011. Boys’Day aims at enabling boys aged 11 and older to gather experiences in an occupation with a female majority\(^3\) by providing day internships in such occupations. The screenshot from 2017 shows, that the Boys’Day activities reached more than 30,000 boys. Boys’Day activities follow the example of Girls’Day activities, which offer one-day internships in male-majority occupations to girls and have been implemented since 2001. The nation-wide Boys’Day takes

\(^3\) Here, female-majority is defined as less than 40% men in the occupation.
place on the same day as the national Girls’ Day, the last Thursday in April each year (for further information see 3. Support Action Analyses and https://www.boys-day.de/).

Boys’ Day specifically addresses the lack of men in care jobs and aims at providing internships in occupations such as elderly care, kindergarten teaching, occupational therapy and . Additionally, boys can take part in workshops dealing with different issues, such as masculinity norms or life planning, e.g. questioning the model of the male breadwinner (Debus/Stuve/Budde 2014).

**New Paths in Career and Life Planning for Boys**

Boys’ Day activities have been organized by the nationwide network and platform New Paths in Career and Life Planning for Boys (NPfB) since 2005. 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 (for more information see 3. Support Action Analyses and https://neue-wege-fuer-jungs.de/Kontakt-Impressum/New-Paths).

**Soziale Jungs**

A less well-known activity is Soziale Jungs (Social Boys) which currently is offered by different institutions in about 20 locations in Germany. With a similar aim as Boys’ Day, i.e. 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 voluntary service in institutions such as hospitals, kindergartens, elderly care facilities or sheltered workshops.

These voluntary services last at least for one school year and usually imply working in an institution for one afternoon per week. The voluntary service is accompanied by regular reflection groups with pedagogues for participating boys. In some instances, the volunteers can earn some pocket money for their service (maximum 30€ per month).

Soziale Jungs also provides group workshops with field trips to workplaces in the care sector in order to provide boys with insights into care occupations (http://www.sozialejungs.de/ and http://www.freiwilligendienst-jungs.de/).

**Nationale Kooperationen zur Berufs- und Studienwahl frei von Geschlechterklischees**

Since the end of 2016, there is a new initiative 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 Employment Agency, who want to implement vocational guidance for boys and girls without gender-stereotypes. So far, the activities have focused on awareness raising and on providing informational material for vocational guidance counsellors, parents, teachers and employers (www.klischee-frei.de).
1.5. Research on vocational orientation guidance

Faulstich-Wieland (2014) has summarized the state of art in research on vocational orientation in schools with a focus on gender-related aspects. These are the results of existing research in Germany:

- Internships are seen as an important part of vocational orientation, and practical experience has been shown to be a crucial part in the biographies of men who choose an occupation in education and care. However, the organisation of internships during school (access, preparation, reflection) could be improved.

- Vocational orientation at school is not researched much – and the few existing studies have shown that the orientation is not well-coordinated and not very successful. Concepts of orientation that address whole groups (classes/schools) are seen as not adequate as career choice is a very individual process.

- Activities promoting non-stereotypical career choices have also been studied. One result is that educators too often assume that girls and boys are not interested in jobs that are predominantly chosen by the other sex. Such assumptions 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 (see section 3 – Analyses of support actions – for more).

Faulstich-Wieland observes a lack of research on career choices and guidance of occupational orientation that is empirical and looks at structural and institutional aspects as well as at individual journeys.

1.6. National data/studies on boys’ and men’s role in caring work, job preference, caring masculinities etc.

As the focus on men doing care work, unpaid or as an occupation, is increasing, there is a wide range of literature on the topic, which will be exemplified by two examples here.

There are the first and second gender equality reports by the German Government, with the second report explicitly highlighting that gender equality has to embrace men’s concerns and needs. It raises the issue of men’s possibilities to take charge of care activities within families and highlights the need for structural changes in order to broaden these possibilities. For example, it recommends a “fathers’ leave” of two weeks within the first two months after a child’s birth. This leave should be available to the partner not giving birth, explicitly including married female couples. The report also stresses the need for vocational guidance free from gender stereotypes (Bundesregierung 2017: 20-21 & 159f.). There are also studies on men in gender-untypical occupations, e.g. men in early childhood education. One study found that even though 15% of trainees in the field are male, only 3% of employees working in groups with children below the age of 6 are male. This suggests that a lot of men opt for careers in the field of youth welfare services, which can also be accessed with
the training of an educator. It is also suggested that many men end up in higher positions and are not attracted by the high rate of part-time work in most early childhood education institutions. At the level of management, the study found that 44% of the staff were male. This, according to the study, is most likely connected to the fact that these positions usually necessitate a university degree (Keil/ Pasternack/ Thielemann 2012).

2. Analysis of material for occupational orientation/vocational education

2.1. Selection/Material corpus:

2.1.1. Which sources are available in our country?

a. Material used in programmes and by initiatives aiming at men in caring occupations

The mediaset of the Boys’Day is a package of different materials, fact- and worksheets, posters, a stick containing videos, informational material for parents, teachers, pedagogues and workplaces. The package is mainly addressed at pedagogical staff working with boys from age 11 upwards and is meant to give information and guidance on how to approach the topic of career choices from a gender sensitive perspective. The material in the mediaset covers three main topics: vocational guidance, gender roles and social skills. It is unclear how widespread the material is used, but since 2017, the second, updated edition has been available. One reason why the material might be popular is the fact that it gives a very clear guideline to staff on how to use the fact- and worksheets and proposes methods to be used in groups with boys.

There is a number of other materials in this category, one of which is the booklet sozialforyou, published by planet-beruf.de, which shows role-models of men in caring professions on 18 pages and tries to capture their views on the work they do and the experiences they make. Included are such professions as physiotherapist, kindergarten teacher, elderly care nurse and personal support worker.

b. Material used in schools (with a structure of school forms, and/or school grades, and/or school subjects)

The “Career Choice Passport” is a workbook and documentation folder addressed to young people at secondary schools. It is a folder containing 56 pages of information and worksheets that are grouped in five categories: Introduction, Resources for Occupational Orienta- tion, My Path to Career Choice, Documentation and Life Planning. It is used across Germany and is recommended as a resource to be used in Berlin in the Concept on Occupational and Higher Education Orientation. There is no research as to how widespread it is used in schools, but we heard from some teachers that their schools indeed hand out this folder to
their students. It mainly consists of material to be used in secondary schools, focusing on occupations that can be learnt in occupational training. However, there is a supplement to be used in grammar schools in grade 11.

c. Material used by labour market services or similar public institutions

The Federal Employment Agency has developed the Website [www.planet-beruf.de](http://www.planet-beruf.de) ("occupations planet"), which contains a number of tools for young people to find occupations that match their interests and strengths, to explore these occupations and get more information on them and on the trainings that prepare for these occupations. It also gives information and learning material to prepare for applications and apprenticeship or job interviews. It also presents options in case that someone does not get an apprenticeship. There is a work book that introduces this website to pupils (with work sheets that give tasks that can be completed by visiting the website and using its tools). This work book also exists in simple language, addressed to young people with a mental disability or learning difficulties.

d. Other material

A widely used way of supporting young people’s occupational orientation process is Come-on-Tour (Komm-auf-Tour - [https://komm-auf-tour.de/](https://komm-auf-tour.de/)). In its core, this project offers an experience-oriented course with six stops that 60 pupils (four groups of 15 pupils each) complete in about two hours. All stops are designed very youth-friendly and experiential. At each stop, young people get tasks they have to complete and, depending on how they do, they get stickers that show their strengths (seven strengths: numbers, hands, service, environment, talking, systems, fantasy). The course also contains elements of sex education and discussions about gender equality – the tour is conceptualized and implemented by the Federal Centre for Health Education. An evaluation in 2008 found that attitudes of students towards men working in care occupations, and towards women working in technical occupations became more positive after visiting Go-on-Tour. Remarkably, this effect (as well as the general positive effect on knowing one’s strengths) was not found amongst the pupils with a Turkish background. The project also provides further material to teachers.

Another interesting tool is beroobi, an online tool developed in a project that aimed at providing schools in Germany with access to the internet. This website is, compared with others, certainly the most appealing in terms of design. Its focus is on information about occupations (with some smaller tools that help users to find occupations that meet their interests). Some popular care occupations are amongst those presented (kindergarten educator, elderly care nurse, social care worker – professionals working with people with intellectual disabilities). Notably a profile for nurses, one of the three biggest care occupations, does

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not exist yet. The profiles present information as text and videos, each occupation present- ing one young person doing it and talking about his or her job. (see http://www.beroobi.de/berufe/erzieher/ for the profile for kindergarten educators) The information given relates to: activities, a typical day in the job, requirements, training, career options and internships.

As a funny add-on, one can upload a photo of one’s face and use a tool that will put this photo into a depiction of a person in the job. So basically you can see how you would look like if you wore the typical outfit of the job (see the picture to the left of an example shown on the website).

2.1.2. Which material did we choose and why?

We chose to analyse the New Paths for Boys material as it is supposed to be the most elaborated material strengthening boys to consider an occupation in the care sector. We also chose the career choice passport because it is widely used in schools. Furthermore, we chose to look at planet-beruf.de because again it is widely recommended (e.g. in the career choice passport) and it can be assumed that the employment agency, once pupils get in contact with it, will recommend its use.

Because of the constraints of our resources, we left out other material, particularly the material produced in komm-auf-tour and beroobi. However, we do think that with our choice, we found material that represents both good and representative practice. Also, with these examples, we identified some issues that could be improved in new material. Some ideas that we got from looking at komm-auf-tour and beroobi will be mentioned in the Overall Findings section below.
2.2. Analysis, following the 3-R method

2.2.1. Boys’Day and New Paths in Career and Life Planning for Boys Mediaset

The material is the newest version of the mediaset from Boys’Day and New Paths in Career and Life Planning for Boys addressing teachers and other pedagogical staff to work with boys from grade 5 (age 11) and upwards. There are four topics covered with the material of the set:

1. Vocational guidance

2. Gender roles

3. Social skills

4. Extras – further information for parents, teachers, pedagogues and workplaces that want to offer Boys’Day internships and a USB stick with other media like videos. The stick was not available in the mediaset analysed due to production issues.

Each of these topics has its own “pocket” in the set and topics 1 to 3 all include posters, fact- and worksheets. Only the topics 1 to 3 will be analysed here as they specifically target boys.

The set is accompanied by a booklet explaining what the Boys’Day is and giving an insight into the concept on the different topics and why they are important to adress. The booklet furthermore explains how to use the set and the different materials included in it and it gives ideas of different activities that can be carried out beyond the use of the material in the folder.

The booklet itself does not contain any visual representations of boys or men or activities that boys and men do. This is true for nearly all the material of topics 1 to 3, the only exception being the three posters depicted below, which however depict men.
The three posters each show a kindergarten teacher with a slogan on a t-shirt referring to other careers (scientist, actor and football player) and how they influence people, but that they as kindergarten teachers give the basic orientation in life for children. The three slogans are as follows:

- “Researchers discover the world. I awaken curiosity.”
- “Soccer players win championships. I give the kick-off for running.”
- “Actors win Academy Awards. I inspire characters.”
By using these images, the posters try to create an image of coolness as well as importance of caring occupations, by referring to other careers that boys might find cool and aspire too. The central message is brought home by the slogan “shape the future, become a kindergarten teacher”, which is printed on the lower right part of the poster. The message is clearly that by caring for children you can have an enormous impact on a lot of lives.

All three men are named with their full names and their age which marks them as real persons who actually work as kindergarten teachers and are not just photo models. This makes them easier to relate to and implies their role-model function as men in a care occupation with a female majority. Also, their age range (24 to 32) is not too far removed from boys in school so that children can identify with them and imagine themselves as kindergarten teachers. This effect is augmented by the casual dressing style of the depicted.

It should also be noted that with David Godebo, a man of colour is depicted whose last name implies a non-European descent. Thus, the poster set also takes into account that boys have different realities and addresses non-white boys who might not feel addressed by the other two men.

Apart from these visual representations of men, the material in the set does a great effort to be gender-sensitive and to represent male and female realities on the job market as well as in relationships. For example, there is a fact sheet on the topic of vocational guidance that shows the ratio of male to female trainees in some occupations as well as the ratio of male to female students for some university studies. For all occupations, the correct male and female job descriptions are used (e.g. Pädagogin – Pädagoge and Kaufmann im Einzelhandel – Kauffrau im Einzelhandel).

Overall, the material is very nuanced and well researched and gives a lot of background information on a wide variety of topics through the fact sheets. The fact sheet mentioned above, for example, also serves as a good example to illustrate horizontal segregation on the labour market and what kind of occupations are predominantly chosen by men or by women.

The material does not solely focus on the job market but also takes into account the distribution of care work between men and women. Fact sheets in the section on gender roles thus include a sheet on the amount of paid and unpaid work women and men do and how this has changed over the last two decades. The section furthermore includes fact sheets on the division of domestic labour amongst couples and what kind of activities men and women in these relationships focus on. Another factsheet explains parental leave regulations and shows how many women and men have taken it it up since its introduction.

By addressing these different aspects of care work and care work distribution, the material shows a wide range of aspects that are to be taken into account when thinking about care
work. This is furthermore made clear by the worksheets which aim at prompting pupils to reflect on their own gender stereotypes and expectations.

In the section of vocational guidance, one of the worksheets is a questionnaire for boys about what kind of internships they would like to do and why, and what they could learn in that specific occupation.

On the topic of gender roles, boys are activated to reflect on their stereotypes by a text called “the breakfast – inverted world”. In this text, the daily routine of a family at breakfast is depicted in a way that inverts gender roles and stereotypes amongst couples and their children. In this text, for example, it is the boy who voices issues over his weight, appearance and the colour of his ballet-outfit that his father messed up while washing it and it is the mother who has to leave in the middle of the conversation to go to work.

A second work sheet describes the working and living situation of a couple with both partners working part-time, taking care of the reproductive work. It describes how this changes when they decide to have a child and how the roles change or stay the same. In the exercise, the names of the couple are left blank, it is just known that they are called Lena and Gerd and the pupils have to fill in the blanks and thus can change the situation and see what effect is has if the names are changed and how this questions or affirms gender stereotypes.

Both exercises give boys the chance to assess their stereotypes and, in a rather playful manner, to imagine a world that does not adhere to these. This way, boys have the opportunity to realise that roles are quite interchangeable.

On the topic of social skills, fact sheets explain the difference between social and technical skills, what social skills include and where one can acquire them.

On the basis of this knowledge, the ensuing worksheets, in the form of questionnaires and a self-experience game, challenge boys to think about their social skills, where they see their strengths and weaknesses and how they think they can improve them.

Through these exercises, boys can see which competences they have and they can discover that they have a lot of social skills and thus might be well served by capitalizing on these skills. At the same time, they can also reflect on their own biography and on why they have a certain set of skills and they can strengthen other skills as they see fit.

All in all, the material is very well thought-out and serves to question gender stereotypes between men and women. It addresses important issues of gender equality and can be considered a best-practice example in this regard.

However, the material does not address the reality of other genders apart from cis-gendered men and women, such as transgender or non-binary people. Furthermore, all exercises that deal with families focus on heterosexual couples, while other constellations of family life
such as same sex marriages or models that include carers that are no blood-relatives are not represented.

This kind of representation would be necessary to include boys of different backgrounds so that they feel their realities and themselves represented in a setting where the material is used.

In the material, there are barely any references to race or religion, except in the case of the posters which depict people and in the case of a work sheet that includes two names. In the former case, the representation is somewhat inclusive (two white men and one man of colour) while in the latter case, the representation is exclusive (as both used names, “Lena” and “Gerd”, are read as white German names).

2.2.2. Career Choice Passport (Berufswahlpass)

Context Information

The Career Choice Passport (CCP) was developed in 2000. Its introduction was based on the change in labour relations that took place towards the end of the 20th century: (1) higher expectations towards students entering vocational education and (2) the de-normalisation of employment biographies. It was assumed that individuals needed to develop the ability to adapt to changing environments and conditions and to be involved in life-long learning. This ability is already necessary during the transition from school to occupational education, which is why young people are supposed to develop a career orientation competence in order to be able to make a career choice. This aims at raising their chances of following a path that suits their interests, abilities and potentials. This “everyone according to their personality”-reasoning can be found in many publications on the matter and can be seen as the prevailing idea for occupational orientation in Germany, although with some differences as we shall analyse below in the comparison of material.

When the CCP was developed, there were already a number of instruments available that also functioned as passports, i.e. as a proof or documentation of competences beyond a school certificate, including languages or experiences in non-formal education. The CCP, however, is used at an earlier stage – at age 13/grade 7 – and includes material that may help during learning processes and may support the development of personal initiative.

The CCP originally contained three sections: Resources for Occupational Orientation, My Path to Career Choice, and Documentation. It was available in three different versions addressing different types of pupils: underperforming pupils would additionally get a fourth section on life planning (how to deal with money, getting assistance...), pupils aiming to take

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up a vocational training would get additional information on the possibilities of the dual sys-
tem and school-based trainings, and pupils aiming to study at grammar school would get
additional information on the transition to these schools. Apparently, this differentiation,
which mirrored the three-tier school system, has been replaced by an integrated approach,
as all secondary schools get the same folder with the same content now. There is, however,
still a supplement for grammar schools to be used from grade 11 on. It includes some work
sheets related to attending university – a perspective that is only barely opened up in the
material used till grade 10.

3-R-Analysis of the Career Choice Passport

Representation

The front of the folder displays a collage of nine photos of young adults in working or learn-
ing environments. In total, eleven young adults are visible, five of which are recognizable as
male and six of which are recognizable as female. Both men and women are depicted in
gender-stereotypical jobs as well as in non-stereotypical jobs (e.g. a male nurse). Adding the
photos depicted inside the folder – many of which repeat the photos depicted on the front
already – we see 27 depictions of men and 20 depictions of women, i.e. an overrepresenta-
tion of men.

There is no photo that depicts a person whose gender expression could not be characterized
as masculine or feminine. In terms of what they do, both men and women appear in caring
roles and in technical roles. However, while the photo depicting a young woman working in a
garage and wearing a classic blue boilersuit is displayed several times, the photos depicting men in caring roles do not reappear that often. The following photos appear at least three times in the workbook:

Looking at those photos that reappear several times, a reproduction of gender stereotypes for men becomes apparent while a deconstruction of gender roles of women is also visible: The two photos with a woman in the centre show a woman who is probably studying – considering all the books around her, this activity could be seen as culturally rather construed as feminine, whereas ‘masculine’ studying would be depicted as more powerful, including one book only – and a woman working in a workshop, which is a male-dominated field. The two photos with a male person in the centre show someone searching for information on occupations and trainings and a young man who seems to be working in a printing shop (indicated by the colour palette on his desk and on the wall), possibly also in design. He is depicted in a busy fashion – sitting at his desk talking on his phone, yet still having the time to turn around and smile at the camera. Media design is a field with around 60% of women in training, while the training for technical jobs in printing is dominated by men with a share of 70-80%. In addition, the photo with a woman mechanic in the centre also depicts two men, while in the other photos there are no colleagues (of the same or of a different gender). Said photo is one of the few photos in the folder that depict people of colour. The vast majority of people depicted is white. It is difficult to discern the class position of the people depicted, however, most activities that are depicted do not necessitate a university degree (or it is unclear, as in the case of the teaching position or the laboratory work, what exact position the person depicted has). No person with a visible disability is depicted, neither is a person with signs of religious belief.
Caring roles are not very present in this workbook – the work fields of media and printing, mechanics and laboratory are dominant. Hence, there are also barely any depictions of men in caring roles except from the nurse on the front cover and a man providing occupational orientation counselling. However, the Boys’Day is mentioned.

The language of the workbook is inclusive within the binary system: occupation labels and other references to persons are consistently written in the male and female form such as “Lehrerinnen und Lehrer, Berufsberaterinnen und Berufsberater”, always naming the female form first.

To sum up, the analysis of representations shows that there are some instances of de-normalisation of gender hierarchies and gender norms in the CCP: the gender-inclusive language ensures a representation of men and women, as do the photos. Men and women are depicted in different fields of work including care and mechanics. However, depictions of men in caring roles are rare (as are depictions of caring occupations in general in this material), the persons depicted are predominantly white, able-bodied, non-academic\(^6\) and non-religious and there are no representations of transgender persons in the workbook.

**Resources & Relations**

The term “resources” is applicable to the CCP in two ways. First, the passport provides information and it is worth analysing what kind of information (e.g. about other resources) is given. Second, it provides worksheets for the young people to reflect on their abilities, interests and choices and to document their journey of occupational orientation and education. These resources can again be analysed in terms of how they might contribute to a gendering or a de-gendering of occupational choices, e.g. by assisting young people to critically reflect gendered assumptions.

The Career Choice Passport contains a lot of resources for occupational orientation for young people. The sheets that inform about further resources include one about the Girls’Day and the Boys’Day, introduced with the sentence

> Girls often train in social, commercial, design and health occupations; boys in technical occupations and in the skilled trades. If this decision fits your personal profile, that’s fine. However, it may be worthwhile to check out other occupations. Maybe you’ll find your dream job. (Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Berufswahlpass 2016: 16)

Thus, users of the CCP are informed about the horizontal gendering of the labour market and are a little bit encouraged to consider choices that are untypical for their gender. This is done rather carefully, avoiding any criticism or accusations. Resources that aim to broaden

\(^6\) This is obviously related to the aim of the CCP to provide orientation in the field of vocational education.
girls’ and boys’ occupational horizons are presented as something to be discovered, not as something that should be done out of political or moral reasons.

Within the CCP, this is the only moment when gender is addressed explicitly, and it is a very brief moment. The rationale here is obviously to lead young people to another resource. However, some more space for this issue, presenting arguments about why it might be good to reflect one’s gendered assumptions and why considering other options may be a good idea.

The majority of resources in the CCP, however, are work sheets that aim to guide the young person. They ask the user to identify their interests and skills and to assess a selection of work-related skills.

They further ask users to identify occupations in which they could pursue their interests, to seek further information about these occupations and to finally compare this information with their personal profile of interests and skills. It further asks pupils to plan their transition steps, such as doing an internship or applying for training. Within these sheets, no production of gender stereotypes was apparent – the orientation process seems to be de-gendered, and with an image of a young woman working in a car garage at the beginning of the “My Path” section, there is a subtle encouragement to take into consideration occupational fields that may not be gender-typical, but that match one’s strengths and interests.

However, this also leads to the situation that none of these sheets contains an impulse to reflect gender norms. While theories on career choice rather suggest that individual interests are only one amongst other influential factors, for example with gender stereotypes and prestige levels being important as well,\(^7\) this folder attempts to exclude these factors and to strengthen the influence of interests and skills. However, the ways in which these interests and skills are already influenced by gender norms, is not reflected in the folder. Apart from one hint towards looking at jobs that may be untypical for one’s gender in the resources chapter of the folder, no impulses are given to users to reflect the influence of social relations and norms on their choices (with one notable exception which, however, addresses the possibly limiting influence of cultural beliefs and habits).

This could, however, be done when work-related skills are assessed (e.g. by including an item such as “Gender reflection: I can critically reflect on the impact of gender stereotypes or norms on a given social situation or behaviour”), when the learning process is reflected (e.g. by including an item such as “Where there challenges related to gender stereotypes and norms?”), when occupational fields are assessed (e.g. by including an item such as “Are there occupational fields that you would be interested in if they weren’t female- or male-dominated?” or by including an encouragement to take into consideration jobs that may seem not acceptable within one’s boundaries of gender) and, finally, when documentation is

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organised (e.g. by including an item asking for internships in male- or female-dominated fields or by including a sheet that looks at how one to extend one’s boundaries of what is acceptable).

Also, the field of care could get a better representation when work-related skills are assessed (e.g. by including social skills as part of special professional skills (which already include writing, reading, mathematics, sciences, languages, presentation, computer, interdisciplinary thinking and intercultural skills) and not just as part of the personal skills.\(^7\)

**Reasons & Realities**

As already pointed out, the CCP is led by the notion that everyone should find the occupational field that best fits their interests with some subtle hints towards gender norms or cultural beliefs possibly hindering one in identifying the field of occupation that best fit one’s interests and skills. There is no explicit linking of interests or skills with a particular gender (except on the level of pictures, as pointed out in the analysis of representation above).

A second notion is the assumption and message that everyone has skills, which however need to be perceived by the user in particular and, if the suggestions for assessment by others are used, other people.

As, however, already said, this notion of “everyone-according-to-their-personality”-reasoning goes along with an avoidance of explicitly addressing issues of social norms or social relations. Instead of assisting users to critically reflect the influence of gender, social status or cultural beliefs on their interests, skills and choices, the folder attempts to put these aside. A third assumption underpinning the folder, then, is that issues of identity should not be dramatized, politicised or moralised probably because this might lead to a reproducing of stereotypes or to a resistance on the side of the reader.

**Conclusion**

The CCP is an instrument for occupational orientation providing young people from age 13 on with information and work sheets that aim to guide their orientation process along the ideal of “everyone-according-to-their-personality”. Users obtain information about various resources including the Girls’ Day and the Boys’ Day. The work sheets ask users to identify their interests – generally and in terms of occupational fields – and to explore the fields they are interested in as well as to plan and document their occupational orientation process.

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\(^7\) On a side note, one item in the evaluation questionnaire for one’s skills says: “Motivation. I am willing to work on a task even beyond what is demanded”. One might wonder why overachievement is presented as desirable here, without any relation to a personal motivation in the task. In contrast, there is no item such as “Selfcare. I accept my limits and do not let others pressure me into an unhealthy dynamic.” or “Motivation. If I enjoy a task, I am willing to work on it beyond the minimum demanded.”
In terms of representation, the folder contains non-stereotypical as well as stereotypical elements. Non-stereotypical are some of the representations of women, showing them in fields such as mechanics. The representation of men is a bit more stereotypical in the sense that a depiction of men in caring roles is very rare. Non-binary people or men and women with gender nonconforming attributes are not represented.

In terms of resources, the folder can be seen as mainly de-gendered as the information provided and the work sheets included do not link men or women with particular interests or occupational fields, and give a little encouragement to also consider fields that may be uncommon for persons of the same gender. However, further impulses to reflect the influence of gender and other social norms on one’s development and orientation process are not included.

2.2.3. Job Planet (Planet Beruf) – Website and Learning Material

Context information

planet-beruf.de is a website run by the Federal Employment Agency (the German labour market service). It has sections for pupils, teachers, parents and vocational counsellors. The website is supported by an annually updated work book for pupils, a 36-pages document that includes information and work sheets for pupils to help them find an occupation and be ready for application. It also exists in a second version in simple language addressed to the mentally disabled.

3-R-Analysis of the work magazine

Representation

The cover shows a photo of five youths with probably three girls in the front and two boys in the background. The picture is ethnically diverse. Within the booklet, some further pictures are visible, albeit rather small and rather in the background. There are 8 photos depicting boys or men, 9 photos depicting women and two photos depicting both women and men. There is no photo that depicts a person whose gender expression could not be characterized as masculine or feminine. In these photos, young people are depicted in different roles including activities that are culturally seen as typical for their gender and activities seen as untypical. This includes young men in a care occupation. However, there are no depictions of male adults who have completed a vocational training, while there are some of female adult professionals – all in the role of assisting young people in their career choice or during their job training. For a more diverse representation, more adult men in such roles are recommendable as well as a greater diversity amongst the occupations that these adults are presented in. Also, while there is already some ethnic diversity present in the photos, this could be strengthened as well.
Apart from that, the language used in the material is inclusive for cisgender people: occupation labels and other references to persons are consistently written in the male and female form.

**Resources & Relations**

The booklet divides the process of finding a job in three basic steps: orientation, decision-making and applying. These three topics (plus the topic planning the process) are also the main sections on the website. The topics planning, orientation and decision-making are similar to those in the CCP. However, the latter does not contain a part on applications, and the planet-beruf.de website does not address life planning and documentation. In all three sections, the book presents some information and, for the larger part, work sheets. In order to complete the work sheets, the reader has to use the website, so they also serve as a medium to make readers explore the website.

There are two particular web tools that the user gets to know this way. Both attempt to help the user find out his or her interests and strengths as well as presenting occupational fields and/or occupations to the user which might match her or his personality. The tool “Job Discoverer” only focuses on interests. The user is asked to evaluate a large number of photos. These photos depict objects or situations (no persons) that are related to particular occupational fields (toys, a bed, a construction site, leather, jewels, a park, …) and for each photo, the user has 3 seconds to decide whether or not he or she likes it – otherwise it is classified as “not liked”. Depending on the choices, the user is then presented with occupational fields and some information about these. This information includes the presentation of actual trainees in these jobs with photos and text as well as a film. Interestingly, the presentation of the two fields that are related to care jobs – “social and educational occupations” and “health occupations” are both characterized by an overrepresentation of men in the trainees section but a lack of representation of men in the film. Possibly it is easier to find photos of men doing care activities – particularly if these photos don’t necessarily have to show “real” trainees, but can make do with actors or photo models, while the film has to be done in the actual work field and it may be harder to get a higher representation of men. Besides that, the films clearly attempt to present these two fields as interesting and attractive, e.g. stressing the rewarding aspect of working with children, adults and elderly people, who show their gratitude to professionals. In terms of ethnical diversity, the animated graphic on the start site of the website should be mentioned: the gif-file consists of a number of photos that are presented in a quick order. You see a white girl and a black boy dressed in various outfits that represent occupations such as mechanic, educator, laboratory assistant, police officer and others. Both persons are shown in all of these occupations.

The tool “occupation universe” differs from that as it does not use photos or films and it looks at three aspects: interests, strengths and behaviour. The user is asked to do a self-evaluation regarding these three aspects (how much are you interested in drawing, building, educating, organising? How good is your communication, your spatial thinking, your sense of
responsibility? Are you willing to work at night, to keep secrets, to travel a lot?), and also to give some information about their grades at school.

Then, the user is presented with a graphic that has a number of planets representing jobs in an imagined universe. The proximity of these planets to the centre shows how much an occupation matches one’s strengths. The colours of the planets represent how much they match one’s interests (in the example depicted on the left: yellow for interesting, red for a little bit interesting and blue for not interesting. Note how the “planet” in the centre is blue, so does not match very well with the person’s interests). If you click on the planet, you learn whether the occupation matches your behaviour and school results. Thus, this tool focusses much more on strengths and even teaches the users that they might not have the necessary strengths for their desired occupation but that other occupations meeting their strengths might be worth looking at. Further information about the occupation is also provided, sometimes also as video (as an example with English subtitles see: http://www.berufe.tv/apprenticed-professions/social-work-and-pedagogy/old-age-carer/). In these videos, however, one sees mostly white female people in care occupations.

Besides the worksheets guiding the user through these tools, other worksheets also ask questions about one’s strengths or interests or ask the user to take a look at videos on the website which explain certain strengths such as empathy, endurance, manual know-how and others. In those videos, it is sometimes a girl and sometimes a boy who has a strength without a pattern following gender stereotypes – boys are presented with strengths such as empathy, autonomy, solving conflicts and girls show strengths such as mathematics, manual know-how, working in teams.

Other worksheets ask users to find information about particular occupations or to complete a quiz about the right clothing for a job interview. There are no work sheets that focus on gender issues.
Reasons & Realities

The work booklet basically leads the reader through the website planet-beruf.de. The website and the booklet are led by the idea of finding the right occupation by looking at interests and strengths – and the focus is on the strengths aspect. The content mostly does not reproduce gender stereotypes as male and female figures are depicted in, or linked with, activities and traits that are culturally seen as masculine and feminine. However, there is no inclusion of transgender people. So there is the notion of binary gender equality underpinning this website and the booklet.

It does, however, have a rather narrow focus on choosing an occupation. While some research suggests that such a choice is also linked with general ideas about one’s life, such as the male breadwinner model –, this is not addressed within this material. It is strictly an occupational career planning tool that does not include aspects of life planning. The notion underlying this could be labelled as the purified approach – it is purified from gender stereotypes, but also purified from issues that are related to work and occupational choice, yet deal with aspects of the so called private life. This way, a door is left open for gendered patterns of occupational choice to remain effective.

Conclusion

planet-beruf.de is a comprehensive offer with its online tools and learning material addressing young people, focussing on occupations that can be learnt in a training (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 interests and strengths as well as information about occupational fields and actual occupations.

The website and the work book clearly attempt to be gender inclusive (within the framework of binary gender) and partly also to be ethnically diverse. Boys and girls, men and women are presented in various occupations and activities, which includes representations of men in caring occupations. Caring activities and occupations are well represented in the material and are presented as equal to other activities and occupations – also as something that requires certain qualifications and abilities, against the notion that “care” is a matter of personal (feminine) traits. However, in some instances, a dominance of white and/or female employees in care occupations is present and thus (non-white) men are underrepresented.

It is also notable that the occupations presented are restricted to occupations that need a training (as opposed to a university degree). In general, this and other material seems to be guided by the imperative to lower the rate of early school leavers as set up in the Europe 2020 strategy, clearly focussing on getting young people into occupational training. While this may be a good strategy, it might be worth discussing whether it actually thwarts another Europe 2020 target, namely increasing the percentage of adults with a higher education degree.
3. Support Action Analyses

As a national event, the Boys‘Day was established in Germany in 2011, the New Paths for Boys Project was founded in 2005. Since then, some evaluations of these activities have been undertaken. In 2006/2007 and in 2011, questionnaires were handed out to participants of the activities (with 2,000 respondents in 2006/2007 and 6,500 respondents in 2011), asking them about their attitudes towards occupations and gender equality. In addition, focus groups were conducted with participants of activities (seven groups in 2006 and 15 groups in 2009/2010). Also, researchers did participatory observation in activities with boys (seven in 2009/2010). Furthermore, school principals were interviewed in 2009/2010 in four different regions (differing in their location in the West or East of Germany, in their economic situation and in their history – or lack thereof – of pedagogical offers for boys).

A first result was a generally very positive feedback from everyone involved in the activities. The vast majority of boys gave their experience positive ratings. For example, in 2011 92% of participants of trial days and 88% of participants in workshops and seminars rated their experience as “very good” (vgl. Bundesweite Koordinierungsstelle Boys‘Day – Jungen-Zukunftstag 2011). Here are some results from the focus groups on Boys‘Day:

It was fun, they were surprised about their own competence, it felt good to be needed, they enjoyed the appreciation for their work by clients and staff, the children were “cute”, it was a nice alternative to being at school, they got information for their future occupational choices, they now understand better what women achieve every day, … (Debus/Stuve 2012: 53)

Activities offered by female educators got a better average rating than activities offered by male educators (Cremers et al. 2008: 60; Bundesweite Koordinierungsstelle Boys‘Day – Jungen-Zukunftstag 2011: 10). However, in the second evaluation this difference was very small, so that the gender of the educator seemed not relevant for the rating (ibid.: 19). Better ratings were given to activities that were voluntary and had a practical content. However, mandatory activities got a good rating, too (Cremers et al. 2008: 74ff). The authors of the first evaluation stressed that, on the one hand, voluntariness is important because some boys were sent to seminars or trial days without their consent and this had a negative impact on their experience (Cremers et al. 2008: 78). On the other hand, mandatory trial days relieve boys from masculinity norms – they don’t have to justify why they opt for a trial day in an occupation that is seen as feminine. It is argued that “voluntary (non-)participation isn’t actually that voluntary and there may be some boys who are interested or undecided who will conform to the hegemonic mainstream under the conditions of voluntariness” (Budde et al. 2011: 122).

It was recommended, therefore, to offer various choices so that boys have a say in what they do during the day. It was also recommended not to talk about “women’s jobs” as this would lead to restricted associations amongst boys. Some boys interviewed in a focus group...
who had not participated in a trial day regretfully said that they hadn’t known that, for example, “kindergarten teacher” would have been amongst the options (Debus 2012: 102). Therefore, the term “women’s occupations” should only be used when looked at critically:

If the gendered segregation of labour is to be talked about – and this necessitates a certain knowledge and pedagogic competence – it may be useful to use that term. If left unreflected, however, the term will rather function as a ‘societal usher’: It produces the image that a ‘real’ boy isn’t interested in this occupation and needs to be brought to be interested. Thus, boys end up in a (two-)gender-trap that makes it harder for them to reconcile their interest with the gender norms surrounding them. If it is merely the aim to encourage or oblige boys to do a trial day in a female dominated occupation, then terms like “social occupation”, “service occupations” and so forth are recommended. (Debus/Stuve 2012: 59)

Further insights of the evaluation resulted from comparing boys’ self-perceptions with their perception by others. In interviews with pedagogues and school principals, some perceptions came up that were rather not present in the discussions with boys. Some pedagogues think that boys are only marginally interested in care occupations because of a lack of experience, a lack of male role models, peer pressure, cultural background or low education of their parents (Budde et al. 2011). So, there are many negative constructions of boys, and their common logic is to find the reasons for an assumed low interest of boys in non-stereotypical occupations outside the educational arena, thus shifting responsibility away from schools and other pedagogic institutions.

In contrast, boys did show a high interest in care occupations in questionnaires and focus groups: “None of our interviewees showed signs of reluctance or antipathy for caring occupations” (Debus/Stuve 2012: 53). A difference along social categories was only found insofar as boys visiting non-grammar schools show a higher interest in care jobs, while boys in grammar schools shared concerns about the prestige and the payment in these jobs. These boys stated that while they may have enjoyed the trial days, they still prefer to become a lawyer, architect or doctor (Budde et al. 2011: 123). Also, some statements clearly showed that the boys indeed were regularly involved in domestic work – something their teacher had not noticed. In terms of traditional orientation, the following insight is instructive: Boys tend to resort to traditional ideas of a heterosexual family with a male breadwinner if an exchange is abstract and about the distant future. The more a conversation is about their current situation, the less they do this (Debus/Stuve 2012: 58).

Furthermore, the common notion of a lack of male role models was not confirmed in the group discussions. Also, the idea that boys identify with traditional notions of masculinity out of disorientation was not found. Something that was found was that, according to pedagogues, boys indeed restrict each other in their respective constructions of masculinity, thus hindering a broadening of masculinity. But again, there was some ambivalence – for example
in one case, boys regarded other boys who had actively looked for a trial day as positive while they thought of others who had not done so as lazy and disorganized (ibid.: 58). While this observation corresponds with the thesis that boys tend to develop a dynamic of competition, in this case this behaviour leads to a broadening of their occupational options towards care jobs.

On the basis of observations in seminars and workshops, the authors came to the conclusion that the perceptions of boys amongst pedagogues may have problematic effects on their pedagogical practice, leading to a production of those stereotypical orientations amongst boys that are presumed in these perceptions. For example, in many instances it was observed that pedagogues tried to trick boys into choosing a care occupation by using “fun” (Debus/Stuve 2012). While this may not be problematic in general, this may happen at the expense of those kinds of actions that boys are interested in, and it may reproduce stereotypical constructions of masculinity such as heterosexuality, introducing a sexual charge, competition and toughness. For example, one pedagogue asked the boys at which courses at university they would not have to compete with too many other men for the women. Neither did the boys react positively to this question nor did this spark a talk about male- or female-dominated professions (Debus/Stuve 2012). Particularly when looking at the aim of the project, this is problematic: “There won’t be any new paths for boys, if traditional patterns of masculinity are not at least complemented with alternative concepts of fun that work without competition, winners and losers or a sexual connotation” (Debus 2012: 107). The authors see a possible negative impact of the idea that working with boys should be done by men: If the gender of the boys and the men is overstressed, the person of the pedagogue may become more salient while the person of the boy may be overlooked (Debus/Stuve 2012).

A final conclusion was made during telephone interviews with school principals. These interviews showed some structural impediments for realizing an education for boys – namely chronic underfunding of schools and the precariousness of youth work. Also, youth work offers for boys can barely be fitted into the school context with its sparse resources of space and time (ibid.: 101f.). This evaluation also categorized the activities offered by the schools according to their focus and character. For 50% of the activities, a stereotypical character was apparent while an approach that extends notions of masculinity was only found in 18% of the cases looked at.

To conclude, the research on New Paths for Boys and the Boys’Day showed that a pedagogy that extends the options for boys meets with bigger interest among boys than what educators think. Secondly, a difference in perceptions of boys becomes visible between boys themselves and the pedagogues that work with them. Thirdly, this research has shown that if stereotypical notions of masculinity form the basis of a pedagogical approach, problematic didactics are chosen and some boys find these rather strange.
4. Conclusions and ideas for national projects

4.1. Good Practice

The material analysed contained quite a number of examples of good practice:

- Gender-inclusive language (though only representing male and female identities and thus not including transgender and non-binary identities).

- Ethnically diverse representations in photos and names of trainees or professionals in the occupations.

- Diversity of occupations and activities in which men and women are represented, including many photos of boys and men in caring occupations (this was also found in the material that does not solely focus on this topic).

- Informational material that presents care occupations as important as other occupations (in the material that generally addresses vocational orientation without a sole focus on boys and care).

- Visually appealing and interactive online tools (as opposed to information presented merely as a pdf-file with lots of text) with beroobi as the highlight (see http://www.beroobi.de/berufe/erzieher).

- Visual representations of occupations or activities without actual persons – this bypasses all the problems of representation. An example was what happened in beroobi where there were photos representing what workers see 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 beroobi 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 nurses, 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.
4.2. Ideas for further activities

In terms of what kind of informational and learning material could be added to the material already existing and which could be relevant for training courses we think the following could be interesting:

- Information on a range of care jobs (including nursing, education and social work) showing which occupations can be done with what school certificate (In the existing information it is a bit complicated to find out what kind of occupation you can choose in the field of elderly care if you have a certain certificate and there is a focus on occupations that don’t require a university degree). It should show a range of masculinities, femininities and transgender/non-binary people doing care work, or, alternatively, depictions not showing real persons should be considered. And it should be visually appealing, e.g. online tools that include photos, sound, videos and interactive elements.

- Learning material that directly addresses gender issues and asks readers or users to reflect on gender (or, if such material already exists, including this into the “general” material and thus to overcome the pattern that those sorts of material that address gender issues are usually presented outside the material that addresses vocational orientation more generally such as in the “purified approach” described above). Such material could include questions about why people think this or that activity is masculine or feminine. It could also ask the reader to reflect about how much their occupational choice is led by gender norms – and where they learnt these norms.

- The existing material could also be supplemented by material which includes family and care constellations besides heterosexual couples. The heterosexual couple was the only life form represented in the material addressing life planning as a topic of vocational choices.

- Trainings with teachers or vocational counsellors should take into account the results of the Boys’Day evaluations (see 3. above) and stress that boys are interested in untypical career choices and that the views or stereotypes of professionals working with them can hinder their interests.
5. Literature & Links


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Statistisches Bundesamt (2016b): Absolventen/Abgänger nach Abschlussart


Statistisches Bundesamt (2017b): Students: Germany, semester, nationality, sex, subject.
