How Gender and Class Norms Shape our Worldview: Occupational Representations of Teenagers in Switzerland

Gross Dinah

Gross Dinah, 2020, How Gender and Class Norms Shape our Worldview: Occupational Representations of Teenagers in Switzerland

Originally published at : Thesis, University of Lausanne

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Document URN : urn:nbn:ch:serval-BIB_E48B0F0D600F7

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FACULTÉ DES SCIENCES SOCIALES ET POLITIQUES

INSTITUT DES SCIENCES SOCIALES

How Gender and Class Norms Shape our Worldview: Occupational Representations of Teenagers in Switzerland

THÈSE DE DOCTORAT

Présentée à la
Faculté des Sciences Sociales et Politiques
de l'Université de Lausanne

pour l'obtention du grade de
Docteure en Sciences sociales

par
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LAUSANNE
2020

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Faculté des sciences sociales et politiques

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« How Gender and Class Norms Shape Our Worldview. Occupational Representations of Teenagers in Switzerland »

Marie SANTIAGO DELEFOSSE
Doyenne

Lausanne, le 14 février 2020

Summary

Representations that teenagers have of occupations, especially in terms of sex-type and prestige, are often taken to ground their occupational aspirations. On the basis of a questionnaire submitted to a sample of 3125 12 to 15-year-old students and their parents in Switzerland, I explore how occupational representations vary according to gender and class, how they relate to each other, and how they influence occupational aspirations.

I find that occupational representations in terms of gender vary on the basis of respondent sex, gender identity, and sexism, and contribute to a hierarchical and segregated view of occupations deemed appropriate to each sex. I also find that prestige and masculinity are more strongly associated by students in dominant groups (males and students in high-requirement school tracks). I investigate the influence that parents have on their children's occupational representations; I find that gender-role attitudes are transmitted from parents to children, as are representations of prestige and expectations as to status. Gottfredson's theory of circumscription and compromise states that teenagers select their aspired occupation as the outcome of a process of circumscription of acceptable alternatives in terms of sex-type, prestige and difficulty. I assess this theory empirically, finding that prestige is not an appropriate dimension according to which to measure feminine occupations and that difficulty of an occupation is not seen as discouraging, thus demonstrating this theory to be unreliable in explaining occupational aspirations.

Résumé

Les représentations que les adolescent·e·s ont des professions, en particulier en termes de sexuation et de prestige, sont souvent considérées comme fondant leurs aspirations professionnelles. Sur la base d'un questionnaire rempli par un échantillon de 3125 jeunes de 12 à 15 ans et leurs parents en Suisse, j'examine comment ces représentations varient en fonction de paramètres liés au genre et à la classe sociale, comment elles sont associées entre elles, et comment elles influencent les aspirations professionnelles.

Il ressort de mes analyses que les représentations de la sexuation des professions varient en fonction du sexe, de l'identité de genre et du sexisme des participant·e·s, contribuant ainsi à construire une perception hiérarchique et ségréguée des professions estimées convenir à chaque sexe. Prestige et masculinité des professions sont associées plus fortement par les jeunes appartenant à des groupes dominants (les garçons et les élèves dans les voies scolaires à exigences élevées). J'examine l'influence que les parents ont sur les représentations professionnelles de leurs enfants : les attitudes concernant les rôles genrés sont transmises de parents à enfants, de même que les représentations en termes de prestige et les attentes quant au statut social. La théorie de la circonscription et du compromis de Gottfredson affirme que les jeunes choisissent la profession à laquelle ils et elles aspirent à la suite d'un processus de circonscription des alternatives acceptables en termes de sexuation, de prestige et de difficulté des professions. Je propose une évaluation empirique de cette théorie dont il résulte que le prestige n'est pas une dimension adéquate pour évaluer les professions féminines et que le fait de percevoir une profession comme difficile n'est pas un facteur de découragement ; ainsi, cette théorie n'explique pas de façon fiable la construction des aspirations professionnelles.

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Acknowledgements

La rédaction d'une thèse est un processus de recherche et d'apprentissage personnel, mais elle constitue également un cheminement pour devenir un·e enseignant·e-chercheur·e en sciences sociales. Au-delà de ma recherche de thèse, nombre de personnes ont accompagné mon parcours professionnel ces dernières années, au sortir de ma vie antérieure de philosophe-helléniste.

Certaines personnes et institutions m'ont offert un cadre de travail, tant concret qu'intellectuel, qui m'a permis de réfléchir et d'avancer. J'aimerais exprimer ma gratitude à l'Université de Lausanne, qui m'a fourni des conditions agréables et stimulantes. Elle m'a permis de saisir toutes les opportunités de me former tout en gardant ma liberté sur les sujets et les moyens de ces apprentissages. L'Institut des sciences sociales et le laboratoire LINES, incarnés par leurs directions successives, ont traduit ces opportunités de façon concrète, soutenant mon parcours. J'aimerais remercier tout particulièrement les personnes qui m'ont permis d'exercer ma recherche comme assistante diplômée, un cadre idéal à mon apprentissage de sociologue professionnelle : Nicky Le Feuvre, Dominique Vinck et Dominique Joye. D'autres personnes ont soutenu par la suite mon insertion professionnelle de chercheuse : Morgane Kuehni, Nadia Lamamra, Séverine Rey, Marlène Sapin, Eric Widmer, Edith Guilley et, surtout, Farinaz Fassa et Lavinia Gianettoni qui se sont révélées des alliées constantes.

Le Fonds national suisse de la recherche scientifique a permis la mise en place de cadres institutionnels dans lesquels j'ai eu la chance de travailler : le Programme national de recherche « Égalité entre hommes et femmes » (PNR 60), le Pôle de recherche national « LIVES : surmonter la vulnérabilité : perspective du parcours de vie » et le projet « Les parcours de formation professionnelle au prisme du genre et de l'orientation sexuelle » dans lequel je travaille actuellement. Ces structures m'ont donné l'occasion de développer ma recherche et de la confronter dans des contextes stimulants. J'aimerais exprimer ma gratitude à mes collègues du projet « Aspirations et orientations professionnelles des filles et garçons en fin de scolarité obligatoire : quels déterminants pour plus d'égalité ? » du PNR 60, sur les données duquel cette thèse a été réalisée : Edith Guilley, Carolina Carvalho Arruda, Jacques-Antoine Gauthier, Lavinia Gianettoni, Dominique Joye, Elisabeth Moubarak et Karin Müller. Au-delà de la reconnaissance que j'ai envers ces personnes pour le travail commun de collecte, de préparation et de contextualisation des données, ce projet m'a permis de rencontrer des collègues compétent·e·s avec qui il a été

agréable d'échanger, et qui ont posé les jalons de ma compréhension de la problématique. J'ai le plaisir de retrouver deux d'entre elles, Lavinia Gianettoni et Edith Guilley, dans le projet dans lequel je travaille actuellement : nous formons tous les quatre, avec Jérôme Blondé, une belle équipe !

Mes directeurs de thèse Felix Bühlmann et Dominique Joye m'ont accompagnée au long de ce parcours de leurs conseils et de leur disponibilité et je leur en suis profondément reconnaissante. Boris Wernli et Lavinia Gianettoni ont également constitué des ressources scientifiques précieuses au cours des années et ont continué jouer ce rôle au sein de mon jury de thèse. Les deux autres membres de mon jury, Clotilde Lemarchant et Christian Suter, suivent mon travail depuis moins longtemps, mais se sont révélés de conseil également avisé et utile.

J'aimerais remercier les personnes qui m'ont invitée à prendre part à des séminaires de recherche ou qui ont commenté mon travail, me permettant ainsi d'avancer dans ma réflexion. Je pense en particulier à Farinaz Fassa, Nicky Le Feuvre, Fabrizio Butera, Alexandre Fontaine, Christian Maggiori, Jacques-Antoine Gauthier, Daniel Oesch, Dario Spini, ainsi que mes interlocuteurs dans divers colloques, en particulier mes collègues du comité du Research Network 10 de la Société européenne de sociologie.

Ma gratitude va également aux enseignant·e·s responsables, grâce à qui j'ai continué, en tant qu'assistante, à apprendre à pratiquer les sciences sociales, Lavinia Gianettoni, Jacques-Antoine Gauthier, Angèle Mendy et Davide Morselli, mais aussi aux étudiant·e·s au contact de qui ma capacité critique de travaux en sciences sociales s'est aiguisée.

J'aimerais exprimer ma reconnaissance à toutes celles et ceux qui nous assurent au quotidien de bonnes conditions de travail, en particulier le personnel de la bibliothèque, de la cafétéria de Géopolis, de nettoyage et d'entretien, et, surtout, le personnel administratif. Une pensée particulièrement chaleureuse va à Annick Ott, Anne-Sophie Chappuis, Fabiana Carrer et Laurence Henny.

Dans ce moment de réflexion reconnaissante envers les personnes qui ont accompagné mon travail, j'aimerais mentionner trois jeunes scientifiques, Ariane Froidevaux, Shékina Rochat et Loretta Platts, qui sont à la fois des amies et incarnent pour moi des modèles de chercheuses : vives, bienveillantes, dynamiques, généreuses de leur temps et de leur énergie intellectuelle, elles m'ont soutenue par des relectures critiques, des discussions, et des encouragements.

De nombreuses personnes ont partagé avec moi les angoisses, les rires et les interrogations de l'aventure que constitue la rédaction d'une thèse : je pense à tou·te·s

mes compagnes et compagnons doctorant·e·s actuel·le·s ou passé·e·s à l'Université de Lausanne et ailleurs, et en particulier à Matteo Antonini, Isabel Baumann, Loïse Bilat, Jean-Baptiste Blanc, Karen Brändle, Raul Burgos-Paredes, Alexandre Camus, Carolina Carvalho Arruda, Gloria Casas-Vila, Laetitia Charalambides, Julien Chevillard, Michael Cordey, Odile Cuenoud, Nora Dasoki, Léïla Eisner, Julie Falcon, Ariane Froidevaux, Elsa Gimenez, Nadia Girardin, Andrés Guarin, Adar Hoffman, Faten Khazaei, Hanna Klaas, Ornella Larenza, Ignacio Madero-Cabib, Richard Marion, Maëlle Meignez, Helder Mendes Baiao, Aurore Ndour, Miriam Odoni, Julie Pluies, Marco Prost, Shékina Rochat, Guillaume Ruiz, Christian Ruiz-Palmero, Rosa Sanchez-Tomé, Natalie Schwarz, Romina Seminario, Mylène Tanferri, Zhivko Taushanov, Isabel Valarino, Anna von Ow et Najate Zouggari.

Mes ami·e·s ont constitué pour moi au cours des années une source intarissable de soutien et d'énergie. Je pense surtout à Mylène Tanferri, Alexandre Camus et Elsa Gimenez, avec qui les affres d'une thèse ont été amplement débattues, mais aussi à Karen Druckman, Obdulia Mathis, Shékina Rochat, Victoria Gushmakova, Jean-Christophe Richardeau, Gloria Zarama, Norbert Ebel, Isabelle Jacopin, Dominique Duprez, Geneviève Gilléron, Ayşe Dayı, Alexandra Bumbaru et Ivett Szalma.

J'aimerais saluer mes ami·e·s du mouvement kurde, en particulier Özlem Arik et Hayrettin Öztekin, mais aussi Eugenia Portioli, Tanya Işık, Evîn Akman, Fuat Altun, Rewşen Yilmaz et Sevgi Koyuncu, dont l'engagement constant en faveur d'un idéal de justice politique et sociale, au détriment parfois de leur propre bien-être et sécurité, me laisse profondément admirative, et dont l'exemple m'a permis de renouveler le sens que je donne à la pratique des sciences sociales et de l'associer à un engagement éthique porteur de sens.

Deux chercheurs dans des domaines très différents ont constitué depuis bien longtemps des modèles intellectuels pour moi, et ont fondé ma vocation et mon goût pour la recherche : Christophe Erismann, avec qui j'ai partagé ma route durant de nombreuses années, est un chercheur enthousiaste, déterminé, stratégique, toujours passionné par son sujet de prédilection, l'histoire de la philosophie médiévale. Mon père, Daniel Gross, physicien et inventeur, a toujours été pour moi un exemple d'acuité, de nuance, et de persévérance. Sa curiosité intellectuelle et sa fascination inépuisable pour des sujets abstraits continuent de m'impressionner.

My first impression, that of finding myself part of a fearless battle, passed. The trepidation at every exam and the joy of passing it with the highest marks had faded. Gone was the pleasure of re-educating my voice, my gestures, my way of dressing and walking, as if I were competing for the prize of best disguise, the mask worn so well that it was almost *a face.*

Suddenly I was aware of that almost. Had I made it? Almost. Had I torn myself away from Naples, the neighborhood? Almost. Did I have new friends, male and female, who came from cultured backgrounds […]? Almost. From one exam to the next, had I become a student who was well received by the solemn professors who questioned me? Almost. Behind the almost I seemed to see how things stood. I was afraid. […] I was scared of anyone who had that culture without the almost, with casual confidence.

There were many people at the Normale who did. It wasn't just students who passed the exams brilliantly, in Latin or Greek or history. They were youths—almost all male, as were the outstanding professors and the illustrious names who had passed through that institution—who excelled because they knew, without apparent effort, the present and future use of the labor of studying. They knew because of the families they came from or through an instinctive orientation. They knew how a newspaper or a journal was put together, how a publishing house was organized, what a radio or television office was, how a film originates, what the university hierarchies were, what there was beyond the borders of our towns or cities, beyond the Alps, beyond the sea. They knew the names of the people who counted, the people to be admired and those to be despised. I, on the other hand, knew nothing, to me anyone whose name was printed in a newspaper or a book was a god. If someone said to me with admiration or with resentment: that's so-and-so, that's the son of so-and-so, that's that other so-and-so's granddaughter, I was silent or I pretended to know. I perceived, of course, that they were truly important names, and yet I had never heard them, I didn't know what they had done that was important, I didn't know the map of prestige.

Elena Ferrante, *The Neapolitan Novels II: The Story of a New Name*, Engl. transl. Ann Goldstein, New York: Europa, 2013.

Introduction

This thesis stemmed originally from the following question. When, even as adults, it is so difficult to find what we *really* want to spend our time doing, which activities will provide us with a meaningful and pleasant way of spending most of our time and with the social recognition we crave for, how can we expect teenagers, as young as 15 years old as is the case in Switzerland, to respond to this kind of injunction?

This thesis is about occupational representations and aspirations of teenagers. Where do occupational aspirations come from? Are they the product of our most intimate individuality, as vocational psychologists would want us to believe, or are they socially determined? Are they the product of a "choice" or the consequence of the weight of social structures on individuals? In the theoretical debate between individualists and structuralists, this work takes a structuralist approach, but it attempts to do so in an original way: by showing that the most personal and private reasons for choice, which ground "(rational) choice", occupational representations, are in fact collective and socially determined.

Wikipedia defines horse blinkers as follows: "Blinkers are usually made of leather or plastic cups that are placed on either side of the eyes, either attached to a bridle or to an independent hood. […] Many racehorse trainers believe these keep horses focused on what is in front, encouraging them to pay attention to the race rather than other distractions, such as crowds. Additionally, blinkers are commonly seen on driving horses, to keep them from being distracted or spooked, especially on crowded city streets."

I wish to draw a comparison between the function of blinkers on racehorses and those of gender and class norms in teenagers. Young people find themselves very early in life equipped with blinkers that effectively block out their vision of "non-relevant" occupational alternatives. This allows them to focus on the race ahead of them and on the path which society has prepared for them. Who exactly is responsible for setting up these blinkers is not the focus here. What shall be explored in this work, however, is how teenagers' vision is skewed and limited by them.

The research question on which I wish to focus in this work may be formulated as follows: How do teenagers, confronted with a projected nexus of decisions to be taken about their

future educational and employment pathways, construct occupational representations taking account of social norms and their position in the social structure in order to guide their constrained occupational preferences?

Much research has been dedicated to the well-known fact that social position determines educational and occupational outcomes. I contribute to this research by highlighting an explanatory factor that has often been overlooked, that of occupational representations. I contend that one important reason for which people from different backgrounds end up in different educational and occupational outcomes is because they *see* educational and occupational opportunities in different ways. For example, they see them as more or less desirable, more or less appropriate for themselves, and have a more or less clear concept of them. Moreover, these differences in representations do not vary randomly, but may be related to social position, in particular to gender and class positions.

Consequently, the main thesis of this work is that representations that teenagers have of occupations are not neutral and universal, but are on the one hand laden with normativity and on the other vary according to social groups. In the framework of the debate between agency and determinism, this allows me to shed new light on the notion of constrained choices and on one of the constraining factors: occupational representations. Social stratification theories usually suppose that everyone agrees on what is most preferable socially, that is, that norms about what is better and less good from an occupational perspective are the object of general consensus. In consequence, everyone is taken to strive for the same general aim, but only the most privileged and resourceful succeed in reaching it. In contrast, I intend to demonstrate that people from different classes and sexes have different norms and that people from all origins do not all desire or value the same educational or occupational outcomes. This work is about how representations of occupations vary according to the social position of respondents. It is also about how norms and representations influence each other depending on the social position of individuals.

The interplay of positions and norms to construct representations and aspirations is a complex phenomenon. Gender and class norms are endorsed in occupational representations by dominant groups to whom they are advantageous; they are also in some cases a powerful means of social reproduction in disadvantaged groups who endorse them despite their negative effects; in yet other cases, we see groups using

representations to contest gender and class norms which are detrimental to them. I argue that respondents use occupational representations and aspirations to take position with regard social norms, in some cases contesting them, in others stating their support to them, and this according to the social groups to which they belong.

The topic of occupational aspirations of teenagers has been considered from different disciplinary points of view. It has been discussed at length by vocational psychologists, for whom it is a central topic of the discipline, in most cases on the basis of concepts stemming from psychology. However, as we shall see, there are also vocational psychologists who take social factors seriously. The slightly different topic of occupational representations has been developed most extensively by social psychologists, who, in some cases, establish theoretical links with concepts stemming from the sociological tradition. In addition to this I refer to two interdisciplinary perspectives: that of gender studies, which study the production of social inequalities on the basis of gender from various disciplinary perspectives, and that of life course studies, which provide a framework for individual trajectories across time and institutions. Consequently, while the main approach of this work is sociological in nature, I refer to a number of theories and empirical findings from the aforementioned disciplines.

In Chapter III, I consider how social characteristics such as gender and social class influence the gendered representations of occupations that teenagers have. We shall also see how normative attitudes about roles of oneself and others in the gender system, namely gender identity and sexism, contribute to shaping gendered representations of occupations.

In Chapter IV, I consider how representations of prestige and masculinity are related in teenagers' perceptions of occupations, and how this relation varies according to the social position of respondents. Students in dominant positions relate these two concepts more strongly than others, thus contributing to the reproduction of a system that is advantageous to them.

In Chapter V, I consider how parents' gender norms influence those of their children, and how their social position influences that of their children's occupational aspirations.

Finally, in Chapter VI, I investigate the verifiability of one of the leading theories in vocational psychology on the shaping of occupational representations and aspirations,

Gottfredson's theory of circumscription and compromise, and I attempt to show how it is flawed, and why the model it provides is an oversimplification of reality.

The overall structure of the thesis may be understood as step-by-step evaluation of the circumscription part of Gottfredson's theory of circumscription and compromise. This theory states that representations of occupations in terms of gender, prestige and difficulty commonly influence people's circumscription of the zone of acceptable alternatives, in which the particular occupation they aspire to is to be found. I thus begin, in Chapter III, by considering how occupational representations in terms of gender are constructed. In Chapter IV, I explore a novel way of connecting the variations of representations in terms of gender and prestige; in Chapter V, I consider another determinant of representational variations among young people, which is the influence of their parents' representations. Finally, in Chapter VI, I take on Gottfredson's theory itself and show how the relation she hypothesises between these different kinds of representations and aspirations is an oversimplification of reality.

To begin, however, I shall study the central concepts of this thesis in a theoretical chapter. This chapter will begin by discussing what I mean by social position. I will then look at the notions of norms and representations and see how they are related. I shall consider occupational aspirations as a special kind of representation. Finally, to reframe this in a life course perspective, I shall consider briefly the influence of the institutional context, and how these reflexions may be included in the agency-determinism debate. The way in which I understand the relationship between the theoretical chapter and the empirical chapters is the following. In Chapter I, I will present theoretical structures that underlie and provide meaning to the analyses in the empirical chapters. However, I do not rely on this theoretical material to provide me with empirically testable hypotheses. Complementary to this, in each chapter, I present theories at a lower degree of abstraction that offer empirically verifiable assertions that are verified or falsified.

Chapter I:Positions, norms and representations over time

The aim of this thesis is to explore how social positions, norms and occupational representations generate and influence each other to produce occupational aspirations, and this, in a framework that takes time into account. I shall thus explore each of these four theoretical concepts in turn – positions, norms, representations, and trajectories across time –, as well as their interrelations.

My discussion of social positions will look into the idea of social space and outline different views about the structure of social inequalities. It will look into the consequences of the view that states that people possess unequal amounts of capital, and that according to which groups in unequal power relations compete for material and symbolic resources.

The study of norms shows how beliefs about the current distribution of power are accepted and justified or on the contrary contested by social actors; I shall focus on gender norms and will consider sexism as a case of system justification. I shall also explore what the notion of misleading norms has to say about gender relations in a life course perspective.

My study of representations will draw upon the literature on social representations to outline how occupational representations may be defined, and how my perspective contrasts with that from the study of representations in social psychology. I will also explore Gender schema theory as a way in which representations may be systematically structured according to gender.

The life course perspective will allow to set these notions in a time frame, while also taking into account (expected) trajectories, issues of agency and of linked lives. Occupational decision-making is considered as a turning point.

Finally, all this shall be wrapped together in a critical account of the main theories on the construction of occupational aspirations.

Social position: an objective purveyor of resources and foreseeable opportunities

The need for social structure

Most sociologists agree that in order to produce meaningful discourse about society they must consider it as exhibiting structure. This is a requisite in order both to produce scientific discourse, which relies on multiply identifiable characteristics, and to do sociology, as this discipline is grounded in the idea that among all the factors that influence human behaviour, some are specifically social in nature and are the focus of the discipline. However, there is disagreement among sociologists as to what these structures are.

What is structure? Settersten & Gannon (2009) note the difficulty of defining the concept, its possible bias towards large structures and the fact that it encompasses norms understood as stable across time. They note that emphasis is usually put on the influence of structures on individual lives but not the other way around.

In identifying structures, sociologists also agree with lay views of society that often also see it as structured according to the characteristics of its members; however, the structures identified in lay and in scientific discourse may differ. This leads to the following question. Should the most salient dimensions of social structure be decided on the basis of criteria that sociologist deem important, or should they be a generalisation from the discourse that social actors produce about society? In the discussion that follows, I shall emphasise the theoretical distinction between on the one hand a view of the structure of society, which may be either defined by experts, in this case sociologists, in the analysis of this scientific object, or which may be empirically revealed from the analysis of how social actors view society. In this second perspective, we may note the challenge of deciding whether to favour a majority view of the structure of society, or to emphasise the multiplicity of such views.

Confusion may arise from this distinction because sociologists have often put forth categories for the analysis of society similar to those used by laypersons. Notions such as that of social class and of prestige are good examples. This is interesting because it means that concepts used to define the system from “above” (but are sociologists ever “above”?) are also used inside the system to reinforce symbolic positions. This point will be further explored in the section on norms.

Social "space"

The concept of social "position" is based upon an analogy between social and physical spaces. A social position is a unique set of coordinates in social "space". Social space is conceived as multidimensional in a similar way to physical space. Like in physical space, the position that something occupies can vary over time. The field of study of social "stratification" draws upon this metaphor. Just as in archaeological strata, lower means older, in social stratification, lower means less favoured socially. What this means exactly remains to be defined.

While there are a number of specific theoretical frameworks into which this spatial metaphor of the structure of society may be read, we may note that it always refers implicitly to the sphere of employment, its preconditions (education) and consequences (wages). Therefore, while social space cannot exactly be equated with occupational space, it deals with similar issues. For this reason, it is notably difficult to place in this space people who are not in the labour market: children, some women, retirees, unemployed and handicapped people, and those who for any other reason are out of the labour market (which amount to approx. 40% of the Swiss population!), who end up being assigned to positions of other reference members of the family, parents or husbands, or to past positions. Also, it does not make space for distinction between part-time and full-time work. We may have doubts about the validity of a framework that does not allow for own positions of such a large proportion of the population.

Feminist thought and sociological work about women in the labour market emphasises the opposition between the spheres of paid and unpaid labour, that is, the sphere of employment and that of family care, and the impossible choices that women have to make to participate in the first while endorsing unquestioned responsibility for the second. This prompts reflections about the sexist nature of a theoretical stratification system which classifies people on the basis of their participation in only one of these spheres, the one which is less advantageous to women.

"Up" and "down" the social ladder

A lot of conceptual and empirical research works with this specific spatial metaphor, for example the idea of "climbing the social ladder" and the French concept of the "social lift/elevator". So what does this mean? In everyday parlance, the idea is probably that being "higher" on the ladder is more desirable because it opens a wider range of social

opportunities and ultimately makes life easier. In sociological theoretical perspectives, being higher up on the ladder presumably means having more of some particular kinds of resources, or belonging to a group which is in an advantageous power relation to others. These perspectives will be explored later.

The idea of climbing the ladder involves action over time. So this metaphor also involves the ideology of agency. Interestingly, the lift/elevator metaphor involves only a limited amount of effort, and suggests a fairly mechanical process. The energy individuals are supposed to invest in climbing the ladder may depend on emphasis on agency or structure in a particular system.

Julie Falcon (2013) discusses the idea of the social ladder. She notes that this metaphor has a number of limitations: it implies that there is just one dimension on which to climb; that there is equal distance between the rungs of the ladder, while in reality occupations cluster in groups; that there is only one direction in which to climb, and finally, that it suggests a rigid structure. She replaces the ladder metaphor by a mountain one and stops just short of questioning the absolute preferability of "up" over "down" – she agrees that some places lower on the mountain may be good for various purposes and that one may have advantage in staying there.

In Swiss contemporary society, where most of the working force is employed in the tertiary sector, where stress is one of the most salient factors of dissatisfaction at work, where repetitive and boring work is not necessarily restricted to manual labour, where vocational students also tend to spend many years in education, and where cumulated salaries over the life course are not strictly correlated with the number of years of study, the issue of which groups are most disadvantaged in an occupational context, of what it means to be further "up" or "down" the social ladder is less straightforward to grasp than in traditional 20th century industrial economies, as noted by Daniel Oesch (2006). The situation is quite different from the one Paul Willis (1977) studied when he set out to explore the working class culture that made possible the "self-damnation [of young working class men] in the taking on of subordinate roles in Western capitalism" (p. 3).

Falcon (2013) retains the idea of verticality and horizontality, despite her description of a somewhat not too steep mountain. However, we may wonder if there really are exactly two such salient dimensions? What is important about their being "horizontal" and "vertical"? One obvious answer, which is implicit in the system, is that horizontal social

movement is normatively acceptable, as it is taken to be neutral; one kind of vertical movement is desirable while the other is undesirable. This is the normative content of the ladder metaphor, which I may wish to question, or a least note.

The way in which education improves opportunities depends a lot on how the idea of opportunity is defined. And the idea of opportunity also involves normative content since an opportunity is defined as something desirable. One of the aims of this thesis is to show that what is desirable to whom is an empirical question which cannot be solved through *a priori* normative discourse.

One way to look at the ladder metaphor is to ask how different resources and opportunities translate into power relations among groups that are positioned differently on one or the other dimension of social space. In a "rare resources" approach, we may suppose that that which advantages some disadvantages others, among groups competing for the same resources. But this presupposes that they compete for the *same* resources. This remains to be verified. In a more limited framework, this is verified: wages are the resource for which all workers compete, which comes in limited amounts and makes a difference between high rank and low rank occupations. However, if we consider other resources workers may compete for, such as occupational prestige, it is much more difficult to ascertain whether this resource is understood in the same way by everyone, and thus whether workers are all competing for the same resource. The view defended in this work is that occupational prestige is homonymic – that the same linguistic expression is used to refer to quite different social concepts.

While not necessarily endorsing a meritocratic ideology, sociologists may have the tendency to share and reproduce part of the normative content of the social ladder metaphor. Since social class is more and more based on levels of education, and since sociologists are highly educated, I suspect that sociologists may be particularly sensitive to the many ways in which higher education improves life opportunities. The general perspective pursued in this thesis is that views of which occupations and educational tracks are higher up the ladder than others may depend on socially situated representations: the idea that everyone sees the ladder in the same way and therefore aims in the same direction would therefore be an illusion.

Bourdieu's notion of "field"

Another way to look at social "space" is with the help of Bourdieu's notion of field. Pierre Bourdieu (2002) explains that a field is a part of social space structured by its own rules, roles and stakes, which need to be grasped and may be enacted in different ways by social actors. Social space may also be defined in relation to field, as noted by Levy & Bühlmann (2016): "social space is organised in a multiplicity of social fields that are more or less differentiated from each other and internally structured" (p. 31). The metaphors of a game with its rules, or of a theatre play with its script may help to grasp the relationship between social actors and the structured fields they enter, give life to and perpetuate. Levy & Bühlmann (2016) provide a more abstract definition: a social field is "a bounded, partly autonomous ensemble of interactions that share some kind of specificity. The main implication of the field concept is that whatever kind of actors are part of it, they do not act in isolation but in direct or indirect interaction with each other" (p. 31).

The concept of field allows to break down the complexity of multi-dimensional social life into a number of "arenas" in which social relations take place. In a given field, social actors act in interaction with one another because they share a number of assumptions and common or competing values that are also part of the field. For this reason, fields provide meaning to social actions.

Levy & Bühlmann (2016) go on to explain that fields include an internal structure that allows for particular roles, which require specific amounts of certain kinds of capital, and will thus be filled by individuals in specific social positions with specific social histories. This shows how social positions are central to the notion of field, and relates these positions to the notion of capital. Individuals may be more or less endowed with different kinds of capital; however, what is common to all kinds of capital is that much of it is acquired through social reproduction, that capital may be measured quantitatively, and that having more of given kinds of relevant capitals provides access to more social opportunities in given fields. According to Levy & Bühlmann (2016), Bourdieu (1975) even defines fields in terms of capital, "as systems of relations between positions which are differentially endowed with volumes and forms of capital" (p. 31).

Interestingly, Levy & Bühlmann (2016) relate positions in social fields not only to the social history of individuals and to their current roles, but also to expectations for the

future. The focus of this work is similar, in that is explores how social actors ground projections about their social future on their social history and current position.

In conclusion to this brief introduction to the notions of field and capital, here are a few reflexions about how other concepts central to this work may fit into this framework. Consensual examples of fields may be institutions (schools, organizations, hospitals, families) and examples of capital may be cultural (measured by levels of education), economic (measured by wealth and wages) or social (measured by the extent and diversity of an individual's social network, and by the social position of its members). But how does gender fit into this framework? Are gender relations a field, structured by the roles provided by gender stereotypes and the patriarchal system? Or is gender rather a form of social capital, a special kind of symbolic capital, of which women have "less" than men and thus that explains their relative disadvantage in given social fields? How are unequal gender relations represented in the system? More generally, how do we account for unequal social positions of discriminated groups (age, race, gender, etc.) despite equal amounts of capital? How do we account for the fact that it is more difficult for these groups to acquire capital or that, because of different norms, they do not strive for the same capital?

A second question about how exactly the framework of fields and capital outlined by Bourdieu applies to the topics explored in this work arises when we consider in which field or fields exactly students are positioning themselves when they reply to questions about their occupational aspirations and representations. Is it the field of school, in which they take up their everyday role as students and as peers? Is it the field of family relationships, in which they endorse roles as sons and daughters, brothers and sisters? Is it the field of employment, in which they project themselves in dominant and powerful roles, endowed with all kinds of useful capital? Is it all these fields at the same time? Competition between actors implies that they agree on the hierarchies at work in the field, on ways to measure capital and on the desirability of capital. However, as illustrated by Paul Willis (1977), hierarchies in one field, such as school, may be challenged by actors on the basis of different norms imported from other fields, such as family, or the peer group. This adds complexity to the view we may have of fields and of their mutual permeability and interactions.

Institutions: the role of school

There is an interesting connection between institutions and the notion of field just considered. It seems that institutions create fields and give the formal framework in which the interactions described in the section on fields take place. Perhaps we can even identify fields with institutions as to their social role.

Social positions are grounded in institutions that stabilize them and give them legitimacy. Thus, institutions are an important channel through which norms are reproduced and imposed. Institutions produce social roles, because they offer unequal opportunities and resources, thus reinforcing already existing inequalities. The functioning of institutions is based upon ideologies that usually reinforce the *statu quo*, thus ensuring their stability.

Here I think specifically of the institutions of family, school and the patriarchate. Family, which will be looked at in detail in chapter V, provides a reference framework for teenagers and is particularly important in light of the reproduction of norms and values. Patriarchate will be considered in the next section. I concentrate here on the role of school.

The school system produces both gender and class, thus reinforcing and legitimizing existing gender and class relations. The different ways in which school produces gender have been explored in the literature. In their day-to-day interactions, teachers treat girls and boys differently, being more tolerant (respectful?) of the unruliness of boys, ultimately dedicating more individual attention and time to them and granting some of them exceptional status and legitimacy in transgressive roles that may well serve them socially later in life. Girls on the other hand are encouraged to conform to stereotypes of acceptance of authority and reproduction of non-creative knowledge. Their transgressions are not tolerated nor indulged, but on the contrary repressed. Teachers also present gendered role models in that the huge majority of young class teachers are female, thus encouraging children to view childcare and education as a feminine task.

Through its organisation (lunch breaks, early afternoon ending), school constrains at least one parent to be available for their child during normal working hours, thus making it very difficult for both parents to work full time. Given the current *statu quo* in Swiss society, where women tend to have less well-paid part-time jobs than their spouses, rational decision making based on expected income from each spouse in families

encourages mothers to be the family member to reduce their working hours in order to fit school requirements for parental availability.

School also produces social class, in particular through hierarchical school tracks in secondary obligatory school, which are part of the framework of this study. First, these school tracks tend to reproduce parental social class, thus limiting social mobility for children and setting them, from early on, on tracks from which it will be difficult to deviate, both on grounds of their school performance, but also because of the representations that are induced by the school system. In his ethnographical work in Geneva, Christophe Delay (2018) highlights the representations of the inevitability of school tracks entertained by teachers, and in response, by students. As most students in this kind of system are acutely aware, differentiated obligatory secondary school tracks lead to differentiated post-obligatory school tracks and then to diverse entry into tertiary education, ultimately putting students on pre-defined paths which lead them to very different educational and occupational outcomes.

Besides, and independently from their relation to parental social class, these tracks generate an anticipated social position for students, which in turn influences self-esteem and efficacy, and ultimately contributes to a phenomenon of self-fulfilling prophecies. Tracks also provide a context of socialisation that is very influential in setting goals and standards. Indeed, like Delay, I argue that school tracks offer entirely different experiences of school, both in the qualitative content of the experience and in the self-representations they foster.

Institutions: the role of the patriarchate

Gender inequalities are not only reproduced in attitudes, which are explored first and foremost in our data, but also in social and institutional structures. Christine Delphy (2002) reminds us that the family is traditionally considered in stratification studies as a unit comprising members of equivalent status. This theoretical position justifies identifying the main (male) breadwinner in the family as the only relevant individual in the stratification positioning of entire families. In this theoretical system, members of the family are regarded as being of equal status, and thus structural inequalities between family members are disregarded. This also has the consequence of separating from a theoretical point of view class inequalities and family inequalities, and postulating them as independent from each other. Delphy notes how strange it is that an unmarried

working woman classified in stratification systems on the basis of her occupation becomes suddenly classified according to a completely different criterion, her alliance with a relevant male, after her marriage. She notes that in such systems, the position of women who do not work is not taken as a position as such, and therefore is not treated as an economic situation. It is not treated as an absence of position which would preclude their addition to a group either. It is treated as a reason to attribute to these women the social class of someone else, thus rendering their personal situation invisible.

If social class if defined by the relationship that a person has to means of production, it does not make sense to exclude married women from this classification system, as they also have a way of earning their life, which is providing their work to their husband in exchange for board and bread. In the framework of the family, women are thus part of a production mode which is different from, and parallel to the mode of production studied in classical economy, and which is characterised by dependence on husbands.

Delphy (2002) also notes that the system of inheritance, which historically has favoured older male siblings, distributes individuals into social classes, endowing some individuals with privileged access to economic resources and means of production, while constraining others, and notably women – sisters and wives – to work for them. This analysis leads her to emphasise patriarchate, and especially its expression in the family, as an institutional system of oppression in the same right as the capitalist class system is in Marxist thought.

The inequality structure

I have considered social space and how it is structured; we have seen that social positions are characterised as unequal. I wish now to investigate the inequality structure itself. To begin, let us consider briefly what may be the causes of the inequality of the structure. Davis & Moore (1945) offer a functionalist explanation of the origin of social stratification. Their explanation is based upon the three following premises: 1) A society must distribute its members into a number of social positions; 2) It must motivate them to perform the duties associated with these positions; 3) These duties are different in their pleasantness to perform, in their centrality to the survival of the society as a whole, and in the talents and abilities they require. In order to optimize the distribution of individuals with adequate characteristics into fitting roles, a society needs to distribute rewards in an unequal way, so as to attract individuals into appropriate roles. These rewards are taken

to ground social stratification. The authors define three kinds of rewards: “the things that contribute to sustenance and comfort”, presumably income, those that contribute to “humor and diversion”, presumably leisure time, and finally those that contribute to “self-respect and ego expansion”, presumably prestige. The positions that grant the best rewards and have the highest rank are those that have greater importance for society and require the greatest training or talent.

Our next step will be to look at the following questions. According to what dimensions are social positions unequal? What does this mean? A central idea of social stratification is that the structure generates unequal positions, positions that are more or less advantageous. Inequalities among individuals and between groups may be analysed in terms of differential resources they have access to, or in terms of power relations between groups.

The differential resources view, which fits well with the theory of different kinds of quantifiable capital, may be applied both to individuals and to groups. It refers to the idea that individuals or groups have different quantities of quantifiable resources, such as education, occupational prestige or income, or, in an alternative expression, of capital (social, educational, economic, health, etc.) that give them access to various opportunities. The central idea is that these resources are measurable quantitatively and that the more an individual has of them, the more favourable a situation he or she is in. Social class is taken to provide objective and quantitatively measurable resources.

The power relations view is meaningful when considering groups. It refers to the idea that groups with competing interests enter asymmetric power relations according to whether they are in dominant or dominated position. Individuals belonging to these groups are subjected to these power relations. In addition, the idea of meaningful groups involves external heterogeneity – difference of members of a group from other groups –, and internal homogeneity – similarity among members of the same group, as noted by Ganzeboom, Graaf, & Treiman (1992). Olin Wright (1985) reminds us of the basic idea of Karl Marx which grounds this view: The social organisation of production is taken to determine a structure of class relations, polarizing the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The social relations among classes are intrinsically antagonistic because members of different classes have opposing interests; the basis of these interests is exploitation, which

issues from the social relations of production. In a three-class theoretical model, this antagonistic view poses a problem: how do we conceptualise the middle class?

How may we define what a class is? Weber (2013) offers a definition of the concept of class that may be of use here. He understands classes not as communities, but as "possible and frequent bases for communal action". He sees a class as gathering people who "have in common a specific causal component of their life chances", insofar as this component is "represented exclusively by economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income" and is "represented under the conditions of the commodity or labor markets". Weber seems to understand class as an economic concept, and founds it on the dichotomy between property and lack of property. Oesch (2006) draws a distinction between economic class defined as "individuals who, due to a common economic position, share latent interests, but not necessarily anything else" with a more encompassing notion of social class, understood as "a unit sharing a collective identity and a common organization". He chooses to use the concept of economic class over the more constraining one of social class.

While the idea of different classes, with different interests, awareness of belonging to a class and feeling of solidarity with it, retains its relevance today and may be transposed usefully to new contexts, e.g. school, the analysis in terms of possession of means of production cannot be done in such a clear cut way in today's society, whose economy is based on the tertiary sector and is thus not centred as it was in the 19th century on ownership of land, buildings or machines. Also, the antagonistic nature of Marx's analysis seems to have lost relevance in Switzerland and in much of Western Europe where populist right-wing parties strongly grounded in capitalist thought and supportive of the interests of the richest have a strong base among the less advantaged, less educated sections of the population, as noted by Oesch (2006).

The concept of class is intimately related to that of domination, that is, of a specific kind of unequal relationships between classes. In keeping with Marx's view, Wright (1985) bases his class schema on the concept of exploitation (a kind of economic domination) of some classes by others. In his later work, Wright (1997) defines exploitation in a non-normative sense as "a particular type of antagonist interdependence of material interests". He develops this definition to include three criteria: the dependency of the material welfare of the exploiters upon the deprivation of the exploited; the exclusion of

the exploited from access to productive resources and, finally, the appropriation of the work of the exploited to the benefit of the exploiter. This scheme of analysis also fits the relationship of exploitation of women by men in the framework of the patriarchal family. Wright provides an updated understanding of the kinds of assets that allow this economic domination. He defines three such kinds of assets: ownership of capital assets, control of organizational assets and ownership of skill assets. This structure allows for three kinds of production relations: the capital-labour relation, the manager-worker relation and the expert-non-expert relation.

In his more recent class system, Daniel Oesch (2006) maintains a bi-dimensional classification structure, but the dimensions he emphasises are different: he defines a horizontal distinction between, on the one hand, self-employed people who work in an independent work logic and, on the other hand, employees, who are classified into the three following work logics: technical, organizational and interpersonal service. The vertical dimension of the structure is provided by the levels of "marketable skills" of workers: from unskilled workers to professional/managerial-level skills.

Since gender is a central topic of this work, let us now say a few words about how women fit into the class view, and how power relations may be conceptualized between sexes. The place of women in the class structure has been a notable issue for these models since they were introduced. The fact that they occupy different positions from men in the labour market, in the wage system, in the proportion of time they dedicate to paid employment, that their traditional role in the family, while also economic in nature, and subjected to power relations, is not comparable to that of men in the public sphere, and is usually not taken account of in economic analyses, render the inclusion of women into such systems conceptually complicated. A notable exception to this is Oesch (2006)'s class scheme which was explicitly devised in order to take into account female employment.

However, the power relation between gender groups is theoretically well explored. Relations between gender groups are considered as a hierarchical relation in that the distribution of resources and symbolic value tend to be unequal. This is what Bourdieu (1998) called masculine domination. This domination is exerted on at least two levels: material and symbolic (we may wonder how to separate these two categories in practice). While what follows may not be true in all societies at all times, a general trend is perceptible. Men have material advantages over women on many levels: economically,

there are more likely to have a job, to earn better salaries, to be employed in a wider diversity of jobs, to occupy more prestigious jobs; in many societies their personal freedom to engage in personal relationships, to travel and to move around locally is greater, as is their agency over marital, educational and occupational decisions. Public space may also be gendered, in that women feel less free and are actively discouraged by men to occupy public space in all places and at all times of day. Women are often left with entire responsibility for childcare, which considerably limits their freedom of movement and organisation. Finally, society controls the bodies of women in a variety of ways to which men are not submitted.

Masculine domination also takes place at a symbolic level. Gender is one of the fundamental criteria humans use to understand the world; in a pre-scientific view of the world, many objects, ideas, forces, places, personality traits, etc. which are not gendered in a biological sense are culturally given gendered connotations. One obvious example of this is the presence in many languages of masculine and feminine grammatical genders, which extend into language the difference between biological males and females to cover many concepts that have no relationship whatsoever with gender. These associations are often supported in mythology, where feminine and masculine forces are understood to shape the world at fundamental levels. This tendency to perceive and interpret the world in terms of gender may be grounded psychologically, as defended by Sandra Bem in her Gender schema theory. Oswald (2008) also demonstrated that this gendered view of the world may be activated, thus eliciting more gender-typical responses in unconnected fields.

This symbolic difference between gender groups was summarized by Françoise Héritier (1996) in her concept of differential value of sexes ("valence différentielle des sexes"). She states that values considered as feminine are systematically less well considered than those associated with masculinity, and these views are shared by men and women. Awareness of this symbolic difference provides room for some very pervasive forms of symbolic violence, which may be experienced by all groups in unfavourable power relations. First, they are defined through their difference with the dominant group, whose identity is assumed to be the norm, the reference group, and remains unquestioned. An excellent example of this is the practice, in French language, of taking the masculine as the default grammatical gender that represents everyone; French-speaking women are used

to be included in a grammatically masculine collective, while it would feel very strange for men to be included in a feminine collective. In a very different field, that of scientific research in the fields of medicine or psychology for example, empirical results obtained with predominantly white middle class males have been in the past unquestioningly taken to represent the reality of entire populations. While this bias is now reflected upon in the scientific community, it was commonplace for a long time.

Colette Guillaumin (1972) provides a conceptual apparatus to treat different kinds of minority or dominated groups in the same way. While she discusses the issue of race, many of her remarks also apply to gender. She considers race and gender as biological forms used as social signs and defines them as the association of otherness, relation to power and biological marker. She defines a minority group as a group that is sociologically in a situation of dependence or of inferiority (that has less power or that is less numerous): this can be applied to class, nationality, gender, age, etc. Usually no difference is made between biological and cultural differences, which are perceived as inseparable: perception of society is biologized.

The idea of masculine domination appears to involve that of constraint, by which women are forced into this system against their will. However, often this is not the case, and women contribute to the reproduction of this system as effectively as, or even more effectively than, men. Social psychologists have introduced a number of concepts that account for this fact: First, the notion of sexism, which refers to a set of attitudes that are shared by men and women and which shall be explored in depth later in this work, but also the concept of system justification, as developed by Jost, Kay, & Thorisdottir (2001).

Power relations are closely related to the idea of social legitimacy, which is a potent motor for behaviour. Individuals attempting to enter fields from which their group is traditionally absent tend to feel that they lack legitimacy, and this in turn leads them to feel more easily discouraged; it will also lead actors of the field to deem them less legitimate, and thus to reject them from the field or at least not welcome them as actively as other members issuing from legitimate groups. Legitimacy is often also signalled by ways of being or of doing things, or specific knowledge that is ready to be summoned by individuals in dominant groups that gives an immediate message of “appropriateness” to the milieu that they wish to enter. This is what Bourdieu called a “class habitus”. Feminist thought has amply demonstrated the relevance to social interactions of signalling one’s

sex through clothes, hairstyle, ways of speech, of moving one's body, etc.: according to West & Zimmerman (1987), gender norms are called upon and cited through body practices. Since people from a particular 'class area' tend to be more familiar with, better understand and master the rules of their own 'region', and thus feel more at ease in it, this is a factor for social stability and reproduction. Given that mastery of the rules of the upper class is essential to moving into it, this provides a clear barrier to social upward mobility. Finally, social domination is expressed and enacted in the power to assign social roles to oneself and others, as noted by Boltanski & Thévenot (1983) and Bourdieu (1982). More generally, discourse about social roles is usually heard from dominant groups, who impose in this way their view of society to everyone.

In conclusion to this section, here are a few thoughts about how I make use of the various theoretical approaches briefly presented here. In many cases, both when speaking of gender and of social class, I refer to the antagonist group approach rather that to the quantifiable resource approach, and this for the following reasons. First, I wish to emphasise the fact that individuals situated in different regions of social space may have qualitatively very different experiences of similar social situations; for example, being a low or high track student, being a boy or a girl, will shape experiences of school in complex and deep ways that appear difficult to me to reduce to differences in quantities of this or that available social resource. Second, I think it is interesting to reflect explicitly on the social identities of the students under consideration, in particular, to what point they self-identify as girls or boys or as low or high track students. Qualitative work with students in similar situations suggests that these identities are very relevant to the students and salient in their interactions. While I acknowledge the difficulty of theorising the middle class in a three-class perspective, and that of making theoretical sense of the various values of the school track variable which issue from the comparison of the different cantonal school systems, I still believe that an interesting contrast may be drawn between groups in dominant and dominated positions.

I refer to the quantitative, resource, view in two different contexts: first when I consider prestige, which is systematically understood in the literature as a quantitative concept, of which e.g. occupations may have more or less; second when I refer to the ISEI of the occupational aspiration. I use this indicator referring to a quantitative framework because

I seek to relate it directly to perceived prestige. It thus makes sense to measure these two indicators in as similar way as possible.

This brief introduction to some central notions of social stratification allows to set a general framework in which my empirical studies will take place. We have seen some of the ways in which social inequalities are structured, and issues about how to measure them. This inequality structure will be referred to in the empirical chapters as determining various aspects of our respondents' experience and attitudes. Respondents came to our survey with a wealth of life experience that may adequately be analysed, with the help of these concepts, as their social background. Moreover, I contend that different responses to our questionnaire correspond to social strategies that may also be related to social background. It thus makes sense to analyse attitudes expressed by respondents in terms of this inequality structure also.

Norms: implicit guidelines for attitudes and behaviours

In this section, we are going to explore what norms are, and how they are used to reinforce social positions, power relations among groups, and symbolic or material resource acquisition. We shall also see how they are expressed and followed differently according to one's social position, and how they ground representations.

What are norms?

Norms are the rules on the basis of which people behave in groups. They are usually perceived as constraining people's behaviour and as eliciting conformity. Widmer & Spini (2017) define social norms as "a generally accepted way of thinking, feeling or behaving that is endorsed and expected because it is perceived to be the right and proper thing to do. It is a rule or standard shared by members of a social group that prescribes appropriate, expected or desirable attitudes and conduct in matters relevant to the group" (p. 53). In a 2004 talk, Judith Butler (2004) provides some elements of definition as to what norms are. She contrasts norms to rules on the one hand and to laws on the other. A norm is an implicit criterion of normalization; while it may be made explicit as rules and laws are, this is not a necessary feature of a norm. This non-explicit character makes norms more difficult to take critical distance from, as norms often embody that which is "normal" and thus non-questioned. Norms may or may not be distinguished from the practices that instantiate them and are usually identified through their effects. They

reveal themselves explicitly or implicitly in social policies, institutions, and organizations. Norms are embodied by individual social actors and determine the social intelligibility of actions. They allow given types of practices and provide an interpretation for them. Norms are types of action; they have potential sanctions, which may be positive or negative, formal or informal. Some people reject norms, but even reaction against them takes place in their framework.

According to Bicchieri & Muldoon (2014), norms are in fact normative expectations about others and society: "To assess the existence of a norm, it is important to ask people not just what their personal normative beliefs are, but what they expect other's normative beliefs to be. There is indeed a difference between personal normative beliefs such as "John believes that he ought to divide the money equally", and normative expectations, such as "John believes that others think he ought to divide the money fairly and may punish him if he does not". Only when we observe widespread convergence of normative expectations can we say a norm is in place" (p. 9). A norm is thus what people think that the others expect. In consequence, Bicchieri & Muldoon (2014) go on to say that "the main variable affecting behaviour is not what an individual personally feels he should do, but rather his belief about what "society" (i.e., most other people, his reference group, etc.) says he should do" (pp. 8-9).

The main focus of this work is on attitudes. Attitudes are essentially normative. Bicchieri & Muldoon (2014) define them as "evaluative feelings of pro or con, favorable or unfavorable, with regard to particular objects"; the objects of such evaluations may be "concrete representations of things or actions, or abstract concepts" (Insko & Schopler (1967)). Bicchieri & Muldoon (2014) consider the concept of attitude to include normative beliefs about how people should behave in given situations, what counts as good/acceptable behaviour, and also personal opinions and preferences.

The notion of field put forward by Bourdieu involves the idea that what provides unity to a field is a set of norms that are commonly shared and reproduced by actors in the field. Paul Willis offers an alternative view: that of a set of norms specific to members of particular sections of society (working class boys) that motivate their behaviour in a field (school) which they share with others social groups who do not share this particular set of norms. In this work, I argue that norms may be qualitatively different, or at least may not be shared to the same extent by members of different social groups.

"Doing" norms: gender

The social relevance of norms and people's attachment to them are expressed by the fact that norms are "done": they are re-enacted, and thus constituted on a daily basis in social interactions. How people "do" gender and class norms is a recurrent theme in Bourdieu (1982), although he does not use this terminology, and in feminist thought, for example West & Zimmerman (1987). These authors note that gender is done and norms are performed at every moment: we construct our gender with, and for, the others. They call gender "a routine accomplishment embedded in everyday interaction".

Reproducing norms involves an array of human activities, and as noted earlier, conceptual categorization activities may be seen as one of the ways in which dominant groups impose their interpretation of the world upon others. According to West & Zimmermann's thoughts on the distinction between sex, sex category and gender, the concept of sex itself is a means by which gender is produced. Under the guise of a biological, and therefore "objective" determination of humanity, sex is in fact a socially agreed upon set of criteria that allows classification into two mutually exclusive categories, females and males. The gender system creates sexes by distinguishing them into these categories. Characters associated with each sex are socially constructed as being in opposition with one another. Nicole-Claude Mathieu (1989) even speaks of a similarity taboo: men and women, as such, *must* be different. The choice of criteria used to define one's sex includes a degree of arbitrariness and the criteria may conflict. However, social consensus on the importance of this bi-categorization leads to force a classification in ambiguous cases.

While the biological criteria are taken to ground ultimately categorizations, in everyday life direct reference to these criteria is often left aside to concentrate only on the social markers of the resulting sex categories. In this conceptual framework, social characteristics are taken to derive from the supposedly objective biological identity defined in this dubious way. West & Zimmerman (1987) state the following: "In Western societies, the accepted cultural perspective on gender views women and men as naturally and unequivocally defined categories of being with distinctive psychological and behavioural propensities that can be predicted from their reproductive functions" (pp. 127-128). The presumption of essential criteria bases everyday sex categorisation upon exterior conventional signs.

Gender is thus defined as a system of hierarchical bi-categorization between sexes and representations that are associated with them. Children, as new members of the society, are recruited to gender identities and come to claim them. According to West & Zimmerman (1987), they "come to be involved in a self-regulating process as they begin to monitor their own and others' conduct with regard to its gender implications" (p. 142). In reaction to this state of affairs, Bereni, Chauvin, Jaunait, & Revillard (2008) define the aim of gender studies as that of de-naturalizing and de-essentializing difference between gender groups by demonstrating the process by which biological differences are used to justify social differences. It is legitimate to state that the differences between men and women are socially constructed while taking sex categories to measure inequalities.

West & Zimmerman (1987) define gender as intrinsically normative: it is "the activity of managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one's sex category. Gender activities emerge from and bolster claims to membership in a sex category" (p. 127). They view it as both a result of and a justification for social arrangements and a means of providing legitimacy to one of the most important divisions of society.

This phenomenon has also a positive aspect: in doing gender and class norms, we establish and assert our identity as members of groups. The conformity to a certain understanding of gender guarantees one's interpretability as a human being, both to oneself and to others. Doing norms is an essential aspect of bonding with other members of the same group, of fostering feelings of belonging to it, and therefore of identity.

What are we doing exactly when we do norms? In the framework of the debate on gender, some authors have put forward role theory, the idea that gender is a way in which we present ourselves, which may be relinquished if chosen. Goffman (1976, 1979)'s notion of gender display has been assimilated to such theories. West & Zimmerman (1987) provide a critique of role theory: they think that gender is not a role you can abandon in chosen circumstances; we do not have the option to be seen as men or women. In consequence, roles are situated identities as opposed to master identities; gender is a master identity. Indeed, many social roles, such as occupations, come with gender associations already attached to them. Doing gender is unavoidable in this context.

Symbolic power relations: norms in the service of social reproduction

Norms serve a number of social functions. As already mentioned, they contribute to establishing and strengthening feelings of group belonging and identity. They also have less positive effects. They provide social motivation to actors to want what is already the case, making a virtue of necessity. Since usually a given norm is already followed by a majority of social actors, norms serve a purpose of social stability and reproduction of inequalities. They provide a rationale for unequal power relationships among groups and their perpetuation.

Social psychologists study attitudes that are present to unequal degrees in different individuals and contribute to the normative regulation of society: in particular belief in a just world, a theory expounded by Lerner (1980) and system justification, as presented in the work of Jost et al. (2001). I do not use these concepts in this work and shall therefore not develop them further. However, another kind of attitude, central to this work, and which will be discussed in detail in following chapters, contributes broadly to the same function: sexism. Sexism is an attitude entertained by both men and women that tends to attribute stereotypical social roles to people according to their sex, and more generally to grant more value to men and the roles they are supposed to fulfil. Sexism in all its forms contributes to the regulation of society on the basis of gender norms. Sexism may be related to a more general attitude explored in Sandra Bem (1981)'s gender schema theory, which states that some people may have the tendency to analyse the social world around them more strongly in terms of gender than others.

Sexism has been conceptualised, and measured, in several ways of which I develop two here, as they were part of the conceptual framework of the data that I use.

The distinction between traditional and modern sexism was elaborated by Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter (1995) on the basis of the distinction between traditional and modern racism. The similarities between racism and sexism are found at many levels, including the stereotyping process, social desirability which bars people from expressing the prejudices that guide their attitudes and actions, and the structure of the beliefs involved. Traditional sexism endorses treating men and women differently, reverts them to traditional gender roles and reproduces stereotypes about women's lack of competence. Modern sexism rejects claims of discrimination on the part of women, and more generally

further demands towards equal treatment, and rejects policies designed to support women specifically.

An alternative conceptualization of sexism was provided by Glick & Fiske (1996) as ambivalent sexism, that is, a combination of benevolent and hostile sexism. This conceptualization provides the insight that attitudes which are experienced completely differently (as warm and positive on the one hand, and as hostile and aggressive on the other) and may be harboured simultaneously by people, may both be based on views of women as inferior and have similar detrimental effects on them. Benevolent sexism is defined as "a set of interrelated attitudes toward women that are sexist in terms of viewing women stereotypically and in restricted roles but that are subjectively positive in feeling tone (for the perceiver) and also tend to elicit behaviours typically categorized as pro-social (e.g., helping) or intimacy seeking (e.g., self-disclosure)" (p. 491); hostile sexism is conceptualised as a negative attitude directed towards women viewed as a threat to the dominant position of men. Both of these kinds of sexism are defined as involving the same dimensions: (a) *paternalism*, which can be *protective* in the first case (women need to be protected by men) or *dominative* in the second (men have to assume responsibility and leadership over women), (b) *complementary* (women have complementary qualities to those of men) vs. *competitive* (only men are able to occupy important positions in society) *gender differentiation*, and (c) *heterosexual intimacy* (men need women in romantic relationships) vs. *hostility* (women seen as taking advantage of the need men have of them).

Prestige, insofar as it defines hierarchies, is also part of a normative system that contributes to social reproduction. Central to sociological thought on the notion of prestige is the idea that evaluation of the prestige of occupations is a norm on which surprising consensus is found across all social groups in Western countries. This object of consensus has been called the Treiman constant (see Hout & DiPrete (2006)). While the issue of the degree of this consensus and what it means exactly will be discussed in the following chapters, we may note here that prestige is effectively treated as a norm, and as a reference point. This norm is embodied in a vision of a hierarchical ranking of occupations, with a strong connotation of social preferability, while the criteria of this preferability are not always clear. Social actors who believe in the importance of prestige will strive to reach occupations supposed to be endowed with a large amount of it. The

notion of prestige can be interestingly confronted with that of gender. As we shall see later on, prestige is a gendered concept in several ways. The way men and women qualify prestige may be different; prestige seems to adhere to connotations of masculinity better than to femininity, to the point where we might question the relevance of the notion of prestige to feminine occupations. This points to the fact that prestige as a norm contributes to perpetuating gender inequality, in offering men and occupations in which they are traditionally dominant additional resources of symbolic and material advantage.

Are gender and prestige misleading norms?

To conclude this section on norms, I introduce a concept that seems relevant to this reflexion on gender and prestige as norms, that of misleading norms. It has been outlined in the framework of thought on vulnerability in a life course perspective by Widmer & Spini (2017). My discussion anticipates the life course framework that will be considered later in this chapter. The authors define misleading norms as "social norms that are embraced by a population in a given period of time and social context, with negative consequences for a large number of its members at some points in their life course by leading them away from the requirements of social structures" (p. 55). They pursue by mentioning three important features of misleading norms: first, they must have widespread social impact; second, there must be a time gap between a period of differentiated conformity to the norm and the according negative consequences for those who conformed. Third, misleading norms are negative because of the social inadequacy of the resources accumulated by misled individuals to the requirements of the structure in which they live. Social norms may be protective but at later times in life may become detrimental; a longitudinal perspective is needed in order to acknowledge this evolution.

If we apply this definition to the role of gender in the life course, it is very easy to see how gender is a misleading norm, through the life-long implications of gendered choices. Gender norms are most certainly widespread. They are detrimental to a section of the population, namely women, in that they encourage them to relinquish financial autonomy to concentrate on unpaid and mostly unrewarded housework or to find a badly paid occupation in a predominantly female work context. These "choices" make women dependant on their husbands and make their return to financial autonomy after a failed marriage for example very difficult.

Applying the notion of misleading norm to the specific issue of gendered occupational representations, we may note that boys and girls self-select out of vocational tracks that may have been rewarding choices because these tracks do not conform to gender norms. Such occupational decisions may lead to select less attractive educational paths which may be less likely to be completed and less rewarding on the long run. This may in turn lead to regrets being expressed later in life and to reduced psychological well-being. In addition, since female-dominated occupations receive usually less social recognition (in terms of salary for example), it may be argued that gender-typical educational and vocational choices are detrimental to women on the long run.

While its effects are less detectable on the long term, prestige may also be understood as a misleading norm with detrimental effects. Especially in the context of school choices, the quest for the most prestigious, instead of the most interesting or relevant educational opportunity may lead students to frustration, to uncompleted curricula and ultimately to a loss of self-esteem. The effect on young adults of cumulated experiences of failure may lead them to social disengagement.

One main point emphasised by the notion of misleading norm is the idea that there is an inconsistency between the representations that people have of social reality and that reality itself. This may be because people still refer implicitly to norms based upon social arrangements that were the norm in a past time or in a different geographical area in the case of migrants. This is what Bourdieu & Sayad (1964) called hysteresis ("looking backward" in Ancient Greek). Another source of inconsistency may stem from the fact that the social structures to which people refer their norms may never have existed, may be the product of wishful thinking or incomplete or inaccurate information. Tracking such inconsistencies is particularly important in our times of rapid normative change. While traditional division of social roles between men and women was almost universal and sexist attitudes were widespread a few decades ago, gender equality and women's rights have become topics more and more central to political discourse and action. In the same way, while social reproduction was the unquestioned norm, both for the upper class and for working class, social discourse and policies around the themes of equal opportunities, social mobility and democratization of education has deeply changed both people's views and real opportunities. In this time of changing gender and prestige norms, traditional attitudes to these norms may be considered as hysteresis.

The second is that such inconsistency may generate vulnerability for people who conform. Vulnerability is defined by Widmer & Spini (2017) as "a lack of resources that, in specific contexts, puts individuals or groups at major risk of experiencing a time-ordered process that unfolds in three stages: (1) the experience of the negative consequences of stress, (2) followed by an inability to cope effectively with stressors such as critical events, and (3) an inability to recover from stress or to take advantage of opportunities by a given deadline". The authors pursue by saying that "With regard to vulnerability as an inability to deal effectively with critical events […], social norms may make it difficult for individuals to cope with the stress that is generated by critical events by either blinding individuals to nonstandard solutions or reinforcing standardized ways of addressing life challenges" (p. 54).

As briefly mentioned, social actors have the option to take some distance from given norms. This process of differentiation is socially costly at the time where distance is taken, but also advantageous later on, since the norm becomes detrimental. Selective deviance from norms has been much studied in sociology, in particular in the framework of a society that confronts social actors with norms to which they do not have the means to conform to (see Merton (1957)).

Sometimes in addition to objective constraints, individuals rely on misleading norms to further constrain their choices, thus unnecessarily limiting the array of choices that they see as available to them. For dominant groups, this limitation towards opportunities offered to the unfavoured groups appears to be stronger than for non-dominant groups whose views are wider, since they typically value the opportunities traditionally opened to them, but also the opportunities usually reserved to the dominant group. This "closed" view of social opportunities may be favourable to dominant groups insofar as what they see as offering lesser opportunities really does offer lesser opportunities, because it allows them to remain focused on their dominant group opportunities. However, there is an alternative way to see this. We may think that it is generally detrimental to limit one's views of what is acceptable, because this limits flexibility to change if conditions require individuals to display such flexibility. For example, I argue in this work that it will be more difficult for a high-track student to shape a convincing career project in a low status occupation, or for boys to envision working in female-dominated occupations, than for a low track student to project him/herself in a high-status occupation or for a girl to

envision a typically masculine occupation. We detect lesser social flexibility in dominant groups, which may be detrimental to them if external conditions constrain them to revise completely their view of their future opportunities. As emphasised in two concepts that will be discussed later, that of "cooling the mark out" outlined by Goffman (1952) and Gottfredson (1981)'s concept of compromise, the most difficult challenge is having to revise down, and not up, one's representations as to one's future. In this process, I suspect that dominant groups may have more difficulties than others.

This section on norms has allowed to state the theoretical grounds on which I shall base my contention that attitudes towards occupations, as demonstrated in the questionnaire items explored in the empirical chapters, are intrinsically normative. It has provided the opportunity to highlight the fact that such attitudes also have a performative social function: one of the ways of "doing" norms is by stating one's adhesion to them. Finally, it has provided additional significance to the cross-sectional empirical analyses by showing how adhesion to gender and class norms may be detrimental to respondents on the long run.

Representations: shared stereotypes that provide meaning

In this section, I shall explore the notion of representation in the variety of senses that are relevant to this research: representations of self as a member of a group, representations of gender, of class, of occupations. I shall also attempt to clarify how this notion relates to the two previous notions we have explored: norms and social position.

Representations are often taken to be a psychological concept. Durkheim inaugurated a sociological tradition by using the notion of collective representations; later, it fell out of fashion with sociologists, but was taken up as a central concept by social psychologists. I believe sociologists should repossess this concept; representations have interesting features in regard to sociological analysis: they are shared, are socially constructed and influence social behaviour; the ways they vary among groups participate in the way inequalities are generated between groups. Social psychologists study how representations are built and evolve, and some traditions in social psychology offer insight into how they vary among groups. However, I believe that this tradition of study could be fruitfully picked up in a sociological perspective.

Representations of self as part of a group: social identity

I shall begin this overview of different kinds of representations with the notion of social identity, that is, in Tajfel (1981)'s words, "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 255). The notion of self-concept is amply used in the psychological literature, but is assumed as self-explanatory; otherwise Tajfel's definition is fairly straightforward. A sociologist would note that individuals do not need to be aware of belonging to a group in order to be influenced by it. The notion of habitus for example, which I shall explore later on, does not assume any particular awareness of group membership. However, in some cases, such as gender and social class as institutionalized in school tracks, group membership is conscious and part of an explicit identity. This was important in Marxist thought where awareness of class belonging was a necessary preliminary to class solidarity and mobilisation. Bicchieri & Muldoon (2014) insist on the importance of awareness of group belonging: "a crucial feature of the concept of social identity is that identification with a group is in some sense a conscious choice: one may accidentally belong to a group, but it is only when being a group member becomes at least partly constitutive of who one is that we can meaningfully talk of social identifications" (p. 11). We may extend this reflection with an idea I presented earlier: that society takes dominant groups as the norm, while non-dominant groups are defined as deviations from this norm and their identity is made salient. Thus, belonging to a non-dominant group is in many cases experienced as salient in social interactions and a position with respect to identification with this group is taken, which may range from proud identification to rejection.

Awareness of one's position in the social structure also involves having a representation of the structure. We assume that our respondents are aware of the social differences between men and women and other social hierarchies. In addition, besides being a means of enacting power relations as already mentioned, assigning social positions to oneself and to others through day-to-day activities contributes to creating social structure, as the structure is also a structure of representations: for Bourdieu (1966), "a social class […] owes many of its properties to the fact that individuals that constitute it enter wilfully or objectively into symbolic relationships which, by expressing differences in situations and positions according to a systematic logic, tend to make them into meaningful distinctions" (p. 212).

To this we may relate the idea, illustrated in the extract by Elena Ferrante quoted at the beginning of this work, that, in the language of the dominant class, it appears to be a feature of unfavoured social classes not to "understand" (that is, not to accept the dominant classes' representation of) the hierarchical structure of prestige. The narrator expresses her own desire to become part of the dominant class by adopting their representation of the social structure as the one she sees as legitimate and wishes to understand; besides, she repeatedly emphasises the admiration that other members of her original network have for her social "success". In his presentation of a social group with very different values and reference points from the dominant class, Paul Willis also alludes to the fact that a factor that contributed to leadership in the "deviant" group of youths he followed was a better understanding of the social hierarchy of the dominants, and thus a better understanding of the structure of the network of conflicting social hierarchies in presence. This illustrates an objective difference between dominant and dominated groups: while dominant groups may afford to ignore completely the values and social hierarchies of dominated groups, hierarchies in dominated groups depend at least in part on their members' understanding of and capacity to negotiate with the codes of the dominant class.

Different representations across groups may also have other social consequences. It seems likely that, in general, social actors have less clear representations of social situations that are very distant from their own, as this social distance reduces their capacity to draw analogies between these situations and their own. Lack of clear representation of the lifestyle and advantages and disadvantages of life in a very different 'class region' makes it difficult for people to consider whether these are desirable features or not, and thus to find motivation for social mobility.

One's view of oneself in the class structure is also relevant to projections one may have of oneself in the future, the kind of projections which one identifies as desirable and realistic: accurate self-identification in the class structure may lead to representations of self in a projected future which may be stimulating or on the contrary discouraging.

Social representations

I shall now concentrate on representations that do not pertain to the self and to other individuals as such, but that concern other social objects. The theory that has dedicated

the most attention to these stems from social psychology: the theory of social representations.

An early trace of the notion of social representations may be found in Durkheim's concept of 'collective representations' (Durkheim (1898) and Durkheim & Mauss (1903)). In these texts, Durkheim addresses the stable element in representations, which are shared by all members of a society, grounding his view in the example of religion. The notion of social representation was picked up again in more recent years by Serge Moscovici (1961), who points to Simmel's analysis of the relation between individualization and people's need to understand and represent the experiences of others. This text founded both the object and methodology of the study of social representations by social psychologists over the last 50 years. A number of texts provide overviews of what social representations are and how they work. I summarize and discuss some of these in what follows, in relation to the kinds of representations we are specifically interested in here, occupational representations.

According to Roussiau & Bonardi (2001), social representations may deal with opinions, images, beliefs, stereotypes and attitudes. Social representations are collective beings and autonomous from individual consciousness (see Palmonari & Doise (1986)). A social representation is a structured and organized object; it contains attitudinal, and therefore normative, dimensions and represents the knowledge that an individual embedded in a group has of a given object. Social representations are necessarily multi-dimensional, they refer to a set of knowledge, attitudes and beliefs about a given "object". Following Flament & Rouquette (2003), for something to be a social representation, it must be socially and cognitively salient (it must be an abstract concept that is frequently referred to in inter-individual and media communication) and there must be practices with regard to it. Representations deal with socially relevant objects. They thus constitute practical knowledge. Chaib, Danermark, & Selander (2011) believe that the theory of social representations is about every day and commonsense knowledge. It describes the relationship between several individuals and an object of knowledge. Social representations promote a value system which helps people act socially. They provide people with linguistic codes that help them classify social information in similar ways. Moscovici (1961) emphasises three social functions of representations: they help to

communicate, they allow to (re)construct reality and they allow to master the environment.

Theses characterizations help me define the object of the present study. First, in relation to the structure of social representations: while studies on social representations in social psychology usually explore both the structure and the content of social representations, the present study proceeds differently: a limited number of dimensions of occupational representations were theoretically predefined and empirically explored. I thus do not look at complete social representations of occupations; I refer to a limited number of dimensions that are not elicited from the respondents. However, the occupational representations we measure do fit the other two parts of the definition provided by Roussiau and Bonardi: they indeed involve attitudinal and normative aspects and reflect the knowledge of individuals embedded in a group. Occupational representations as I consider them certainly do constitute every day and commonsense knowledge. No specialised knowledge is required to have representations about occupations; in fact, as we shall see in this work, the stereotypes involved in such representations are called upon more easily by respondents who have little other knowledge about the object of the representation to depend upon. Occupational representations are indeed shared among group members to whom they are relevant (teenagers considering their occupational future). I shall look in more detail into the normative content of representations, but let us note here that class and gender norms that underlie occupational representations do indeed encourage people to endorse (occupational) roles that allow for perpetuation of the social statu quo. Finally, occupational representations do indeed involve linguistic codes that have been identified in qualitative work and that are put to work in the questionnaire items that were submitted to our respondents. Moscovici's remarks allow us to conclude this confrontation of occupational representations as I consider them with the theory of social representations as referred to in social psychology with some thoughts about how occupational representations allow to make sense of reality. As we shall see, representations allow for an interpretation of reality in terms of adequacy between the holder of the representation and its object, through a process of comparison between the respondent's own social characteristics and those involved in the representation of the occupation under consideration.

What kind of objects do social representations pertain to? Moliner (1996) mentions five criteria that have to be met by social objects in order to be objects of representations. They must be 1) complex and objected to contested mastery among social groups; 2) representations of them must be such that they may be shared by members of a group. A group exists if inter-individual communication is oriented towards, and by, group belonging, if members of the group have common objectives and exchange on the object of the representation, and if the group has either a structural (the object takes part in creating the group) or conjectural (the object erupts in the life of the group) relation to it. 3) There must be stakes that shape collective objects as a sum of individual objects. 4) The object of the representation must be at stake in the relations of the group with other groups. 5) There must be no strong controlling entity that has uncontested social authority to control the evolution of the representation.

This characterization of the objects of social representations allows us to reflect upon the adequacy of occupational representations to be such objects. Let us look at the requirements one by one. 1) Occupational representations are most certainly complex objects – I shall later consider the dimensions that constitute them. They are also objects of contended mastery among groups. Indeed, occupational representations hold high social value and are contested among social groups with asymmetric power relations: boys and girls, students in high- or low-requirement school tracks, adults and teenagers, occupational gatekeepers and hopeful enterers. 2) Occupational representations are shared among groups, as demonstrated by the fact that people tend to agree on the dimensions according to which to classify occupations and also on the position of particular occupations on these dimensions. This criterion raises the issue of what a group is. On the basis of the notion of group defined earlier, we may easily understand students at the end of obligatory school as a group. The relevance of occupational representations in their interactions and attitudes is obvious. Which leads us to Criterion 3 – the stakes that shape occupational representations. These are multiple, and involve self-esteem, life satisfaction and ability to plan. Criterion 4 appears to refer to an idea close to Criterion 2: occupational representations are indeed a stake in relations between the groups in asymmetric power relations mentioned earlier. Finally, while some instances may strongly aim at controlling given representations, for example professional associations, career counsellors or parents, this is ultimately impossible and teenagers will inevitably retain representational elements that are not condoned by these controlling instances.

This reflection allows us to include occupational representations as legitimate objects of social representations.

Intergroup variations in social representations

Let us now consider the issue of consensus and group differences in social representations. Much emphasis is put in the theory on the shared elements of a social representation. In doing this, authors refer to an idea which will be explored in depth in this work, that of a common mental map of social organisation. Doise, Clémence, & Lorenzi-Cioldi (1993) note that this "map", that allows individuals to communicate by providing them with a common language, reference points and beliefs, is provided by the structure of social representations. This is theorised through what these authors call the process of objectivation of a representation, which refers to how it becomes shared by everyone, how it becomes part of a common mental map.

Social psychologists use the vocabulary of "central core" and "peripheral elements" of social representations to distinguish the elements of a complex representation that are shared by everyone and are necessary to ground the meaning of the representation, its internal organisation and its stability, from those that are not systematically present, but that may become activated in different groups or situations, although their absence is not necessarily related to intergroup variation. I have not chosen to study a single representation in all its complexity; in contrast, I consider several different representations (of different occupations) according to a limited number of predefined dimensions. An analysis in terms of core and periphery would have involved a completely different methodology from the one used here.

Doise et al. (1993) acknowledge that social representations may involve systematic inter-individual variations. This is done by looking at how the differences between the responses of the individuals are organised, thus revealing the conceptual proximity or distance between various dimensions of the representation. The study of the anchoring of the representation allows taking into account the social position of individuals in their adherence to the representation. This approach leads to taking interindividual and intergroup variations in social representations seriously. Clémence, Doise, & Lorenzi-Cioldi (1994) note that common representations denote common underlying norms. The structure of social representations derives from social intergroup dynamics. They emphasise the space that the theory of social representations leaves to the possibility of

interindividual variation, for example in the intensity with which individuals adhere to specific attitudes. They emphasise statistical techniques able to account not only for consensus, but also for dimensions on which degrees of agreement and opposition may be found. It then is possible to organise the dimensions on which differing opinions are found according to the degree in differences between opinions, and thus to unearth variations of a common "map". These authors note that variations among individual positions are due to their anchoring in different collective realities. Their working hypothesis is that "shared social insertions give rise to specific interactions and experiences which, maybe by the means of differential values, beliefs and social perceptions, transform social representations" (Clémence et al. (1994), p. 123). They identify as three important stages in the study of social representations the analysis of that which is common in a social representation, the principles that organise individual positions with respect to the common aspect, and the anchoring of individual positions in common social realities. To illustrate this, they study in the empirical part of their paper how various dimensions of the social representation of human rights vary based on the country of origin and sex of respondents.

The theory of social representations allows for the fact that a social representation may be consensual in a given group but may be very different from the social representation of the same object in another group. Different groups have different representations of the same object because they have different relations to power (e.g. different representations of a private company). Social representations build on the idea that the meaning, both from a normative and a descriptive point of view, of a socially complex fact (hunting, being a doctor, psychoanalysis, etc.) is completely different according to the groups that consider it. Social representations account for contended objects.

Moscovici (1961) states three principles that allow for social representations to form: first, the dispersion of information, which allows for indirect and partial information to be organised into social knowledge. Second, focalisation, which allows social groups to select the aspects that match their interests and determine their position towards the object. Third, pressure to inference: due to the need to communicate and to act, individuals have to associate ideas and processes of reasoning whose internal coherence is perhaps not complete. These features will be kept in mind when analysing occupational representations.

Habitus: normative representations?

While the role of social representations as guiding behaviour has been noted in most works in social psychology situated in this framework, the issue of whether and how social representations are intrinsically normative is not explored in detail.

Pierre Bourdieu (1986a) outlines a paradox of sociological work which can be broadly formulated as follows: sociologists identify norm-following behaviours in the people they study. They then have to codify these behaviours, that is, make explicit, and therefore simplify and clarify the limits of the application of these norms that are inherently embedded in the practices of the actors, thereby bringing them to awareness in a modified form. Bourdieu reminds us that social rules are not usually consciously and deliberately followed; they depend upon practical, and not theoretical schemata, and are essentially vague, indefinite and not completely coherent. Practical schemata are defined as "principles that bring order to action". Bourdieu encourages us, besides codifying these rules, to produce a theory of the effects of this codification. The notion of habitus is his theoretical answer to this observation. Habitus, as a "system of dispositions to do/act, is the objective foundation of regular behaviour, and thus of the regularity of behaviour." The notion of habitus appears to involve implicit normativity.

A popular comparison, found for example in Bourdieu (1986a) and Bicchieri (2005), is drawn between language and social behaviour: languages have grammar, and the most practical way for foreigners to learn a language is to learn its grammar, but this does not mean that native speakers are consciously obeying the grammar, nor even that they know it exists, nor that they cannot take liberties with it while continuing to speak the language. The richness of the structural regularities in language production cannot be reduced to an explicit list of grammar rules. This analogy was pursued by Bourdieu himself who drew a comparison between habitus and Chomsky's generative grammar (see Sapiro (2004)).

Sexism as a habitus

In order to better frame the concepts central to this work with regard to one another, I shall provide here a discussion of the extent to which sexism may be considered as a particular case of habitus, with the aim both of bringing the notion of habitus to a more engageable, (lesser) degree of abstraction, and of initiating a dialogue between concepts from different traditions. The characteristics of what Bourdieu considers as habitus are outlined on the basis of presentations of the concept in Bourdieu (1986b) and Sapiro

(2004). The views about sexism are based upon Swim et al. (1995) and Glick & Fiske (1996).

For Bourdieu (1986b), "Habitus is a an infinite capacity to produce, in complete (controlled) freedom, thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions that are always circumscribed by the historical and social conditions of their production" (p. 71). This quotation sets a first contrast between habitus and sexism. While habitus is the capacity to produce attitudes, sexism is one of the produced attitudes. Sexism is an effect of habitus.

Habitus has to do with the body and bodily habits; it is rooted in the body and shapes it. This is interesting in light of the emphasis feminist studies put on the incorporation of gender norms. While sexism as I study it is identified in questionnaires, thus in verbalised attitudes with which respondents identify to a higher or lesser extent, it may also be expressed through bodily attitudes and be picked up through observational methods.

Individual habitus are structural variations of those of other members of the same class. Sexism also presents structural variations from one sexist individual to the other. This is why it is measured with the help of a scale. Habitus forms a culture peculiar to a social group. This directs us to the notion of institutional sexism, which covers both the idea that there may be institutional structures that generate sexist mechanisms, and also that when sexist individuals gather in a particular setting doing some particular set of activities, their attitudes and behaviours may not be considered as a mere juxtaposition of individual sexist attitudes but take on a collective character.

Habitus is manifested through practical sense, i.e. through one's capacity to move in social space. This point is interesting to refer to sexism. While the kind of sexism I look at in this work is manifested through responses to questionnaire items, sexism as it is practised in everyday life is definitely a practical attitude. It is used by men and women to assert the social dominance of men and the inferiority and inadequacy of women in fields in which men are considered to be predominant. It is also used to assign particular areas of competence to men as men and to women as women. It is one of the ways in which masculine domination is done and reproduced by social actors on a day-to-day basis.

Habitus is stable, which may produce effects of hysteresis: habitus makes us act in a way that is no longer fitting with changing social structures. Yet again, sexism fits well this characteristic. In a society where sexism is more and more questioned and challenged in

intellectual spheres and the media, sexist automatisms are activated as defence mechanisms in individuals who do not feel in phase with this societal change.

Habitus as a set of rules for action and representations is reached through education. Habitus is a vehicle of social reproduction: we transform but also reproduce the conditions in which we were socialized. As I shall show in chapter V, education viewed as involving parent-children interactions is certainly instrumental in transmitting sexism, and more generally, stereotyped views about the social roles of men and women.

A number of Bourdieu (1986b)'s remarks on habitus pertain to its relation to individual freedom (see Sapiro (2004)). Habitus is Bourdieu's answer to a problem acutely perceived in life course studies: to explain how individual agency fits into social structures. The interplay of the influence of structures and individual free will, which is, in phenomenological experience at least, a powerful factor, is a central debate in the social sciences; further remarks about it will be made in the section dedicated to agency in the life course perspective. Let us consider here how the theory of habitus makes room for free will.

Habitus is completely interiorized and should not be assimilated to the idea of playing a role or acting. This remark echoes the feminist critique of Goffman's theory of gender display discussed earlier. It also shows how free will is limited: we do not have the option to choose to change habitus. The concept of habitus frames the limits of individuals' freedom to act. As with any deeply ingrained worldview, it is very difficult, if at all possible, for an individual to think and to act outside this perspective. Similarly, sexism is a worldview that reveals difficult to challenge and to modify. While some sexist individuals may end up realizing what is wrong with their attitude, this requires fairly deep questioning of one's core values. The fact that habitus frames the limits of individuals' freedom to act and that thinking outside one's habitus is extremely difficult, is illustrated by the recurrent idea in feminist thought that everyone is sexist, although to different degrees, and believing oneself to be non-sexist does not guarantee that one will not reproduce sexist attitudes or behaviours unknowingly.

Habitus leaves room for a creative way of following rules; it is a generating principle. While rule following is central to the concept of habitus, this rule following is neither systematic, nor mechanic, nor necessarily conscious. Bourdieu adds to the concept of habitus those of strategy and disposition, which provide individuals with space for

inventiveness and improvisation, within the habitus. Coming back to our discussion of sexism in relation to habitus, there are indeed an infinite number of possible ways of experiencing sexism in one's worldview and enacting it, to different degrees, in different ways and in different circumstances. While there is coherence between patterns of behaviour, we cannot postulate any systematic foreseeability; this of course, is a central difference between theories in social and 'hard' sciences: while physical theories must account for each and every case, social science theories may only be expected to account for most cases.

This outline of the notion of habitus may be concluded with a methodological warning provided to us in Bourdieu (1980), quoted in Bourdieu (1986b): Habitus cannot be identified in questionnaires, or more generally in any situation that is generated artificially, for the sake of the enquiry. This is because practical sense needs practical, real life situations in order to be put to use. This is a pretty extreme point of view, in that it disqualifies a priori any kind of sociological enquiry that is not methodologically based upon observation. Social psychologist who devised sexism scales would probably disagree with this view, although it is clear that only a limited kind of sexist attitudes may be identified with the help of the *ad hoc* scales.

Roussiau & Bonardi (2001) offer an explicit comparison of Bourdieu's concept of habitus with their own understanding of social representations, which is interesting to summarize and discuss here. They distinguish the two concepts as follows: Social representations have to do both with the structure of representations and with their transformations. They consider Bourdieu's model to lack explanatory power for the dynamic and changing aspect of representations, given that habitus is supposed to be stable. They challenge the idea that representations are the consequence of habitus, itself the consequence of actors' social position. They also doubt that structural analysis is a tool able to produce predictable outcomes and worry that it may lead only to theoretical speculation. They thus consider it a task of social psychology to verify empirically the notion of habitus.

We may briefly contrast these views on the most basic mechanisms of human agency with a third, which emphasizes conscious decision-making and rational choice. Boudon (1992) rejects the two "postulates of sociological tradition": that systems of beliefs and representations vary according to social groups and are linked to the interests of these

groups and the idea that common beliefs may influence behaviours and attitudes without actors being aware of it. Reflecting on why individuals chose rationally a "false idea" Boudon (1992) appeals to "position effects", that is, to the idea that individuals perceive reality from a particular position, and thus have a partial and perhaps inadequate view of it. He also refers to "disposition effects" to explain how people perceive reality in conformity with their own reference system and use this reference system to evaluate situations unrelated to them. Finally, he refers to communication effects explaining that the credibility of information received from an authority will be perceived as proportionate to the importance of the authority and consequently will not be analysed or challenged.

Representations and norms

As already outlined, representations generally involve normative content; however, normativity is not part of the definition of social representations as it is of the concept of habitus. Nonetheless, the social effectiveness of representations stems from the fact that communicating social representations means reproducing and renewing the normative views that underlie them. In this section, I shall explore in more depth the relationship between representations and norms, also referring to representations of gender and social class that involve normative content.

Let us briefly consider how social representations take place in a more general system. Flament & Rouquette (2003) consider that social representations ground attitudes, which in turn ground opinions, representations being the most general of these three concepts. How do we transpose this into the network of topics explored in this work? There is a representation of gender roles that grounds sexism and a representation of social stratification that grounds attitudes about different occupations.

According to Boudon (1992), social representations are grounded in ideology. Ideologies are characterized by their stability and may only be recognized on an historical scale (Palmonari & Doise (1986); Flament & Rouquette (2003)). The concept of ideology is also discussed by Moscovici (1961) and Bourdieu & Boltanski (1976). Ideologies are constituted of values, norms and general beliefs. Values provide stable reference points for judgements. They have hierarchical relationships that allow people to justify their choices, they are used as criteria for preferences. They are widely shared and ensure the

continuity of institutions. Norms are the rules on the basis of which values are applied to situations, endorsed or preserved.

Gender representations

This section is dedicated to representations in terms of gender. These representations may be about oneself, and thus pertain to what psychologists call the self-concept, or they may about people or about other social objects that have no biological sex.

An interesting approach to such representations is provided by Bem (1981)'s gender schema theory. This theory suggests a psychological basis for the tendency that people have from childhood onwards to sex-type all sorts of social objects. The process of sex-typing is expressed in several ways: boys and girls are encouraged to develop sex-specific skills, tastes, and behaviours, sex-specific self-concepts and personality attributes, so as to be solidly grounded in the gender associations of their biological sex and to identify as such. In parallel, children learn to refer to this set of sex-related attributes in order to make sense of and assimilate new information. The gender-related dimensions, however, are differently applicable to the two sexes. This is what Sandra Bem calls the gender schema, a schema being defined as "a cognitive structure, a network of associations that organizes and guides an individual's perception." According to her, "What gender schema theory proposes, then, is that the phenomenon of sex-typing derives, in part, from gender-based schematic processing, from a generalized readiness to process information on the basis of the sex-linked associations that constitute the gender schema" (p. 355). This schema is prescriptive and normative in nature.

Sandra Bem devised a scale, of which is made use in this work, which aims at measuring gender identity. The idea is not to essentialize gender identities but on the contrary to measure to what extent individuals identify with gender stereotypes about themselves and to what extent their attitudes and behaviours are organized on the basis of gender associations.

Occupational representations

Class theorists in a Marxist perspective discuss the objective distribution of means of production and economic resources. We generally assume that people are aware of this distribution and have truthful representations of it. However, the issue of the representations that people have of the hierarchies of occupations is quite a different

issue. As noted by Coxon & Jones (1979) "whilst we know a great deal about the differences which social class makes in many areas, we know relatively little about how people actually conceive their social world and how social class fits into these conceptions" (p. xi).

This provides us with a distinction between the 'subjective' and the 'objective' aspects of social stratification, and the problem of whether we can map the layperson's view of stratification, supposing there is just one lay view of it, on the sociologist's view, which is definitely not unitary given the diversity of theories we have seen in the first section of this chapter. Coxon and Jones assume as a hypothesis that such mapping is possible.

Here is the place to make some brief reflections on the notion of social map which we have already met several times and which I shall discuss extensively in chapter VI. Very different theories issuing from the fields of social stratification, of social psychology and from vocational psychology all refer to the idea that society is represented both to its lay members and to specialists who study it, such as psychologists and sociologists, under the form of a map. This metaphor, which makes use of the bi-dimensionality of the social ladder metaphor considered earlier, also imposes a number of assumptions on the structure of society. First, the map is usually assumed to be the same, or very similar, for everyone. Second, as noted, it is assumed to have two dimensions. However, there is disagreement as to the objects that may be found on this map: for social psychologists specialised in this approach, the objects on the map are social representations. For others, such as Goldthorpe the stratification specialist or for Gottfredson the vocational psychologist, it is representations of occupations.

As discussed in various places in this work, there is disagreement as to whether the structure of the map is consensual or whether it varies according to social position. Goldthorpe (1972) allows for variations between social groups. Coxon, Davies, & Jones (1986) contend that social stratification, while influenced by structures the importance of which people are not necessarily aware of, is rooted in how people perceive occupations. They strive for what they consider to be a balance between allowing for intergroup variations in these representations and acknowledging consensus on some topics.

What are the main dimensions on which occupations are rated? The two main dimensions usually found are prestige and gender (Lorenzi-Cioldi & Joye (1988); Saltiel (1990); Glick,

Wilk, & Perreault (1995)). I do not discuss this issue further here as it will be looked at in detail in the relevant chapters.

This section on representations has allowed me to outline in what way this notion is relevant to sociology. I have shown how it may apply both to representations of self as part of a social group and to representations of social objects such as occupations, allowing both for intergroup variations and for normativity. The idea that respondents self-identify with given social groups and that this self-identification triggers differential attitudes with regard to occupations is explored in the empirical chapters. I have also outlined how Gender schema theory provides an explanation for the ways in which given individuals sex-type different objects; this relationship will be further explored in the empirical chapters.

The life course: a framework for agency inside structures

This section is dedicated to exploring how the life course perspective is relevant to this work. A simple definition of the life course, which makes use of the notion of social space, could be the following: "people's movements through social space" (Levy & Bühlmann (2016)). Wingens & Reiter (2011) offer a more elaborate definition: "the life course is a – historically variable – socio-culturally and politically constructed institution that produces societal continuity and social integration through structurally embedded sequences of age-related status configurations which refer to individuals' societal participations and orient (but do not determine) biographical action. Life courses establish opportunity structures for self-realisation as well as patterns of rules ordering the temporal dimensions of social life" (p. 189). Both definitions emphasise the role of time, and the second adds the central ideas of an institutional structure that frames the agency of social actors.

The life course perspective offers a set of conceptual tools of which some may be put to use in the present work. Providing a brief overview of these tools provides insight into the scope and the limits of this work.

Time is central to the life course perspective, which proposes to take as its object entire life courses. However, this work takes into account only cross-sectional data and thus does not account for social transformations over time. Measurements of transitions, turning points and trajectories cannot be picked up in the data used here. While some

developmental information was indirectly available by looking at the effects of the school year in which the students were enrolled, I decided to disregard this information and use this variable only as a control variable. However, there is a sense in which time does make sense in this work: it is appropriate to consider the responses of our participants as being shaped by the sum of their earlier social experiences. While the sequence and precise content of these may be difficult to untangle, their cumulated effect on displayed attitudes in undeniable. It is also likely that the attitudes that shape our respondents' responses influence their later outcomes, as attitudes are found to be fairly stable features.

Reflecting on the notion of life trajectory, Bourdieu (1986c) notes that trajectories of individuals must be situated in the successively transformed states of the social space or field in which they take place. Stages in the life course of individuals must be compared with stages of other individuals who were, at the same time, faced with the same array of possibilities. This I do, as the teenagers who took part in our inquiry all have in common that they are in secondary obligatory school, the institutional framework that constrains them to take educational and vocational decisions. This provides meaning to cross-sectional data analysis, while we keep in mind that the measured states are part of a trajectory that led to them and that continued thereafter.

Wingens & Reiter (2011) provide the following way of linking central concepts of this work: "Any kind of life course structuring is inherently temporal. On the macro-level it is exerted by […] cultural systems of societies (i.e […] values and norms […]). On the meso-level structuring results from the interwoven texture of societal institutions and organisations: e.g. from the architecture of the educational and employment system, […]. All these structural contexts constitute clocking devices for biographies. They represent distinct logics of linking an individual's past life history with his present life and future biographical plans and, at the same time, relate them to society and its dynamics" (p. 190). We thus see one possible interpretation of how norms and institutions shape individual life courses, and provide meaning and direction to them.

The paradigms of the life course

The life course perspective is structured by a number of well-known principles whose relevance to this work I shall now briefly investigate.

The principle of time and place highlights the fact that the possibility to realise certain kinds of biographical patterns is determined by historical and geographical

circumstances. Norms are also determined by one's approximate historical and geographical position. This is relevant to this work in an obvious way: the students I study are submitted to the peculiar institutional arrangement of the different cantonal secondary school systems in which they do their schooling, which vary from canton to canton in ways relevant both to their subjective experience of schooling and to the objective perspectives of students from different school tracks. Historically, they are embedded in a time of relative questioning of gender norms, at least in some contexts, in a country whose institutions and norms remain on the whole fairly conservative. They are also at a stage of their life where they are constructing their identity and give a lot of importance to peer- and social judgements, as illustrated for example by Mardon (2010b)'s work on conformity to peer norms about clothing.

The second paradigm of the life course relevant to this work is that of linked lives. This paradigm highlights the fact that individuals do not live in isolation, but their life trajectories in various fields affect other individuals, usually people close to them, members of their family and friends. In addition, individuals are also linked to institutions such as the family, school and the state, thus forming a network of interdependencies with both individuals and institutions. The linked lives paradigm is particularly relevant to the chapter I dedicate to studying parent-children transmission of norms. In this framework, parents' occupational and gender norms and experiences will most probably shape their children's and thus contribute to their occupational outcomes. In addition, this paradigm provides additional understanding of the relationship of students to school. More generally, the understanding that teenagers have of occupations depends a lot upon the experience that the people they spend their time with have of them. Representations of occupations are thus situated socially and geographically (e.g. according to local economic contexts).

A third paradigm of the life course to which I shall dedicate a little more space is that of agency. The debate on the role of agency is central to the social sciences. Sociology often does excellent work in revealing how individuals' actions are determined and framed by structures, be they external (institutions) or internal (habitus). However, both from a phenomenological and an ethical point of view, we believe to have free will. Sociological explanations thus need to leave some space for individual agency in the framework of

these structures; they need to investigate the interplay of agency and structures over time.

Settersten & Gannon (2009) note that we need a model of agency within structure in order to "understand how individuals set goals, take action, and create meaning within – and often despite – the parameters of social settings, and even how individuals may change those parameters through their own actions". Agency is supposed to explain how individuals create their own life within the boundaries, but also with the help of opportunities offered by the social structure in which they are embedded. It also accounts for the influence that individuals have on changing these structures. Settersten and Gannon believe that modes of agency must be understood within particular environments. Agency is not only an individual phenomenon but also a collective one. Agency is perhaps even more important now than it was in the past: in a society in which norms impose "choices", which is submitted to rapid social change, but where social sanctions are still present for those who do not complete status passages, individuals are forced to demonstrate agency in order to remain in the norm.

Settersten and Gannon offer three definitions of agency: the first refers to the capacity to make a difference in the world; the second, to the resources that are put to work when taking action, and may be operationalized as psychological constructs: planful competence, self-efficacy, locus of control, and coping. The third refers to the temporal nature of human experience: the fact that our experience spans past, present and future in a continuous way and that change in circumstances through time constitutes an on-going challenge to individuals. He also notes that agency is subordinate to different kinds of goals which may follow different timelines.

Settersten & Gannon (2009) ask whether agency is a way in which each human being interacts with the world or a resource that some people have more of than others. Some life situations require high focus on action, while others are dealt with in more automatic, less conscious ways. But even in the more routinized situations, we internalize social roles that we may play more or less well, and these repeated situations influence life course trajectories. Consequently, the authors identify three kinds of agency: pragmatic, identity and life course, all anchored within existential agency. By existential agency, the authors refer to the agency inherent to any action, and to the simple idea and feeling that we may have acted otherwise. Embedded within this, pragmatic agency is the capacity to focus

one's intentions and actions to a situation that is immediately present. Identity agency consists in playing a given social role, in creatively performing an aspect of one's social identity, and is thus similar to habitus. Life course agency is the capacity to identify broader sense in our lives, to believe that we can achieve this sense, and to act in order to make this happen on the long term. Other authors, however, have a more restricted definition of agency: Heinz (2009), quoting Shanahan (2000), understands agency as "related to the active pursuit of goals, an 'active process of choosing the appropriate institutional involvements, organisational memberships, and interpersonal relationships'" (p. 397). The distinction between agency as making things happen and agency as the capacity to believe that one can make things happen was elaborated by Hitlin & Elder (2007).

The notion of agency involves the idea of choice. To what extent can we say that people choose freely (and therefore are completely responsible for) their life trajectories? An interesting concept to consider in attempting a response to this question is that of constrained preferences. Elder, Kirkpatrick Johnson, & Crosnoe (2004) state that "Individuals choose the paths they follow, yet choices are always constrained by the opportunities structured by social institutions and culture". Constraints make some things impossible, but others possible. Giddens speaks of "enabling constraints" (Giddens (1984)) while Shanahan (2000) uses the expression "bounded strategic action".

In this theoretical framework, constructing representations is a kind of agency, and a necessary preliminary to formulating constrained occupational preferences. Constructing normative representations is constructing meaning and life goals: as we have seen, a central function of representations is to make sense of, and master symbolically, relevant aspects of one's environment. Occupational representations reveal agency within structure. Individuals can base their acceptance or rejection of social norms perceived as advantageous or not on the basis of their representations. I thus understand occupational representations as a life-long constructed resource that allows individuals to provide meaning to the perceived interplay of agency and structure at various turning points of their life at which agentic behaviour is imposed on them, in particular, as investigated in this piece of work, at the end of obligatory school.

Constrained preferences do not necessarily take into account all constraints, because some may not be known or appropriately evaluated. Normative constraints exist

nonetheless on the preferences expressed by teenagers and structural constraints may be taken into account differentially according to respondents. Shanahan (2000) notes that in the case of educational tracking, the same structures both foster directed agency on the part of students, and provide the objective constraints that channel them.

Heinz (2009) offers a critique of rational choice as a model used to explain how youngsters take educational decisions. He notes that "the model invokes the notion of subjectively expected utility which assumes that decisions are made with a clearly defined set of alternatives, ranked in relation to preferences; the chosen alternative is said to maximise the expected utility" (p. 399). In real life, things do not happen in this way: detailed possible scenarios are not compared point by point, and the importance given to particular criteria varies widely. Consideration of available alternatives is shaped by representations of common pathways that may not be the same for everyone. In addition, emotions and normative judgements influence what is identified as preferred outcomes. Evans refers to 'intuitive rationality' as the process by which decision-making is based on biographical experience and assumptions about likely outcomes. Finally, choice is embedded in habits and social frames – habitus – from which individuals do not have enough distance to be critical about them.

The present study is concerned with the analysis of responses a set of students gave to a quantitative questionnaire about their occupational aspirations and representations, which was submitted to them in the context of school. Depending on the definitions of agency presented earlier, we may reflect upon what kind of agency our respondents demonstrated in filling in the questionnaire. We have no data about the steps they may have taken towards preparing their educational and vocational future, nor more generally about their pragmatic agency in this field. However, the act of filling in the questionnaire does demonstrate identity agency as defined by Settersten and Gannon: as students, they are obeying instructions from the teaching staff, thus performing an aspect of their role as students. On a more abstract level, by revealing, through their answers, their occupational representations, they are actualising and performing these. I discussed earlier the notion of "doing" norms, be they gender or class norms. By replying to the questionnaire, our students are doing norms, and thus demonstrating identity agency.

Let us now consider the milestone of the end of obligatory school as a transition, in the sense in which this expression is used in life course studies. When considering transitions,

Heinz (2009) sees agency essentially as Clausen's 'planful competence' (Clausen (1991)), "the capacity to select between alternative pathways to employment in such a way that they match individual goals and skills" (p. 397). This transition offers a central challenge, that of taking decisions on the basis of insufficient information. In this, representations are instrumental, because they crystallize the normative and descriptive knowledge youngsters do have about possible available pathways. However, the uncertainty of outcomes remains, according to Heinz (2009).

Heinz asks the question of whether this "planful competence" that youngsters are supposed to have, is reflexive: "Are young people constructing reflexive projects of self-actualisation on the route to work?" In relation to this question, he suggests the concept of 'self-socialisation', which "translates the notion of self-reflexive decision-making into a context-related biographical learning process. Self-socialisation mediates between life course resources and standards, options and pathway decisions; it promotes adaptive processes to changing action and skill demands during school-to-work transitions" (Heinz (2009), p. 401). This process of self-referential social learning promotes meaning making of biographical trajectories and thus adaptability and new strategy making in view of unexpected challenges.

This section on the life course paradigm sets a wider frame for the empirical chapters, in which my analyses are cross-sectional. It reminds us that the moment at which respondents replied to our questionnaire must be replaced in the wider process of their life course, with its institutional constraints and interplay of agency and structure.

Occupational aspirations: a locus for the interplay of status, norms and representations over time

In this work, I consider occupational representations and aspirations to be very similar concepts. However, the literature that deals centrally with each of these concepts stems from different disciplinary fields and takes quite different perspectives on them. As we have seen, thought on occupational representations is grounded in the literature on social representations; in the present section, we shall consider the contribution from vocational psychology to understanding occupational aspirations. This will also provide an opportunity to frame the role given to social factors in these primarily psychological theories.

I treat occupational aspirations as a special kind of occupational representations: representations that each individual respondent has of what is adequate for him/her. Just like for other representations, the normative aspect is still present, and the influence of status also. Empirically, we shall see that "what is positively and negatively connoted in general" in the occupational world is not very different from "what is more or less adequate for me".

In vocational psychology, the theoretical and empirical locus in which the concept of occupational aspiration is most extensively discussed, occupational aspirations are seen as an eminently personal result of one's most private personality traits and tastes. Considering that approx. 50% of our respondents mentioned the same 10 aspired occupations according to their sex, we may suspect that social factors play a role also in shaping this kind of representation.

Theories of how occupational aspirations are shaped have been suggested both in psychology, especially in the field of psychology dedicated to such matters – vocational psychology, and in sociology. The approaches from vocational psychology that I shall consider purport to take into account, or at least to make room for, social factors. They are thus, in a way, more ambitious than the equivalent sociological theories, which just ignore psychological factors, as they claim to make room for all possible sources of explanation on the topic. I shall begin by presenting these more overarching theories, and will conclude this chapter with theories with narrower perspectives that issue from sociology.

The approach from vocational psychology

This subchapter is dedicated to the conceptual and theoretical relevance of theories that have been developed in the field of career development and vocational psychology. I have identified two traditions of thought in vocational psychology that may be confronted fruitfully with a sociological approach, for they alone include in their reflections social factors such as gender and class and sociological concepts. On the one hand, there is the tradition issued from Linda Gottfredson, herself both a psychologist and a sociologist, the theory of circumscription and compromise and critiques and developments of it.

On the other hand, we have a French tradition, influenced both by the French-speaking school of thought on social representations, as represented for example by Serge Moscovici and Denise Jodelet, but also by Pierre Bourdieu. This tradition includes authors

such as Jean Guichard, Jean Huteau, Bernadette Dumora and had an Icelandic offspring represented by Gudbjörg Vilhjálmsdóttir and Gudmundur Arnkelsson. These authors rely heavily on the notion of representation (although not always defined as social, or shared) while also discussing Bourdieusian notions such as habitus. These theories pay limited attention to gender and social class; however, they have the advantage of investigating explicitly how teenagers shape occupational aspirations, something that the theoretical literature in sociology rarely does. There is also a tradition of thought in vocational psychology that pays serious attention to gender. For example Sif Einarsdóttir and James Rounds demonstrate the gender bias in one of the most popular interest scales in career counselling (Einarsdóttir & Rounds (2009)).

Several of the works I shall consider use the approach of developmental psychology. We may note that, in a similar way to life course studies, developmental psychology sets as its task to study the interplay of structure and agency over time, even if the structure considered here is psychological, and not social, in nature. Both approaches thus involve a degree of determinism.

The theory of circumscription and compromise

The theory of vocational aspirations most relevant to this work was first formulated in 1981 by Linda Gottfredson, an American psychologist and sociologist (Gottfredson (1981)). She reviewed this theory several times over the next 25 years Gottfredson (1997, 2002, 2005). The theory includes a conceptual toolbox of relevant notions that Gottfredson defines and positions with regard to one another. Interestingly, they fall easily under the headings of the three concepts I have chosen to highlight in this chapter – social positions, norms and representations. I shall now introduce them from this standpoint.

Social position

Gottfredson discusses social position on the basis of the notion of *self-concept*: this is "one's view of oneself, one's view of who one is and who one is not" (Gottfredson (1981)), which may also be applied to future intentions. This self-concept may or may not be consciously thought about and it pertains to many domains of life. According to Gottfredson, the major relevant aspects of self-concept are gender, social class background, intelligence and vocational interests, vocational competencies and

vocational values. They are incorporated at different ages: orientation to sex roles happens around 6-8 years; orientation to school/social valuation (concepts of social class and ability) around 9-13; around 14+, there is an orientation towards the internal, unique self. There is no difference between sexes and only a difference in speed of development due to differences in "intelligence". The general line of progression goes from concrete to abstract thought, from external to internal descriptions. Vocational development is viewed as a growth in the capacity to apprehend and organize relevant information about self and jobs.

Gottfredson's idea of *self-concept* includes many aspects that may seem disparate, from aspects of self-efficacy, to social position. In view of my aims here, I understand self-concept as social position and the representation that actors have of their own position. However, Gottfredson includes normative aspects in this concept (vocational values) that go beyond social position.

The second main concept that may be related to the notion of social position is what Gottfredson calls the *perceived accessibility of an occupation*: judgements about the obstacles or opportunities in the social or economic environment that affect one's chances of getting into a particular occupation. *Realism* is the equivalent concept as expressed by an outside observer. This notion highlights social position as an objective purveyor of opportunities and resources and of the social legitimacy that enables appropriate actors to access social positions and makes the field in which they wish to enter welcoming to them.

Representations

Gottfredson introduces the concept of *occupational image* as a generalization a person makes about a given occupation (Gottfredson (1981)); these generalizations may concern many characteristics of the occupation and of the people who perform it; they can be judged for their accuracy. Interestingly, as a psychologist, she does not note the potential of occupational images to be shared, although she is obviously referring here to something very similar to the occupational representations that are considered in sociology and social psychology. The idea that these images may be assessed as to their accuracy probably means that they are not supposed to involve normative content. As discussed in the sections on social representations and habitus, however, I do consider it convincing

to view occupational images experienced as relevant to social actors as necessarily involving normativity.

Gottfredson notes that occupational images deal almost exclusively with the lifestyle that occupations afford an incumbent and with the type of person that she/he is. They have little to say about what people do in these jobs or how to get them. People have a common general understanding of what it means socially and economically to have different jobs. Their cognitive map of occupations is largely a map of social relations and lifestyles and pertains to the social identity conferred by occupations. This perhaps explains another fact to which Gottfredson points, in her discussion of Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, & Herma (1951). In this study, "interviews revealed that youngsters try to identify jobs they would be interested in and be good at, but they have considerable difficulty doing so. The youngsters seemed to grasp at any concrete clues to what their choices should be: some course grades being slightly better than others, comments by teachers and parents, particular experiences, and occasionally aptitude and interest test results. Most of the college-bound boys in the study said they hoped that college would reveal their interests and abilities to them; the non-college bound generally hoped that work experience would accomplish the same thing" (p. 567). This difficulty to grasp what, in an occupation, it is relevant to aspire to may contribute to explaining why the cognitive map of occupations may be stable across people and in the same person over time, while the actual aspirations may vary quite a lot: while a given occupation may have the same broad associations across time or people, their relevance to desirability may vary.

Gottfredson organises these occupational images into a *cognitive map of occupations*: "people tend to judge the similarities and differences among occupations along a few simple dimensions [which] help organize one's images of various occupations into a more unified view, or map, of the occupational world" (Gottfredson (1981), p. 547). As discussed in detail in chapter VI, Gottfredson believes that the structure of this map is common to everyone in at least the following senses:

1) The criteria/dimensions on which it is built are the same for everyone

2) The ranking of occupations on each dimension is the same for everyone.

As to the issue of whether the absolute value given to occupations on each dimension is identical, she notes that, while there is consensus in ranking jobs according to prestige and sex-type, there are systematic differences in the absolute ratings people assign; for

example, younger children and lower class people rate jobs more positively. Besides, she notes a "homophily bonus": people rate as higher occupations held by the social groups to which they belong. They also make finer discriminations among occupations most relevant to them.

The three main dimensions of the cognitive map of occupations are sex-type (masculinity/femininity), level of work/prestige and field of work. Note that by 'field of work', Gottfredson appears to mean fairly general distinctions such as the opposition of blue vs. white-collar jobs. The map may be tested for accuracy (thus, is again understood as devoid of normativity) as it is supposed to correspond to an 'objective' map of occupations in the following ways: the sex-typing of the occupation may or may not fit the actual proportion of men and women in the occupation; the prestige level of an occupation may or may not fit statistically measured prestige, educational requirements or salary levels; fields of work, viewed subjectively or objectively appear to be easily comparable.

Norms

Once the impact of social position has been taken into account by social actors, and acknowledgements of what is, and is not, socially possible given the actor's position in power relations and hierarchies, it is still necessary to take a stance within what is left. As already noted, norms play a central role in helping actors reframe objective possibilities and opportunities provided by social status and power relations into 'choices'. This is what Gottfredson expresses with the notion of *occupational alternatives*, defined as the product of perceptions of both job-self compatibility, and accessibility.

This notion of occupational alternatives is then widened to include positioning about all occupations and not just a selected few. The whole 'map of occupations' – I consider this notion in the next section – is divided according to the result of the actor's analysis of his or her position in power hierarchies through the prism of norms. This process produces what Gottfredson calls *social space / the zone of acceptable alternatives*. This is the set or range of occupations that the person considers as acceptable alternatives, a reflection of the person's view of where he/she fits in society. This notion is further discussed in chapter VI.

We may conclude this discussion of the central notions of Gottfredson's theory with those directly relevant to aspirations defined, as previously, as the result of the combination of social position, representations and norms.

Occupational preferences: "People assess the compatibility of occupations with their images of who they would like to be and how much effort they are willing to exert to enter those occupations" (p. 547).

Occupational aspiration: the single occupation named as one's best alternative at any given time. This may change over time although the social space remains stable. Gottfredson makes a few additional remarks about how she thinks that changing aspirations take place in a fairly stable map of social space: "The vocational uncertainty and confusion of adolescents is restricted in scope, however. Even an undecided person is likely to show strong likes and dislikes when asked about occupational options varying widely in sex-type and prestige. A male is not likely to be confused or uncertain about wanting a masculine job, nor a middle-class child about wanting a middle-class job. The uncertainty concerns which field of work, and what specific job within that field, they should pursue. Thus specific choices may be very unstable during adolescence, but general preferences (i.e., one's zone of acceptable alternatives) will be much more stable." (Gottfredson (1981), p. 568).

Gottfredson's theory (1981)

As Gottfredson acknowledges, the theory is largely speculative but provides testable propositions. It states hypotheses about different stages in child development. Young children have a fairly positive view of all occupations but as they grow up, they build occupational images and start using self-concepts to assess job-self compatibility and occupational preferences. The process of occupational 'choice' in the psychological literature is often conceptualized as a kind of comparison between representations one has of given occupations and the view one has of oneself; this theory is no exception. A 'circumscription' of occupational alternatives considered acceptable takes place.

The theory states on the basis of which criteria and in what order this circumscription process is supposed to take place. First, children eliminate occupations perceived to be inappropriate to their sex. Then they eliminate occupations of unacceptably low prestige because they are inconsistent with their social class self-concept. In parallel, they

eliminate occupations requiring extreme effort to obtain in view of their image of their general ability level. Occupations that are highly compatible with one's sense of self are highly valued; those that are highly incompatible are strongly disliked.

The next stages take place within this self-defined social space. If asked to mention an idealistic aspiration, the person will mention a job at the 'top' of the space; a realistic one will be found 'lower down'. In adolescence, youngsters turn to more positive criteria in order to narrow further their choice: personal interests, capacities and values. This process takes place in the framework of occupations that had already been defined in the earlier stages. As a proof of how occupations that are unacceptable on the basis of gender, prestige and difficulty criteria are eliminated from people's world view, Gottfredson mentions the fact that people are able to rank occupations that are suggested to them, but when asked to list least preferred occupations, they rarely mention low level or sex inappropriate jobs.

Finally, when they start to seek training or employment, teenagers become more sensitive to which jobs are actually available to them. They then balance their preferences for different occupations with their perception of their accessibility, and they try to implement the "better bets". This is the compromise stage. When compromises have to be made, the typical pattern is that vocational interests are sacrificed first, job level second and sextype last. In principle, the occupations that have been rejected are never reconsidered. Vocational choice is a process of elimination of alternatives from further consideration.

Habitus also has to do with adjusting individuals' wishes and hopes with their perception of what is possible for them. This remark refers us to a process often recognized as central to the construction of occupational aspirations. This process, popularized in sociology by Goffman (1952) in his reflection about the ways in which one may lose a social role as the idea of 'cooling the mark out' is accounted for in Gottfredson's theory as the process of 'compromise'.

Representation of self – representations of occupations matching theories

In 1982, Michel Huteau offered an alternative theory of occupational aspirations (Huteau (1982)), which does not (explicitly) take into account Gottfredson's. In an article on the

topic (Guichard & Dumora (2008)), Jean Guichard and Bernadette Dumora present this theory and state their support for it.

In a similar way to Gottfredson, Huteau describes the process of constructing occupational aspirations as a comparison between representations of the self and of occupations. He defines representations as "mental constructions about an object. They are an organised set of information, knowledge, ideas, attributes about this object. […] The representation of an object is the complete set of positions of this object on each of the traits (descriptors, dimensions or constructs) with which it can be described. The object is thus reduced to a set of characteristics or to a point in a multidimensional space" (Huteau (1982), p. 108).

Nothing is specified about the individual or collective nature of representations. Given comments about the fact that the representation of an occupation differs according to whether the person knows an incumbent to whom he/she can attach the representation, Huteau probably views representations as individual. He also states that they may involve 'feelings' and evaluative aspects. He thus shares my view of representations as being normative. In the context of self-representations, he highlights the idea of an 'ideal me' which includes normative aspects.

Huteau explains that the content of a representation may be defined as three properties: the traits with which the respondent chooses to describe an occupation (e.g. wages), the position of the occupation with respect to this trait (e.g. low wages) and the respondent's attitude to this (e.g. negative). He also states that representations of occupations may be more or less differentiated, on the basis of whether the respondent refers to a larger or smaller number of traits, or attributes more or less gradations to the traits, and whether the traits are hierarchically organised rather than juxtaposed. He also reflects upon whether respondents have the tendency to use a limited number of traits to describe various occupations or whether the traits are object-specific.

Representations are directed towards action; they are borrowed as such from family and friends and they contain stereotypes. The way in which representations are organised may favour acquisition of some new types of knowledge about the occupation over others. The traits that are emphasised in the representation of an occupation may depend on the social characteristics of the respondent. Teenagers often reason by analogy, which induces them to "mistaken" representations, and seek to avoid cognitive dissonance

between attitudes, knowledge and values about occupations; this leads them to forget or selectively seek for specific information. Huteau notes that gender and social class influence respondents' representations because the sources on the basis of which they construct these representations differ.

Huteau's theory involves a developmental aspect; however, he does not consider it appropriate to define discrete phases in this development. Huteau notes that the gender component of occupational representations appears very early in children's statements, is often not questioned later on in their development, and contributes in a central way to determining their occupational attitudes. He also notes that it is stronger in boys than in girls. Awareness of there being a difference between the sexes at around 2-3 years old leads to awareness of gender roles, which are then extended to occupations around ages 5-6. Teenagers between 11 and 16 years learn about many new occupations; while they can mention approx. 90 different occupations at age 11, this goes up to 150 at age 16. They also become more fluent at organising them into categories on the basis of different criteria, such as responsibility, intellectual work, 'static' (regular working hours, well-defined work, no need to travel) as opposed to 'dynamic' work (dangerous or outdoor work, with irregular hours and travel). Teenagers use these traits to define types of work, but also themselves, which adds credibility to the job-self match framework. As teenagers become older, they refer less and less to immediately observable job traits, and more and more to traits that demonstrate a social and more abstract view of occupations; however, even at the end of this process, there are still important aspects of occupations that teenagers almost never mention.

Huteau offers an interesting take on the acquisition of prestige norms: he finds that prestige norms differ according to gender and class, demonstrating for example a bias in favour of feminine occupations in younger (11-12 year-old) teenage girls, but finds that these differences tend to disappear in older teenagers who have acquired with more confidence adult prestige norms. This points in direction of one of the main tenets of this thesis, which is precisely that prestige norms vary on the basis of the gender and class position of respondents. While I have no take on the hypothesis of their disappearance at the end of adolescence given that we have no data on this issue, gender and class differences are indeed present in our data. Huteau also notes increased refinement in growing teenagers' understanding of various kinds of unemployment and its causes.

Huteau views the process of comparison between representations of self and occupations as follows: first, attention is concentrated on a given occupation; its representation (i.e. the traits that describe it) is considered; corresponding traits in the representation of self are considered and finally the degree of agreement between the two sets of traits is estimated. There may be clear-cut matching or rejection, or else the teenager may decide to change something in his/her behaviour (e.g. attention given to school work) in order to match better the occupation. Huteau insists on the iterative character of this self-occupation matching process.

Finally, Huteau notes that the first work experiences may generate a crisis since they force radical re-evaluation of earlier held occupational representations. This is similar to Gottfredson's distinction between the circumscription and compromise phases.

Guichard and Dumora's version of the theory is complemented with Bourdieu's theory of fields. They state that "Huteau's model, combined with Bourdieu's approach, lead to the observation that through the mediation of representations, these positions determine occupational preferences which are established during school years and prefigure the two principal modalities of division of labour: according to sex and social origins. This pre-figuration is not a simple copy of parental positions, but the result of a real cognitive activity of organisation (in particular: into a hierarchy) […] this model enables one to understand the role of the strong and more or less deforming filter of reality which is played by social and school positions" (Guichard & Dumora (2008), p. 189). This view converges with what is contended in this thesis, that is, that social position, especially gender, class and school track, contribute to determining occupational representations which in turn influence occupational aspirations.

A similar theory was suggested by Hannover & Kessels (2004) in the framework of social psychology as the self-to-prototype matching approach. Teenagers are taken to have images of their present or hoped future self, which may or not match the prototypical representation they have of a typical student who is attracted to a given occupation. The core idea is that teenagers compare the image they have of themselves to the image they have of someone who is attracted to this position and decide whether these match or not. This theory is close to, but also slightly more complex than what Gottfredson and Huteau suggest, because it involves an additional representation, that of the typical person who is attracted to this or that occupation. The theory was re-explored through analysis of

qualitative interview data by Rommes, Overbeek, Scholte, Engels, & De Kemp (2007); this second study emphasises gender as central to this matching of prototypes.

Career construction theory

In (Savickas (2002)) and then in (Savickas (2005)), Mark Savickas offers his own synthesis of and development upon previous career development theories, in a spirit very close to life course studies in sociology. The theory is presented as an update of Super (1957), combining an 'own story research' approach of subjective career histories with social constructionism. Thus, "*career* denotes a reflection on the course of one's vocational behavior, not vocational behavior itself" (Savickas (2002), p. 152). Savickas suggests viewing the stages (in vocational development) and types (personality types) of previous theories as "social constructions rather than scientific discoveries" (Savickas (2002)). The idea is that "we construct representations of reality, but we do not construct reality itself". Besides, he adopts a "contextualist perspective, one that sees development as driven by adaptation to an environment rather than by maturation of inner structures". The theory focuses on interpretive processes, social interaction and the negotiation of meaning. The spirit of this non-positivistic, interactionist approach is closer to sociology than most theories in vocational psychology. Its main tenet is that "individuals construct their careers by imposing meaning on their vocational behaviour and occupational experiences". Thus, the idea of career is that of a meaningful subjective construction which may be expressed through a biographical story, extending both into the past and the future. The theory promotes the implementation of vocational self-concepts – another way of emphasising the importance of representations, and rejects an objectivising approach of career guidance, which aims at matching 'objective' personality types with 'objective' employment conditions.

Savickas (2002) summarizes career construction theory in 16 propositions, which make use of both sociological and psychological concepts. Occupations provide a core social role for most people; balanced core social roles promote stability. Individuals are involved in a "web of life roles". Preferences for social roles are grounded in socialization into unequal roles. Introducing the notion of habitus, Savickas warns against an exaggerated belief in agency. He highlights the importance of 'status identity', defined as "an individual's internal representation of his or her location among unequal social positions" (Savickas (2002)).

Career patterns are determined by a set of both social and personal characteristics, which Savickas calls vocational characteristics. Different occupations require different vocational characteristics. Occupational success and wellbeing depend upon whether people consider their work roles to be an adequate outlet for their vocational characteristics and on the degree to which they can implement their vocational self-concept, which is defined in terms of representations. Career construction is developing and implementing vocational self-concepts in work roles. Self-concept and vocational preferences evolve – rapidly during adolescence, but they continue evolving later on. Both vocational change as a long-term phenomenon and transitions from one career stage to the next are characterized by a cycle of growth, exploration, establishment, management and disengagement. In the long-term perspective, Savickas defines the growth phase as spanning from ages four to thirteen, and involving the formation of a vocational self-concept. Children develop four lines of activities: they become concerned about their future as a worker; they increase their control over their vocational activities; they form conceptions about how to make vocational choices and they acquire the confidence to make and implement these career choices. The exploration phase spans from ages fourteen to twenty-four. Social expectations put on teenagers are that they make an occupational choice. In response to these expectations, youngsters explore vocational possibilities in order to match their vocational self-concept with an occupation. The three activities involved in the exploration phase are crystallizing, specifying and actualizing vocational preferences. Crystallization involves a broad exploration to understand where teenagers fit in society.

A social cognitive theory

Lent, Brown, & Hackett (1994, 2002) offer a 'social cognitive' theory of career and academic interest, choice and performance, which I consider here because of its purported 'social' aspect. The theory appears to have been thought out independently of Gottfredson's – in any case the authors don't refer to her theory. They advocate a specified version of Bandura (1986)'s social cognitive theory, tailored to the domain of career choice. Bandura's model involves an interaction of three factors: personal attributes (which may be cognitive, affective or physical), environmental factors and observable behaviour, which are taken to influence each other.

The personal attributes the authors emphasise are of three types: self-efficacy beliefs, outcome expectations and goal representations. Self-efficacy, defined by Lent et al. (1994) as "people's judgements of their capabilities to organize and execute courses of action required to attain designated types of performances" is seen as the most central mechanism of personal agency and as an indispensable condition to deploying one's resources effectively. Outcome expectations are the second set of personal attributes deemed relevant in this theory; they refer to the imagined consequences of performing particular behaviours. This concept is very closely related to self-efficacy as these imagined consequences differ in relation to self-efficacy.

The third set of personal attributes relevant to social cognitive theory is goals, defined as "determinations to engage in a particular activity or to effect a particular future outcome". These are seen as a way through which people are not "just mechanical responders to deterministic forces", but manage to organize, guide and sustain their behaviour over long periods of time without external reinforcement; (occupational) aspirations are recognized by the authors as goals. Yet again, this concept seems intimately related to self-efficacy as the goals one sets for oneself are partly determined by one's expectations to meet them.

The social part of the theory is provided through the authors' acknowledgement of the fact that "Not only are [children and teenagers] exposed (directly and vicariously) to diverse activities but also they are differentially reinforced for pursuing certain activities from among those that are possible and for achieving satisfactory performance in chosen activities" (Lent et al. (1994), p. 89). Feedback from significant others is also recognized as influencing self-efficacy, outcome expectations and goals. Self-efficacy and outcome expectations are taken to influence interests. Revision of occupational goals following feedback from others is noted, through the intermediary of revised self-efficacy and expected outcomes.

In the midst of complex speculation about the interactions of the personal and behavioural attributes of their theory, the importance of social context is taken into account as a kind of real world "noise": "we fully recognize that, in the "real world", a variety of important factors, such as cultural and economic conditions, will moderate the explanatory power of the model" (p. 96). This is acceptable because the aim of their theory is to understand the role of self-reflective and self-regulatory mechanisms.

The influence of social context is bizarrely (from a sociological point of view) accounted for. Social cognitive theory states that self-efficacy beliefs are influenced by four information sources: personal performance accomplishments, vicarious learning, social persuasion and physiological states and reactions (anxiety, tiredness, etc.). Personal performance is taken as reinforcing previous success or failure, observation of similar others is supposed to have much the same effect, although no thought is given to the criteria according to which an individual might find others similar or not. 'Social persuasion' appears to be a means available to given influential individuals (school psychologists?) to reinforce certain behaviours in others but no thought is given to the wider institutional frameworks, such as authority, that may ground the ability of some people to exert this persuasion.

Finally, the authors consider other 'person factors' such as sex and race/ethnicity. They acknowledge their relevance as chiefly social and as resulting in "selective exposure to career-relevant experiences". They acknowledge that gender may shape self-efficacy and that the same may be the case for race/ethnicity. Social class, however, is not mentioned. They note that institutions may play a role in providing different experiences. Differential socialization processes may influence opportunities and their internalization (beliefs about them). Gender role stereotyping may have effects on goals and their implementation. 'Contextual factors' help shape the experiences that ground interests and influence the real and perceived opportunity structure. The authors acknowledge that career development research tends to underplay the role of contextual factors. Features of the opportunity structure may moderate the relations of interests to choice goals and of goals to actions: in other words, compromise takes place. Gender and ethnic differences in interests arise through differential socialization processes. Women and minorities have to face particular challenges that make them foster differential self-efficacy and outcome expectations: work/family role conflict, sexual harassment or the glass ceiling.

We see here that gender and ethnicity are taken to play a causal role in the whole process: they contribute to shape self-efficacy, outcome expectations, goals and behaviours. However, the authors do not venture into any further speculation as to how this takes place exactly. This theory is interesting in the way it leaves room for both the influence of psychological and social factors.

A learning-experiences theory

Krumboltz (1979) offers an alternative theory of career decision-making. He posits a basic opposition between internal (personal) and external (environmental factors) and states the following as the main factors contributing to career decision-making: genetic factors, environmental conditions, learning experiences, cognitive and emotional responses, and performance skills. Strangely, he unquestioningly classifies race and sex as being genetic in nature, and this is all he has to say about these characteristics.

Among the environmental conditions, he lists a set of institutional and social structural constraints and does not appear to distinguish these typologically from influence of personal network members, which he also mentions. The most interesting aspect of his outlook is his focus on two kinds of learning experiences that he thinks are central to career decision making: instrumental learning experiences (basically, learning by doing), and associative learning experiences (learning by observing others). In this framework, he notes the effects that occupational stereotypes may have on representations of occupations. He also notes the role of what he calls self-observation generalizations, that is, generalizations on one's own performances based on observations of others and of oneself in previous performances of the same kind of task. These self-observation generalizations, which appear to play a theoretical role equivalent to self-efficacy in the previous theory, have the tendency to turn into self-fulfilling prophecies over time, since the same kind of experiences tend to be positively or negatively valued over time; he also notes the feedback loop which has much the same effect, as positive or negative feedback from others on given activities will increase or decrease the probability of taking part in them. He also interprets the concept of 'interest' as a kind of self-observation generalization derived from prior learning experience; the same goes for values.

Yet again, this theory is quite distant from the preoccupations of sociology and sociological variables are dismissed without any further thought. This theory is interesting because it puts learning, and the related process of self-censoring, at its core, thus offering us a more diverse view of the processes at work in the construction of occupational aspirations.

A personality type-work environment matching theory

In 1997, John Holland (1997) provided a revised version of his theory first published in 1973. After various revisions, his theory takes into account Gottfredson's, although at a fairly superficial level. John Holland identifies six personality types – realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising and conventional, and states that most people may be identified with at least one of these types, and often with several in decreasing order. Each of the personality types is the result of complex interactions between innate and environmental factors (among which social class). Holland also identifies six environments in which people live and work that correspond to these six types, in which the corresponding personality type is numerically dominant and shapes the environment. He hypothesises that people search for environments that allow them to exercise their skills and abilities, express their attitudes and values and take on agreeable problems and roles. He equates personality and interest types, following the idea that the choice of a vocation is an expression of personality.

He states that his theory is valid, 'other things being equal', that is, without taking into account gender, ethnicity, social class and other social characteristics. He believes these characteristics are centrally relevant but does not study them in the theory. The main factor of social influence he considers is how parents of a given personality type tailor the environment of their children to their own preferences (and thus presumably contribute to shaping the personality type of their children). He offers an account of how personality develops in interaction with the environment. Holland's theory, contrary to Krumboltz, acknowledges the importance of social factors but excludes them from the scope of his work.

This overview of a selection of theories from the field of vocational psychology illustrates how psychological and social factors are taken to interact, and the position psychologists take about social factors. While I have left aside the many theories in vocational psychology that simply ignore the social factors, what we see here is attempts either to make room for social determinants while not actually exploring them, or else to offer a theory that integrates both social and psychological factors in order to offer a global theory.

The approach from sociology

Sociological theories that attempt a serious analysis of the process of construction of occupational aspirations and their significance are fairly rare. While there is a plethoric literature on phenomena of social reproduction and the influence that educational structures have on them, theories that consider such issues from the point of view of individuals, that make room for the influence of both gender and social class, and that take into account representations as a central concept, are very rare. I select here a few sociological approaches that deal more or less explicitly with these issues, beginning with two classics in the field: Bourdieu and Boudon.

Occupational aspirations as cultural tastes: *La Distinction*

In *La Distinction*, Pierre Bourdieu (1982) contends that cultural practices and 'tastes' are a means by which actors express and maintain their social status. Indeed, as cultural tastes are a direct result of social origin and education, they offer a means to 'showcase' and reproduce these characters. Drawing an analogy with the notion of 'doing gender', we could say that actors use cultural practices to 'do' class norms.

He also contends that there is a hierarchy of legitimacy of cultural practices, which coincides with a more general social hierarchy. The higher people are in this hierarchy, the better they can peg down practices under them; however, people who are lower down have difficulty understanding the rules that work higher up and thus make humiliating mistakes that exclude them symbolically from upper ranks of the hierarchy. This situation is illustrated by the quotation from Elena Ferrante at the beginning of this work; it echoes earlier comments I have made about how understanding of the upper-class hierarchies is relevant to lower class hierarchies.

This framework offers insightful perspectives into the way in which teenagers express occupational aspirations. Teenagers who feel legitimate, due to their social position, to aspire to high status occupations no doubt do so in a different way and for different reasons than those who are "imitating" what they understand to be high status occupational aspirations but do not master the connotations of such aspirations because they have not been socialized in them. In the same way, the disparaging look that upper-class students project on lower-class occupations is very different from the feeling of proximity that lower-class students may feel with regard to these same occupations. Unfortunately, my methodology does not allow to distinguish such "legitimate" and

"imitating" ways of aspiring to the same occupations; however, as we shall see in chapter IV, our data does provide us with some interesting insight into the different ways in which upper- and lower-class students envision the prestige of low-ranking occupations.

Educational choices as rational choices: *L'Inégalité des chances*

In his book *L'Inégalité des chances* (Boudon (1979), English translation in Boudon (1974)), Raymond Boudon offers a theory of the unequal character of opportunities offered by school. He analyses the decision-making process that families undergo when a youngster shapes his or her educational and occupational aspirations. Boudon highlights three main factors that are taken into account in this process: the financial cost of studies, the risk of failure in the process of acquiring a diploma (which is taken to be partly predictable on the basis of school results), and the educational attainment of the reference family group beneath which it becomes socially less acceptable to perform. Educational expectations issued by families are the product of consideration of these three factors. Upper class families, who typically have more financial resources and a higher average level of education, tend to have higher expectations for their children than lower-class families, whose financial resources make long-term investments more difficult, and whose average level of education is reached by shorter school curricula. The risk of failure, captured by the school results, introduces an individual factor into this otherwise fairly class-fixed view of social reproduction. Boudon notes that differences in educational expectations are highest for students with low school results: while low school results nail the coffin of lower-class parents' expectations for the educational achievements of their children, the same low results do little to mitigate the belief of higher-class parents in the ambitious educational future of their child.

This theory offers an efficient explanation for the phenomenon of social reproduction through the mediation of educational structures. It considers the positions and strategies of families, but does little to explain how youngsters themselves face family expectations. It makes use of two kinds of representations – those that families have of social success or at least maintenance of the social statu quo, and representations of the adequacy of their child to educational norms, through school results, without examining them as such. The theory does not refer to the role of gender.

Institutional explanations

Research on vocational pathways has highlighted the institutional factors that favour gendered pathways. Countries with widespread vocational education tend to have strong horizontal gender segregation in vocational education and in the labour market. This may be explained by the fact that VET programmes, as opposed to academic programmes, promote sex-typed trajectories (see Imdorf, Hegna, Eberhard, & Doray (2015)). Such trajectories are promoted by requiring students to make vocational choices at an early age, during teenage years when gender identity development is most salient (see Charles & Buchmann (1994); Imdorf, Sacchi, Wohlgemuth, Cortesi, & Schoch (2014)). In addition, Imdorf et al. (2015) argue that vocational systems with some underlying academic element (competitive entry, grades) tend to be less gender-segregated than others. The effects of these mechanisms may be identified at the moment of entry on the labour market (see Imdorf & Hupka-Brunner (2015)).

Gendered aspirations as a quest for social approval

Eberhard, Matthes, & Ulrich (2015) offer a theory of gendered occupational aspirations as based upon a quest for social approval, or at least avoidance of social disapproval, from family and friends. Young people are hypothesised to evaluate the potential of occupations they consider for self-presentation and decide to pursue or not their plans to enter it according to the result of this evaluation. This theory is supported by their findings, especially in young people with low education. It is particularly relevant to us in that it tackles the issue of occupational aspirations from the point of view of social actors. This theory reframes, in different terms, the role that may be given to the quest for prestige in occupational aspirations. The concept of social approval avoids confronting respondents with the somewhat abstract prestige question; moreover, it allows for nuances in defining the groups from which respondents may seek social approval. Finally, it rejects the implicit orthogonality of prestige and gender requirements induced by our questions, and by Gottfredson's system, by theoretically allowing for the possibility that the social approval may precisely be in terms of gender.

Françoise Vouillot (2010) understand gendered occupational aspirations as a way by which teenagers state their identity as boys or girls. In a spirit close to Bem's Gender schema theory, she notes that self-identification with stereotypically gendered personality traits comes with stereotypical identification of such traits with occupations,

and thus entails matching of gendered self-images with gendered occupations: “occupational choices are instrumentalized in the service of gender, through the need to state one’s identity as a girl or a boy, as a woman or as a man” (p. 64). Vouillot (2007) interprets occupational aspirations as a means by which teenagers project their self-image and their willingness to conform to norms. This view converges with the above-mentioned theory of gendered aspirations as a quest for social approval: social approval is sought by signalling acceptance of gender norms.

The theories we have just considered are very diverse in nature and provide different perspectives on occupational aspirations. The vocational psychologists are more interested in a developmental process spanning over years of the life of teenagers, and thus are sometimes close to the life course perspective; they concentrate on individual points of views and often leave only peripheral room for social factors. The theories stemming from sociology, on the other hand, give close attention to structural and institutional factors but leave less room to first-person perspectives.

This section on occupational aspirations has enabled me to provide an overview of the different ways in which social determinants may be integrated in a theory of occupational aspirations, and thereby to situate my own approach, which is to give central importance to these factors. It also allows me to outline the limitations of the methodology put to work in the empirical part, as the questionnaire items were of limited interpretability with regard to the various theories presented in the sociological approach. Finally, it has allowed me to provide an in-depth presentation of Gottfredson’s theory of circumscription and compromise, which is referred to and criticised in detail in the empirical chapters, on the basis of our data.

Chapter II: Data and method

In this chapter, I present the data used in this work, as well as information about the sample and variables that were used. For further in-depth information about the sampling and data collection process, I refer to the methodological chapter of Guilley et al. (2014).

Procedure

The data was collected in the framework of the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) National Research Programme 60 on Gender Equality project "Occupational aspirations and orientations of girls and boys at the end of compulsory schooling: how can we attain greater equality?".

It was originally collected in 20 schools in five cantons in Switzerland. Since only few questionnaires were collected in one of the cantons, Aarau, which in addition was different from the others from a linguistic point of view, I decided to focus the analyses in this work on the four remaining cantons, to the exclusion of Aarau (AG). The data used here is therefore issued from 17 schools in four cantons: Geneva (GE) and Vaud (VD), which are French-speaking; French-speaking schools in the bilingual canton of Berne (BE), and Italian-speaking schools in the canton of Ticino (TI).

The data was collected between early and mid-2011 on the school premises of the students in 17 different lower-secondary schools, with the active collaboration of school authorities. After having been pre-tested, the questionnaires were administered online, in computer rooms, under the supervision of teachers, in the regional language in schools in the French-speaking region. Questionnaires in the Italian-speaking region (TI) were administered on paper in the classroom.

The parent questionnaire was administered on paper questionnaires brought home by the students and then sent back by post by the parents.

Participants

The data includes valid responses from 3124 obligatory secondary school students who were 13-15 years old at the time of the data collection. They were in 7th to 9th grade,

(respectively 9th, 10th and 11th year in the HarmoS system). This stage of schooling was chosen because in the Swiss system, these three years, which are the final years of obligatory school, are also those during which vocational and further educational choices are made. After this stage of schooling, students may continue full-time general education, may enter vocational training, or may leave the educational system altogether, although those who do this have low prospects on the Swiss job market which values qualifications highly.

Parents and teachers of these students were also required to respond to specific questionnaires. Since the teacher data is not used in this work, I shall not elaborate upon it; the parent data is further introduced in what follows.

The parent-children sample

Parents were reached via paper questionnaires (one per family) that respondent students brought home. From our sample of 3124 teenage respondents, 1562 parents (at most one per student) provided a response to our questionnaire. This amounts to exactly 50% of our sample.

I provide here some general descriptive characteristics of the sample of respondent parents. Out of this number, 466 parents were fathers and 1051 were mothers – mothers are strongly overrepresented in the sample. Out of the 1078 respondent parents about whom we have information as to their level of education, 202 had completed obligatory school or less, 623 had completed post-obligatory secondary education and 253 had tertiary education.

I now look briefly at the representativity of the sample of respondent parents within the sample of all parents to whom the questionnaire was submitted. Is parental participation in the study explained by their socio-demographical characteristics? Mothers who took part in the study had slightly higher occupational ISEI than non-participant mothers ($b = .008$, $p = .002$), and the same is true for fathers ($b = .006$, $p = .046$). Higher levels of education also made mothers more likely to participate in the study: ($b = .49$, $p < .005$) for post-obligatory educated mothers and ($b = .59$, $p < .005$) for mothers with university education; this is also true, but to a lesser extent, for fathers with university education ($b = .38$, $p < .05$). I also find that the parent who answered the questionnaire tends to be the most educated parent of the couple (Cramer's $V = 0.53$).

Now, relating the parents to the students, I compare the sample of students whose parent responded to the questionnaire to the overall student sample. In the table below, we see that parents of girls, especially mothers of girls, are overrepresented in the sample. A chi2 test reveals a gender bias in the responses, namely, that mothers tend to respond for their daughter and fathers for their son.

Table 1: Cross tabulation of the sex of respondent parents and children

	Fathers	Mothers	Total
Boys	252	437	689
	36.57 %	63.43 %	100 %
Girls	200	596	796
	25.09 %	74.91 %	100 %
Total	452	1033	1485
	30.42 %	69.58 %	100 %

The control variables

A number of independent variables were taken into account in my analysis only as control variables; that is, their coefficients will not be considered in the results and they are not part of the focus of this work. However, not taking them into account could bias the results of other coefficients by attributing to them more explanatory power than they effectively have. Other independent variables were used in some chapters as controls, and in others are substantively interpreted.

Canton

The canton variable includes the four cantons considered in the study, Geneva, Vaud, Ticino and Bern. It refers to the canton in which are situated the schools in the framework of which the data was collected. These cantons differ in many ways: they pertain to two linguistic areas of Switzerland, the French- and the Italian-speaking regions. Their economic structure is different, harbouring populations which are different in terms of levels and kinds of qualifications and employment sectors; their demographic characteristics are different, in particular in the levels and kind of immigration they receive, and finally and most directly relevant to this work, they differ as to the organisation of their educational system. Both the proportions of students in different requirement tracks during the last phase of obligatory school, and the proportion of

students that enter vocational or non-vocational post-obligatory secondary tracks differ greatly from canton to canton. What is usually called the *transition 1* in the literature on the topic may thus present itself in very different terms to students in different cantons with similar levels of competence in school tasks. Below is a table of the number of student and parent respondents in each canton. Roughly the same proportion of students was sampled in the three main cantons of the study, Geneva, Vaud and Ticino, and less in the bilingual canton of Berne, whose German-speaking population was not surveyed.

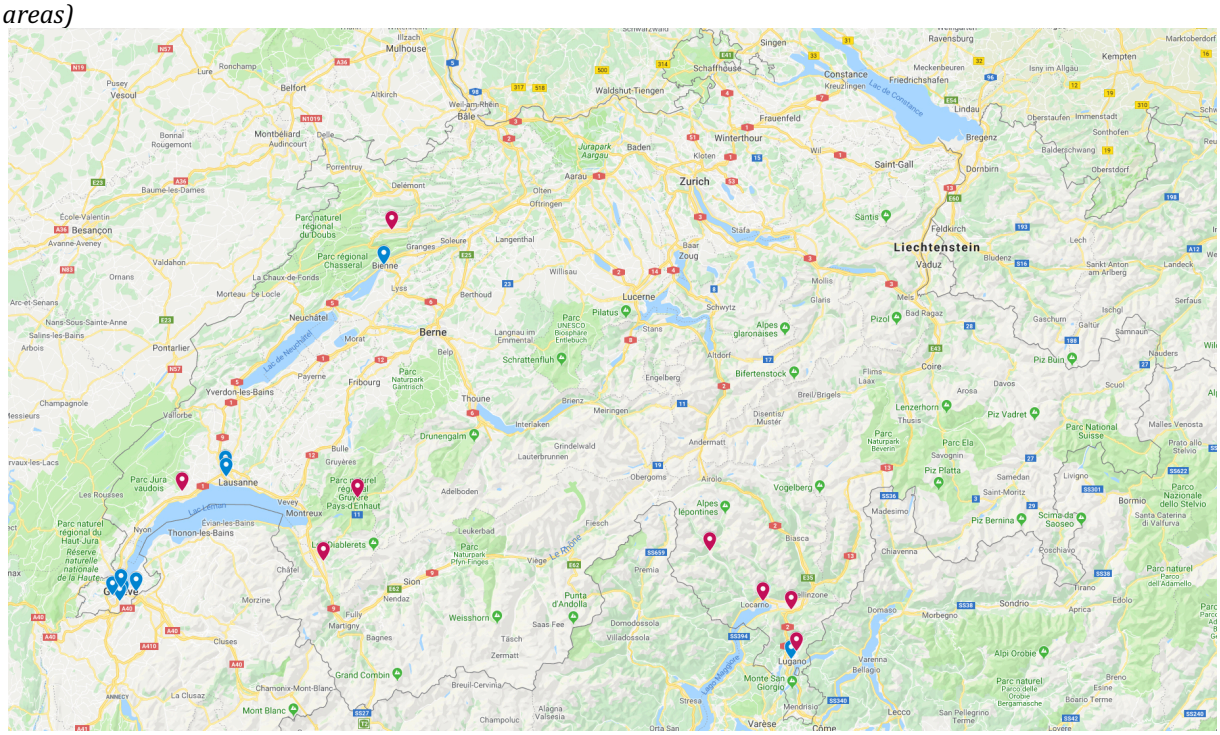
Table 2: Respondent students and parents by canton

Canton	Respondent parent	No respondent parent	Respondent students	Percent of respondent students
Berne (BE)	203	228	431	13.80
Geneva (GE)	533	414	947	30.31
Ticino (TI)	513	365	878	28.10
Vaud (VD)	313	555	868	27.78
Total	1,562	1,562	3,124	100

Urban or rural school location

In order to take into account some of the differences in economic and social structure between schools, I introduced a dichotomous variable that classifies schools in urban (town of more than 10'000 inhabitants) or rural areas (town of less than 10'000 inhabitants). This variable was created by identifying the population of the commune in which each school is located as under or over the 10'000 inhabitants threshold. This dichotomy was rendered even more clear by the fact that all communes of over 10'000 inhabitants that were considered in the study were themselves part of urban areas including other populated communes, and part of larger cities (Geneva, Lausanne, Bienne and Lugano). The rural communes in contrast were embedded in larger geographical areas that were definitely rural. This is visible from the map of school locations below, in which urban schools are indicated in blue, and rural schools in red.

Graph 1: Map of school locations (Schools indicated in blue are located in urban areas; schools in red in rural areas)



Nationality

While I do not make any analytical use of this variable, it appeared relevant to account for some of the diversity in representations among students by taking into account their nationality. This I did by generating a dichotomous variable which identified students either as Swiss or binational, following the hypothesis that having at least one Swiss parent provided students with direct contact with local ways and values, or as foreign. The descriptive statistics of this variable are provided beneath.

Table 3: Nationality of student respondents

Nationality: Swiss and bi-national vs. foreign only	Frequency	Percent
Swiss or bi-national	2,324	74.39
Foreign only	559	17.89
Missing	241	7.71
Total	3,124	100.00

The foreign nationalities of the sample include a huge variety of countries, and regions of the world. The most represented non-Swiss nationalities (all nationalities of 10 or more

participants, including bi-nationals) are: Italy (311), Portugal (278), France (156), Spain (134), Kosovo (64), Turkey (43), Germany (38), Serbia (34), United Kingdom (30), Brazil (26), Bosnia-and-Herzegovina (24), Macedonia (22), USA (21), Sri Lanka (20), Netherlands (17), Belgium (15), Canada (15), Tunisia (12), Chile (11), Poland (10).

School year

As already mentioned, the present study was led in lower secondary schools and involved students enrolled in the last three years of obligatory school. While not providing exactly the same information as respondent age, this variable does account for some of the developmental process underway at this life stage. It also accounts for the evolution of the institutional framework in which the students are enrolled, in particular the growing pressure that is put on students over these three years to construct occupational representations and an educational or vocational project. Below I provide the descriptive statistics for this variable.

Table 4: School year of student participants

School year	Frequency	Percent
7th grade (9th HarmoS)	935	29.93
8th grade (10th HarmoS)	1095	35.05
9th grade (11th HarmoS)	1024	32.78
Missing	70	2.24
Total	3124	100

Gender-related variables

Sex of child and of respondent parent

As this thesis concentrates on the effects of sex and gender-related variables, these variables are usually analysed. In some analyses however, sex may be taken only as a control variable (see table at the end of this chapter).

Respondents, both parents and students, were required to provide their sex, as either male or female. I provide below descriptive statistics about the responses that were collected, for both the student and the parent samples.

Table 5: Sex of student participants

Sex	Frequency	Percent
Male	1534	49.10
Female	1506	48.21
Missing	84	2.69
Total	3124	100.00

Data about the sex of the respondent parent has already been mentioned. I summarize it more formally here.

Table 6: Sex of parent participants

Sex of respondent parent	Frequency	Percent
Male	466	29.83
Female	1051	67.29
Missing	45	2.88
Total	1562	100

Hostile and benevolent sexism of child and parent

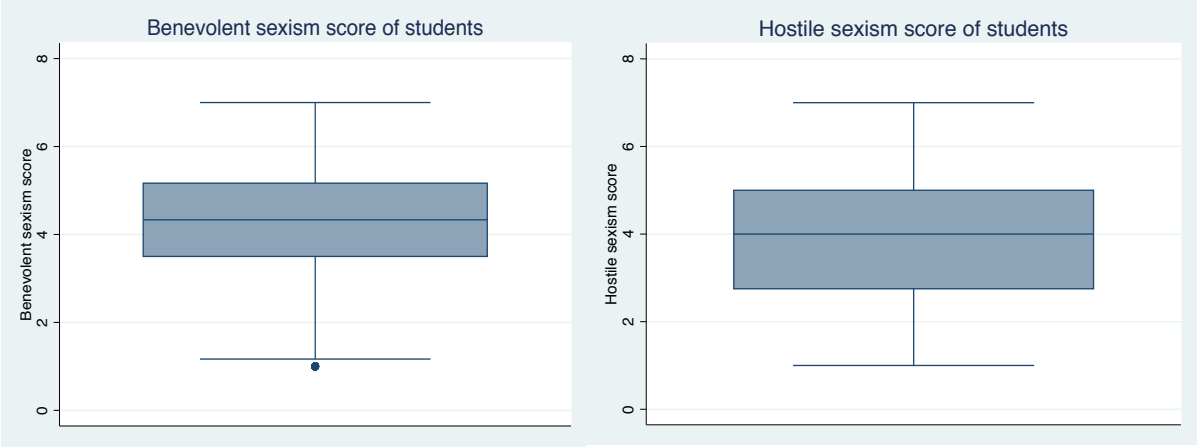
Extensive use is made in this work of the concept of sexism. In order to measure this concept in the attitudes of both parents and children, I use the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory of Glick & Fiske (1996). The inventory comprises 22 items that measure the two dimensions of sexism: benevolent and hostile sexism. Benevolent sexism is an attitude experienced as positive, which involves stereotypes of weakness, fragility and lack of competence of women, and elicits in men the stereotypical response of protecting them, taking responsibility from them, and reducing them to stereotypical caring roles. Hostile sexism portrays women who do not conform to traditional gender roles as threatening and aggressive, and triggers, supposedly in response, the male stereotypical reaction of hostility and aggressiveness towards these women. The French version of the ambivalent sexism scale was validated by Dardenne, Delacollette, Grégoire, & Lecocq (2006) among a population of adults. For the purpose of this study, because of the need to provide a questionnaire covering many topics while not being too long, the number of items was reduced to 10 (six for benevolent sexism and four for the hostile sexism scale). Moreover, the phrasing of half of these items was slightly simplified in order to be adapted to teenagers. The Cronbach alpha obtained for these subscales in the student sample is

the following: 0.66 for the benevolent sexism scale, and 0.79 for the hostile sexism scale. The benevolent sexism scale for parents provided a Cronbach alpha of 0.72.

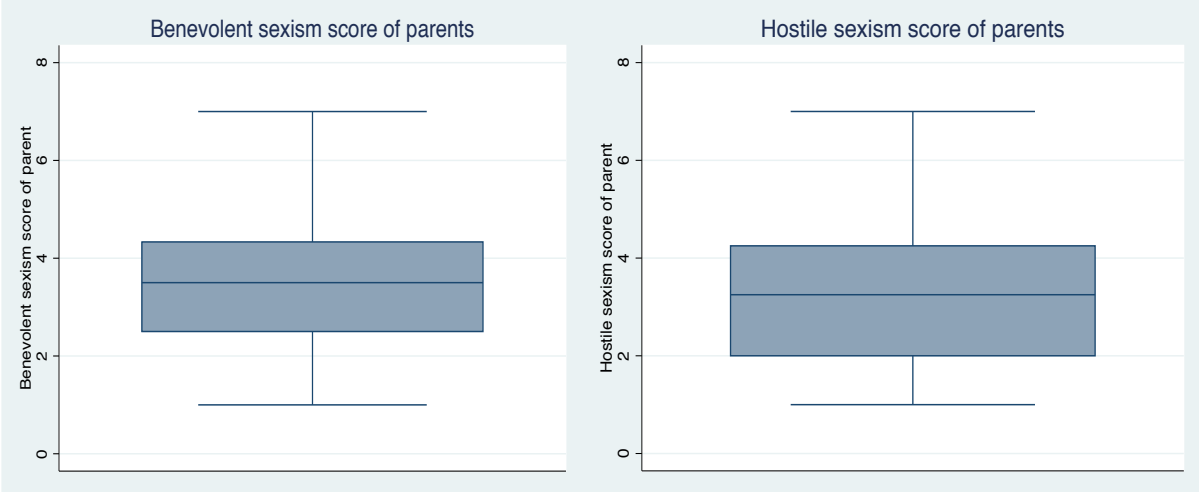
Where relevant, interaction variables between sex and femininity and masculinity scores were created, as well as between sex and each of the two kinds of sexism scores. Since they were all strongly collinear with the sex variable, new interaction variables using the centred variables were generated, which reduced strongly the collinearity problem.

Below are plots of hostile and benevolent sexism levels of students and parents. Hostile sexism rates are lower in both student and parent respondents than benevolent sexism rates, and student sexism of both kinds is higher than parent sexism.

Graphs 2 and 3: Benevolent and hostile sexism rates of students



Graphs 4 and 5: Benevolent and hostile sexism rates of parents



Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) masculinity and femininity scores of child

The gender identity of the participants was assessed with the help of the Bem (1974) Sex-Role Inventory. The original form of the inventory comprises 40 personality

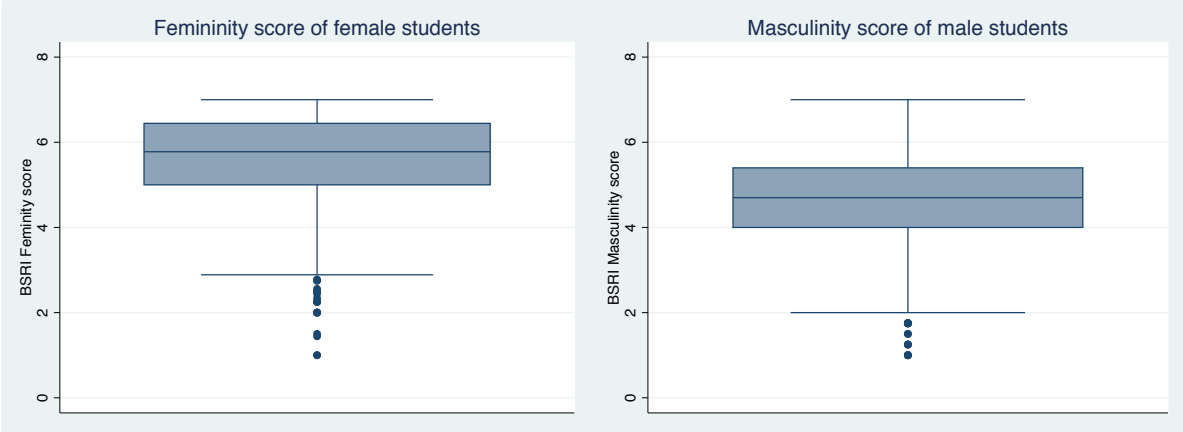
characteristics, 20 associated with masculinity and 20 with femininity, as well as 20 other, gender-neutral, items. An abridged, 21-item French version of the scale was validated by Fontayne, Sarrazin, & Famose (2000) among a sample of French teenagers with good internal validity for both the masculinity (alpha = 0.83) and the femininity (alpha = 0.86) subscales. In this study, we retained from the French abridged scale 10 masculine characteristics to compose the masculinity scale (Independent, Assertive, Defends own beliefs, Strong personality, Leadership abilities, Willing to take a stand, Dominant, Acts as a leader, Aggressive, Willing to take risks) and 9 feminine ones for the femininity scale (Understanding, Affectionate, Sensitive to the needs of others, Sympathetic, Eager to sooth hurt feelings, Warm, Tender, Loves children, Gentle). The Cronbach alpha for the scales in the present study is 0.8 for the masculinity scale and 0.86 for the femininity scale.

The BSRI includes the categorization of each respondent into one of four types of personality: feminine, masculine, androgynous and undifferentiated, according to their relative levels of masculinity and femininity. Following the example of other research which makes independent use, on the one hand, of the four personality types and on the other, of masculinity and femininity scores (Rust & McCraw (1984)), I have chosen in this study to refer only to the femininity and masculinity scores. I consider each of these scores to be meaningful in itself, without necessary reference to its ratio to the other. I thus use the expression “convergent gender identity” to speak of girls with high femininity scores (disregarding their masculinity score) and of boys with high masculinity scores (disregarding their femininity scores), and limit the use I make of the BSRI to these categories.

Where relevant, interaction variables between sex and femininity and masculinity scores were created. Since they were strongly collinear with the sex variable, new interaction variables using the centred variables were generated, which reduced strongly the collinearity problem.

Below I present descriptive plots of the femininity levels of respondent female students and the masculinity levels of male student respondents. Interestingly, the girls identify on average more strongly with the femininity items than boys with the masculinity ones.

Graphs 6 and 7: Femininity score of female students and masculinity score of male students

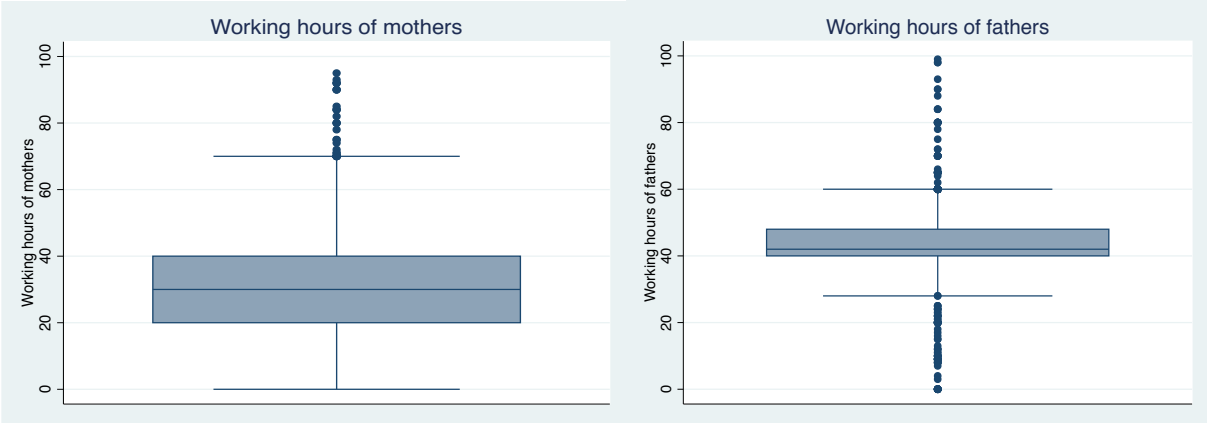


As we shall see in Chapter III, BSRI and sexism scores pose a specific challenge to our models, as these variables could be treated as moderator variables between sex taken as independent variable and occupational sex-typing, or they could be taken as independent variables in their own right. I have chosen here to take them as independent variables, taking into account interactions between these variables and sex in my analyses.

Working hours of mother

The parent questionnaire included questions about the number of hours worked by the respondent parent, who was also requested to provide this information about the non-respondent parent. These responses were related to the sex of the respondent parent, and by deduction, of the non-respondent parent, to provide data about the number of working hours of the mother. I provide here some descriptive information about the working hours of both mothers and fathers in the sample. We see that mothers work much more frequently part-time, with a median of approx. 75% of a standard full-time. Fathers, on the other hand, have almost always a full-time job and half of them appear to work overtime. Interestingly, approximately one quarter of mothers appear to work more than a standard full-time job. One possible explanation to this is that, despite the fact that the question referred to paid work, some mothers may have chosen to include hours they dedicate to domestic work in the total number. In agreement with the literature on the topic, our sample of women reveals much more diversified situations as to the number of working hours than that of men.

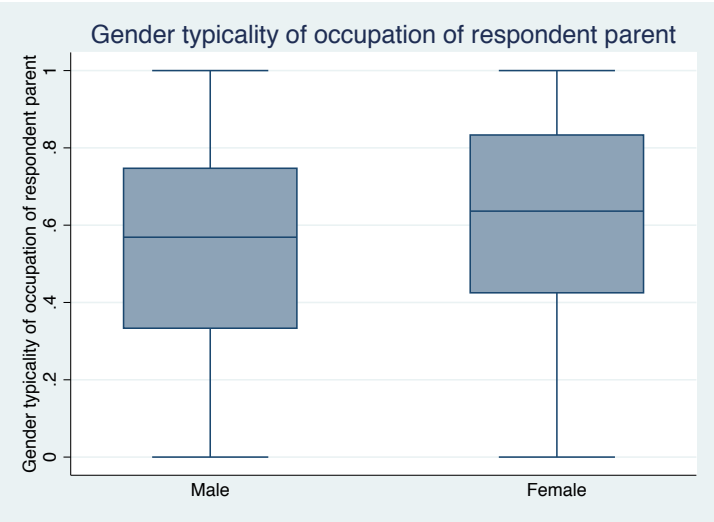
Graphs 8 and 9: Number of working hours per week of mothers and fathers



Gender-typicality of respondent parent occupation

One of our gender-related variables is the gender typicality of the occupation of the respondent parent. On the basis of the 2011 Structural Survey of the Swiss Census, Federal Office of Statistics, I computed for each occupation represented by an ISCO code the proportion of men and women in this occupation at the time of our survey. This process presented specific challenges that are described in the next section. I then constructed a variable defining the gender typicality of an occupation as its proportion of women if the respondent is a woman and its proportion of men if the respondent is a man. Below are box plots detailing the results for father and mother respondents. We see here that women respondents are more frequently occupied in typically female occupations than men in masculine ones.

Graph 10: Gender typicality of the occupation of the respondent parent



The gender typicality of the occupational aspiration of children, and of parents for their children, was computed in a similar way to the previous variable, and based upon the same Structural Survey data, except, this time, on the basis of the ISCO codes yielded by the two occupational aspiration items.

Merging databases and translating codes from ISCO-08 to ISCO-88

In order to use data on proportions of men and women incumbents in different occupations in 2011, I had to merge a file provided by the Federal Office of Statistics containing this information with the main database. The file from the OFS was classified on the basis of ISCO-08 codes, which is an updated classification of ISCO-88; however, the main database contained information according to ISCO-88 codes.

The correspondence between ISCO-08 and ISCO-88 codes was done with the help of a correspondence file found on the ILO website; I added in for each ISCO-08 code the corresponding ISCO-88 code. I then added in missing ISCO-88 codes (mainly large groups) and chose between ISCO-08 codes that referred to the same ISCO-88 code by hand, mainly basing myself on judgement and on memories of the way in which we coded the open-ended questions into ISCO-88 codes in the database. The criteria I used were the following: try to supply more general ISCO-88 groups when possible; favour categories in which there were more workers; favour categories for which the French description fitted closest.

Social stratification-related variables

Level of education of most educated parent

In several analyses, I take as explanatory or control variable the level of education of the most educated parent. Here I provide information about what we know of the education of parents in the sample, and how this variable was constructed.

Students were asked to provide information about the level of education of each of their parents. The respondent parent was asked to provide information about their own level of education and about that of the other parent of their child. This information was merged, with priority given to the information provided by the parent over that of the child when available. The original item provided in the student and parent questionnaires gave a choice between 12 different kinds of education. This information was collapsed

into three categories: obligatory school or less, secondary post-obligatory school, or tertiary education. The information obtained is summarized below.

Tables 7 and 8: Education of mothers and fathers

Education of mother	Frequency	Percent
Obligatory or less	461	14.76
Post-obligatory secondary	1177	37.68
Tertiary	471	15.08
Missing	1015	32.49
Total	3124	100

Education of father	Frequency	Percent
Obligatory or less	378	12.1
Post-obligatory secondary	1120	35.85
Tertiary	509	16.29
Missing	1117	35.76
Total	3124	100

As appears from the numbers above, despite our double source, information is missing about approximately one third of mothers and one third of fathers. In order to compensate for this lacking information, and to make my analyses clearer by avoiding having to sort out the effects of each parent on the outcomes of their child, I decided to consider only the level of education of the most educated parent. The rationale was that the level of the most educated parent, be it the mother or the father, sets an accessible and acceptable general educational goal for a child.

The education of the most educated parent variable was constructed as follows: the above-mentioned three-level variable for mothers and fathers were used as a basis from which a new variable selected the most educated parent out of each couple or, by default if information was lacking for one parent, the education of the parent we know about. Here is some descriptive information about this variable.

Table 9: Education of most educated parent

Education of most educated parent		
	Frequency	Percent
Obligatory or less	324	10.37
Post-obligatory secondary	1205	38.57
Tertiary	710	22.73
Missing	885	28.33
Total	3124	100

Three-category social class of most advantaged parent

Another variable I use extensively as an indicator of the social position of respondents is the social class of the highest-class parent.

The social class of parents was measured as follows. In an open-ended question, student respondents were required to provide the occupation of their mother and father. Parent respondents were similarly requested to provide their own occupation and that of the other parent of their child. These responses were recoded according to ISCO-88 codes. Parent responses were preferred over student responses.

The International Standard Classification of Occupations, ISCO-88, was approved by the ILO Governing Body in 1988, in English, French and Spanish. ISCO-88 provides a system for classifying and aggregating occupational information. This classification groups occupations and aggregate groups on the basis of the similarity of skills required to fulfil the tasks of the jobs. Two dimensions of the concept of skill are used in the definition of ISCO 88 groups: skill level, which is a function of the range and complexity of the tasks involved, where the complexity of tasks has priority over the range; and skill-specialisation, which reflects the kind of knowledge applied, tools and equipment used, materials worked on, or with, and the nature of the goods and services produced (Organization (2004)).

These ISCO codes were then used as a basis for a three-category ESeC classification. The European Socio-economic Classification (ESeC) is an occupationally based classification with rules to provide coverage of the whole adult population. It takes into account ISCO 88 codes, details of employment status, number of employees at the workplace and whether a worker supervises others (Harrison & Rose (2006)). The main distinction used in this classification is that between a "service relationship" and a "labour contract", with allowance for mixtures of these. Harrison & Rose (2006) note that, in a service relationship, the employee renders "service" to the employer in return for "compensation" in terms of immediate rewards (e.g. salary) and long-term or prospective benefits (e.g. incremental pay scales, assurances of security and career opportunities). In a "labour contract", employees give discrete amounts of labour in return for a wage calculated on the amount of work done or by time worked. Typically, contracts are easily terminated and there are no prospective elements in the employment contract. On the

basis of this fundamental distinction, 10 classes are derived, as shown in the following table.

Table 10: Ten-category ESeC (from Harrison & Rose (2006))

ESeC Class	Common term	Employment regulation
1. Large employers, higher grade professional, administrative and managerial occupations	Higher salariat	Service Relationship
2. Lower grade professional, administrative and managerial occupations and higher-grade technician and supervisory occupations	Lower salariat	Service Relationship (modified)
3. Intermediate occupations	Higher-grade white-collar workers	Mixed
4. Small employer and self-employed occupations (exc. agriculture etc)	Petite bourgeoisie or independents	-
5. Self-employed occupations (agriculture, etc)	Petite bourgeoisie or independents	-
6. Lower supervisory and lower technician occupations	Higher-grade blue-collar workers	Mixed
7. Lower services, sales and clerical occupations	Lower grade white collar workers	Labour Contract (modified)
8. Lower technical occupations	Skilled workers	Labour Contract (modified)
9. Routine occupations	Semi- and non-skilledworkers	Labour Contract
10. Never worked and long-term unemployed	Unemployed	-

On the basis of this classification, a three-class classification is derived, as follows: classes 1 and 2 are identified as the salariat; classes 3, 4, 5 and 6 as intermediate and classes 7, 8 and 9 as the working class. Class 10 requires particular conceptual treatment and has been left aside in the classification I use.

With the help of this conceptual apparatus, I was able to devise a social class variable for the mother and father of each student. The results are summarized below. Note that, as is often mentioned in literature on the topic, women tend to concentrate in the intermediate occupations, with less presence than men both in the salariat and in the working class. Note also that the higher number of “missing” for women than for men may reflect the

situation of women who are out of employment in order to take care of their family, housewives.

Tables 11 and 12: Social class of mothers and fathers

Mothers' social class	Frequency	Percent
Salariat	686	21.96
Intermediate	694	22.22
Working class	880	28.17
Missing	864	27.66
Total	3124	100

Fathers' social class	Frequency	Percent
Salariat	868	27.78
Intermediate	578	18.5
Working class	1140	36.49
Missing	538	17.22
Total	3124	100

On the basis of this information, and in a similar way as for the education level variable, I created a new variable that provides the social class of the highest-class parent. This, again, was done with the idea that the most favourable kind of employment relationship a child is in contact with through the experience of either of his/her parents provides a standard of accomplishment which may play a role in his/her educational and vocational representations and aspirations. Descriptive information is provided about the variable below.

Table 13: Three-category ESeC social class of parent in the most favourable class

Social class of highest parent	Frequency	Percent
Salariate	1212	38.8
Intermediate	730	23.37
Working class	851	27.24
Missing	331	10.6
Total	3124	100

ISEI measurements: highest parental ISEI and occupational aspirations

In the theoretical chapter, I contrasted a power-relation view of social stratification with a resource-related perspective. The three-category ESeC variable I have just described provides a picture of society in terms of power relations, of potentially antagonistic classes with which people may self-identify. It is measured with a categorical variable. For practical reasons, I also wish to introduce in some analyses a continuous variable, which emphasises the hierarchy of occupations. This, in particular when measuring occupational aspirations, allows me to quantify differences in social ambition of students,

which are the outcomes of various factors in my analyses. In order to do this, I introduced a different measurement of social stratification, provided by the International Socio-Economic Index of occupational status.

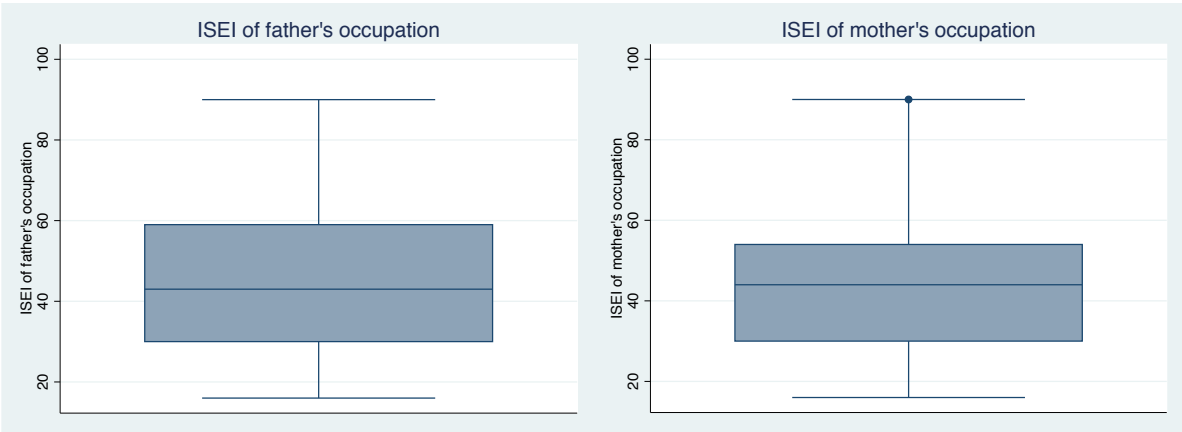
The International Socio-Economic Index of occupational status (ISEI) was introduced in 1992. According to Ganzeboom et al. (1992), its aim was to construct an occupational status variable able to capture income and educational differences between occupational categories as defined by the ISCO-88 codification system. It is important to note that this classification system was devised on the basis of data in which there were few women and the creators of the scale, finding it too methodologically unsafe to base estimates for female-dominated occupations on incomplete data, decided to exclude data on women altogether. We must therefore keep in mind that this is a measurement that fits primarily the employment situation of males.

I use the ISEI in two main variables and their derivatives. First, the ISEI of each parent was calculated on the basis of the ISCO-88 codes, and the ISEI of the highest parent was derived, in a similar way to the educational and ESeC variables. Descriptive results are presented beneath. We see that the mean and median ISEI are similar for mothers and fathers; however, more men are concentrated in the middle upper figures.

Table 14: Descriptive statistics of the ISEI of fathers and mothers

Variable	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimal value	Maximal value
ISEI of fathers	2584	46.02864	18.20426	16	90
ISEI of mothers	2260	44.95265	17.33808	16	90

Graphs 11 and 12: Box plot of ISEI of fathers and mothers

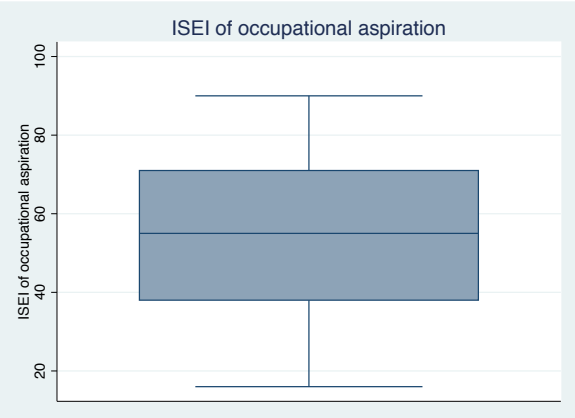


Second, I use the ISEI of the occupational aspirations of the students as a dependent variable. The ISEI of the occupational aspiration of the child was computed as follows: open-ended answers to the question "In which occupation do you hope to be when you are approximately 30 years old?" were coded into ISCO-88 codes. These were translated into ISEI scores. Descriptive statistics for this variable may be found below. Students appear on average quite ambitious with regard to their parents if we compare the descriptive statistics for their aspirations in regard to the employment situation of the parents.

Table 15: Descriptive statistics for the ISEI of occupational aspiration variable

Variable	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimal value	Maximal value
ISEI of occupational aspiration	2770	57.32202	19.1189	16	90

Graph 13: Box plot of ISEI of occupational aspiration



Finally, I constructed a further set of 6 dependent variables, one for each of the six following categories of occupational aspirations: low ISEI feminine occupation, low ISEI mixed occupation, low ISEI masculine occupation, high ISEI feminine occupation, high ISEI mixed occupation, high ISEI masculine occupation. Each of these variables was constructed as binary, the two categories being aspiring to this class of occupations or not. The sex-type of occupations was based on data from the Structural Survey 2011 of the Swiss Census, Federal Office of Statistics, with the three categories constructed as follows: a third or less of women in an occupation define it as masculine, between 33% and 66% women define it as mixed and over 66% women define the occupation as

feminine. Details about this procedure will be provided in the next section. Low and high ISEI occupations were defined as having more or less than 50 points.

Requirement level of school track

Switzerland is a federation of cantons and responsibility for education lies at the cantonal level. Therefore, there is quite a large diversity in the organisation of the educational systems in Switzerland. This appears in our data: we have two cantons with a three-track system (VD and BE), one canton with a two-track system (GE) and one with no selection in lower-secondary school (TI). In order to reduce the number of response levels that this complexity would have required, I decided to create two categories for the cantons with school selection: a "high and intermediate" category in which the two upper categories from the three-category cantons, and the upper category from the two-category canton were grouped, and a "low" category in which the lower category of all three selective cantons were grouped. I finally made a separate category for the non-selective school system. The descriptive information about this variable, before and after collapsing it to three levels, is summarized below. In our sample from the selective school systems, we find more students in the high requirement tracks than in the lower ones. Our sample becomes even more unbalanced when we group the high and intermediate requirement tracks, leaving us with almost three times more students in one group than in the other.

Table 16: School tracks, by canton

School track requirements	Canton				
	BE	GE	TI	VD	Total
Comprehensive	0	0	878 (100%)	0	878 (100%)
Low requirements	119 (33.24%)	0	0	239 (66.76%)	358 (100%)
Intermediate-low requirements	0	222 (100%)	0	0	222 (100%)
Intermediate requirements	124 (29.74%)	0	0	293 (70.26%)	417 (100%)
Intermediate-high requirements	0	720 (100%)	0	0	720 (100%)
High requirements	184 (35.8%)	0	0	330 (64.2%)	514 (100%)
Missing	4	5	0	6	15
Total	431 (13.8%)	947 (30.31%)	878 (28.1%)	868 (27.78%)	3124 (100%)

Table 17: Three-category school track variable, by canton

School track requirements	Canton				
	BE	GE	TI	VD	Total
Comprehensive	0	0	878 (100%)	0	878 (100%)
Low	119 (20.52%)	222 (38.27%)	0	239 (41.21%)	580 (100%)
Middle and high	308 (18.66%)	720 (43.61%)	0	623 (37.73%)	1651 (100%)
Missing	4	5	0	6	15
Total	431 (13.8%)	947 (30.31%)	878 (28.11%)	868 (27.78%)	3124 (100%)

An interaction variable between sex and school track requirements was created. Since it was strongly collinear with the sex variable, a new interaction variable using the centred variable was generated, which reduced strongly the collinearity problem.

Occupational representation-related variables

Child and parent sex-typing of each of six occupations

The participants were asked to sex-type six occupations: mechanic, engineer, hairdresser, psychologist, clerk (office worker), and lawyer. The question was: "Is the following occupation more a woman's or a man's job?". Respondents were required to provide a response for each of the six occupations on a 7-category scale, from "1. A woman's job" to "7. A man's job". Our theoretical stance for adopting a single masculine-feminine scale is explained in the Introduction to chapter III. I use these six variables as such, one for each occupation; I also use a derived variable that summarizes the information from these six variables: the 'intensity of sex-typing' variable (Cronbach's alpha = .69) was constructed as the mean of points of distance from neutral sex-typing (4 on the 7-point scale for each occupation) for each of the six occupations, with a minimum value of 1 = neutral sex-typing on all items and 4 = maximal distance from neutral sex-typing on all items. The same items were submitted to the parent sample and the variable was calculated in the same way (Cronbach's alpha = .74). This variable, which shows the degree to which respondents, on average, sex-type occupations, is to be related theoretically to Bem's

Gender schema theory and to normative attitudes about what is appropriate for men and women.

The occupations were selected to be distinguished along two axes: the proportion of women incumbents in the Swiss population (data from the Structural Survey 2011 of the Swiss Census, Federal Office of Statistics), and the level of qualifications required to perform them. Mechanic and engineer are typically masculine occupations, with only 5% of women in each. Psychologist and hairdresser are typically feminine occupations, with respectively 80 and 90% of women incumbents. Finally, clerk and lawyer are mixed occupations, with respectively 69% and 33% of women. These occupations also vary on the basis of their level of qualification requirements, as three of them are accessed through vocational training (mechanic, hairdresser and clerk) and three through tertiary education (psychologist, engineer and lawyer). Additional background information on these occupations in Switzerland is found in the table below.

Table 18: Gender and stratification characteristics of the selected six occupations in the Swiss context

Occupation	Proportion of females in the working population in 2011 (Structural Survey 2011 of the Swiss Census, Federal Office of Statistics)	Level of qualification requirements	ISCO-88 code	ISEI (Ganzeboom & Treiman (1996)(	Three-category ESeC
Hairdresser	90%	Upper secondary vocational training	5141	29	Working class
Psychologist	80%	Tertiary education	2445	71	Salariat
Office worker	69.20%	Upper secondary vocational training	4110	51	Intermediate
Lawyer	33.30%	Tertiary education	2421	85	Salariat
Mechanic	5.20%	Upper secondary vocational training	7230	34	Working class
Engineer	5%	Tertiary education	2140	73	Salariat

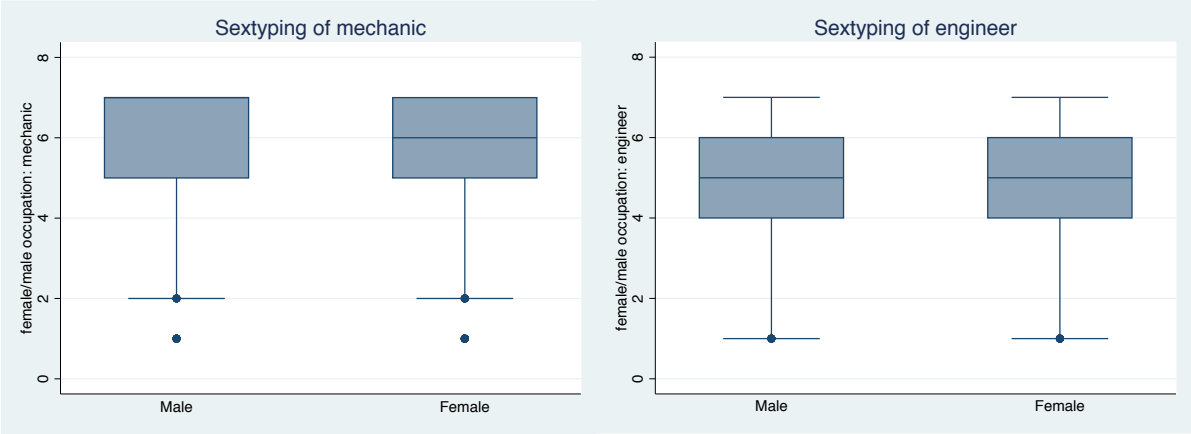
I provide some descriptive information about these variables below. The occupations with the strongest gender associations in the mind of our student respondents are mechanic and hairdresser, which are seen as, respectively, strongly masculine and feminine. Engineer and psychologist are also perceived as gendered occupations, but less strongly so. Finally, lawyer and office worker are perceived as fairly gender-neutral occupations. The highest disagreement among respondents, indicated by the standard deviation, is about the sextyping of the occupations with the most gendered associations. The occupations with less strong gendered associations are also more consensual among respondents as to their sextyping. I provide also some descriptive information about the 'intensity of sextyping' variable described above. On average, on a scale from 1 to 4, students sex-type occupations one point over the neutral point of 1 (2.1). The standard deviation of this variable is .65.

Table 19: Descriptive statistics on occupational sextyping

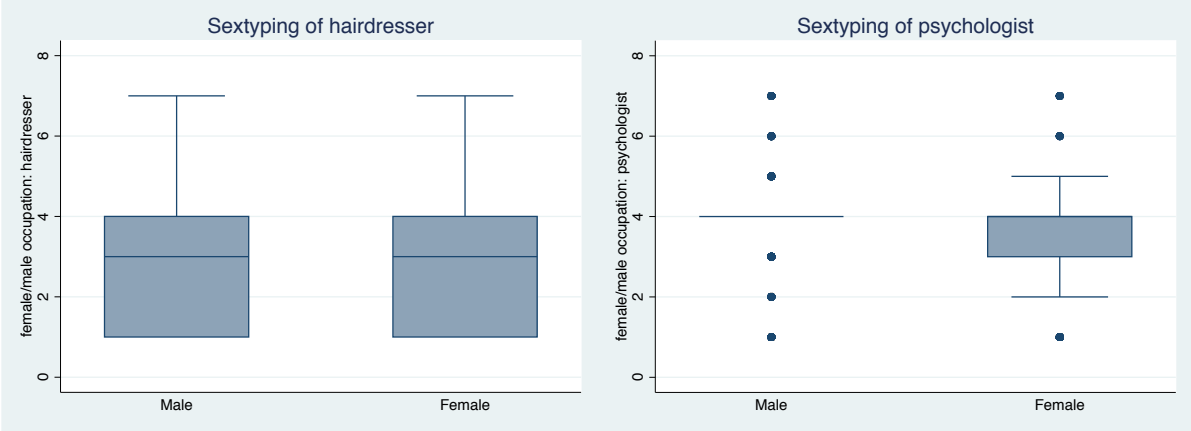
Variable	Observations	Mean	Standard deviation	Minimal value	Maximal value
Sex-type mechanic	3072	5.979818	1.314542	1	7
Sex-type engineer	3053	5.17491	1.229098	1	7
Sex-type lawyer	3050	4.193443	0.941355	1	7
Sex-type office worker	3053	3.959712	0.9537201	1	7
Sex-type psychologist	3047	3.783722	1.092335	1	7
Sex-type hairdresser	3064	2.65111	1.273815	1	7
Intensity of sex-typing over 6 occupations	3095	2.061265	0.6450423	1	4

I also provide below box plots for each variable by sex. These provide a first taste of one of the phenomena explored in depth in the following chapters: the tendency to sex-type the higher status occupations towards one's own sex: the boys do this with lawyer, and the girls with psychologist. Although, when taken into account that 80% of psychologists at the time of the study were female, we may reinterpret this as a tendency in boys to de-feminize a high-status occupation with strong feminine connotations.

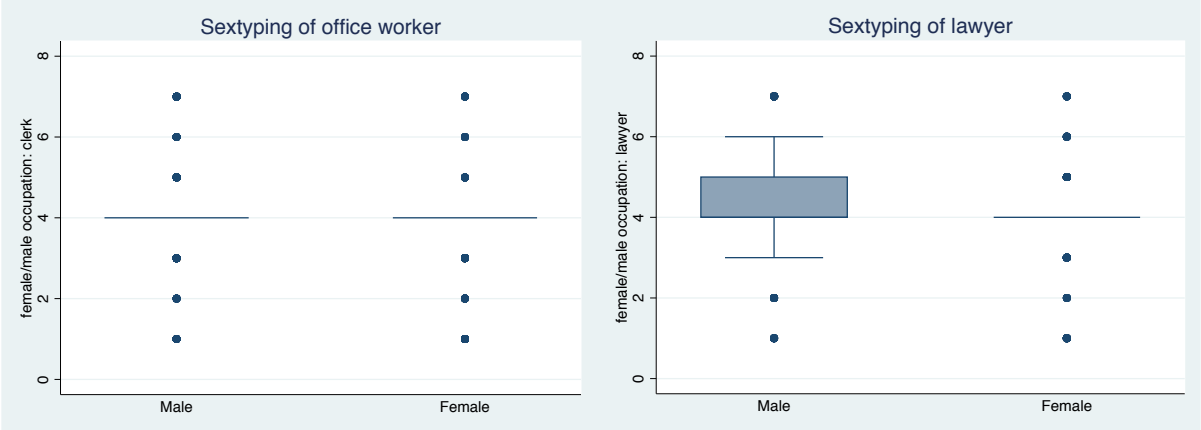
Graphs 14 and 15: Box plots of masculine-connoted occupations, by sex



Graphs 16 and 17: Box plots of feminine-connoted occupations, by sex



Graphs 18 and 19: Box plots of occupations with low gender connotations, by sex



Child and parent evaluation of prestige of the six occupations

Another important dependent variable that is considered in this study is prestige. Both parent and student participants were asked to evaluate the prestige of the above-mentioned six occupations. The prestige question was framed as follows: "This occupation is prestigious/ well considered by society". Respondents were required to provide an evaluation of this statement about the six occupations on a 7-category scale, from "1. Not at all prestigious" to "7. Extremely prestigious". The interpretation of this variable is one of the substantive aims of this work. However, I wish to examine briefly here another measurement of the prestige of occupations, and compare the descriptive statistics about our variable to it.

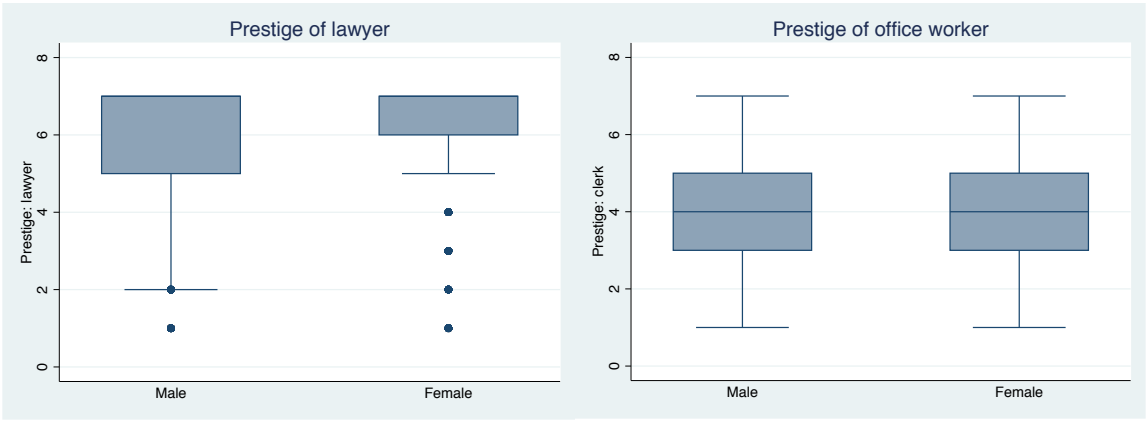
The Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale (SIOPS) was spelled out by Donald Treiman (1977). This scale measures the reported prestige of occupations; in contrast to other scales, it is not concerned with levels of education, of responsibility, or of wages. This scale is the result of average prestige scales from 60 countries (Treiman (1977); Rose (2008)) and relies on the presupposition which it also confirms, that there is great consensus on the evaluation of the prestige of occupations across cultures, ethnicities, ages and sexes.

In the table below, we see that the order of average prestige ratings in our sample does not fit exactly Treiman's hierarchy, as psychologist and engineer are inverted. In addition, note that respondents disagree more about the prestige of the high-status occupations than about the three lower ones, especially about the prestige of the two occupations with strong gender connotations – the prestige of psychologist is particularly disputed. The following box plots, with data provided by sex, provide us with more information about what is going on in these variables. There are in fact quite a lot of differences in this descriptive data according to sex. Girls tend to evaluate more highly the feminine low status occupation than boys and the same is true the other way around. The same phenomenon is at work, although less strongly, with the sex-typed high-status occupations. Finally, girls rate the prestige of lawyer as higher than boys.

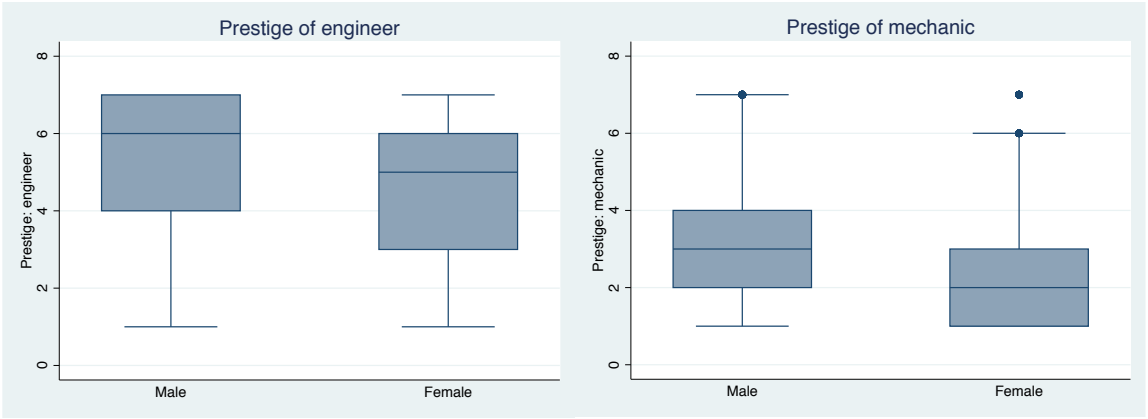
Table 20: Descriptive statistics about the prestige of six occupations

Occupation	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimal value	Maximal value	SIOPS (Ganzeboom & Treiman, 1996)
Lawyer	3020	5.81	1.73	1	7	73
Psychologist	3003	4.65	1.88	1	7	67
Engineer	3003	4.94	1.83	1	7	63
Office worker	3006	4.1	1.7	1	7	45
Mechanic	3022	2.9	1.7	1	7	43
Hairdresser	2999	2.65	1.49	1	7	32

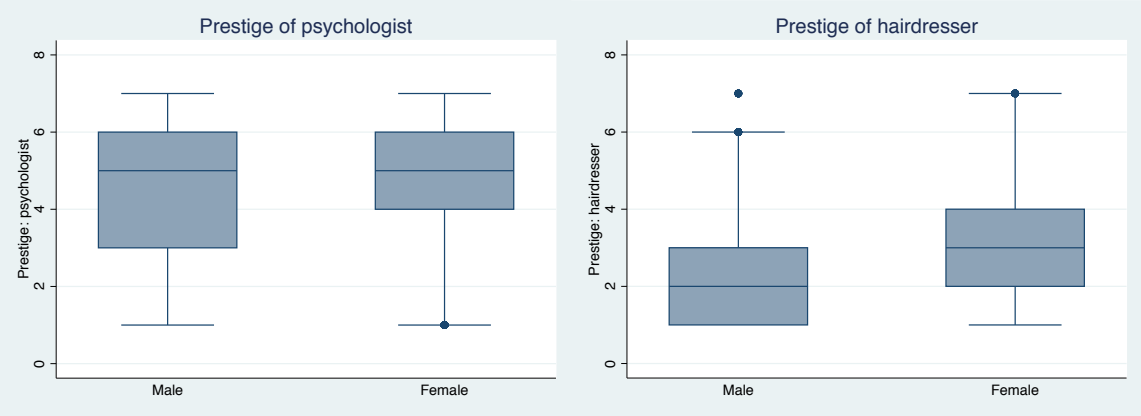
Graphs 20 and 21: Prestige of gender-neutral occupations, by sex



Graphs 22 and 23: Prestige of masculine occupations, by sex



Graphs 24 and 25: Prestige of feminine occupations, by sex



On the basis of the general level of education required to perform these occupations, I also constructed two variables, one making use of the average prestige attributed to the three high-status occupations (engineer, psychologist and lawyer) and the other reflecting the average prestige of the three lower-status occupations (mechanic, hairdresser and clerk), and this, both for child and parent respondent groups. This provides us with an opportunity to compare the prestige ratings of parents and their children. This association will be further explored in Chapter V. We see here that, on average, parents evaluate as higher the prestige of both high and low status occupations as compared to their children. There is also more consensus among parents as to the prestige of high-status occupations than there is among students.

Table 21: Parent and child evaluation of prestige of high and low-status occupations

Variable	Observations	Mean	Standard deviation	Minimal value	Maximal value
Student prestige of high-status occupations	3040	5.13	1.50	1	7
Parent prestige of high-status occupations	1531	5.86	0.96	1	7
Student prestige of low status occupations	3039	3.23	1.19	1	7
Parent prestige of low status occupations	1525	3.41	1.20	1	7

The population on the judgements of which Treiman based his SIOPS scale is different from our student respondents in at least one important aspect. It was a population of adult respondents, while the main respondent group on which I focus is that of teenagers. In what ways may these two groups answer differently the prestige question? In order to

attempt a reply to this question, here are a few additional remarks on the differences between the two groups for which we have empirical information here, the groups of parent and student respondents.

First, teenagers are less well informed about occupations than adults, as they have had less opportunity for social contact with a wide range of them. It thus seems reasonable to expect higher variability, showing lesser confidence and agreement in judgements about prestige in this population than in an adult population. As noted, when we compare the variability of judgements of high- and low-status occupations in the responses of teenagers and of their parents, we indeed find higher variability in teenage evaluations of high-status occupations, but evaluations of low-status are remarkably similar in the two groups. This suggests that students still have work to do to understand and integrate the hierarchy of high-status occupations. However, it appears that no further evolution is to be expected as to the consensus on low-status occupations.

The second noticeable contrast between our teenage respondents and the parent group is their tendency to rate, on average, all occupations as lower in prestige than their parents. It is difficult to offer a convincing explanation to this fact, apart from the general supposition that having first-hand experience of the labour market offers adults a more favourable view of occupations and of their challenges.

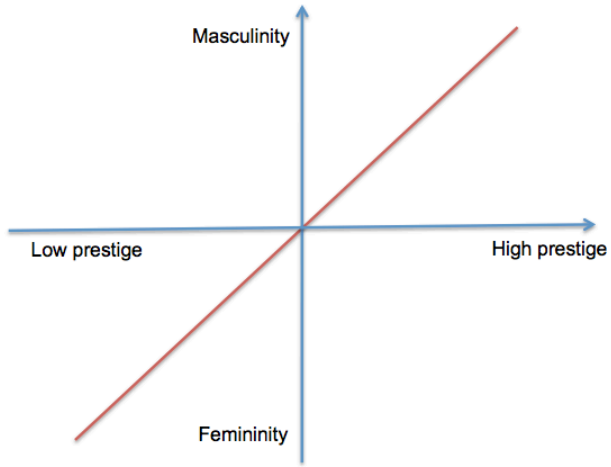
The prestige item in our questionnaire asked whether the given occupations were prestigious/well considered by society. Respondents were thus asked to speculate about how others viewed these occupations. We may wonder who these others may be. Would teenagers think here of their peer group, of their parents, teachers or of other adults? They may be thinking of a peer group, which would offer a hypothesis as to why their evaluation of the prestige of occupations is lower than that of adults. They perhaps see, accurately or not, this group as less positive about occupations than adults.

Relation of child prestige and sex-type

Previous studies looking into the association of prestige and masculinity in occupational representations have not made use of a methodology that allows to associate these two dimensions into a single dependent variable. In this study, I thought it relevant to attempt the construction of such a variable as follows. The sex-typing score is deduced from the prestige score, thus yielding three categories of respondents: 1) those who gave the same score of prestige and masculinity to the occupation and thus score zero, 2) those who find

the occupation more masculine than prestigious, who have a negative score, and those who find the occupation less masculine than prestigious, who have a positive score. This variable provides us with two kinds of information: first, how close various groups are to the theoretical reference point of a perfect association of one the one hand, prestige and masculinity, and on the other, lack of prestige and femininity; second, whether they differ from this reference point by finding a given occupation more masculine than prestigious or more prestigious than masculine.

Graph 26: The theoretical association of prestige and masculinity



Child evaluation of difficulty of six occupations

The third set of items about the representations that students have of the six mentioned occupations had to do with their difficulty. Respondents were provided with the following statement: "The studies required to perform this occupation are very difficult" and were required to evaluate it for each of the six occupations on a 7-category scale, from "1. Not at all difficult" to "7. Extremely difficult". Here is some descriptive information about this set of variables. The occupation evaluated as the most difficult to access is lawyer, followed by psychologist, engineer, office worker and mechanic; hairdresser is perceived to be the least difficult occupation to access. Students disagree more about mechanic, psychologist and engineer than about the other three occupations.

Table 22: Descriptive statistics about the difficulty of the six occupations

Variable	Observations	Mean	Standard deviation	Minimal value	Maximal value
Lawyer	3019	6.32	1.20	1	7
Psychologist	3001	5.50	1.53	1	7
Engineer	3001	5.46	1.50	1	7
Office worker	3001	3.91	1.49	1	7
Mechanic	3019	3.16	1.55	1	7
Hairdresser	2999	2.51	1.32	1	7

A variable derived from the prestige and difficulty scores was computed. A variable measuring whether the student respondent gave a higher score to the prestige of an occupation than to its difficulty was created. The variable showing whether respondents considered the occupation more prestigious than difficult was coded as 1 if the respondent gave a higher score to the prestige question than to the difficulty question for each given occupation and was coded 0 if they gave the prestige question a score that was equal or lower than that given to the difficulty question.

Summary of the variables and method

Below is a table summarizing the variables and methods that are used in each chapter.

Table 23: Variables and methods, by chapter

	Chap. III Gender and sex-typing	Chap. IV Prestige and sex-typing	Chap. V Parental influences	Chap. VI Circumscription
Dependent variables	Hostile and benevolent sexism	Association of prestige and sex-typing	Child benevolent sexism	Prestige of six occupations
	Intensity of sex-typing		Child occupational sex-typing	Difficulty of six occupations
	Sex-typing of six occupations		Gender typicality of child's occupational aspiration	Aspiration to six categories of occupations
			Child representation of	ISEI of aspired occupation

			high-status occupations	
			Child representation of low status occupations	
			ISEI of child occupational aspiration	
Independent variables	Sex	Sex	Sex of child Sex of respondent parent	Education of most educated parent
	Hostile and benevolent sexism	School track requirements	Working hours of mother	School track requirements
	Gender identity (BSRI masculinity and femininity scores)		Gender typicality of respondent parent occupation	Occupation more prestigious than difficult
			Education of most educated parent	Prestige of occupations
			Respondent parent benevolent sexism	Difficulty of occupations
			Respondent parent occupational sex-typing	
			ISEI of highest parent	
			Gender typicality of parental occupational aspiration for child	
			Parental representation of high-status occupations	
			Parental representation of low status occupations	
			Education of most educated parent	
			School track requirements	

Control variables	Education of most educated parent	Education of most educated parent		Education of most educated parent
	Social class of highest parent	Social class of highest parent	Social class of highest parent	Social class of highest parent
	School track requirements	School track requirements		School track requirements
	School year	School year	School year	School year
	Nationality	Nationality	Nationality	Nationality
	Canton	Canton	Canton	Canton
	Urban or rural school	Urban or rural school	Urban or rural school	Urban or rural school
Analytical method	Linear regressions	Linear regressions	Linear regressions	Linear regressions Logistic regressions

Chapter III: Teenage occupational sex-typing: the influence of sex, gender identity and sexism

Abstract

Teenagers' sex and sex-typing of occupations contribute to circumscribing the occupations they aspire to. However, little research has examined the determinants of occupational sex-typing. I consider here how sex, convergent gender identity (based on the Bem Sex Role Inventory), and benevolent and hostile sexism (based on the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory) influence the sex-typing of six occupations among a sample of 3125 12-15-year-old students in Switzerland.

Boys display more hostile sexism than girls and girls reveal more benevolent sexism than boys. Sexism affected attitudes towards the most sex-typed occupations: Boys' hostile sexism emphasises the masculinity of male-dominated occupations, and their benevolent sexism has the same effect on the femininity of the female-dominated lower status occupation. Girls' benevolent sexism endorses gender stereotypes about the most sex-typed occupations. Sex affects attitudes towards the less sex-typed occupations, boys tending to find them more masculine and girls more feminine. Girls with high femininity scores and boys with high masculinity scores tended to sex-type occupations more strongly than other students of their sex. These findings show how gender identity and sexism contribute to reproduce a hierarchical and segregated view of occupations deemed appropriate to each sex.

Introduction

According to Gottfredson's theory of circumscription and compromise (Gottfredson (1981); Gottfredson & Lapan (1997); Gottfredson (2005)), the representations teenagers have of occupations in terms of gender contribute to the process of circumscription of their occupational aspirations during which they identify a spectrum of occupations deemed appropriate to them from the point of view of gender. Furthermore, gender identity and attitudes shape a complex whole that leads people to reproduce gender

stereotypes in different ways, thereby 'doing gender' (West & Zimmerman (1987)). In this chapter I investigate how sex, convergent gender identity and attitudes towards gender roles influence the ways in which teenagers sex-type occupations. Having chosen to explore in turn a number of possible social determinants of occupational representations in the spectrum of gender and social stratification variables, this first empirical chapter investigates the effects of the gender-related variables that were measured in our study. In the spirit of gender studies, I wish to de-naturalize the effect of sex, first by investigating how the effects of this variable may be better understood through the mediation of other gender-related variables, here gender identity and sexism, and also by arguing that it is not biological sex as such that determines social behaviours but our society's interpretation of the roles of men and women that compels people to endorse specific roles.

Literature on occupational sex-typing often considers how common perceptions of the sex-type of an occupation affect interests and aspirations of male and female participants, but spends little time looking into how sex-typing judgements may vary among groups. I wish to emphasize the importance of investigating these variations in support of my general thesis that social perceptions are themselves socially situated and may vary systematically according to one's social position. When investigated, differences among sex groups in sex-typing occupations are often found to be negligible, for example by Ji, Lapan, & Tate (2004); Vilhjálmsdóttir & Arnkelsson (2007); Teig & Susskind (2008); Bergner (2014). When such differences are found, analyses do not always untangle what effects may be due to sex as opposed to other gender indicators (Bosse & Guégnard (2007)). While the effects of gender identity, measured with the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI), on occupational sex-typing have been considered by Kulik (2000), more work needs to be done in this direction. I argue that gender-related inter-group differences in sex-typing occupations are relevant to understanding gender relations and should be investigated. I also contend that only considering the effects of sex sheds incomplete light on the phenomenon of occupational sex-typing, and that other gender-related variables must be considered as playing a role in this process. Especially, I propose that taking into consideration convergent gender identities and ambivalent sexism provides a more sophisticated perspective on occupational sex-typing than looking at sex alone.

Occupational sex-typing and aspirations

In this chapter I discuss occupational representations and not directly aspirations; however, the implicit link between the two is provided by reference to Gottfredson's theory of circumscription and compromise. Following this theory, the underlying process of building occupational aspirations may roughly be described as follows: on the one hand young people develop a view of their own gender identity and, on the other hand, they become acquainted with gender stereotypes about occupations. Confronting their own gender identity with gender stereotypes about occupations leads them to circumscribe a set of occupations considered as acceptable according to their sex, and to reject the others – e.g. the occupations perceived as typical to the other sex. Sex-typing occupations is thus a crucial step in circumscribing which occupations a person may aspire to. Gottfredson (1981) draws a direct explanatory link between sex, gender stereotypes about occupations and gendered occupational aspirations, without considering the variables that might affect the sex-typing of occupations. However, I believe that this process of circumscription can be framed with more refinement and complexity, especially by integrating gender identity and attitudes toward traditional gender roles (i.e. sexism). The process of construction of occupational representations in terms of gender needs to be considered in more depth before we can evaluate how these representations impact aspirations.

Sex-typing is one of the first and strongest competences that children develop in relation to occupational representations, as demonstrated in the literature (Garrett, Ein, & Tremaine (1977); Francis (1996); Care, Deans, & Brown (2007); Arthur, Bigler, Liben, Gelman, & Ruble (2008)). During adolescence, gender identity is particularly influential, and the recognition of socially accepted gender associations is relevant to compliance with social peer-group norms that affects group acceptance, as shown for example by Wolman (1998). Moreover, teenagers usually lack first-hand knowledge of the labour market, which constrains them to rely on stereotypes. Consequently, as shown by Kulik (1998), teenagers are known to issue strongly stereotyped views when sex-typing occupations, as compared to other age groups. Gender stereotypes about occupations have been found to influence occupational interests and preferences, and the effective transition into gender-typical jobs, thus reproducing the gender segregation in employment (Ji et al. (2004); Oswald (2008); Teig & Susskind (2008); Gadassi & Gati (2009)).

According to Glick (1991), sex-typing is grounded either in (a) the evaluation of the sex of the majority of incumbents of an occupation (the "sex-based" approach) or (b) the stereotypical gender associations of the most salient traits required to perform the occupation (the "trait-based" approach). However, this dichotomy appears questionable because it is unlikely that the gender stereotype of an occupation will be affected only by the proportion of men and women incumbents in the occupation and/or by the sex-typed personality traits required to perform it. For example, research has showed that higher degrees of prestige are associated with higher perceived masculinity of occupations (Glick (1991); Kulik (1998); Oswald (2003); see also Chapter IV); judgements on the prestige of occupations may thus influence judgements on their sex-type. More generally, the association of occupations with stereotypically masculine or feminine traits is not straightforward. The process through which some sex-typical traits come to be emphasised in the stereotype of an occupation over others, possibly related to the other sex, is complex and may evolve over time.

Gender identity and sex-typing occupations

The social sexual (gender) identity of respondents, measured by the sex variable, has been considered as playing an important role in the way respondents sex-typed occupations and in the construction of gendered aspirations. However, from a gender theoretical point of view, the sex variable is at best an imprecise proxy for gender-related attitudes, which, once taken into account, should explain away differences between the sexes.

Sex differences in gender-related attitudes can be seen as the result of respondents' self-identification with competing sex groups and their interests (see Tajfel & Turner (1979, 1986)). Since women are disadvantaged by the gender system, it is legitimate to consider that they are less likely to contribute to its reproduction through belief in gender stereotypes – although they may not always be aware of this disadvantage, as they also demonstrate sexist attitudes (Zimmermann & Gygax (2016)) and system justification beliefs (Jost & Banaji (1994)). This position is supported by a considerable amount of research showing that girls have less stereotyped views when sex-typing occupations than boys, at all ages from childhood to adolescence (Flerx, Fidler, & Rogers (1976); Marantz & Mansfield (1977); O'Keefe & Hyde (1983); Evelo, Jessell, & Beymer (1991); Kulik (1998, 2000); Bosse & Guégnard (2007)). More generally, Smiler & Gelman (2008) show that women are less inclined to display gender essentialist attitudes than men and

men who conform to masculine norms are more likely to display such attitudes than others.

However, other research (Kulik (1998); Ji et al. (2004); Vilhjálmsdóttir & Arnkelsson (2007)) found no difference in the way in which boys and girls sex-type occupations. For example, Vilhjálmsdóttir & Arnkelsson (2007) found that girls and boys agree on the masculinity and femininity of occupations. Moreover, referring to the "sex-based approach" of sex-typing, Ji et al. (2004) found no significant difference between the ways in which girls and boys sex-type most Holland (1997) categories of occupations, except for Investigative occupations, which both sexes consider as male-dominated, and Social occupations, which both sexes identify as slightly feminine. In this study, girls appeared to sex-type these two categories of occupations to a larger extent than boys. Kulik (1998) also found that adult women are more likely than men to sex-type high and medium prestige occupations. Consequently, I expect that differences between boys and girls should be greater for occupations with more gender-neutral connotations (Hypothesis 1).

Sandra Bem (1981) uses Gender schema theory to explain the relation between sex-typing behaviours in different contexts. According to this theory, the phenomenon of sex-typing originates in a "generalized readiness to process information on the basis of the sex-linked associations that constitute the gender schema" (p. 354). Children shape an image of themselves in terms of dimensions relevant to their sex (e.g. caring girls, strong boys). The gender schema quickly becomes a prescriptive guide about one's view of oneself. For Bem, sex-typed individuals are those whose self-concept and behaviours tend to be organized on the basis of gender. The classification of traits as masculine and feminine is systematized by this author in the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem (1974)) which aims at identifying the degree to which respondents are ready to process information about themselves on the basis of sex-linked associations. This scale is based on an important feature of masculinity and femininity that are posited as two independent concepts by Bem (1974). Gender schema theory and its related scale have been used in a number of research contexts, including those studying the development of sex-typing in children and its role in adult interactions in an occupational context (see the review article by Starr & Zurbriggen (2016)). If Bem's view is correct, respondents who have a general tendency to process information in terms of the gender schema will both self-identify in a convergent way in terms of the gender schema (i.e. women express feminine identity

and men masculine identity) and attribute stereotypical gender identity to the occupations under consideration. Accordingly, I expect girls who score high on the femininity scale and boys who score high on the masculinity scale to sex-type occupations more strongly than other people of their sex (Hypothesis 2).

Sexism and occupational sex-typing

Sexism is a way in which individuals internalize and reproduce hierarchical relations among groups, with potentially harming and limiting attitudes towards women – that may be held by both men and women. Glick & Fiske (1996) suggest that sexism is "a special case of prejudice marked by a deep ambivalence, rather than a uniform antipathy, towards women" (p. 491). They distinguish two dimensions of this ambivalent sexism: benevolent and hostile sexism. Benevolent sexism is defined as "a set of interrelated attitudes toward women that are sexist in terms of viewing women stereotypically and in restricted roles but that are subjectively positive in feeling tone (for the perceiver) and also tend to elicit behaviours typically categorized as pro-social (e.g., helping) or intimacy seeking (e.g., self-disclosure)" (p. 491), while hostile sexism is conceptualised as a negative attitude directed towards women viewed as a threat to the dominant position of men. Both of these kinds of sexism are defined as involving the same dimensions: (a) *paternalism*, which can be *protective* in the first case (women need to be protected by men) or *dominative* in the second (men have to assume responsibility and leadership over women), (b) *complementary* (women have complementary qualities to those of men) vs. *competitive* (only men are able to occupy important positions in society) *gender differentiation*, and (c) *heterosexual intimacy* (men need women in romantic relationships) vs. *hostility* (women seen as taking advantage of the need men have of them).

It has been debated whether levels of sexism vary according to social class. Some authors, such as Koppetsch (2001); Kriesi & Buchmann (2014) find that more educated respondents tend to be less sexist. Both kinds of sexism have been shown to be demonstrated by both men and women (Zimmermann & Gygax (2016)). However, Fernández, Castro, & Torrejón (2001) found that boys were more sexist than girls among a sample of Spanish teenagers; girls rejected hostile sexism towards women, but they accepted benevolent sexism in the same way as boys. Consequently, it may be expected that girls display less hostile sexism than boys, but equivalent levels of benevolent sexism.

Studies show that ambivalent sexism has an impact on the perceptions of occupational stereotypes (Fernández, Castro, Otero, Foltz, & Lorenzo (2006); Clow, Ricciardelli, & Bartfay (2014)). For example, Clow et al. (2014) found that respondents who displayed higher levels of hostile sexism were more likely to rate a male nurse as deviant than their lower scoring peers. Fernández et al. (2006) found that male and female undergraduates enrolled in technical fields of study demonstrated significantly more ambivalent sexism than students in other fields of study. Since sexist attitudes endorse and justify traditional differentiated gender roles in society, respondents who are more sexist are hypothesised to be more likely to sex-type occupations in a more stereotypical way (Hypothesis 3).

Masser & Abrams (2004) also found that hostile sexism is related to negative evaluations of a female candidate for a masculine-typed occupational role. Accordingly, it is hypothesized that rejection of women in traditionally male occupations (the 'male stronghold defence' attitude) is expressed first and foremost through male hostile sexism. Therefore, I expect male respondents who display higher degrees of hostile sexism to sex-type typically masculine occupations as more masculine than other men (Hypothesis 4).

I thus have four hypotheses on the link between gender-related variables and occupational sex-typing: I expect sex to play a stronger role in sex-typing occupations with fairly neutral gender connotations than in occupations which carry stronger gender stereotypes (H1); I expect respondents with more typical gender identity to sex-type occupations in a more typical way (H2); I expect more sexist respondents to sex-type occupations more stereotypically than others (H3), and finally, I expect male hostile sexists to sex-type masculine-connoted occupations more strongly than other males (H4).

Results

As an introduction to other analyses whose results are comparative and must therefore be presented together, I measured whether there was a significant difference between boys and girls in expressions of hostile and benevolent sexism. In agreement with the results of Fernández et al. (2001), I find that indeed girls display significantly less hostile sexism than boys (-1.345***). However, in our sample, girls display even more benevolent sexism than boys (0.327***). Notice also that the explained variance in the hostile sexism model is much larger than that of the benevolent sexism model. These elements suggest that the relationship between the sex role endorsed by boys is related to hostile sexism in

a much more straightforward way than sex roles can be associated with benevolent sexism.

Table 24: Effect of sex on hostile and benevolent sexism (linear regressions with control variables – parental education, social class, track requirements, year, nationality, canton, urban/rural)

	Hostile sexism	Benevolent sexism
Sex (ref. male)		
Female	**-1.345*** **	**0.327*** **
Parental education (ref. obligatory)		
Post-obligatory secondary	-0.128	-0.038
Tertiary	-0.268*	-0.064
Parental social class (ref. working class)		
Intermediate	0.005	-0.031
Salariate	-0.157	-0.063
School track requirements (ref. low)		
Comprehensive	-0.001	0.152
Middle and high	-0.087	-0.231**
School year (ref. 7th grade)		
8th grade	-0.040	-0.078
9th grade	0.095	-0.121
Nationality (ref. Swiss and binational)		
Foreign only	0.171	0.164*
Canton (ref. GE)		
VD	0.217*	0.179*
BE	0.121	0.260**
TI	(omitted)	(omitted)
Urban/Rural (ref. urban)		
Rural	0.040	-0.137
N	1957	1959
R2	0.203	0.036
Legend: * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001		

My second preliminary analysis is concerned with the relationship between two other independent variables used below: gender identity and benevolent sexism. How does convergent gender identity influence levels of benevolent sexism in girls and boys? This

analysis yields an interesting result: having a convergent gender identity increases girls' benevolent sexism to quite a large extent, whereas convergent gender identity is not related to benevolent sexism in boys.

Table 25: Effect of BSRI scores on benevolent sexism (linear regressions with controls – parental education, social class, school-track requirements, year, nationality, canton, urban/rural)

	Benevolent sexism	
	Girls	Boys
BSRI Femininity score	**0.233*** **	
BSRI Masculinity score		**0.053**
Parental education (ref. obligatory)		
Post-obligatory secondary	-0.009	-0.008
Tertiary	-0.047	-0.036
Parental social class (ref. working class)		
Intermediate	-0.094	0.029
Salariate	-0.125	-0.008
School track requirements (ref. low)		
Comprehensive	0.285	0.171
Middle and high	-0.180	-0.258*
School year (ref. 7th grade)		
8th grade	-0.129	-0.036
9th grade	-0.275**	0.006
Nationality (ref. Swiss and binational)		
Foreign only	0.273*	0.016
Canton (ref. GE)		
VD	0.161	0.176
BE	0.146	0.376**
TI	(omitted)	(omitted)
Urban/Rural (ref. urban)		
Rural	-0.087	-0.188
N	982	976
R2	0.062	0.022
Legend: * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001		

My hypotheses in this chapter pertain both to attitudes that are similar towards the whole set of occupations and to attitudes which affect the representation of some occupations

and not of others. In order to allow for this distinction, some of my analyses are performed on a variable that provides information on sex-typing over the six occupations, and others on the sex-typing of occupations taken separately. As explained in the methodological chapter, in order to measure which groups sex-type occupations to a greater or lesser extent, regardless of the occupation, I have constructed a variable that measures the average distance to neutral sex-typing (4 in our scale) over the six occupations, for each respondent. This is the dependent variable used here. Analyses of the occupations taken separately will follow.

I measured the effect of sex, gender identity and sexism on the intensity of sex-typing of occupations. In Model 1 I include only sex as an explanatory variable (with controls) for the intensity of sex-typing. According to this model, females sex-type the six occupations significantly less strongly than males (-0.092**). In Model 2, I separate males and females and test the effect of the BSRI masculinity score on sex-typing in men and of the BSRI femininity score on women. In confirmation of H2, I find that respondents with stronger convergent gender identities sex-type occupations to a higher extent than other people of their sex (0.044* for males and 0.053** for females). In Model 3, I reintroduce sex as an explanatory variable, keep the two gender identity scores, introduce an interaction variable of sex and BSRI femininity score, introduce hostile and benevolent sexism scores as well as an interaction variable of sex and hostile sexism. I find that controlling for sexism scores cancels the previously observed effects of sex and gender identity. However, higher sexism scores of both kinds (0.055*** for hostile sexism and 0.075*** for benevolent sexism) elicit stronger sex-typing of occupations, confirming H3. The percentage of total variance which is explained by these models is quite low, which suggests either the influence of other factors that are not taken into account in these analyses, or a high degree of random variation.

Table 26: Effect of gender indicators on the intensity of sex-typing (linear regressions, with controls – parental education, social class, school-track requirements, year, nationality, canton, urban/rural)

Effects on intensity of sex-typing	Model 1	Model 2		Model 3
Sex (ref.: male)		Males	Females	
Female	**-0.092****			**-0.045**
BSRI masculinity score		**0.044***		**0.01**
BSRI femininity score			**0.053****	**0.011**
Sex * BSRI femininity score				**0.059***
Hostile sexism score				**0.055*****
Benevolent sexism score				**0.075*****
Sex * hostile sexism score				**-0.069*****
Parental education (ref. obligatory)				
Post-obligatory secondary	-0.021	-0.073	0.032	-0.014
Tertiary	0.022	-0.042	0.088	0.043
Parental social class (ref. working class)				
Intermediate	-0.000	0.010	-0.013	-0.006
Salariate	-0.046	-0.085	-0.004	-0.044
School track requirements (ref. low)				
Comprehensive	-0.162**	-0.201*	-0.067	-0.166**
Middle and high	-0.130**	-0.105	-0.152**	-0.111**
School year (ref. 7th grade)				
8th grade	-0.029	-0.058	-0.011	-0.025
9th grade	-0.040	-0.058	-0.041	-0.042
Nationality (ref. Swiss and binational)				
Foreign only	0.016	0.048	-0.013	-0.011
Canton (ref. GE)				
VD	-0.137***	-0.191***	-0.080	-0.157***
BE	-0.118*	-0.145*	-0.084	-0.134**
TI	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)
Urban/Rural (ref. urban)				
Rural	0.044	0.044	0.056	0.056
N	1959	974	983	1948
R2	0.02	0.021	0.034	0.076
Legend: * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001				

My next step was to explore what happens in the case of each occupation under consideration. I therefore performed a set of linear regressions taking as dependent variable the sex-typing variable for each of the six occupations. Sex, sexism, BSRI masculinity and femininity scores and relevant interaction variables were included as explanatory variables. I found that, when other gender-related variables are not included into the model, girls indeed find the two masculine occupations less masculine than boys (mechanic: -.15, $p < 0.01$, engineer: -.14, $p < 0.01$, not shown in tables). However, when other gender-related variables are included in the model, the difference between males and females is explained by their different levels of sexism, in particular hostile sexism. This confirms the hypothesis of a 'male stronghold defence' attitude (Hypothesis 4). Not all boys display this attitude, but more so those who exhibit higher levels of hostile sexism.

Hypothesis 1 formulated the idea that differences between the sexes that may not be explained away by levels of sexism would be strongest in the fairly gender-neutral occupations – the occupations that are 'up for grabs' since they are not generally associated with one or the other sex. Hypothesis 1 is verified: when sexism is taken into account, only the three less sex-typed occupations (clerk, lawyer and psychologist) are sex-typed differently by girls and boys, who tend to identify these occupations as being closer to their own sex.

Table 27: Sex-typing of six occupations according to gender indicators (linear regressions with controls – parental education, social class, school-track requirements, year, nationality, canton, urban/rural)

Sex-typing:	Mechanic	Engineer	Clerk	Lawyer	Hairdresser	Psychologist
Sex (ref. male)						
Female	**-0.074**	**-0.082**	**-0.211*** **	**-0.199*** **	**0.05**	**-0.173** **
Benevolent sexism score	**0.041**	**0.092*** **	**0.009**	**0.027**	**-0.123*** **	**-0.018**
Hostile sexism score	**0.087*** **	**0.068*** **	**-0.018**	**0.032***	**-0.024**	**0.037***
Sex * Hostile sexism score	**-0.177*** **				**0.094***	**-0.100** **
Sex * Benevolent sexism score	**0.110***					
BSRI Femininity score	**0.03**	**0.01**	**0.005**	**-0.044***	**-0.01**	**-0.001**

BSRI Masculinity score	**-0.041**	**-0.025**	**-0.005**	**0.029**	**0.029**	**-0.013**
Sex * BSRI Femininity score			**-0.083***			
Parental education (ref. obligatory)						
Post-obligatory secondary	-0.036	-0.047	0.153*	-0.050	-0.101	0.157*
Tertiary	0.025	0.037	0.197**	-0.028	-0.082	0.165
Parental social class (ref. working class)						
Intermediate	-0.052	-0.010	-0.083	0.028	-0.149	-0.088
Salariate	-0.129	-0.083	-0.078	0.025	-0.114	-0.025
School track requirements (ref. low)						
Comprehensive	0.216	-0.115	0.230**	0.113	0.632***	0.153
Middle and high	0.053	-0.057	-0.013	-0.044	0.161	-0.158*
School year (ref. 7th grade)						
8th grade	0.065	0.060	-0.018	0.019	-0.053	0.023
9th grade	0.210**	0.033	-0.098	-0.046	-0.082	0.062
Nationality (ref. Swiss and binational)						
Foreign only	0.085	-0.105	-0.130*	-0.082	-0.047	0.082
Canton (ref. GE)						
VD	-0.099	-0.173*	-0.027	-0.073	0.120	-0.034
BE	-0.138	-0.144	-0.111	0.083	0.121	0.109
TI	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)
Urban/Rural (ref. urban)						
	0.039	0.094	-0.113*	-0.008	-0.211**	0.037
N	1938	1925	1921	1922	1934	1922
R2	0.047	0.033	0.042	0.045	0.038	0.039
Legend: * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001						

When we take a closer look at the differences between boys and girls on the effects of hostile and benevolent sexism as to the sex-typing of the two masculine occupations, we see that boys' benevolent sexism plays no role, while girls' benevolent sexism tends to masculinise these occupations. In contrast, boys' hostile sexism masculinises the two

masculine occupations, while girls' hostile sexism plays no role. This further confirms our Hypothesis 4.

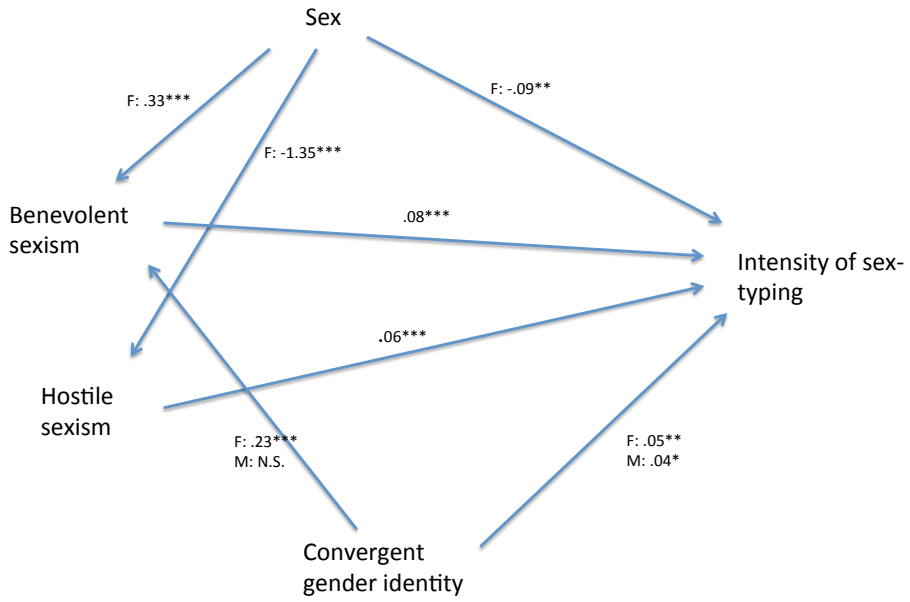
Table 28: Effects of ambivalent sexism on the sex-typing of three occupations, according to sex (linear regressions with controls – parental education, social class, school-track requirements, year, nationality, canton, urban/rural)

Sex-typing:	Mechanic		Hairdresser		Engineer	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Benevolent sexism score	**-0.016**	**0.113****	**-0.117****	**-0.117*****	**0.062**	**0.124*****
Hostile sexism score	**0.173*****	**-0.006**	**-0.076***	**0.026**	**0.118*****	**0.011**
Parental education (ref. obligatory)						
Post-obligatory secondary	0.030	-0.137	-0.179	-0.035	-0.005	-0.088
Tertiary	0.096	-0.077	-0.085	-0.096	0.043	0.038
Parental social class (ref. working class)						
Intermediate	-0.152	0.063	-0.127	-0.167	-0.093	0.059
Salariate	-0.121	-0.106	-0.273*	0.051	0.023	-0.178
School track requirements (ref. low)						
Comprehensive	0.131	0.332	0.748***	0.495**	0.050	-0.277
Middle and high	-0.064	0.194	0.211	0.125	-0.126	-0.016
School year (ref. 7th grade)						
8th grade	0.060	0.051	-0.085	-0.006	0.023	0.080
9th grade	0.088	0.321**	-0.138	0.013	0.045	-0.002
Nationality (ref. Swiss and binational)						
Foreign only	0.139	0.036	-0.038	-0.054	-0.124	-0.088
Canton (ref. GE)						
VD	-0.188	0.011	0.131	0.110	0.012	-0.334**
BE	-0.214	-0.056	0.109	0.127	-0.007	-0.243
TI	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)
Urban/Rural (ref. urban)						
	0.121	-0.033	-0.348**	-0.064	0.068	0.107
N	959	979	959	975	953	972
R2	0.073	0.033	0.061	0.035	0.041	0.039

Discussion

This study is the first to assess the combined effects of gender-related variables on sex-typing of occupations in teenagers. As a preliminary to this discussion, I present a schema summarising the relations found among the variables, in relation to the intensity of sex-typing variable.

Graph 27: Relations among IVs and between IVs and DVs



Sex and sex-typing occupations (H1)

There is disagreement in the literature as to whether the sex of respondents plays a role on the way in which they sex-type occupations or not, and if it does, what this role might be. While a number of authors (Ji et al. (2004); Vilhjálmsdóttir & Arnkelsson (2007); Teig & Susskind (2008); Bergner (2014)) find no sex differences in sex-typing occupations, many others (Flerx et al. (1976); Marantz & Mansfield (1977); O'Keefe & Hyde (1983); Evelo et al. (1991); Kulik (1998, 2000); Bosse & Guégnard (2007)) do find that girls have less stereotypical views than boys during childhood and adolescence. My research agrees with the second group of studies: I find that, disregarding other gender-related variables, teenage girls sex-type all occupations, in particular masculine occupations, to a lesser

extent than boys. I interpret this as a sign of girls' awareness of the gender system and of its discriminatory effects on female occupational opportunities, and as a statement of relevance of the more prestigious and masculine connoted occupations to their sex group.

However, I argue that sex is, in many cases, a poor proxy for other gender-related indicators. This research reassesses the rationale for including gender indicators into social research: it demonstrates how the role of sex, sometimes taken as an essential determinant of many attitudes, can in fact often be explained through other attitudinal factors such as gender identity and sexism. Here again, once sexism and gender identity are taken into account, the effect of sex often disappears.

However, this is not always the case. It is thus interesting to see in which cases gender-related indicators explain away differences between the sexes and when not. I hypothesised that differences between boys and girls should be greater for occupations with fairly gender-neutral connotations (H1). Indeed, I find that sex-typing of the three least sex-typed occupations, clerk, lawyer and psychologist, while also affected by levels of sexism, is determined by respondent sex: respondents find these occupations closer to their own sex. This confirms that sex-typing of these occupations is less influenced by gendered social representations and therefore more open to be influenced by the gender position of the respondent. Respondents are thus able to express the relevance of these fairly desirable occupations to their own sex group in the process of sex-typing them. These findings are compatible with those of Kulik (1998), who states that female respondents evaluated occupations in her high- and medium-prestige categories as more feminine than did the males.

The gender schema and intensity of sex-typing (H2)

My second hypothesis posited that the higher girls score on the femininity scale and boys on the masculinity scale, the more strongly they would sex-type occupations. My analyses confirm this hypothesis, with a slightly stronger effect on females than on males.

Measurement of the intensity of sex-typing appears not to have been used as such in previous research. However, it provides a tool with which to reflect on Gender schema theory and widens the scope of its application. According to Bem, gender schematic people associate sex categories with objects and situations that do not have a biological sex to a larger extent than others. Such associations may relate to aspects of personality, leisure activities, tastes, and a whole array of other social situations. These associations

are usually culturally shared and similar for different respondents in a given context. My study highlights a new case of such associations – that between the gender identity of participants and the stereotypical gender associations they have with occupations. It also illustrates the fact that these sex-linked associations are not just descriptive, but may involve normative beliefs about the role of men and women in society. It points in the same direction as another study which, using the same sample of respondents as this, shows that gender conformity also influences students' choice of leisure activities (Joye (2019)).

The use of Bem's concept of gender identity comes with a methodological caveat which may be discussed here. The concept of gender identity and gender schema theory are related in the following way. Gender schema theory states that some people have a higher tendency to appeal to gender-related associations in fields unrelated to biological sex. One of these kinds of associations is measured by the concept of gender identity, that is, the tendency to relate given personality traits to one or the other sex. While the existence of such associations is an empirical question which may be answered by measurement, the relevance of the whole process depends upon measuring the most salient of these stereotypes, which in turn depends upon identifying them correctly. This issue was confronted by Bem in her original study. In order to arrive at the list of 20 masculine-connoted, 20 feminine-connoted and 20 gender-neutral personality traits, she started with a list of 200 personality traits of which the seemingly most gender-typical were selected by a panel of 50 male and 50 female respondents. Bem explicitly endorses the final selection of 60 traits as fitting the gender stereotypes of 1974 North American society. While the background theory may retain its relevance, serious consideration should be given to whether this list of 60 items (and moreover the list of 19 items which was finally retained in our study) still best embodies the same gender associations as they did in 1974 America. Gender stereotypes evolve and, were the initial selection of stereotypes done again in 21st century Switzerland, we may find that the selection of traits would be different.

However, indirect evidence points in direction of high validity of the lists of masculine- and feminine-connoted items even today in Switzerland. The internal consistency of the masculinity and femininity scales were computed on the basis of the French translation of the scale by Fontayne et al. (2000) and were found to be high, and comparable to the

original internal consistency found by Bem. My measurements of internal consistency in the present data are also high, and comparable to those of Bem and Fontayne and colleagues. From this we may infer that the selected items do indeed measure, as well as they did in 1974 America, and in year 2000 France, stereotypical gender associations between personality traits and a given sex, although the question remains open as to whether another set of personality traits would have yielded similarly successful results. For this reason, I believe that Bem's masculinity and femininity scales retained their relevance in the analysis of gender stereotypes in 2011 Switzerland.

My study confirms the link between convergent gender identities and tendency to sex-type occupations. It also brings additional precision to our understanding of the interplay of gender attitudes: a convergent gender identity strengthens tendencies to sex-type; however, effects of gender identity are weak in comparison to those of ambivalent sexism and disappear once sexism is taken into account. The main focus of Kulik (2000), the only other study known to me to investigate the effects of gender identity on occupational sex-typing, was on the role of androgynous personalities on sex-typing. However, her results on males with convergent identity agree with mine: she also finds that these respondents are prone to sex-typing occupations more strongly.

Sexism and sex-typing occupations (H3 & H4)

As sexism pertains to attitudes towards women, it is unsurprising that, while we find benevolent and hostile sexism expressed by people of both sexes, the degree and relevance of these attitudes to other variables differs across the sexes. Both kinds of sexism have been shown to be demonstrated by women also (Zimmermann & Gygax (2016)). Women who entertain hostile sexist attitudes relate these to non-traditional groups of women with which they do not identify, but benevolent sexist beliefs are related to traditional subtypes of women (Becker (2010)). Studies that consider the issue of ambivalent sexism in adolescents have shown that girls and boys display different levels of benevolent and hostile sexism. Fernández et al. (2001) found that boys in their sample of 12 to 20 year old Spanish teenagers were more sexist than girls; girls rejected hostile sexism towards women, but they accepted benevolent sexism in the same way as boys. In agreement with this study, I find that girls display significantly less hostile sexism than boys; however, they display even more benevolent sexism. This difference may be due to the generally conservative Swiss context, where gender roles are still strongly

institutionalized. A second possible explanation is the slightly younger average age of our respondents as compared to the Spanish study: Fernández et al. (2001) note that younger girls in their sample were more sexist.

One of my preliminary analyses was concerned with the link between gender identity and sexism. I found that having a convergent gender identity increased benevolent sexism in girls to quite a high extent, whereas it did not have any effect on benevolent sexism in boys. The rationale of benevolent sexism is basically that of taking the personal characteristics stereotypically associated with each sex and turning their interaction into a narrative of complementarity and benevolent domination. This, together with gender schema theory, provides an explanation for the fact that the girls who endorse to the highest extend the stereotypical characters associated with their sex, those with convergent gender identity, also tend to endorse the narrative of benevolent sexism. It may contribute to explain why girls demonstrate higher levels of benevolent sexism than boys.

In keeping with gender schema theory, I find that the more respondents are sexist, the more they sex-type occupations. Glick and Fiske's concept of ambivalent sexism may be placed into a wider framework provided by the Stereotype content model outlined by Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick (2008), which defines "two fundamental dimensions of social perception, warmth and competence, predicted respectively by perceived competition and status. Combinations of warmth and competence generate distinct emotions of admiration, contempt, envy, and pity" (p. 62). Benevolent sexism addresses women perceived as warm, and hostile sexism addresses women seen as competent. Clow et al. (2014) note that hostile sexism is "related to negative reactions to non-traditional women, whereas benevolent sexism was related to positive reactions to traditional women" (p. 367). This framework may help us understand the respective effects of benevolent and hostile sexism on the sex-typing of occupations.

In this view, the principal aim of benevolent sexism in the field of sex-typing occupations may be seen as that of emphasising the femininity of the female low status occupation, and thus at keeping women in what is perceived by benevolent sexist respondents as their most appropriate role. This is indeed what appears in my results. Benevolent sexism also affects judgements of the masculinity of engineer; although this result is a little surprising at first sight, it may be explained by differences in effects of benevolent sexism in males

and females. Benevolent sexism is the means by which sexist girls state the masculinity of the two strongly male-dominated occupations. Benevolent sexism has been shown to have more detrimental effects than hostile sexism on women's performance (Dardenne, Dumont, & Bollier (2007)). According to Montañés et al. (2012), higher degrees of benevolent sexism lead girls to be less academically involved. My results are in keeping with these findings: they demonstrate how benevolent sexist girls grant higher legitimacy to men in traditionally male-dominated fields. Girls' benevolent sexism recognises and endorses masculine strongholds. More generally, girls' benevolent sexism can be understood as accepting and reinforcing gender segregation by sex-typing even more the three most sex-typed occupations.

I hypothesised that hostile sexism allowed males to exclude women from desirable fields that do not match their traditional gender role (H4). Two such fields may be identified: high status occupations and typically masculine occupations. Our data confirms this hypothesis: participants with higher levels of hostile sexism do find the three high status occupations, and the typically masculine low status occupation more masculine than others. Hostile sexism plays a different role for boys and girls: girls' hostile sexism plays no role in masculinising the two masculine occupations, while boys' hostile sexism does. This both confirms and provides additional precision to findings by Bosse & Guégnard (2007), Lemarchant (2007), and Lemarchant (2017) who find that boys demonstrate a defence of male "strongholds" behaviour. In their qualitative study, Bosse & Guégnard (2007) detected a tendency in boys to reject the legitimacy of the presence of girls in typically male occupations. This reaction has also been identified in qualitative research on slightly older girls in atypical occupational fields (Lemarchant (2007); Lamamra (2011); Lemarchant (2017)). My results also point in the same direction as those of Masser & Abrams (2004). They found that hostile sexism is related to negative evaluations of a female candidate for a masculine-typed occupational role and with higher recommendations that a male candidate should be employed in this role: hostile, but not benevolent, sexism results in negativity toward women who pose a threat to men's status in the workplace.

The regression tables that are presented throughout this chapter display fairly low R2 values (approx. 2% to 20%). This means that while the association between the discussed variable is statistically significant, the global explanatory power of these models is low. It

is interesting to discuss briefly why this is the case. This may be due to important explanatory factors that have not been taken into account in our analyses, or it could be due to large random variability among respondents. It seems unlikely that the phenomena investigated here could be so much better explained by variables that are not considered here, so there is probably high random variability among respondents. This may be due to their young age or to suboptimal questionnaire completion conditions (distraction, lack of concentration, lack of understanding of some questions). It may also be due to the fact that the stable gender-related stereotypes on which the different theories put to work here are based were not yet completely formed in these students; that instead of responding exclusively on the basis of their gender-schematic associations, they answered partly at random. The present study is fairly exploratory in nature, it gathers for the first time the variables under consideration in the same model and we generally lack comparable studies to pinpoint where and how the explanations provided here are incomplete. However, I wish to emphasise that low R2s are quite usual in the social sciences and do not question the associations between variables that have been explored in this chapter.

Conclusion

My study had at least two limitations. First, it involved only six occupations. While the chosen occupations enjoy high social visibility and thus are readily accessible to shape representations, and while they are diverse in terms of proportions of men and women employed and of qualifications required, they do not cover the entire spectrum of occupations. Ascertaining whether effects are related to these particular occupations or whether they may be generalised to others, similar in terms of levels of qualification and of gender representation, is difficult. However, even if my results did only pertain to the occupations under consideration, they nonetheless allow us unprecedented insight into the interplay of gender-related variables in the construction of gendered occupational representations.

Second, our sex-typing question did not take into account the distinction of Glick (1991) between the ‘sex-based’ and ‘trait-based’ approaches of sex-typing occupations. It did not take into account either Bem (1974)’s insight according to which masculinity and femininity should be measured on two independent scales. The item as it was formulated

in our questionnaire, while having the advantage of simplicity, does not allow to account for phenomena that may be related to these distinctions. However, as demonstrated by my findings, the question as it was stated undoubtedly does capture normative attitudes about which occupations are most appropriate for men and for women. Nevertheless, in future research, it might be interesting to devise several questions instead of just one designed to capture these distinctions.

In this chapter, I have considered for the first time the interplay of sex, gender identity and ambivalent sexism on the way teenagers sex-type occupations. I understand sex-typing occupations as one of the many ways in which people 'do' gender (West & Zimmerman (1987)) and more generally acknowledge and reproduce gender and class norms through their representations, as outlined in Chapter I. As noted by Vouillot (2007), gendered occupational representations and aspirations are a means, for teenagers seeking to stabilize their gender identity, of signalling their desire to conform to gender norms, and thus of seeking social approval.

In this particular perspective, gender schema theory points to the idea that some people may be more prone than others to do gender in particular circumstances. I find various confirmations of gender schema theory in the data: I ascertain the link between both convergent gender identities and ambivalent sexism on the one hand and strength of sex-typing occupations on the other.

I find competition between girls and boys around the relevance of occupations to each sex: respondents from each sex tend to sex-type the more desirable occupations in direction of their own sex. Sex differences are explained away by levels of sexism in the case of the most sex-typed occupations, but gender position explains attitudes towards the least sex-typed occupations.

Boys' hostile sexism tends to defend the masculinity of typically masculine occupations, while girls' benevolent sexism tends to defend the statu quo of occupational segregation. The issue of the construction of gendered representations of occupations is essential because teenagers base decisions on which occupations are adequate for them from the point of view of gender on these representations, and thus ground their occupational aspirations on them. As outlined in the introduction, this chapter was the first step on the way to questioning the validity of Gottfredson's theory of circumscription and

compromise. By showing how representations of occupations in terms of gender vary according to social groups and gender-related attitudes, I reveal additional complexity in the construction of the zone of acceptable alternatives and indicate how it may be grounded in diverse representations. I hope that this work opens the way to further investigations of the interplay of gender-related variables in building occupational representations.

Chapter IV: Prestigious occupations are for men: who endorses this stereotype?

Abstract

Effects of the association of prestige and masculinity in occupational contexts on the devaluation of female work, resulting in the gender pay gap for example, have often been studied. Research shows that prestige and sex-type are among the most salient dimensions in occupational representations. However, the association of prestige and masculinity itself in occupational representations is rarely considered. Investigating a sample of 3125 teenagers of 12-15 years old in four Swiss cantons, I study how they relate the prestige and masculinity of six socially diverse occupations. Contrary to expectations, I find that they tend to associate higher prestige with lesser stereotypical sex-typing. Referring to the concept of social domination, I also study through linear regressions whether dominant and non-dominant groups associate these two factors to the same extent: I find that non-dominant groups (females, students in lower-requirement school tracks) associate prestige and masculinity of occupations to a lesser extent than dominant groups. I take this result to confirm the general hypothesis that social attitudes are grounded in the social position of individuals.

Introduction

The effects of the association of prestige and masculinity in occupational contexts have been well studied. More prestigious jobs are better paid and at equal levels of qualifications, men earn more than women; prestige ratings of occupations which become feminized tend to go down and stereotypes about occupations involving high levels of responsibilities and/or qualifications tend to involve masculinity. However, the association of prestige and masculinity in occupational representations itself is rarely taken as an object of study. As a means by which gender is 'done' (West & Zimmerman (1987)) in occupational contexts, this may however be a fruitful approach. The first aim of this chapter will therefore be to justify the theoretical and empirical relevance of studying this association. Second, the degree to which it is in fact widely shared or not needs to be assessed: are judgements of prestige and masculinity correlated in our data?

Is this association the same across occupations? Finally, I shall investigate hypothetical systematic differences among groups as to the endorsement of this association: does the social position of respondents favour some groups to accept or question this association to a larger extent than others?

Social hierarchies and domination relations

Representations in terms of sex-typing and prestige are grounded in and contribute to reproducing social hierarchies. I refer here to the concept of social domination, according to which some groups have material and symbolic social advantage over others. The concept of social domination was built upon in sociology, in particular by Pierre Bourdieu, in gender studies and in social psychology, as the Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius & Pratto (2001)). Implicitly or explicitly, people situate groups to which they belong or do not belong, and social objects such as occupations, in hierarchies and attribute value to them accordingly. These different symbolic valuations may translate into objective material advantages and disadvantages for group members. Theories of intersectionality have highlighted situations of 'multiple domination' in which people belong to several disadvantaged groups (Crenshaw (1991); Denis (2008); Anthias (2012)). There is usually thought to be wide, maybe even universal consensus, as to which groups take place in which hierarchies and in what approximate order.

The first hierarchy considered here affords masculine connotations symbolic and material advantages over feminine, be it for occupations, personality traits or people. The notion of a hierarchy between social objects with masculine or feminine associations causing material inequalities between men and women grounds the notion of gender system studied in feminist thought. It is formulated by Françoise Héritier in the notion of the 'differential valence of the sexes' which "expresses a conceptual relation in which there is a direction, if not always a hierarchy, between the masculine and the feminine, that can be translated in terms of weight, of temporality (that which comes before and after) or of value" (Héritier (1996), p. 24). Another expression of this concept can be found in Bourdieu's notion of masculine domination, which is a "material and symbolic power relation between the sexes" (Bourdieu (1998)).

The second hierarchy studied here is provided by the institutional context in which our respondent students are embedded. Educational policies are determined at a cantonal level and a number of Swiss cantons have a secondary school system involving two or

three hierarchical tracks. This system provides students very early with a representation of their own current and prospective social position in comparison to others. Research on a similar system in France demonstrates that differentiation of these tracks is indeed experienced by students as domination relations and may be understood through this analytical framework, as shown by Chauchat & Labonne (2006). Lower track-students have been found to experience a sense of academic futility (Van Houtte (2015)) which may lead them to underperform in school, and a sense of social inferiority (Spruyt, Van Droogenbroeck, & Kavadias (2015)).

Inspired by Tajfel & Turner (1979, 1986)'s conflict theory, I understand sex and school-track/social class differences in attitudes related to social positioning of occupations as the result of the self-identification of respondents with competing groups and their interests. Domination relations are not established once and for all but are re-enacted and reinforced on a daily basis by all social actors, and in particular by those to whom this domination relation is beneficial, as highlighted by Bourdieu (1976). In the field of gender relations, this re-enactment is captured by the expression 'doing gender' (West & Zimmerman (1987)). The hypotheses explored in this chapter relate directly to this re-enactment of domination relations. In general, I expect people belonging to dominant groups (here, males and respondents in school tracks with higher requirements) to have a stronger tendency than others to express adhesion to norms reinforcing the current social statu quo that is beneficial to them, that is, to tend to associate masculinity and prestige.

Grounding the association of prestige and masculinity

A number of studies consider the dimensionality of representations of occupations. Lorenzi-Cioldi & Joye (1988) find occupations structured on the basis of status/prestige, independent or salaried status, working indoors or outdoors/level of education, and sex. Gottfredson (1981) considers representations of occupations as being structured according to sex and prestige. Muñoz Sastre, Mullet, & Semin (1999) find occupations structured on the basis of social status, sex and creativity. Hauser & Warren (1996) note that whatever the form of the prestige question, respondents will provide essentially the same ranking of occupations. This demonstrates the importance of this dimension in the representations of respondents. We may thus define both prestige and gender

(masculinity) as central dimensions according to which occupations are hierarchized in representations that respondents have of them.

Why do I expect to find prestige and masculinity associated in occupational representations? Historically in the Western world, skilled employment (craftsmanship, intellectual work, etc.) accessed as the result of formal training was strongly male-dominated until the 20th century. Even nowadays in representations, the master status of women is associated with domestic activities, while that of men is associated with paid work to the benefit of the wider community (Krüger & Levy (2001)). In an occupational context, the notion of prestige is associated with difficulty of access, hard-learned specific skills, long-term directed efforts, consequential responsibilities, public visibility and key usefulness to a wide community. We thus expect to find in representations today the remnants of the association of prestigious work with the group who, until recently, effectively was active in it. As Bourdieu revealed in his study of the notion of hysteresis, social actors tend to default to views of society that may no longer correspond to current structures; the association of prestige and masculinity may be understood as a case of hysteresis. When displayed by teenagers, it may reflect views of society inherited from their parents, which serve as provisory reference while they adapt these views through their own social experience.

Dimensions of occupational representations involve separate hierarchies which may partly conflict with each other. The association of prestige and masculinity can be interpreted in this light as an attempt towards coherence and reduction of cognitive dissonance between the two most salient of these dimensions. I understand the association of masculinity and prestige as an instantiation of traditional gender role attitudes, which contribute to reproducing the above mentioned feminine and masculine master statuses, and thus as conceptually close to sexist attitudes. The association of prestige and masculinity does not just attribute different roles to men and women, but also grants more intrinsic value to masculine connotations.

Masculinity and femininity should not be considered as two extremities of the same continuum, but as two independent dimensions (Bem (1974); Glick (1991)). However, in their hierarchical relation, I consider masculinity and femininity to be indeed on the same continuum, with additional value granted to that which is more masculine, and lesser value to that which is perceived as more feminine. Another way to look at this is that, on

an individual level, the content of these two concepts are independent from one another, but on a collective level, the hierarchical relation between them becomes central and it thus becomes meaningful to place them on the same continuum. It thus makes sense, in my view, to compare a scale ranging from less prestigious to more prestigious with another, going from feminine to masculine.

The relevance of studying the association of high prestige and masculinity, and perhaps, that of low prestige with femininity, is grounded in a number of empirical findings. One of the principal means by which higher value is granted to the work of men and masculine-connoted occupations is through salaries. Extensive research has been done into the reasons for and contexts of unequal pay (Charles & Grusky (2004); England, Allison, & Wu (2007); Grönlund & Magnusson (2013)). Devaluation theory, according to which lower wages received by women may be explained by the lesser intrinsic worth or prestige granted to feminine-connoted tasks, is examined in a number of articles, in particular by Magnusson (2009), who measures devaluation with prestige ratings. A demonstration of the relation of low wages with feminine connoted traits is provided by England, Herbert, Kilbourne, Reid, & Megdal (1994) who found that earnings relate negatively to the perception that occupations require nurturance.

Other relevant findings relate to the symbolic and material devaluation of occupations as they employ more women (Le Feuvre (2010); Murphy & Oesch (2016)). Vertical segregation in employment is widespread, affording men a higher proportion of jobs involving high levels of skill and responsibility. Women's employment tends to concentrate more than men's in fields of unstable employment and unfavourable working conditions; this, coupled with traditional gender expectations that put the main responsibility of family care on women, tends to produce strongly gendered work trajectories in which linear ascending male *careers* are contrasted with interrupted sequences of non-ascending female *jobs* (Levy & Widmer (2013)). This research, which shows that, in general, female labour is less valued that male labour, leads me to expect to find an association in occupational representations between prestige and masculinity.

However, other research assesses that prestige and masculinity are two independent dimensions of representations of occupations (Steinritz, Kayser, & Ziegler (2012)). Various efforts have been made in the French literature, in particular by Muñoz Sastre (1996), to use factor analysis to verify the dimensions of the cognitive map of occupations

and to question Gottfredson's bi-dimensional prestige/sex-type map. This use of factor analysis has revealed a number of additional dimensions that question the centrality of the two that Gottfredson emphasises and overlooks any specific relation that may exist between these two dimensions.

How has the association been measured? What has been found?

Leaving aside other phenomena that may be indicative of it, let us now concentrate on the association of prestige and masculinity itself, on how it has been measured and on what has been found about it. This association is tricky to measure because measurements of the masculinity/femininity of occupations and of their prestige can be made each in at least two ways. The masculinity/femininity of occupations can be measured 'objectively', by considering the proportion of females and males in a given occupation; it can also be measured from the point of view of representations, by asking respondents to evaluate whether given occupations are (more appropriate) for men or for women/ are masculine or feminine. Similarly, levels of prestige of occupations can be predefined according to a pre-existing prestige scale, such as SIOPS, or representations of the prestige of given occupations may be elicited from respondents as part of the empirical findings.

We may thus identify two families of studies: those that consider this association only on the basis of "objective" variables directly related to occupations, such as wages, standardized prestige ratings of occupations and share of men and women in occupations, such as Magnusson (2009), and those that investigate the representations that respondents have of the prestige or sex-type of occupations, or of both. The present study is concerned with representations; I shall thus concentrate on this family of studies in what follows.

In the literature that takes into account occupational representations, the relation of prestige and masculinity of occupations has been operationalized in the three following ways.

Representations of the sex-type of occupations

The first method consists in asking respondents to sex-type a wide selection of occupations which are then classified by the researcher on the basis of some standard prestige scale. These standard prestige scales may define fairly rough categories of occupations (such as low, medium and high status according to educational requirement

levels in order to enter the occupation) or may rely on finer distinctions (Treiman's SIOPS). This approach only takes into account judgements of respondents on sex-typing, and not on prestige, which is considered consensual and not allowed to vary among respondents. This method is used for example by Kulik (1998). Several studies of the same kind have also been carried out (see reviews by Magnusson (2009)). These studies rarely investigate intergroup differences in sex-typing of occupations, and when they do, the only considered variable is sex (see chapter III for a discussion of this research).

Representations of the prestige of occupations

Following the second method, respondents are required to attribute prestige scores to a number of occupations, but this time sex-typing is controlled: in questionnaires, a typical incumbent of a job is designated as being male, female, or has unspecified sex; the influence of this variable on the way respondents evaluate the prestige of the occupation is studied. Here again, variables that may explain intergroup variations in prestige evaluations according to sex-type are usually not considered. This methodology was widely used in the framework of the early 1980s discussion on the applicability of prestige scales to female-dominated occupations and in follow-ups on this debate (Guppy & Siltanen (1977); Bose & Rossi (1983); Bose (1985); Jacobs & Powell (1985); Goyder, Guppy, & Thompson (2003)). More recently, it has been used in a study on children by Liben, Bigler, & Krogh (2001).

Representations of both sex-type and prestige of occupations

In a third methodological approach to this issue, both sex-typing and prestige ratings are elicited from respondents and allowed to vary. Only a limited number of studies have made use of this methodology, which is closest to the one I use here (Girondi (1991); Glick (1991); Lapan & Jingeleski (1992); Glick et al. (1995); Oswald (2003)). Intergroup variations in these judgements are not considered in these studies or are not found (Lapan & Jingeleski (1992)). Besides, these studies have not made use of a methodology that relates the two representations as dependent variables; they consider the two sets of representations separately, use masculinity as a predictor for prestige or concentrate on descriptive methods.

In keeping with this third methodological approach, the present study considers both sex-typing and prestige ratings that are elicited from participants, but I also explore new

methodological and theoretical avenues. I provide theoretical framework for, and analyze, intergroup variations in these ratings and construct a variable which allows to see how both prestige and sex-typing ratings vary according to social groups.

Hypothesis 1: Respondents associate occupational prestige with masculinity

As we have seen, there is much indirect evidence that leads us to expect an association of prestige and masculinity in occupational representations. Let us now look at the findings of researchers who have considered these two variables. Are higher prestige jobs found to be perceived as more masculine? In her study on sex-typing and prestige ratings of occupations, Oswald (2003) found that occupations perceived as associated with men were rated as having a higher degree of prestige than occupations associated with women, both for low and high prestige occupations. Bose & Rossi (1983) found that female-dominated occupations had, on average, lower prestige and that, among the most prestigious occupations, the ones with higher prestige also had higher proportions of males. Liben et al. (2001) show that when asked about familiar occupations, 6- and 11-year olds gave higher status ratings to masculine jobs. 11-year-olds rated invented jobs portrayed with male workers as having higher status than the identical jobs portrayed with female workers. Glick (1991) and Glick et al. (1995) distinguished between the sex-type of jobs (the ratio of male to female jobholders) and the gender-type of jobs (the personality traits associated with jobholders) and related these to respondent prestige ratings. They found that the best predictor of job prestige was the degree to which masculine personality traits were associated with a job.

In contrast, Kulik (1998), considering several age groups, one of which was 14 year-old teenagers, found that low- and medium-prestige occupations were perceived as less feminine than the high-prestige occupations. She also found that the 14 year-old sample evaluated the high-prestige occupations as relatively gender-neutral. Girondi (1991) found that jobs perceived as feminine tended to concentrate in the middle range of prestige ratings, with no very high or low prestige feminine occupations. Goyder et al. (2003) conclude that there is little to no difference in prestige ratings of individual jobs on the basis of the perceived sex of the incumbent. Other studies (Treiman & Terrell (1975); England (1979)) found no differences in average prestige of male- and female-dominated occupations.

As noted by Magnusson (2009), the contrast between the situation of gender inequalities in wages, which are verified in a vast majority of studies and that of prestige inequalities, which are so much more difficult to ascertain, is surprising. It should motivate deeper investigations into the relation of wages and prestige, which have often been taken as indicators of the same phenomenon, and provide a rationale for taking part-time work into account in socio-economic indexes, as suggested by Hauser & Warren (1996). Besides, the mentioned studies show that the association between the masculinity and prestige of occupations is certainly not a simple, linear relation that can be ascertained across the full range of occupations. This leads us to adopt a more modest approach to the issue of the association of prestige and masculinity. Instead of looking at the full range of occupations as the mentioned studies have attempted, we shall look in more detail into a selection of six occupations and see how this association fares in each of them.

Intergroup variations in relative evaluations of prestige and masculinity

My second hypothesis is concerned with a slightly different issue. Taking the association of prestige and masculinity as a theoretical reference point, I wish to investigate whether differences among groups can be ascertained as to their relation to this association. Do some groups endorse it to a higher extent than others? In particular, do dominant groups (men, students in high-requirement school tracks) associate prestige and masculinity to a higher extent?

Hypothesis 2: Men associate prestige and masculinity more strongly than women

Let us first examine the evidence for differences among groups in relation to occupational prestige and sex-typing taken separately. Research shows that representations in terms of prestige tend to be consensual in the context of Western industrialized countries: occupations are ranked in the same order in most nations and over time (Hout & DiPrete (2006)). This social fact has even been lauded as the only universal ever discovered in sociology: the 'Treiman constant'. This had led to the conception of a number of standard classifications of occupations on the basis of prestige (Stevens & Hoisington (1987)). However, the fact that most people rank occupations in approximately the same relative order from 'top' to 'bottom' does not mean that they all give the same absolute value to these occupations, not that there cannot be group differences in attribution of this value. A strong body of literature supports lack of significant differences in the evaluation of the prestige of occupations across social classes, age groups (Goldthorpe & Hope (1974)) and

sex groups (Treiman (1977); Girondi (1991); Glick (1991); Nakao & Treas (1994); Goyder et al. (2003); Oswald (2003)).

However, judgements about the prestige of given occupations have been demonstrated to vary among groups: between White and African Americans (Walker & Tracey (2012)), and between sexes. In a sample of adult respondents, Bose & Rossi (1983) and Bose (1985) found that women evaluate jobs as having a higher degree of prestige according to the extent to which the job is female-dominated. More generally, a number of authors have questioned the supposed social consensus about the structure and hierarchical content of the cognitive map of occupations and its capacity to map "objective" relations among occupational groups in society (Huteau (1976); Salmaso & Pombeni (1986); Muñoz Sastre (1996); Guichard (2011)). Others have investigated systematic group differences in evaluations of prestige (Reiss (1961); Guppy & Goyder (1984)).

Another interesting idea that has been explored in order to understand intergroup variations in prestige ratings is that prestige adheres less well to some occupations than others, that is, that prestige is not perceived as an equally relevant dimension on which all occupations may be rated. Perhaps some occupations, in particular those with strong feminine connotations, are neither high- not low-prestige occupations, but elude this criterion completely. This is the argument made by Tyree & Hicks (1988) about the occupation of housewife. This situation may be identified through high variability in prestige ratings about given occupations (Bose (1985)).

A similar argument has been put forth as to the 'competence' of raters with regard to the dimension of prestige. Some raters may be less ready, or less fluent, in ascribing prestige to occupations. Treiman (1977) believed that women, because they were less in touch with the occupational world, had less precise estimations of the prestige of occupations than men. This argument may certainly be applied in a less controversial manner to the population under study in this work. Teenagers are in the process of shaping their understanding of the occupational world according to the dimension of prestige and it would therefore be unsurprising if their evaluations on this criterion were less homogenous than similar evaluations made by adults.

Considering occupational gender stereotypes, the situation is similar to prestige ratings. At least some stereotypes about typically feminine and masculine tasks and occupations are fairly stable across the Western world and tend to correlate with proportions of males

and females in fields of employment. The debate between those who find no significant differences among groups in the way they sex-type occupations (Ji et al. (2004); Teig & Susskind (2008); Bergner (2014)) and those who do, at least on the basis of sex (Flerx et al. (1976); Marantz & Mansfield (1977); O'Keefe & Hyde (1983); Evelo et al. (1991); Kulik (1998, 2000); Bosse & Guégnard (2007); Vilhjálmsdóttir & Arnkelsson (2007)), is ongoing. This demonstrates that evidence for differential association of prestige and masculinity of occupations according to the social position of respondents is not clear-cut. These studies therefore do not allow us to decide which of the two following hypotheses – either females associate the prestige and masculinity of occupations in the same way as males, or else they tend to find feminine occupations more prestigious than men – is more likely. However, my general hypothesis, based on Social Dominance Theory, leads me to expect women to associate prestige and masculinity of occupations less strongly than men.

Hypothesis 3: High-track students associate prestige and masculinity more strongly than lower-track students

I expect that the social position of respondents in the two hierarchies of gender and school track should determine the position they take with regard to the association of prestige and masculinity. I expect students in advantaged social positions (in higher school tracks) to endorse the association of prestige and masculinity to a higher degree than the others. What can we find in the literature on this issue? The influence of school track in determining representations of prestige and sex-type has been considered. Guichard et al. (1994) discuss representations of the masculinity and femininity of occupations following the levels of requirements of the school track in which respondent students are enrolled. They found that for students in higher requirement school tracks, low status occupations (factory work) were perceived as more masculine than high status occupations (engineering). In contrast, in lower requirement tracks, the occupations perceived as the most masculine were also the ones seen as the most prestigious and the ones requiring the highest levels of qualifications; occupations judged as being less masculine were also perceived as less prestigious. In this study, judgements of high masculinity appear to be related to a degree of social distance. The results of this research are difficult to translate directly into hypotheses. However, as explained earlier, my

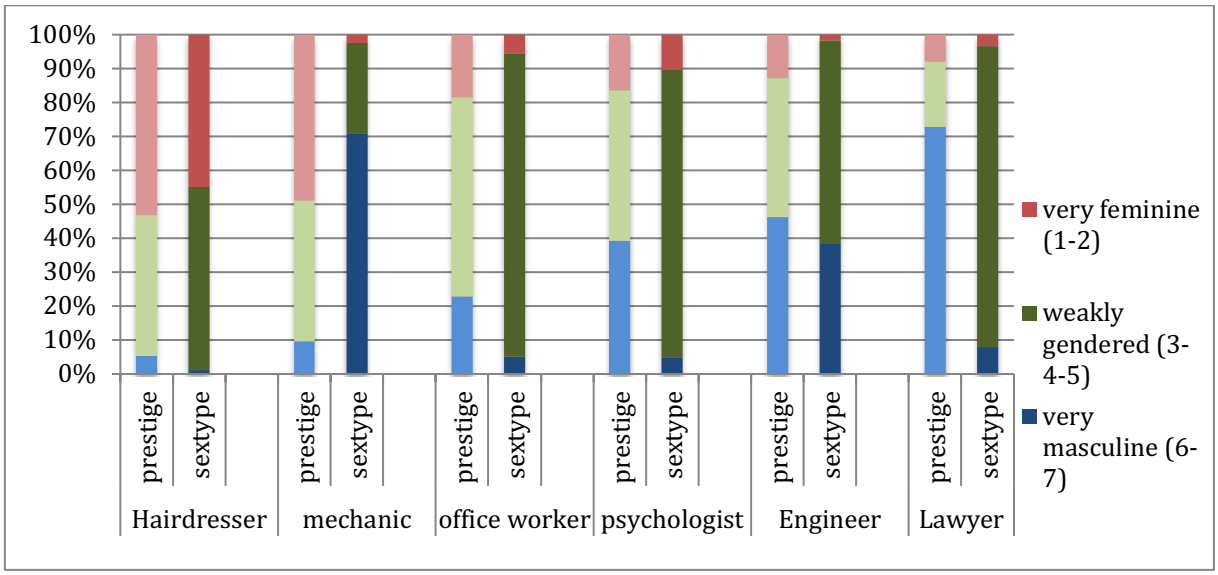
theoretical framework leads me to expect low track students to endorse the association of prestige and masculinity to a lower extent than high track students.

Results

My analytical strategy is the following: First I shall provide some descriptive data on the association of prestige and masculinity in our sample for each occupation. I shall then provide some descriptive information about the association variable I have constructed. Finally, through a set of linear regressions, taking as the dependent variable the association variable for each occupation and as independent variables sex and school track, I shall assess whether there are effectively intergroup differences in the association of prestige and masculinity.

First, I provide here a descriptive graph of the distribution of attitudes towards prestige and sex-typing for the six occupations. While the association is fairly close for hairdressing and engineering, it is less strong in the other occupations.

Graph 28: Prestige and sex-typing of the six occupations



Below is a table of the correlation between the sex-typing and the prestige variable for each of the six occupations. Correlations between these two variables are weak, but significant for all occupations except lawyer. They reveal that the more respondents find the four most sex-typed occupations prestigious, the less they sex-type them in a stereotypical way. Office worker follows the logic of the occupations with feminine associations.

Table 29: Pearson's correlations between prestige and sex-typing for six occupations

	Sex-type					
	Mechanic	Hairdresser	Office worker	Psychologist	Engineer	Lawyer
Prestige	-0.0922	0.1426	0.1153	0.0536	-0.0887	0.0008
Significance level	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0036	0.0000	0.9665

We now look at the association of prestige and masculinity variable, the construction of which has been described in the methodological chapter. The vast majority of respondents find mechanic far more masculine than prestigious, setting the mean for responses at 3 full points of masculinity higher than prestige. Engineering is also evaluated as being more masculine than prestigious, but only very slightly so. The average respondent associates masculinity and prestige, or rather femininity and lack of prestige perfectly in the case of hairdressing. Incidentally, this converges with the finding of Lemarchant (2017) who finds the word "hairdresser" used as an insult by girls in atypical occupations. In order, office worker, psychologist and lawyer are judged to be more prestigious than masculine. The standard deviations of the variables give us information on the level of consensus around these associations. The highest standard deviations are those for the two very masculine occupations. These are followed by psychologist, lawyer, office worker and hairdresser – the highly masculine and highly prestigious occupations being open to more contention than the others, and hairdresser being the occupation on which consensus is greatest. The picture this variable gives us of these occupations is thus that of mechanic being on average understood as much more masculine than prestigious, engineer, as slightly more masculine than prestigious, hairdresser as lacking equally masculinity and prestige, office worker as slightly more prestigious than masculine, psychologist more prestigious than masculine and lawyer as much more prestigious than masculine.

Table 30: Mean and standard deviation of the association variables (prestige-sex-typing)

	Mechanic	Hairdresser	Office worker	Psychologist	Engineer	Lawyer
Mean	-3.080	0.000	0.150	0.872	-0.217	1.626
Standard deviation	2.240	1.811	1.843	2.113	2.280	1.950

Table 31: Effects of sex and school track requirements on the association of prestige and masculinity (linear regressions with controls – parental education, social class, school-track requirements, year, nationality, canton, urban/rural)

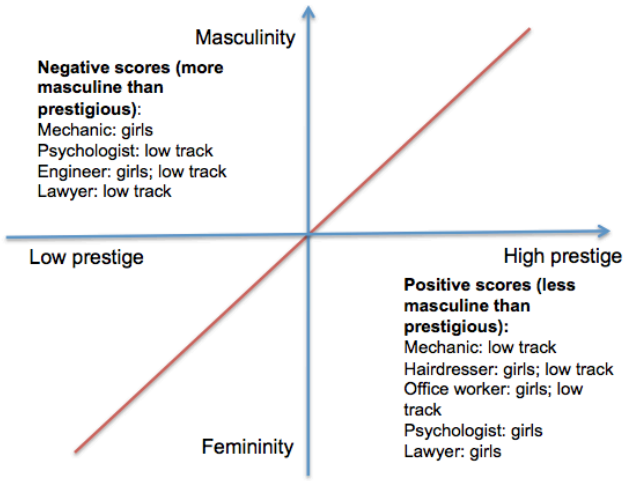
	Mechanic	Hairdresser	Office worker	Psychologist	Engineer	Lawyer
Sex (ref. male)						
Female	**-0.462*** **	**0.247** **	**0.257** **	**0.643*** **	**-0.378*** **	**0.414*** **
School track requirements (ref. high)						
Comprehensive	**0.291**	**-0.022**	**0.264**	**0.113**	**0.32**	**-0.222**
Low	**0.586*** **	**0.720*** **	**0.326** **	**-0.830*** **	**-0.665*** **	**-0.740*** **
Interaction sex and school track requirements	**0.077**	**-0.111**	**-0.14**	**0.031**	**-0.11**	**-0.113**
Parental education (ref. tertiary)						
Obligatory or less	0.297	0.422**	0.565***	0.148	-0.231	-0.330*
Post-obligatory secondary	0.107	0.233*	0.159	0.037	0.025	-0.145
Parental social class (ref. salariat)						
Working class	0.075	-0.062	0.426***	0.070	0.037	0.087
Intermediate	-0.094	0.003	0.066	-0.133	-0.209	-0.059
School year (ref. 7th grade)						
8th grade	-0.015	0.044	0.014	0.436***	0.089	0.301**
9th grade	-0.092	0.076	0.132	0.627***	0.406**	0.571***
Nationality (ref. Swiss and binational)						
Foreign only	-0.215	0.084	0.429***	0.176	0.420**	0.267*
Canton (ref. GE)						
VD	0.412**	-0.106	0.073	0.305*	0.484***	0.088

BE	0.642***	0.026	-0.190	0.339*	0.284	-0.321*
TI	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)
Urban/Rural (ref. urban)						
Rural	0.195	0.351**	-0.081	-0.513***	-0.295*	-0.371***
N	1900	1887	1878	1882	1881	1893
R2	0.044	0.043	0.067	0.076	0.037	0.076
Legend: * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001						

Now we look into which groups associate more strongly the masculinity and prestige of occupations than others. Considering first the two masculine connoted occupations: girls tend to question this association more than boys, by finding both mechanic and engineer more masculine/less prestigious, in comparison with boys. In contrast, girls find the two feminine occupations, in particular psychologist, more feminine/more prestigious, in comparison to boys. They express the same tendency for the two more gender-neutral occupations of lawyer and clerk.

While students in undifferentiated school track do not express significantly different responses from those in high school tracks, those in low requirement tracks take a different stance from the high track students. Students in low requirement tracks find the three lower status occupations more prestigious/less masculine in comparison with students in higher requirement tracks. This is particularly strong in the case of hairdressing, slightly less so for mechanic and finally office worker. These students find the three higher status occupations less prestigious/more masculine: this is particularly strong for psychologist, then lawyer and finally engineer. No significant interaction is found between sex and school track for any of the six occupations.

Graph 29: Significant positive and negative coefficients reported on the graph of the theoretical association of prestige and masculinity



Discussion

Hypothesis 1: Respondents associate occupational prestige with masculinity

One of the aims of this chapter was to consider the theoretical and empirical evidence for stating that prestige and masculinity are associated in occupational representations, as an example of how gender is 'done'. As already discussed, this association can be measured in several ways. With the methodology chosen here, this statement would be verified if I found that the more respondents found an occupation masculine the more they found it prestigious.

In fact, our data demonstrates something different and somewhat more subtle: in the case of the occupations with strong masculine connotations (mechanic and engineer), the more respondents find them prestigious, the less they find them masculine. A symmetrical finding is made in the case of the two occupations with feminine associations (hairdresser and psychologist): the more students find them prestigious, the less they find them feminine. The weakly gender-connoted medium-prestige occupation of office worker is represented in the same way as the feminine occupations. In the case of the high prestige occupation with low gender associations of lawyer, no significant association of prestige and sex-typing is found.

These results mean several things. First of all, they do not confirm any straightforward association of masculinity and prestige in the case of all occupations. I indeed find that respondents do associate more prestige with lesser femininity in the case of the feminine

and gender-neutral occupations, but the contrary is the case for the strongly male-dominated occupations, where higher prestige is associated with lesser masculinity. In fact, respondents who evaluate each of these occupations as more prestigious tend also to sex-type them less than other respondents.

In addition, the high prestige occupations that are strongly male- (engineer) or female-dominated (psychologist) in the Swiss population are sex-typed in a lot less stereotypical way by our respondents than their less prestigious "counterparts" (mechanic and hairdresser). This result can be related to the findings of Kulik (1998) who found teenagers sex-typing high prestige occupations in a relatively gender-neutral way.

These results also seem to point to what may be a function of stereotypical gender representations: stereotypes are most readily reached for by people who have little involvement with the object of the stereotype. The more positive associations respondents have developed with an occupation, the less they revert to gender stereotypes. This can perhaps be related to Guichard et al. (1994) who find that strongly masculine representations of occupations appear to be related to a degree of social distance. In consequence, these results, on the whole, appear to reveal a fairly progressive attitude with regard to the association of prestige and masculinity on the part of our teenage respondents. They do not reproduce either systematically or strongly this association.

However, my results on the high status occupations may also be understood as meaning something less socially progressive. If we compare descriptive statistics on prestige and sex-typing of the two gendered, high prestige occupations, psychologist and engineer, we see that engineer is found, on the whole, to be a little more prestigious than psychologist despite equivalent qualification levels. More importantly, it is found a lot more masculine than psychologist is found feminine, despite fairly close proportions of males and, respectively, females in these occupations. This points to the fact that the occupation of psychologist entails cognitive dissonance in the mind of sexist respondents: it is both a very feminine (in the sense of female-dominated) and prestigious occupation. This cognitive dissonance may have been reduced by some respondents already in responding to the questionnaire items: they may have 'de-feminized' this prestigious occupation, or reduced the prestige level of this feminine occupation.

Hypothesis 2: Men associate occupational prestige and masculinity more strongly than women

In this study, I took as a reference point a hypothetical linear association between levels of masculinity and of prestige for the six given occupations and hypothesised that some groups would take more distance from it than others. This hypothesis is confirmed, as such differences do exist.

I expected dominant groups to associate more strongly prestige and masculinity than disadvantaged groups and this hypothesis is also confirmed as to sex. Girls are a lot more sceptical than boys about the association of prestige and masculinity. They tend to devalue typically masculine occupations by finding them more masculine/less prestigious than boys. Females find all the non-masculine connoted occupations (feminine and gender neutral) more prestigious/less masculine than males. The strongest effect is for psychologist, then lawyer, office worker and hairdresser.

These sex differences confirm different associations of prestige and masculinity of occupations according to sex. They also confirm the findings of Bose & Rossi (1983) and Bose (1985) that women find feminine occupations more prestigious than men.

Hypothesis 3: High-track students associate prestige and masculinity more strongly than lower-track students

My literature review and theoretical stance led me to state the hypothesis that students in lower school tracks would associate prestige and masculinity less strongly than higher track students.

My hypothesis is confirmed: in the case of all occupations we find lower track students taking distance from the association of prestige and masculinity which is endorsed to a higher degree by high track students. The direction taken by this distance is also very clear-cut: low status occupations are found more prestigious/less masculine and high status occupations are found less prestigious/more masculine.

We have seen that lower track students experience a sense of academic futility and social inferiority. Research has also demonstrated how young people in unfavourable social situations (lower school tracks, modest parental background) construct class-specific values and codes (Willis (1977)); the differential valuation of lower-status occupations as opposed to the higher status occupations to which they anticipate difficulty in access may be understood in this framework.

Conclusion

This chapter has given us the opportunity to consider challenging and abstract issues; however, it also has limitations. The tool I use, i.e. the variable measuring the association of prestige and masculinity, may be challenged as to its theoretical interpretation. True, it does not provide straightforward responses to questions about the influence of the considered independent variables on the sex-type or on the prestige of the considered occupations. However, as stated in numerous places in this chapter, this is not my main aim. The object of my study in this chapter is the association of these two characteristics when considering particular occupations. While this association may be verbally cumbersome to express, I am certain of its theoretical relevance given the variety of other ways in which these two central dimensions of occupations have been considered with regard to one another.

This study had provided us with interesting insight as to the differential association of occupational sex-typing and prestige according to groups. First, I find that, on the whole, our respondents associated to a very moderate extent these two strongly normative dimensions of occupational representations. In addition, I find that even when these dimensions are associated, they are not done so in a stereotypical manner. The fact that students who find given occupations more prestigious also tend to sex-type them less than other respondents indicates that gender stereotypes are probably called upon more strongly by respondents who have less positive, or less well informed, views of a given occupation. It may be the case that defaulting to gender stereotypes is a sign of social distance, lack of knowledge or valuation of a given occupation. While this idea requires much more in-depth verification than has been possible in this chapter, I believe it to be a promising path for further studies.

The second important finding of this chapter is that the association of prestige and masculinity is stronger in socially dominant groups than in others. This may be for a number of reasons, which may be different for sex-based groups than for school track groups. One explanation stems from the notion that social norms are re-enacted on a daily basis, especially by groups who have social interest in keeping them alive. In this light, restating the association of prestige and masculinity by members of groups who are more likely to fare well on at least one of these dimensions (boys are more likely to enter masculine occupations than girls and high track students are more likely to enter high

prestige occupations than low-track students) is a means by which one's own legitimacy in a high-ranking group is affirmed. Conversely, questioning of the association on the part of members of low-ranking groups may show a tendency to challenge or reject norms that are unfavourable to oneself. It may also be the case that the lesser degree of (social) maturity of low-track students, which may be instrumental in leading them to school behaviours that set them in low tracks, is also expressed by their lesser understanding, in comparison to high track students, of the social hierarchies of the adult occupational world. This explanation, while interesting in the case of school track, is, however, obviously not applicable to differences between sexes. However, it does appear that, generally speaking, older students associate prestige and masculinity to a higher degree. Indication of this comes from the fact that 9th grade students associate prestige and masculinity in the three high-status occupations to a higher degree than their younger 7th grade counterparts.

We may speculate as to what might be the social consequences of the stronger association of prestige and masculinity in dominant groups. As illustrated by Bourdieu's notion of social field, one of the necessary conditions for success in a given field, for example in an occupational field, is understanding and acceptance of the norms which rule it. The association of prestige and masculinity may constitute one of the norms which it is advantageous to understand and share when entering the occupational field, and which provides the rationale to exclude members of non-dominant groups. It is also possible that the norm of association of prestige and masculinity is particularly present in well-paid and powerful occupations and sharing this norm may be a means by which hopeful enterers into this occupation are recognized as legitimate.

Chapter V: The intergenerational transmission of occupational norms: Gender and social status

Abstract

In this chapter I aim at assessing the influence that parents have on their children's normative representations on three topics: the transmission of gender-role attitudes, of gendered occupational aspirations and of representations of prestige. Gender-role attitudes, both in occupational and non-occupational contexts, are found to be transmitted from parents to children. In contrast, the influence of parental gender-related lifestyle characteristics such as part-time work for mothers cannot be ascertained. Despite findings in the literature, I was not able either to ascertain the influence of parental gender-role attitudes or education on the sex-typicality of their child's occupational aspiration. I find parental representations of the prestige of occupations influencing their children's, and I find their social background, in particular their level of education, having a strong effect on their children's ambitions. I also find that differentiated hierarchical school tracks promote an elitist view of society in students in favoured school tracks and play a large role in determining the level of their ambitions.

Introduction

Aim and structure of the chapter

The aim of this chapter is to assess the impact of parental attitudes and background on their children's gender- and prestige related representations. These representations may pertain to gender roles in general or to representations that teenagers have of occupations in terms of gender and prestige. I wish to provide a fresh look on the mechanisms of social reproduction at work in the shaping of teenagers' occupational aspirations.

The issue of the influence that parents and family have on their children's occupational representations and aspirations is a complex topic that has often been studied in the

literature – for a review, see Whiston & Keller (2004). In this chapter, I consider three sources of parental influence:

1) The socio-economic background of parents: their level of education and occupation.

2) The family model they provide their children with in terms of gender roles, namely whether parents conform to gender stereotypes in their lifestyle, thus providing an implicit model for gender-role division to their children. I consider the working status of the mother and the sex-typicality of the respondent parent's occupation as indicators of this.

3) The gender-role and occupational prestige-related attitudes and representations of parents, both in general and in relation to their child. Among these I include sexism, occupational sex-typing, gendered occupational aspirations for their child and prestige-related representations.

I thus distinguish parental models that may be transmitted implicitly, though parental social roles, from those that are transmitted explicitly, through attitudes. The effects of these different sets of characteristics will be assessed on four kinds of child attitudes and representations: child sexism, occupational sex-typing, gendered occupational aspirations and prestige-related representations.

The effect of school track will also be taken into account, as I consider school-track to be a marker of social stratification in a similar way to what educational and occupational achievements are for adults, and thus relevant to perceptions of prestige according to own social position. School track offers students a hierarchical structure of society in which to position themselves, which is complementary to, and often reinforces that provided by the level of education, of income and occupation of their parents. It appears relevant to consider this variable in combination with parental stratification variables in order to assess their effects on the perceptions of prestige of students.

This chapter is thus divided into three sections, in which I investigate respectively:

1) The effects of gender-role attitudes and gender lifestyle of parents on their children's gender-role attitudes

2) The effects of parental gender-role attitudes on their children's gendered occupational aspirations

3) The effects of parental educational and socioeconomic status on their children's representation of the prestige of occupations and on the ISEI of their occupational aspiration.

First, let us provide some general introductory elements about how the issue of gender has been considered in the process of norm transmission from parents to child.

Effects of sex

Discussion on the transmission of gender-related norms has concentrated on the sex of parent and child, following the general hypothesis that influences may be different from mothers than from fathers, depend on whether the child is a boy or girl, and whether the parent-child relationship is a same sex or cross-sex relationship.

The mother-daughter transmission process has been of particular interest to researchers. The transmission of gender-related norms around bodily practices from mothers to teenage daughters leads to expect influence on other gender-related topics (Mardon (2010a)). Ex & Janssens (1998) found that both the child rearing style and gender role attitudes of mothers influenced the gender role attitudes of their daughters. Other researchers (Smith & Self (1980); Weeks, Wise, & Duncan (1984); Kulik (2004)) also found significant correlations between mothers' and daughters' gender role attitudes. Moen, Erickson, & Dempster-McClain (1997) used panel data to assess the relationship between mothers' and daughters' gender role ideology and found correlations between the mothers' ideology in the 1950s and their daughters' in the 1980s. Montañés et al. (2012) found correlations between the levels of benevolent sexism of mothers and daughters. Van Putten, Dykstra, & Schippers (2008) found correlations between the working patterns of mothers and daughters.

One study specifically compared the effects of same sex and opposite sex transmission of gender role ideology: Kulik (2002b) found father-son correlations higher than father-daughter correlations. Despite the huge interest that has been invested in the mother-daughter couple as a locus of transmission of gender-role ideology, in this research Kulik did not find any specific like-sex effect between mothers and daughters. In light of this result, I shall not focus on any particular kind of parent-child couple, but take into account in my analyses all respondent parents and children.

Effects of sex and education on parental gender stereotypes

A number of studies that consider the transmission of gender-role ideology from parents to children also consider the factors that influence the ideology of parents. While I shall not specifically investigate this issue, the literature provides useful context to how the gender-related attitudes that may or may not be transmitted from parents to children are shaped in the first place. Parental characteristics have been found to influence parent gender role ideology. In keeping with findings on differences between men and women, Kulik (2002a) found mothers having less conservative gender-role attitudes than fathers.

Weeks et al. (1984) found mothers' gender role attitudes varying according to their employment status, the more feminist being the mothers with part-time employment. In more recent work, Kulik (2002a) found full-time working mothers less conservative than others, a result that is coherent with their own non-stereotypical employment choices.

Kulik (2002a) and, more recently, Garaigordobil & Aliri (2012) found that more educated parents are less sexist. Montañés et al. (2012) found that more educated mothers displayed less benevolent sexism. Kulik (2004) and Ex & Janssens (1998) found more liberal gender role attitudes in more educated mothers. Smith & Self (1980) found that the attitudes of mothers with tertiary education were more similar to their daughters' than those of less educated mothers', regardless of them being liberal or traditional. In this chapter, I shall investigate the combined effects of parental education and gender-role attitudes on their children.

Gender-role attitudes: parents and children

After these preliminary remarks, let us now concentrate on the first segment of my argument: the effects that parental gender-role attitudes and lifestyle have on their children's gender-role attitudes, in relation or not to employment. The variables I use measure on the one hand parental gender-role attitudes both in relation to occupations and in general and, on the other hand, two aspects of their gender status: the sex-typicality of the occupation of the respondent parent and the working hours of the mother. While these two variables do not inform us directly about the gender attitudes of the respondent parents, they do inform us about a situation that may provide an implicit example of gender role sharing in the family and in society that may be transmitted to children. In order to summarize and clarify the aims of this section, I present below a table with the four parental variables whose influence I shall consider:

Table 32: Conceptual relations among the independent variables

	Gender attitudes	Gender status
Gender roles in occupational field	Occupational sex-typing	Sex-typicality of parental occupation
Gender roles in general	Benevolent sexism	Working hours of mother

Let us now take a brief look at how the literature has considered the issue of the transmission of gender role attitudes and norms from parents to children.

Effects of parental gender stereotypes on child gender stereotypes

A number of studies consider the transmission of gender-role ideology from parents to children. Research has mainly concentrated on two topics. First, researchers have investigated the effect of parental sexism on the gender-role attitudes of their children. Second, they have investigated the influence of a wider set of variables related to parental gender-role attitudes on the attitudes of children. Some studies have assessed the influence of parental gender role ideology on small children (Barry (1980); Smith & Self (1980); Fagot, Leinbach, & O'Boyle (1992)), finding it measurable already at this early life stage.

Research has investigated the influence of gender-related parental behaviour on their children's norms. Such behaviour is interesting to investigate, because, while it may not directly reflect parental ideology – stay-at-home mothers may have strong feminist attitudes for example – it does provide an implicit gender-role model for children. In this section, I have included two variables that measure gender-related parental behaviour: the number of working hours of the mother, as indicative of her involvement in the sphere of paid work as opposed to the domestic sphere, and the sex-typicality of the occupation of the respondent parent as indicative of an implicit acceptance on the part of the parent of the gendered division of labour in the occupational sphere, and as providing an example of gender conformity in the occupational field for the child.

The effects of these variables have, to some extent, been considered in the literature. One of the parental gender-norm related behaviours whose influence has been considered on children's gender norms is the employment status of the mother: how does having a stay-

at-home mother, who exemplifies conformity to gender norms, influence children's attitudes? Weeks et al. (1984) did not find daughters' attitudes varying according to the employment status of their mother; however, Zuckerman (1981) did find children of working mothers having less traditional gender-related attitudes than others. Ex & Janssens (1998) found indirect effects of mothers' working status on their children's gender-role attitudes.

Researchers have also investigated the effects of 'traditional' and 'non-traditional' family organisations in a wider sense: Booth & Amato (1994) define family non-traditionalism through three indicators – the number of working hours of mothers, the amount of housework done by fathers, and gender role attitudes of parents. They found no relation between mothers' participation in the labour market and children's gender role attitudes, but found that parents with non-traditional gender role attitudes tended to have children with non-traditional gender-role attitudes. Some studies have attempted to assess the impact of the sharing of domestic tasks among parents (Booth & Amato (1994); Crouter, Manke, & McHale (1995); Sabattini & Leaper (2004)). Booth & Amato (1994)'s evidence does not allow them to conclude to an influence of father participation in domestic tasks on children's gender-role attitudes. Sabattini & Leaper (2004) do not find any impact of parenting style and parental sharing of domestic work on the gender ideology of their children. Crouter et al. (1995) investigated in more depth the specific dynamics that led families to socialize differently children depending on their sex, finding that this process was reinforced when there was a younger, opposite-sex sibling.

The literature is divided as to the influence of parental (occupation-related or not) sex-typed behaviours on gender-related attitudes of their children. This research demonstrates the difficulty of ascertaining a direct link between parental gender-related occupational behaviours, such as being a non- or part-time working mother, and sex-typicality of parental occupation on children's gender attitudes. On the contrary, we see that gender-related parental occupational characteristics do not seem to have any verifiable impact on child gender attitudes.

The research which ascertains a relation between parental and child gender-related attitudes is numerous and points in direction of transmission of gender-related attitudes. Moen et al. (1997) used panel data to assess the relationship between mothers' and daughters' gender role ideology. They found correlations between the mothers' ideology

in the 1950s and their daughters' in the 1980s. Tenenbaum & Leaper (2002) conducted meta-analyses of 43 articles pertaining to the influence of parents' gender schemas on their children's gender-related concepts and attitudes, finding an overall positive correlation. Smith & Self (1980); Ex & Janssens (1998); Kulik (2004) studied the mother-daughter transmission of gender-role attitudes and found significant correlations between mothers' and daughters' gender role attitudes. Weeks et al. (1984); Blakemore & Hill (2008) considered the effects of parental sexism in general, while other authors (Garaigordobil & Aliri (2012); Montañés et al. (2012)) concentrated on the influence of parental benevolent sexism. Weeks et al. (1984) found daughters' gender-role attitudes varying with their mothers'; Garaigordobil & Aliri (2012) found that more educated parents are less sexist and the higher the level of education of mothers, the lower the levels of hostile, ambivalent and neo-sexism of their daughters. Montañés et al. (2012) also found that mothers' benevolent sexism explained their daughter's benevolent sexism.

Benevolent sexism is a means by which traditional gender roles are reproduced in society and research on occupational gender-role ideology has concentrated on the effects of this kind of sexism far more than on the effects of other types of sexism. In keeping with this line of thought, I shall concentrate on the effect of parental benevolent sexism on their child's benevolent sexism. Besides, I shall also consider the effects of a variable which is rarely considered in the literature, but which appears to me to complement adequately measurement of benevolent sexism: the degree to which parents and children sex-type occupations. One study that does make use of this variable is by Liat Kulik (2002a), who examined the effects of parental education on children's gender-role ideology, in particular, on the way they sex-typed occupations. While Kulik found no effect of parental background on the way children sex-typed occupations, she did find that it influenced children gender-role ideology more generally: the more educated the parents, the more liberal were the attitudes of both parents and children toward gender roles. She also found an effect of these two parental characteristics on the gender-role attitudes of their children. She found no impact of parental background variables on sex-typing occupations.

These two variables, benevolent sexism and occupational sex-typing, measure the degree to which respondents partake in a world view in which social roles, in particular

occupational roles, are rigidly distributed according to sex. I thus formulate Hypothesis 1: Parents who assign gender-roles less rigidly than others have children who also assign gender-roles less rigidly.

Gendered occupational aspirations: Agreement between parents and children

One particular case of transmission of gender-role attitudes is agreement between parent and child on gendered occupational aspirations. We should perhaps not speak of straightforward 'transmission' here, or look for causality, as agreement or disagreement between parent and child on aspirations, either pertaining to specific occupations, or to their sex-typicality is co-constructed over time. However, as agreement or disagreement with parents is a relevant factor in shaping occupational aspirations in many children, considering this relationship sheds light on the construction process of aspirations. I shall also consider in this section how gender-role attitudes and education of parents shape the gendered occupational aspirations of their children.

I consider here the literature that deals with the sources of parental influence on child gendered aspirations and occupational outcomes. This brings into more specific focus the issue of the intergenerational transmission of gender norms while also including other issues of social stratification, since occupational aspirations and outcomes are also hierarchized on the basis of dimensions other than gender, in particular prestige.

Studies have investigated how parental education and gender-related norms predict children's educational goals. Zuckerman (1981) found that mothers' educational levels predicted their daughters' educational goals, while fathers' educational levels predicted their sons' educational goals. Ex & Janssens (1998) found that mothers' gender role attitudes were related to their level of education, and influenced the gender-role attitudes of their daughters: the higher the level of a mother's education, the less traditional was her daughter's attitude about motherhood. With the same data as used here, Gianettoni & Guilley (2016) show that the higher the ISEI of the parents, the less sex-typical the occupational aspirations of their children are.

Barak, Feldman, & Noy (1991) examined the impact of parental gender stereotypes, maternal employment status, and typicality of parents' occupations on the typicality of children's occupational interests. They only found correlations between the typicality of mothers' occupations and that of their children's, both male and female, interests. Van Putten et al. (2008) found that daughters raised by a working mother worked more hours

than other women. However, participants were not more or less likely to be in the labour market according to their mother's past labour market participation. In contrast, Weeks et al. (1984) did not find any relationship between the employment status of mothers and the sex typicality of their daughters' career plans.

Polavieja & Platt (2014) investigated parental sex-typed behaviours and their socio-economic position in order to assess their effects on their children's sex-typical occupational aspirations and outcomes. They found that homo-lineal imitation plays a role in determining the typicality of boys' occupational aspirations: boys who aspire to their father's occupation have more typical aspirations than others. They also found a relationship between the sex-typicality of parental occupations and that of children's aspirations: mothers with atypical jobs have daughters who are less likely to aspire to typical occupations. In the same way, fathers who work in typically masculine fields are more likely to have sons with typical occupational aspirations.

Other studies have explored the effect of the sex-distribution of the job of the same sex parent. Korupp, Sanders, & Ganzeboom (2002) examined the relationship between the sex-typicality of parents' occupations and that of their children at their entry into the labour market. They found that there is an effect from mothers to daughters, but a larger one from fathers to sons and from fathers to daughters.

Research has been done on parental effects not directly related to sex-distribution in occupations on children's occupational aspirations. Gianettoni & Guilley (2016) examined the impact of parental traditional and modern sexism. Using the same data as the present study, they found an impact of parental modern and traditional sexism on students' gendered aspirations. Polavieja & Platt (2014) found that traditional division of domestic labour among parents made their children more likely to have sex-typical occupational aspirations. The direct relation between parental gender norms and children's gendered aspirations is difficult to ascertain, and Montañés et al. (2012) adopt an indirect strategy, ascertaining first the relationship between parental and child sexism and in a second stage that between child sexism and typical occupational aspirations.

A number of studies have examined how parental socio-economic resources affect their children's gendered aspirations (Hou & Leung (2011); Garaigordobil & Aliri (2012); Polavieja & Platt (2014)). They found that daughters of better-educated parents aspire to

less sex-typical occupations than others. Polavieja & Platt (2014) also found the equivalent effect for sons.

This allows me to formulate the following two hypotheses:

Hypothesis 2: The better educated the parents, the less sex-typical aspirations their children will have.

Hypothesis 3: The less sexist the parents, the less sex-typical aspirations their child will have.

Reproduction of socio-economic status: Parents and children

It is a sociological commonplace that children tend to reproduce the socio-economic status of their parents, often with the help and through the mediation of institutions such as school. This is the argument developed by Bourdieu & Passeron (1964, 1970). I pick up on this general fact and attempt to verify two specific mechanisms by which it operates.

First, I consider how parental attitudes and position, combined with the child's own social position, represented by the school track in which students are enrolled, influence child perception of the prestige of high and low status occupations, and thus how parental representations of prestige influence their children's, affecting their ambitions to maintain or upgrade their social status. School tracks are perceived as providing a more or less optimal starting point to children's careers as members of a hierarchical society and influence the perception both students themselves and other people have of their competence. Second, I consider how this same set of factors influences the ISEI of the occupation to which the child aspires, and thus how these factors influence the way in which children project themselves into their own personal future.

I have not found much relevant literature on how parental characteristics influence child representations of the prestige of occupations. However, the literature has explored to some extent how parental occupational-related values predict their children's occupational aspirations in a social stratification perspective. Jodl, Michael, Malanchuk, Eccles, & Sameroff (2001) found correlations between parental and child values in the academic and sports domains and also found parental values predicting child aspirations. Hou & Leung (2011) compared a set of children's occupational aspirations with those their parents had for them. They found that parents and children generally agreed on the occupational field, but found larger differences as to occupational prestige and sex-type

of occupations. They found sex differences both for parental (different expectations according to the sex of the child) and child aspirations. They found parents aspiring to more prestigious occupations for their child than children themselves. They also found parents expecting their children to enter more masculine occupations then their children's aspirations. While the authors do not conclude explicitly to this, it appears that among this sample of Chinese parents and children, parents have more stereotypical views of the occupational future of their children than the children themselves. This finding may not be transferrable to a Western society in which values and ways of life have changed less radically than in China over the last 20 years, and thus where the discrepancy between the values of parents and children is less large.

School track has long been known to influence the perception that children have of their future opportunities, creating feelings of advantage or exclusion over other students in different school tracks and influencing self-judgements of competence and efficacy. Lower track-students have been found to experience a sense of academic futility (Van Houtte (2015)), which may lead them to underperform in school, and a sense of social inferiority (Spruyt et al. (2015)) which may lead them to be less ambitious as to their occupational aspirations. In addition, as famously demonstrated by Paul Willis (1977), working class contexts also tend to generate social reproduction, in particular in the form of valuation of lower class occupational trajectories and outcomes.

Given, on the one hand, the tendency for parent-child relationships to generate reproduction of social status and valuation of own social class, and on the other, self-perceptions of parental social status and perceptions of one's own position in the hierarchical school system, I expect the following:

Hypothesis 4: Children with parents from working class backgrounds or with low levels of education find low status occupations more prestigious than people from more advantaged backgrounds.

Hypothesis 5: Parental education and ISEI do not influence children's evaluation of the prestige of high status occupations.

These two hypotheses are independent from one another as the occupations classified in this research as high and low status do not overlap.

Hypothesis 6: The higher parental ISEI and/or level of education, the higher the ISEI of the occupation children aspire to.

Results

This chapter aims at understanding how parents' sex and prestige-related attitudes and positions influence their children's attitudes on these topics. My results are presented in the three stages outlined in the introduction: first I look at how parental position and attitudes contribute to shape their children's gender role attitudes. In the second part, I focus on the factors of transmission of gendered occupational aspirations. Finally, I look at how representations of prestige are transmitted and how the social status of parents influences the aspirations of their children in terms of ISEI.

Gender-role attitudes: Parents and children

In this section, I examine how gender-related parental characteristics and attitudes combined with their education contribute to shape their child's gender-role attitudes. In order to do this, and to verify my hypothesis 1, I present two models: the first explores the effects of parental benevolent sexism and education, as well as those of parental lifestyle which may be indicative of gender-related attitudes such as the number of hours the mother works and the sex typicality of the occupation of the respondent parent, on the level of benevolent sexism of their child. The second does much the same, but instead of considering parental and child sexism, it considers parent and child occupational sex-typing. In these analyses, parental social class and ISEI are not taken into account, so as to highlight the effect of parental education.

Table 33: Effect of parental characteristics on their child's gender attitudes (linear regressions with controls – sex of child and parent, school track and year, nationality, canton, urban/rural)

	Child benevolent sexism	Child occupational sex-typing
Working hours of mother	**-0.002**	**-0.003**
Typicality of respondent parent occupation	**0.142**	**-0.049**
Education of most educated parent (ref. obligatory or less)		
Post-obligatory secondary	**-0.058**	**-0.172***
Tertiary	**0.006**	**-0.110**
Respondent parent benevolent sexism	**0.166*****	

Respondent parent occupational sex-typing		**0.097****
Sex of child (ref. male)		
Female	0.291**	-0.028
Sex of respondent parent (ref. male)		
Female	0.097	0.071
Interaction of sex of child and respondent parent	-0.159	0.098
School track requirement (ref. low)		
Comprehensive	0.370	0.069
Middle and high	0.055	0.050
School year (ref. 7th grade)		
8th grade	-0.101	-0.040
9th grade	-0.015	-0.069
Nationality (ref. Swiss and binational)		
Foreign only	0.249	0.090
Canton (ref. GE)		
VD	0.234	-0.075
BE	0.347*	-0.019
TI	(omitted)	(omitted)
Urban/rural area (ref. urban)		
Rural	-0.265	-0.012
N	647	643
R2	0.073	0.042

I find several noteworthy results. In confirmation of Hypothesis 1, I find a relation between parental and child benevolent sexism: the more the respondent parent is sexist, the more his or her child tends to be so. Similarly, the more the respondent parent sex-types occupations, the more his or her child also tends to do so. I find here confirmation of the transmission of both occupational and non-occupational gender-related attitudes from parents to their children.

Second, I do not find any significant effect of parental gender-related occupational characteristics such as the number of working hours of the mother or the sex-typicality of the respondent parent occupation.

Third, I do not find any direct effect of parental education on child sexism. It appears that parental education does not interact with parental sexism or occupational sex-typing and does not impact child levels of sexism. However, children with secondary-educated parents tend to sex-type occupations slightly less than others.

There is a final noteworthy result that I shall not discuss here: I find that girls demonstrate more benevolent sexism than boys. This result is discussed in Chapter III, where it is centrally relevant to the argument.

Gendered occupational aspirations: Parents and children

In this section I consider the effects of a number of parental variables considered in the literature on the sex-type of their child's occupational aspiration. These include parental education and ISEI, parental sexism, maternal employment status and typicality of parental occupation. I focus more specifically on the variables included in my hypotheses: the effects of parental education and benevolent sexism.

I have chosen to analyse the effects of parental ISEI in this chapter, rather than those of parental social class, for the following reason. One of my dependent variables is the ISEI of the child's occupational aspiration. This variable is particularly relevant to measuring the degree of ambition of students' occupational aspirations. Given this, it seemed more coherent to relate parental and child ISEI, which are two continuous variables measuring the same concept, rather than parental social class, the categorical variable that has been used in other chapters.

Unfortunately, my analysis yields only very inconclusive results. The only parental variable I can demonstrably link to the sex-typicality of child occupational aspirations is the sex-typicality of parental aspirations for their children. Other variables, be they related to parental position in a gender segregated society such as the working hours of the mother or the typicality of the occupation of the parent, or to their gender attitudes (benevolent sexism) do not play any measurable role. I find the same for parental education and ISEI. According to this, I cannot verify the hypotheses on the effects of parental education (H2) nor on the effects of parental gender stereotypes (H3).

Table 34: Effect of parental variables on sex-typicality of child occupational aspirations (linear regressions with controls – school track and year, nationality, canton, urban/rural)

	Sex typicality of child's occupational aspiration
Working hours of mother	**0.000**
Sex typicality of occupation of respondent parent	**0.029**
Level of education of most educated parent (ref. obligatory or less)	
Post-obligatory secondary	**0.040**
Tertiary	**0.015**
ISEI of highest parent	**-0.000**
Respondent parent benevolent sexism	**-0.005**
Sex typicality of parental occupational aspiration for child	**0.352*****
Sex of child (ref male)	
Female	-0.088**
School track requirement (ref. low)	
Comprehensive	-0.062
Middle and high	-0.058
School year (ref. 7th grade)	
8th grade	-0.016
9th grade	-0.018
Nationality (ref. Swiss and binational)	
Foreign only	0.035
Canton (ref. GE)	
VD	-0.037
BE	-0.056
TI	(omitted)
Urban/rural area (ref. urban)	
Rural	0.016
N	252
R2	0.247

Reproduction of socio-economic status: Parents and children

In this section, I consider parental effects on their children's representations of the prestige of low and high-status occupations, as well as the influence of their status on their child's aspired status measured as the ISEI of their occupational aspiration.

I present three models, one for each dependent variable, and all considering the same set of independent variables – parental representations of high, respectively low- status occupations, education of the most educated parent, ISEI of the highest parent and the requirements of the school track in which the student is enrolled.

Table 35: Effects of parental prestige-related characteristics on child prestige-related characteristics (linear regressions with controls – sex, school year, nationality, canton and urban/rural)

	Child representation of prestige of high-status occupations	Child representation of prestige of low status occupations	ISEI of child occupational aspiration
Parental representation of prestige of high-status occupations	**0.167*** **		**1.229**
Parental representation of prestige of low status occupations		**0.127*** **	**-0.588**
Education of most educated parent (ref. obligatory or less)			
Post-obligatory secondary	**-0.056**	**-0.225***	**-0.229**
Tertiary	**0.075**	**-0.243***	**7.026****
ISEI of highest parent	**0.002**	**-0.002**	**0.109****
School track requirements (ref. low)			
Middle and high	**0.479*** **	**-0.491*** **	**8.502*** **
Comprehensive	**0.568****	**-0.058**	**6.338***
Gender (ref. male)			
Female	0.022	-0.070	1.617
School year (ref. 7th grade)			
8th grade	0.343**	-0.036	-0.006
9th grade	0.470***	-0.018	-2.294
Nationality (ref. Swiss and binational)			
Foreign only	0.368**	0.114	5.572**
Canton (ref. GE)			
VD	0.140	-0.059	-2.477
BE	0.051	0.050	-4.690*
TI	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)
Urban/rural area (ref. urban)			
Rural	-0.156	-0.079	-3.235
N	1008	999	905
R2	0.062	0.093	0.131

Looking at the effects of parental characteristics on their children's representations of the prestige of low status occupations, I find that the more parents tend to find low status occupations prestigious, the more their children also tend to do so. I also find that children from parents with higher levels of education tend to find these occupations less prestigious. Finally, students in higher school tracks also find these occupations less prestigious. These findings confirm Hypothesis 4, that children with parents from working class backgrounds or with low levels of education find low status occupations more prestigious than people from more advantaged backgrounds.

Considering now the effects of parental characteristics on children's representations of high-status occupations, we find a different situation. Parental representations of the prestige of these occupations influence the representations their children have of them; however, when the influence of school track is taken into account, the level of education and ISEI of parents do not play any role in influencing their children's representations of the prestige of high-status occupations. In contrast, the requirements of the school track in which students are enrolled do: children in higher school tracks find high status occupations more prestigious. This confirms my Hypothesis 5, according to which parental educational and socio-economic background does not play a specific role in addition to school track, in influencing the representations that their children have of the prestige of high-status occupations.

Finally, looking at the influence of parental characteristics on the ISEI of their child's occupational aspirations, I do not find parental representations of the prestige of occupations playing a role. In contrast, parental status plays a massive role in shaping occupational aspirations. I find children with university-educated parents having aspirations with on average ISEI scores seven points higher than children whose parents have only completed obligatory education. Similarly, the higher the ISEI of the parent whose job has the highest ISEI, the higher the ISEI of the occupation to which their child aspires. The school track in which students are enrolled also plays an important role in shaping the levels of their aspirations: children in middle and high school tracks aspire to occupations with on average 8.5 ISEI points higher than students in low requirement school tracks. This confirms my final Hypothesis 6, which states that the higher parental ISEI and/or level of education, the higher the ISEI of the occupation children aspire to.

Discussion

Gender-role attitudes: parents and children

As outlined in the introduction, evidence pointing in direction of the transmission of gender-role attitudes from parents to children is numerous. My results confirm this on two specific points. First, on the transmission of benevolent sexism. Benevolent sexism, with its subjective positive feeling and seemingly positive narrative of the complementarity of gender roles of men and women, is a potent means by which segregated gender roles are reproduced. I verify the transmission of benevolent sexism from parents to children also in this Swiss sample. The importance of benevolent sexism in promoting transmission of a gender segregated ideology in the occupational field is illustrated by Montañés et al. (2012), for example. My research sheds new light on this topic, as I demonstrate that the more parents tend to believe in the legitimacy of gender segregation in the occupational field, the more their children also tend to do so: in the specific field of occupational gender-role attitudes, parents and children display similar attitudes to those they have in wider attribution of gender roles. My results point in the same direction as those of Gianettoni & Guilley (2016) who, with the same data, also find that parental and child sexism are correlated. In contrast with my reliance on ambivalent sexism, their study uses Swim et al. (1995)'s measures of old-fashioned and modern sexism. I consider these two studies as complementary to each other in demonstrating the transmission of different kinds of sexist attitudes from parents to children.

Despite much literature pointing to an effect of parental education on gender-role attitudes both of parents and children, I have not been able to ascertain this effect of education. This is surprising and may be due to issues in the quality of the data which are discussed further.

The effects of gender-related characteristics, both occupational and non-occupational are not measurable. The labour market participation of mothers and the sex typicality of the respondent parent occupation do not impact in a measurable way the gender-related attitudes of their children. This result is unsurprising and points in the same direction as a number of previous studies in different contexts. It encourages investigation into the relation between labour market participation and gender role ideology in parents in Switzerland, where we may find that mother labour market participation is not so much determined by ideology as by structural factors.

These results point to a transmission of gender-related attitudes through discourse more than through implicit example. In particular they allow for a picture in which mothers are perhaps stuck in female-dominated, part-time jobs that do not reflect their equalitarian views. This, however, remains to be investigated.

Gendered occupational aspirations: Parents and children

My results as to the effects of parental variables on the sex-typicality of their child's occupational aspirations are disappointing. The only independent variable for which I find an effect on the sex typicality of child aspirations is that of the sex typicality of the parent's aspiration for their child. Unfortunately, this does not reveal much more than the fact that in many cases, parents and children agree on the occupation or kind of occupation to which they aspire.

In keeping with the literature, I did not find any effect of parental gender-related characteristics on their children's gendered aspirations; however, and contrary to much of the literature on the topic, I did not find an effect of parental education on children's gendered aspirations either. As noted earlier, the effects of parental education on gender-related attitudes of their children are difficult to frame in this data. This may be due in part to the fact that we are missing quite a lot of data on the education of parents.

Besides, I did not find any effect of parental gender-role attitudes on their children's gendered aspirations. This is disappointing, but not unseen in the literature. Montañés et al. (2012) adopted a strategy avoiding this obstacle: they first ascertained the transmission of sexism from parents to children before ascertaining the effect of child sexism on gendered aspirations. My strategy must therefore follow the same path: I ascertain in this chapter the link between parent and child sexism and refer the reader to Chapter III to review the effect of child sexism on their occupational representations. However, note that, with the same data but relying on measures of old-fashioned and modern sexism, Gianettoni & Guilley (2016) do find both parental old-fashioned and modern sexism impacting negatively the atypicality of their child's occupational aspiration. This perhaps points to a more direct relevance of these two kinds of sexism to occupational aspirations than that of ambivalent sexism.

Reproduction of socio-economic status: Parents and children

This section briefly demonstrates that social reproduction is alive and well. My models allow me to identify three paths through which it happens. First, through representations about the prestige of occupations that are transmitted from parents to children. While the representations of the prestige of high-status occupations that children receive from their parents appear to be fairly homogenous according to their social background, this is not the case for representations of the prestige of low status occupations. These occupations are more strongly valued by children with parents from modest backgrounds, thus rendering these occupations more likely to be suitable as aspirations. Conversely, the disdain that children from more favoured backgrounds show towards low status occupations probably grounds their feeling that these occupations are unsuitable for them.

This finding confirms the broad lines of Gottfredson's view of the construction of occupational aspirations, which states that the lower boundary of acceptable occupations varies according to the social background of parents – note that I disagree on the presence of a higher boundary for reasons that are discussed in chapter VI.

The role played by the social status of parents is huge in determining the ISEI of the occupation their child aspires to. Parental education especially plays a central role, as having at least one university-educated parent raises children's ambitions massively.

A finding of this chapter, which is perhaps overlooked in work that pertains to more equalitarian school systems, is that played by the school track in which children are enrolled. Irrespective of the social background of parents, tracking in the Swiss school system offers a context for elitist perceptions of society and of students' own future place in it. Perceptions of the prestige of occupations, both high and low status, as well as occupational aspirations are strongly determined by school track affiliation, encouraging an elitist vision of society in the more privileged students, while offering a more equalitarian, but also personally much less ambitious view in the low track students. This work offers unusual insight into the perceptions that students in differentiated school tracks have on society in Switzerland.

This leads me to attempt some thoughts about what school tracks mean in a stratified society. When social class is discussed in the context of school outcomes, children and teenagers are often assigned to the social class of their parents. I argue that a stratified

school system provides youngsters with their own social position. Borrowing Bourdieu's notion of field, we may draw an analogy between the relevance of the occupational field to adults' social power and resources with that of school tracks to children. Being in a lower school track effectively provides children with less social power (in this specific case, less educational and occupational choices) and less (educational) resources in the present and future. Moreover, it launches students into institutional tracks through education and in the occupational field from which it is difficult to diverge, and which lead to a life course in which educational and economic resources will be more difficult to gather. Finally, from a psychological point of view, as demonstrated in studies cited earlier, it reduces low-track students' self-efficacy and fosters in them a sense of academic futility and of social inferiority.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed quite a lot of evidence which points in direction of transmission of gender-role attitudes from parents to children. While some of the links we have sought to establish have been verified, we were unable to confirm others. Let us recapitulate our main findings.

Gender-role attitudes, both in occupational and non-occupational contexts, that is, as tendency to sex-type occupations in a stereotypical way and to demonstrate benevolent sexism, are found to be transmitted from parents to children. This link provides an example of how family socialisation leads to the reproduction of values and attitudes in the field of representations about gender and occupations.

In contrast, the influence of gender-related behaviours such as part-time work for mothers or being active in a sex-typical occupation cannot be ascertained on any of the three dependent variables we attempted to link them to – child sexism, occupational sex-typing and sex-typed occupational aspirations. The failure to ascertain this link is, on reflection, unsurprising and in keeping with the literature.

This result highlights the need to distinguish between the structural factors that determine occupational positions of parents, and their gender-related attitudes. Indeed, as noted, the two are not necessarily correlated. Some parents may work in mixed or atypical working contexts, mothers may work high percentages while entertaining sexist views that they pass on to their children. On the other hand, we may also find part-time

working or stay-at-home mothers, or parents working in gender-typical contexts who have strongly equalitarian views that they transmit to their children. While the work context in which parents are active is in part determined by their choices, it is also determined by structural factors upon which they have little direct influence.

In Switzerland, the structural constraints that lead women to work part-time in gender-typical occupational fields are particularly potent. For example, school timetables are structured in a way that makes it necessary for at least one parent to be available for childcare during normal office hours. Given this constraint, when choices are made in families about which parent will make her- or himself available, and thus reduce their working time in order to do so, this choice is often made on the basis of which member of the couple has the lowest wages, and can request reduction in working hours most easily from their employer. Given the gender pay gap, women are often less well paid than their male partners; in addition, one of the characteristics of female-dominated occupational fields such as health- and social care is that it is quite easy to reduce one's work percentage. How surprising is it then that many women work in female-dominated underpaid fields, and that when they have children they reduce their working hours? This mechanism has little to do with their personal ideologies, and they can be well aware of the structural trap they have entered while having no available way of avoiding it. In consequence, context for reproduction of sexist and gender-segregating views must not be specifically sought in families whose working arrangements follow gender-stereotypical lines, but more specifically in families where parents themselves express such attitudes.

Another noteworthy result is that, despite findings in the literature, I was not able either to ascertain the influence of parental gender-related attitudes or education on the sex-typicality of children's occupational aspiration. While parental occupational sex-typing and sexism tend to elicit similar attitudes in their children, the influence of this kind of parental attitude cannot be ascertained on the sex-typicality of their children's occupational aspirations. This is probably in part due to the general difficulty of finding significant explanatory factors to the sex-typicality of the aspirations of the students in this sample, which is one of the reasons for which few analyses in the present work focus on this dependent variable. It is possible that students have an inaccurate view of the gender composition of the occupation to which they aspire, which makes them misadjust

their occupational aspiration to their other gender-related attitudes, such as the extent to which they sex-type occupations or their levels of sexism.

The results that are found in relation to ISEI and prestige are much more clear-cut. I find parental representations of the prestige of occupations influencing their children's, and I find their social background, in particular their level of education, having a massive effect on their children's ambitions. These factors contribute to explaining how social reproduction works through the intermediary of representations of prestige, which effectively carry from parents to children views of what is desirable from an occupational point of view. I also find that differentiated hierarchical school tracks promote an elitist view of society in students in favoured school tracks and play a large role in determining the level of their ambitions. Thus, this chapter contributes to explain the complex means by which parental status is transmitted to children: parental social and educational position influences parental representations of prestige, which in turn influence their children's representations of prestige and occupational aspirations. On the other hand, parental social position also influences the school-track in which their children study, and track-specific representation influence levels of ambition of students.

Chapter VI: Prestigious enough but not too difficult: Measuring Gottfredson's 'zone of acceptable alternatives'

Abstract

Gottfredson's theory of circumscription and compromise states that teenagers select their aspired occupation as the outcome of a process of circumscription of acceptable alternatives in terms of sex-type and prestige. In an attempt to verify this theory, I investigate how the position of specific occupations in the zone of acceptable alternatives affects aspiration to occupations similar in terms of sextype and prestige. I challenge four implicit assumptions in Gottfredson's theory: 1) Judgements on the prestige and difficulty of given occupations are the same for everyone. I find that they vary among groups, that difficulty is seen as a positive feature of socially appropriate occupations, and that students with less educational resources do not find high status occupations more difficult than others. Finding an occupation more difficult, is, like finding it more prestigious, a way that respondents use to mark the higher desirability of socially appropriate occupations. 2) Aspired occupations are more likely than not to issue from the zone of acceptable alternatives. I find this not to be the case except for aspirations to high status masculine occupations. 3) Judgements of prestige and difficulty are one-dimensional. I find no perfect correlation between these two dimensions. 4) Judgements about the difficulty and prestige of given occupations influence the likelihood of aspiring to similar occupations. I find this only to be the case for masculine occupations and high-status mixed occupations. Difficulty is a bad predictor of occupational aspirations: even when the gender component is removed, finding high status occupations difficult does not influence the likelihood of aspiring to them. These findings emphasise that prestige is perhaps not an appropriate dimension according to which to measure feminine occupations, that difficulty does not play the discouraging role that Gottfredson attributes to it, and that given that these two dimensions do not correlate perfectly, considering them to measure the same dimension is an over-simplification of reality, thus making the zone of acceptable alternatives an unreliable predictor of occupational aspirations and a theory in need of refinement.

Introduction

Linda Gottfredson's theory of circumscription and compromise (Gottfredson (1981); Gottfredson & Lapan (1997); Gottfredson (2002, 2005)) is considered one of the major theories in the field of career guidance and counselling. It is the only theory on the construction of occupational aspirations in this field that makes substantial room for the influence of the social context in which individuals are embedded. This theory holds that children/teenagers circumscribe a selection of occupations acceptable to them in terms of gender, prestige and difficulty of access and that the specific occupation they aspire to is comprised in this set. In earlier chapters, I have provided preliminary work to this. I have considered how occupational representations in terms of gender and prestige are shaped, how they vary, and how they influence each other.

The first aim of this chapter is to attempt to verify this theory by measuring how the positioning of specific occupations in Gottfredson's 'zone of acceptable alternatives' affects aspirations to similar occupations in terms of sex-type and prestige. I find that the association is not so easy to verify and that relations among the variables are, in fact, more complex than assumed in the theory. In the second part of the results, I attempt to uncover how, exactly, prestige and difficulty of access can be used to predict occupational aspirations.

Circumscription and compromise

The main tenet of Gottfredson's theory is that there are two theoretically, and partly chronologically, distinct phases in occupational projective thought, the first being a phase of circumscription and the second a phase of compromise. According to the theory, during the phase of circumscription, children reject out of their occupational projective thought occupations they see as too distant from their self-image in terms of two basic social dimensions: gender and prestige. They reject occupations that are too distant from their self-image in terms of gender, for example, occupations typical of the other sex; in parallel, they reject occupations that are not prestigious enough given their social status, but also occupations they evaluate as too difficult to reach, thus focusing on a restricted area of the bi-dimensional map of occupations they supposedly have in mind, the "zone of acceptable alternatives", also called "social space" by Gottfredson. They further limit their focus to occupations on the basis of their interests. Finally, at a later stage, when they receive external feedback as to their occupational projects, they enter a phase of

compromise, during which they adapt their aspirations to make them more realistic, and thus more likely to reach.

The theory is extremely overarching and abstract, it spans over more than ten years of child and teenage development and it is difficult to verify in part or whole. Various attempts have been made, for example regarding the developmental aspect of the theory – the ages at which the different stages in the theory are supposed to take place (Henderson, Hesketh, & Tuffin (1988); Hall, Kelly, & Van Buren (1995)), or concerning the cross-country validity of the theory (Hwang, Kim, Ryu, & Heppner (2006)).

Attention has mostly concentrated on the compromise part of the theory, investigating whether it is the case that teenagers tend to accept compromise on the prestige of their occupational aspiration rather than on its sex-type, as stated by the theory (Holt (1989); Hesketh, Durant, & Pryor (1990); Leung & Plake (1990); Muñoz Sastre & Mullet (1992); Blanchard & Lichtenberg (2003); Junk & Armstrong (2010)). When research concentrates on the circumscription part, this is usually in terms of gender (Leung & Harmon (1990); Lapan & Jingeleski (1992)).

The zone of acceptable alternatives: prestige and difficulty

In this chapter, I focus on the circumscription phase of Gottfredson's theory. In particular, I focus on how to think about and measure the "zone of acceptable alternatives" on the vertical, prestige dimension of the map. In order to be certain not to misunderstand her thought, let us quote two, twenty-year distant, explanations that Gottfredson provides for this part of her theory:

> Next, youngsters begin to rule out occupations of unacceptably low prestige because they are inconsistent with their social class self-concept. At the same time they rule out occupations requiring extreme effort to obtain in view of their image of their general ability level. (Gottfredson (1981), p. 549).
>
> As youngsters incorporate considerations of social class and ability into their self-concepts, they reject occupational alternatives that seem inconsistent with those newly recognized elements of self. In particular, they reject options that are of unacceptably low prestige in their social reference group, thus establishing a *tolerable level* boundary below which they will not voluntarily venture again […].

> They also ignore options that seem too difficult to obtain with reasonable effort or that pose too high a risk of failure. (Gottfredson (2002), p. 98).

As it appears in these quotations, Gottfredson refers to rational choice theory as grounding the position of the "reasonable effort" boundary. While she implies that circumscription through gender and lowest acceptable prestige occur through the unquestioned reproduction of norms, the definition of the maximal effort is supposedly the result of conscious self-evaluation.

The tradition of rational choice theory as an explanation for educational decisions goes back to Boudon (1974) and was formalised by Breen & Goldthorpe (1997). Becker (1976) may be understood as the founder of simplistic rational choice, and Simon (1982) as the origin of bounded rationality. The idea that students from lower class backgrounds tend to self-select out of challenging educational options on the basis of their self-assessed school achievement has been confirmed by empirical studies (Becker & Hecken (2009)). However, other researchers are sceptical about the generalised use of rational choice in educational decisions and point to some working class student decision processes that appear to be made on the basis of a less comprehensive information search or on criteria that might be seen as less relevant by students from other backgrounds (Rochat & Demeulemeester (2001); Ball, Davies, David, & Reay (2002)). Others point more generally to the variety of decision processes that can be understood as leading to a rational choice and how class-dependent these are (Hatcher (1998)). Rational choices may also be made on the basis of mistaken information. Educational decisions may be the object of *a posteriori* rationalisations weaved into life course narratives and were not necessarily experienced as later described when they occurred.

Gottfredson's theory relies heavily on the map metaphor, which is widely referred to in the literature; graphical representations are frequently provided in handbooks, usually based on the original one published in Gottfredson's 1981 article reproduced below (Graph 30). The "zone of acceptable alternatives" theory is presented in handbooks as part of the vulgate of career counselling theory (e.g. Brown (2002); Brown & Lent (2005); Athanasou & Van Esbroeck (2008)).

Graph 30: The zone of acceptable alternatives (from Gottfredson 1981, p. 557)

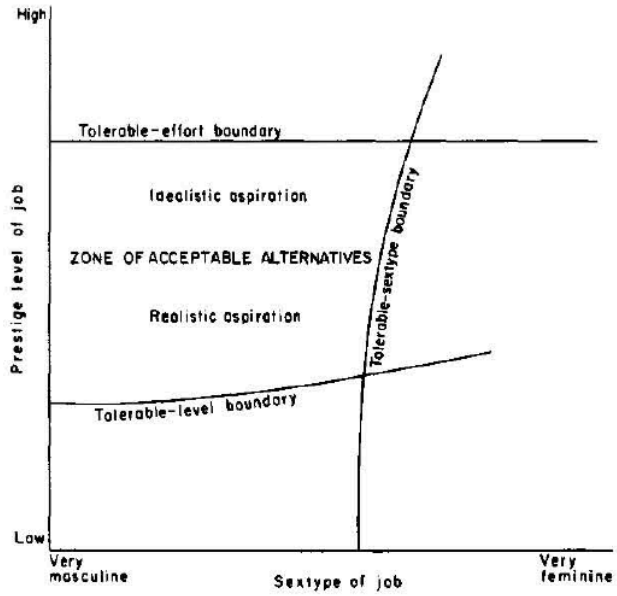


Figure 4. The circumscription of occupational aspirations according to one's perceptions of job–self compatibility: The example of a hypothetical middle-class boy of average intelligence.

The section of the map on which I shall concentrate in this chapter is the zone of acceptable alternatives comprised within two bands, the "tolerable-effort boundary", which I understand as the set of occupations that are judged by the respondent to be not too difficult, and the "tolerable-level boundary", which comprises the occupations considered by the respondent to be prestigious enough. Gottfredson therefore states that teenagers will take into consideration occupations that are prestigious enough for them, but not too difficult.

Measuring the zone of acceptable alternatives

When the role of prestige in occupational aspirations has been considered in the literature, it has been taken as referring to the fairly obvious, but true, fact that students tend to reproduce, in their occupational aspirations, the level of prestige of their own parents' occupation (Heckhausen & Tomasik (2002); Schoon & Parsons (2002); Hou & Leung (2011)).

Davis & Moore (1945) establish a functionalist relation between prestige and difficulty. However, I have found no piece of research that takes seriously the conceptual difference

between difficulty and prestige in the context of occupational aspirations and attempts to analyse the one with regard to the other. The ways in which the zone of acceptable alternatives is measured in previous literature illustrates this well: respondents are not asked about their representations of the different dimensions of occupations, but are required to rate occupations in comparison to one another. Occupations are then placed on some "objective" prestige and gender scale such as in Leung & Harmon (1990); Lapan & Jingeleski (1992). An additional sophistication involves verifying that students agree on the sex-type and prestige level of occupations, finding small inter-individual differences and discarding intergroup differences as irrelevant, as in the approach of Lapan & Jingeleski (1992); Hwang et al. (2006); Ratschinski (2011); Steinritz et al. (2012). In the absence of independently computed sex-type and prestige scales for occupations in China, Hou & Leung (2011) elaborated ad hoc scores based on the average responses of their sample, but did not think fit to relate individual sex-type and prestige ratings with aspirations. These studies thus rely on the presupposition that teenagers' evaluation of sex-type and prestige of occupations deviate only slightly from one another, do not involve systematic group differences and agree with these standardised measures. I shall challenge these points.

The zone of acceptable alternatives is measured by indicators of the mean and difference between maximum and minimum objective prestige and sex-types of occupations, as in Leung & Harmon (1990); Leung, Conoley, & Scheel (1994); Hou & Leung (2011). Alternatively, in order to assess its decrease as students get older, Hwang et al. (2006) measure the zone of acceptable alternatives using the squares of the range of sex-types and of the range of prestige levels each student aspires to. While this approach is interesting, it still uses measurement of subjective prestige as the sole indicator of the vertical dimension of the map. Besides, Leung & Harmon (1990); Hwang et al. (2006) do not focus on the location of the zone on the cognitive map, but only on whether it shrinks or expands over time.

An interesting conceptual alternative to asking respondents to assess the prestige of given occupations is offered by questioning respondents on whether these occupations would be acceptable to their social environment (family, peers). This approach allows to concentrate on what is prestigious "enough" for individual respondents as compared to what is prestigious *tout court* and allows for responses to vary. Steinritz et al. (2012)

emphasise this method as a way to capture minimally acceptable prestige. Using this item, Eberhard et al. (2015) offer a convincing theoretical and empirical framework for understanding gendered occupational choices as part of a quest for social approval.

The issue of interpreting the meaning of prestige and difficulty of occupations is conceptually complex, as judgements about what is difficult and prestigious are not explained easily in terms of what is too difficult/not prestigious enough for a person. While judgements about what is too difficult may be conceptually related to issues of self-efficacy (Steinritz et al. (2012)), it is not clear that the same can be done with judgements of difficulty. Indeed, difficulty is related to selectivity and challenge and may be considered desirable in occupational aspirations.

In relation to the issues discussed above, Gottfredson makes a number of implicit assumptions in her theory that I shall now consider in detail:

Assumption 1: Judgements on the difficulty and prestige of occupations are the same for everyone.

Assumption 2: Aspired occupations are more likely to issue from the zone of acceptable alternatives than not, i.e. they are more likely than not to be similar in sex composition and prestige to occupations that are found prestigious enough but not too difficult.

Assumption 3: Judgements of difficulty and of prestige of occupations are one-dimensional – they correlate perfectly: the more an occupation is judged prestigious, the more it is judged difficult.

Assumption 4: Judgements about the difficulty and prestige of given occupations influence the likelihood of aspiring to similar occupations: in particular, the less respondents find an occupation prestigious, the less likely they are to aspire to it or to similar occupations; conversely, the more they find an occupation difficult, the less likely they are to aspire to it or to similar occupations.

In contrast with the other empirical chapters, in this chapter I do not set out a list of hypotheses which I wish to prove; since my aim here is to provide an in-depth investigation of Gottfredson's theory and its presuppositions, I shall focus on the set of assumptions which I have just listed, and which I understand to be embedded in her theory. These shall serve as hypotheses that I will attempt to prove or disprove, thus revealing what I consider to be important flaws and oversimplifications in Gottfredson's

theory. But I shall not limit myself to disproving these assumptions, I will also investigate why they are mistaken in my view and what can be salvaged of them in order to gather information about the relation between occupational representations and aspirations. Let us now look at each of these assumptions in more detail, before considering the empirical data we can provide in relation to them.

Assumption 1: The universality of judgements of prestige and difficulty

A fundamental ambiguity lies in the heart of the theory of circumscription and compromise: it is unclear whether the theory allows for judgements of prestige and of difficulty to vary, or whether all respondents are supposed to issue similar judgements. Gottfredson clearly expects all respondents to judge similarly the level of prestige and difficulty of occupations, and only to vary on the *acceptable* levels of prestige and difficulty, as testified by her reliance on a common cognitive map of occupations. But what happens to the theory if the map is not shared?

The use of the social acceptability question instead of the prestige question allows Eberhard et al. (2015) and Steinritz et al. (2012) to interpret judgements of prestige as varying from one respondent to the next, since the "boundaries [of the zone of acceptable alternatives] are not defined by the image the respective occupation generally has in society […] but by the specific social support the adolescent expects when choosing a certain occupation" (Eberhard et al. (2015)), thus avoiding the problem I point to here.

The stance taken on the issue of inter-individual or intergroup variations in the structure of the map influences the understanding one has of the zone of acceptable alternatives. If everyone issues the same judgement on the prestige and difficulty levels of occupations, the map of the occupations is the same for everyone, only the location of the boundaries changes from person to person. Like in a high-jump competition, everyone is free to walk up to the horizontal bar and evaluate one's own likelihood of succeeding in jumping over it. However, if judgements on the prestige and difficulty of a given occupation vary from one person to the next, the picture becomes more complex, as the height at which people see the bar varies, thus influencing their evaluation of the likelihood of succeeding in jumping over it.

One of the aims of this thesis is to show that evaluations of the prestige of given occupations do vary according to the social groups to which respondents belong. I point to findings confirming this in Chapter IV, in which I show that the extent to which

respondents associate the prestige and masculinity of occupations varies on the basis of the social position of respondents, and in Chapter V, in which I show that the evaluation of prestige varies following school track. In these two chapters, I discuss literature that also shows differences according to sex, class and ethnicity in the way respondents evaluate the prestige of occupations. Given this, I expect judgements on the prestige and difficulty of occupations to vary in different social groups and therefore Gottfredson's Assumption 1 to be false.

Assumption 2: The dependence of occupational aspirations on relative evaluations of difficulty and prestige

One of the tenets that can be derived from the schematic representation of the zone of acceptable alternatives is that for a given occupation to be part of this zone, it has to be judged more prestigious than difficult. Since the theory holds that occupational aspirations are selected from the zone of acceptable alternatives, this implies that aspiration to occupations will be predicted by the fact that occupations similar to the aspired occupation in terms of prestige and difficulty belong to the zone of acceptable alternatives. This is the hypothesis I shall test. In other words, I expect that finding an occupation more prestigious than difficult predicts aspiring to an occupation similar in terms of sex-type and ISEI. I am aware that ISEI does not measure prestige (Ganzeboom & Treiman (1996)); however, for reasons explained in Chapter II, I consider ISEI the best available measurement to bring out hierarchies in the occupational structure.

Assumption 3: The one-dimensionality of judgements of prestige and difficulty

Can subjective prestige and difficulty of studies really be placed on the same dimension? Gottfredson's schema obviously suggests so. Since she places the minimal prestige and maximal difficulty boundaries on the same dimension, she assumes that the more an occupation is found prestigious, the more it will be found difficult, and that these two measures are perfectly correlated. This constitutes an empirical hypothesis that I shall test.

As already discussed, this one-dimensionality is assumed by all research that only looks at prestige and gender in order to assess the zone of acceptable alternatives. However, if this one-dimensionality were not to be empirically supported, this would provide grounds for questioning the zone of acceptable alternatives schema as an over-simplification of reality.

Assumption 4: Judgements about the difficulty and prestige of given occupations influence the likelihood of aspiring to similar occupations

According to Gottfredson, "Schools have perhaps the biggest impact today on children's perceptions of occupational difficulty, because they starkly illuminate students' differences in intelligence and thus their prospects for rising socially via higher education. Such perceptions lead children to set a *tolerable, effort boundary,* above which they are not apt to look again unless their self-conceptions of ability and competitiveness change." (Gottfredson (2002), p. 98). The assumption stated here, and transposed to the Swiss context, is that the hierarchical school tracks into which the Swiss school system categorizes students play an important role in determining their evaluation of the location of the maximum tolerable effort boundary for high-status occupations, and thus in their evaluation of which kinds of occupations are "too difficult" to access. In consequence, these judgements are expected to affect occupational aspirations, leading children who find occupations more difficult to be less likely to aspire to these, or similar occupations. This constitutes the last hypothesis I shall test.

Results

Assumption 1: The universality of judgements of prestige and difficulty

As we have seen, one of the implicit tenets of Gottfredson is that judgements about the difficulty of studies and prestige of occupations do not vary among respondents. In the following two tables we find, on the contrary, that judgements on the difficulty of access and prestige do vary and depend upon the social position of the respondent. What we find also is that judgements do not vary among groups in the same ways for prestige and difficulty.

Table 36: Effects of sex, parental education and class, and school track on judgements of difficulty and prestige of the low-status occupations (linear regressions with controls – year, nationality, canton, urban/rural)

	Prestige mechanic	Difficulty mechanic	Prestige hairdresser	Difficulty hairdresser	Prestige clerk	Difficulty clerk
Sex (ref. male)						
Female	**-0.597*** **	**-0.128**	**0.266*** **	**0.161** **	**0.057**	**-0.057**
Level of education of most educated parent (ref. Obligatory or less)						
Post-obligatory secondary	**-0.242***	**0.007**	**-0.248***	**-0.007**	**-0.242***	**-0.221***
Tertiary	**-0.291***	**-0.051**	**-0.446*** **	**-0.122**	**-0.302***	**-0.284***
School track requirements (ref. low)						
Comprehensive	**-0.059**	**-0.078**	**-0.114**	**-0.203**	**0.164**	**-0.167**
Intermediate and high	**-0.562*** **	**-0.264***	**-0.496*** **	**-0.401*** **	**-0.338** **	**-0.539*** **
Social class of highest parent (ref. low)						
Intermediate	**-0.183**	**-0.106**	**-0.067**	**-0.059**	**-0.430*** **	**-0.286** **
Salariate	**-0.187***	**-0.256** **	**-0.058**	**-0.126**	**-0.496*** **	**-0.414*** **
School year (ref. 7th grade)						
8th grade	0.006	-0.100	-0.029	-0.087	-0.002	-0.208*
9th grade	0.075	-0.077	-0.013	-0.099	0.023	-0.328***
Nationality (ref. Swiss and binational)						
Foreign only	-0.119	-0.117	0.040	-0.061	0.350***	0.093
Canton (ref. GE)						
VD	0.312**	-0.049	-0.004	0.024	0.027	0.011
BE	0.504***	-0.156	0.111	-0.110	-0.310*	-0.213
TI	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)
Urban/rural area (ref. urban)						
Rural	0.182	-0.045	0.152	-0.059	-0.197*	-0.130
N	1915	1917	1901	1906	1907	1905
R2	0.088	0.018	0.053	0.026	0.071	0.07

Table 37: Effects of sex, parental education and class, and school track on judgements of difficulty and prestige of the high-status occupations (linear regressions with controls – year, nationality, canton, urban/rural)

Dependent variable	Prestige engineer	Difficulty engineer	Prestige psychologist	Difficulty psychologist	Prestige lawyer	Difficulty lawyer
Sex (ref. male)						
Female	**-0.516*** **	**-0.209** **	**0.424*** **	**0.192** **	**0.162***	**0.102**
Level of education of most educated parent (ref. Obligatory or less)						
Postobligatory secondary	**0.243**	**0.085**	**0.058**	**0.026**	**0.139**	**-0.04**
Tertiary	**0.305***	**0.059**	**0.014**	**0**	**0.280***	**-0.028**
School track requirements (ref. low)						
Comprehensive	**0.843*** **	**0.165**	**1.122*** **	**0.357** **	**0.643*** **	**-0.122**
Intermediate and high	**0.542*** **	**0.074**	**0.726*** **	**0.094**	**0.699*** **	**0.102**
Social class of highest parent (ref. low)						
Intermediate	**-0.241***	**-0.186***	**-0.273***	**-0.186***	**-0.092**	**-0.041**
Salariate	**-0.109**	**-0.119**	**-0.113**	**-0.141**	**-0.072**	**-0.063**
School year (ref. 7th grade)						
8th grade	0.116	0.042	0.434***	0.190*	0.275**	0.160*
9th grade	0.391***	0.248**	0.641***	0.557***	0.493***	0.326***
Nationality (ref. Swiss and binational)						
Foreign only	0.383***	0.227*	0.276*	0.105	0.209*	0.119
Canton (ref. GE)						
VD	0.321**	0.297**	0.267*	0.331***	0.020	0.083
BE	0.167	0.036	0.423**	0.503***	-0.264*	0.042
TI	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)
Urban/rural area (ref. urban)						
Rural	-0.211*	-0.097	-0.483***	-0.047	-0.393***	-0.013
N	1901	1906	1907	1906	1918	1920
R2	0.056	0.024	0.071	0.045	0.066	0.028

Girls find feminine-connoted occupations more prestigious than boys, while they find masculine connoted occupations less prestigious. Similarly, but to a lesser extent, girls find the two typically feminine occupations more difficult than boys and find the high

status typically masculine occupation less difficult. Students in higher school tracks and with more educated parents tend to find the three lower status occupations less prestigious than their counterparts from lower school tracks and less educated parents; students from higher school tracks and more educated parents find the higher status occupations more prestigious than others. Similarly again, high track students find the three low status occupations less difficult than their lower track counterparts. However, there is no difference between low and high track students as to evaluations of the difficulty of the three high status occupations. In the same way, the level of education of parents has no effect on evaluations of the difficulty of the three high status occupations.

The two interesting points we shall look at in more detail in the discussion are, on the one hand, and contrary to Gottfredson's expectations, the fact that difficulty is not a characteristic of occupations that appears to be viewed negatively or as discouraging, but on the contrary as a feature of the most desirable and socially appropriate occupations. The other important point is that, yet again in contradiction with what may be expected on the basis of Gottfredson's theory, students from lower school tracks or with less educated parents do not find the high-status occupations more difficult than others, and thus we cannot attribute to them a feeling of 'intimidation' with respect to these occupations.

Assumption 2: The dependence of occupational aspirations on relative judgements of difficulty and prestige

In this section, my analyses aim at assessing whether the fact that a student finds one of the six given occupations more prestigious than difficult increases the likelihood of her aspiring to an occupation similar to it in terms of prestige and sex-type.

I have thus constructed a binary variable measuring whether students find a given occupation more prestigious than difficult or not: a variable derived from the prestige and difficulty scores was computed. It measured whether student respondents gave a higher score to the prestige of an occupation than to its difficulty. The variable showing whether respondents considered the occupation more prestigious than difficult was coded as 1 if the respondent gave a higher score to the prestige question than to the difficulty question for each given occupation and was coded 0 if they gave the prestige question a score that was equal or lower than that given to the difficulty question. First, I present some descriptive statistics about this variable. These reveal that the occupations that are found

more prestigious than difficult by the greatest number of respondents are the lower status ones.

Table 38: Descriptive statistics about the constructed variable 'More prestigious than difficult'

Occupation more prestigious than difficult	Mechanic	Hairdresser	Clerk	Psychologist	Engineer	Lawyer
Yes	794 (25.41%)	1018 (32.58%)	1182 (37.82%)	487 (15.58%)	590 (18.88%)	447 (14.31%)
No	2170 (69.44%)	1921 (61.47%)	1760 (56.32%)	2455 (78.56%)	2347 (75.1%)	2517 (80.54%)
Missing	161 (5.15%)	186 (5.95%)	183 (5.86%)	183 (5.86%)	188 (6.02%)	161 (5.15%)
Total	3125 (100%)	3125 (100%)	3125 (100%)	3125 (100%)	3125 (100%)	3125 (100%)

I now consider the likelihood of aspiring to each of six categories of occupations represented by the six occupations under consideration. I look at whether finding each of these occupations more prestigious than difficult increases the likelihood of aspiring to a similar occupation in terms of sex composition and ISEI.

Table 39: Likelihood of aspiring to 6 types of occupations according to the degree to which corresponding occupations are found more prestigious than difficult (logistic regressions with controls – sex, parental education, social class, school-track requirements, year, nationality, canton, urban/rural)

Occupational aspiration	Masculine - low ISEI	Mixed - low ISEI	Feminine - low ISEI	Masculine - high ISEI	Mixed - high ISEI	Feminine - high ISEI
Corresponding occupation more prestigious than difficult	**0.115**	**0.001**	**0.012**	**0.391****	**0.125**	**-0.095**
Sex (ref. male)						
Female	-1.532***	-0.322	1.446***	-1.668***	0.390***	0.921***
Level of education of most educated parent (ref. Obligatory or less)						
Postobligatory secondary	-0.286	0.141	-0.243	0.163	0.102	0.126
Tertiary	-0.953***	0.446	-0.894***	0.229	0.506**	0.038
Social class of highest parent (ref. low)						
Intermediate	0.171	0.084	-0.136	-0.113	0.160	-0.049
Salariate	-0.084	0.050	-0.456*	-0.000	0.168	0.169

School track requirements (ref. low)						
Comprehensive	-0.569	-0.410	-0.945**	0.779**	0.581**	0.095
Intermediate and high	-1.106***	-0.468	-0.898***	0.725***	0.620***	0.273
School year (ref. 7th grade)						
8th grade	-0.177	0.272	0.171	-0.284	-0.121	0.284
9th grade	-0.079	0.136	0.115	-0.224	-0.004	0.154
Nationality (ref. Swiss and binational)						
Foreign only	-0.551*	-0.231	-0.212	0.232	0.242	-0.065
Canton (ref. GE)						
VD	0.270	0.256	0.061	0.009	-0.042	-0.191
BE	0.746**	-0.012	0.036	0.339	-0.260	-0.445*
TI	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)
Urban/rural area (ref. urban)						
Rural	0.440*	-0.122	0.614**	0.190	-0.377**	-0.402*
N	1885	1870	1870	1866	1889	1872

While Gottfredson's theory seems to predict that we should indeed find an increased likelihood in all six cases, I do not find this in our data. The association is only verified for high ISEI masculine occupations: indeed, finding engineering more prestigious than difficult increases the likelihood to aspire to high ISEI masculine occupations. However, I find no association in the other five cases.

Assumption 3: The one-dimensionality of judgements of prestige and difficulty

Considering Assumption 3 allows us to attempt to understand why such a straightforward tactic as the one used to investigate Assumption 2 does not provide significant results for most types of occupations. First, I attempt to verify whether, as assumed by Gottfredson's model, prestige and difficulty of studies correlate perfectly. Here is a table of correlations of these two variables for each occupation.

Table 40: Correlation between the variables for prestige and difficulty of studies for each occupation

	Mechanic	Hairdresser	Clerk	Psychologist	Engineer	Lawyer
Correlation of prestige and difficulty of studies	0.4118	0.4116	0.4776	0.4524	0.527	0.4232

This table shows that these variables are moderately correlated; more strongly so in the case of engineer. However, the correlation is far from perfect, thus questioning the legitimacy of Gottfredson's assumption.

Assumption 4: Evaluations about the difficulty and prestige of given occupations influence the likelihood of aspiring to similar occupations

Continuing my attempt to understand why the 'More prestigious than difficult' variable predicts so badly occupational aspirations, I look at whether each of the variables of prestige and difficulty taken separately does a better job at predicting aspirations. I thus constructed a new set of models with the prestige of each occupation as a predictor of that class of occupations, and separately, I do the same with difficulty.

Table 41: Likelihood of aspiring to 6 types of occupations according to judgements of prestige and difficulty (logistic regressions with controls – sex, parental education, social class, school-track requirements, year, nationality, canton, urban/rural)

Occupational aspiration	Masculine - low ISEI	Mixed - low ISEI	Feminine - low ISEI	Masculine - high ISEI	Mixed - high ISEI	Feminine - high ISEI
Prestige of corresponding occupation	**0.163*** **	**-0.070**	**0.066**	**0.152** **	**0.147*** **	**-0.009**
Difficulty of studies of corresponding occupation	**0.103**	**0.022**	**0.039**	**-0.085**	**-0.040**	**0.048**
Sex (ref. male)						
Female	-1.436***	-0.321	1.413***	-1.628***	0.375***	0.915***
Level of education of most educated parent (ref. Obligatory or less)						
Postobligatory secondary	-0.269	0.136	-0.227	0.135	0.088	0.123
Tertiary	-0.931***	0.439	-0.857**	0.187	0.478**	0.037
Social class of highest parent (ref. low)						
Intermediate	0.230	0.056	-0.128	-0.089	0.184	-0.045
Salariate	-0.008	0.024	-0.445*	0.020	0.182	0.174

School track requirements (ref. low)						
Comprehensive	-0.554	-0.401	-0.912**	0.730*	0.518*	0.088
Intermediate and high	-0.974***	-0.484	-0.833***	0.697**	0.555***	0.274
School year (ref. 7th grade)						
8th grade	-0.191	0.279	0.186	-0.279	-0.157	0.278
9th grade	-0.080	0.147	0.128	-0.252	-0.057	0.138
Nationality (ref. Swiss and binational)						
Foreign only	-0.530*	-0.212	-0.219	0.198	0.224	-0.069
Canton (ref. GE)						
VD	0.228	0.255	0.066	-0.010	-0.040	-0.199
BE	0.687**	-0.031	0.038	0.329	-0.229	-0.460*
TI	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)
Urban/rural area (ref. urban)						
Rural	0.433*	-0.134	0.595**	0.200	-0.334*	-0.402*
N	1885	1870	1870	1866	1889	1872

This provides some interesting results. I find that evaluations of the prestige of the corresponding occupation are a good predictor of occupational aspirations only for masculine occupations and for high status mixed occupations. In parallel, I find that difficulty is a bad predictor of occupational aspirations: the two variables are unrelated in the six situations under consideration.

Finally, in a last attempt to understand in more depth why difficulty is such a bad predictor of occupational aspirations in terms of ISEI and gender, I seek to simplify the situation by disregarding the gender component.

Table 42: Effect of judgements of the difficulty of studies of 6 occupations on the ISEI of the aspired occupation, (linear regressions with controls – sex, parental education, social class, school-track requirements, year, nationality, canton, urban/rural)

Difficulty of studies	ISEI of aspired occupation					
Mechanic	**-0.945*** **					
Hairdresser		**-1.189*** **				
Clerk			**-0.933** **			
Psychologist				**0.248**		
Engineer					**0.178**	
Lawyer						**0.171**
Sex (ref. male)						
Female	0.937	1.087	0.821	0.983	0.973	0.970
Level of education of most educated parent (ref. Obligatory or less)						
Postobligatory secondary	1.873	1.955	1.493	1.637	1.877	1.868
Tertiary	8.087***	8.208***	7.884***	8.059***	8.151***	8.082***
Social class of highest parent (ref. low)						
Intermediate	-0.580	-0.444	-0.548	-0.279	-0.471	-0.607
Salariate	2.004	2.142	1.885	2.368*	2.254*	2.190
School track requirements (ref. low)						
Comprehensive	7.054***	7.245***	7.215***	7.189***	7.522***	6.895***
Intermediate and high	10.532***	10.264***	10.204***	10.617***	10.674***	10.451***
School year (ref. 7th grade)						
8th grade	-0.744	-0.522	-0.700	-0.651	-0.712	-0.535
9th grade	-1.506	-1.181	-1.560	-1.304	-1.459	-1.258
Nationality (ref. Swiss and binational)						
Foreign only	3.226**	3.341**	3.294**	3.199**	3.317**	3.339**
Canton (ref. GE)						
VD	-3.110*	-2.694*	-2.848*	-3.090*	-2.909*	-3.101*
BE	-5.342***	-5.106***	-5.122***	-5.373***	-4.915***	-5.217***
TI	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)
Urban/rural area (ref. urban)						
Rural	-4.717***	-4.866***	-4.916***	-4.709***	-4.820***	-4.708***
N	1722	1712	1712	1711	1711	1723
R2	0.138	0.139	0.137	0.133	0.132	0.13
Legend: * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001						

Do we find that evaluating the corresponding occupation as more or less difficult predicts the ISEI of the aspired occupation? Indeed, in the case of the low status occupations, we do: the more students find these occupations difficult, the lower the ISEI of the occupation they aspire to. However, yet again, we find no effect of judgements of difficulty on ISEI of occupational aspiration for the three high status occupations.

Discussion

My train of thought in this chapter was the following: in an attempt to deconstruct Gottfredson's theory of circumscription and compromise and to test a number of assumptions embedded in it, I first sought to verify whether judgements about the prestige and difficulty of occupations are indeed the same for everyone. I found that they are not. These judgements do vary according to the social position of respondents. Finding an occupation more difficult, is, like finding it more prestigious, a way that respondents use to mark the higher desirability of socially appropriate occupations (feminine connoted occupations for girls, lower-status occupations for students in lower school tracks or with less educated parents). This result converges with a result presented by Vouillot (1999): in a study led with French students, girls and boys provided different prestige rankings of secondary school tracks: boys valued respectively the following specialisations: scientific, technical-industrial (ranked 7th by girls), and economic. Girls valued most the literary track (ranked 6th by boys), then the scientific and economic. As stated by Vouillot, "boys and girls value that which is socially recognized as their field of competence, in which their group is dominant, and attribute low prestige to the track in which they are in minority" (pp. 83-84). She finds the same as to the judgements of prestige of a selection of 29 occupations: boys judge the prestige of the masculine-connoted occupations as higher than girls, and girls attribute higher prestige to mixed- or feminine connoted occupations than boys.

Differences in judgements of difficulty are interesting on two accounts: first, I do not find trace of any feeling of inadequacy or intimidation girls may have about very masculine and technically connoted occupations such as engineering. They indeed think this occupation is less difficult to access than boys. Second, I do not find any feeling of inadequacy either on the part of lower track students or students with less educated

parents with regard to high-status occupations: they judge the difficulty of the three high status occupation no differently from their more privileged counterparts.

I then attempted to test Gottfredson's hypothesis that occupational aspirations are found in the zone of acceptable alternatives of occupations. In order to measure the zone of acceptable alternatives, I divided the occupational map into six sections, represented by each of the occupations under consideration, and defined a particular student's zone of acceptable alternatives as comprising only occupations similar to the ones of the six that they evaluated as more prestigious than difficult. I find that the fact that an occupation is in a student's zone of acceptable alternatives is a very bad predictor for his or her aspiration to a similar occupation in terms of sex-type and ISEI. In fact, this link is only found in the case of masculine occupations with high ISEI. My inability to verify Gottfredson's theory came as a surprise and the rest of the results were dedicated to trying to understand why the data do not allow me to verify the theory.

A first reason for which the theory is not verifiable is that I identified that prestige and difficulty of studies are not perfectly correlated and thus do not measure the same concept, while Gottfredson's theory is based on the assumption that they do.

While much theoretical work has been dedicated to the concept of prestige, the same cannot be said of the concept of difficulty of access. It is thus difficult to discuss the differences between the two concepts based on the literature. Here are a few personal reflexions on the possible reasons for which these two concepts were not understood as being synonymous to our respondents. First, they refer to different chronological stages in one's access to an occupation. While prestige refers to the status of people who are already confirmed practitioners of the occupation, difficulty of access refers to a situation closer to the one of the respondents – that is, that of people without specific training who wish to access the occupation. Respondents may thus have had more defined views about the difficulty question than about the prestige one, since it fitted more closely their own situation. Moreover, the prestige question explicitly referred to the view "society" had of a given occupation, whereas the difficulty question was framed as a question about personal attitudes. While these may *in fine* converge (the attitudes that I attribute to my neighbours or fellow citizens may often be my own), especially in adult respondents, these different formulations may nonetheless have triggered different thought processes in our student sample. Finally, and more importantly, as further discussed below,

concepts of prestige and difficulty may involve different normative attitudes: while it appears difficult to imagine how prestige could be seen as a negative feature of occupations, on the other hand, difficulty may be seen in some cases as a negative or discouraging feature of occupations, and in some others as a positive feature. This ambivalence of difficulty does not exist in the case of prestige.

In consequence of the empirical discrepancies between evaluations of prestige and difficulty, I decided to look at prestige and difficulty separately as predictors of occupational aspirations. When I did so, I found that prestige is a good predictor for certain kinds of occupations only: masculine and high-status mixed occupations. This finding reveals that occupational prestige is more important as motivating aspiration to these kinds of occupations, while other predictors may play a greater role in explaining aspiration to feminine or low status occupations. This finding relates to those of Tyree & Hicks (1988). These authors, whose reflexions were prompted by the large standard deviations in evaluations of the prestige of very feminine occupations such as housewife, found that less consensus is attained around the prestige of this kind of occupation. Prestige adheres less closely to feminine occupations than to masculine ones, according to them because the stereotypes usually attached to women's employment are less easy to frame in terms of prestige: "Women in occupations regarded in general as of low prestige largely escape the deprecation men receive in the same. Women in otherwise prestigious occupations, to a lesser extent, are denied the consensually granted honor their male colleagues receive." (Tyree & Hicks (1988), p. 1035). In addition to the fact that prestige adheres less closely to feminine connoted occupations, we may note the fairly obvious, but nonetheless interesting fact that prestige is less relevant in aspiration to low status occupations. Consequently, the prestige criterion, which Gottfredson believes to apply in the same way to aspirations of all kinds, turns out to fit best aspiration to masculine-connoted, high status occupations. This part of Gottfredson's theory thus fails to explain aspiration to other kinds of occupations.

I also found that evaluation of difficulty, even taken independently from prestige, is a very bad predictor of occupational aspirations. One of the reasons for this may be the already mentioned ambiguity of difficulty: on the one hand, evaluating an occupational as difficult to access may grant it a selective and challenging status which may have very positive undertones and be a means to state the exceptionally desirable character of an

occupation; however, excessive difficulty may also be perceived as being a factor of discouragement and a reason to turn away from a given occupation.

In a last attempt to understand how difficulty can be used to predict aspirations, I removed the gender component and examined whether finding given occupations more difficult predicted the ISEI of the aspired occupation. I found that it does for the three low status occupations, in the way outlined earlier: students tend to find occupations that are more socially accessible to them in terms of gender and educational level more difficult than other students. This finding draws a contrast between students with masculine or high-status aspirations, who discard aspiration to low status or feminine connoted occupations as "too easy", and other students who reward the same low status or feminine occupations which they find socially adequate with judgements of higher difficulty. But it also demonstrates the tendency in all students to signal occupations they find socially adequate to them as difficult.

In the results, I also noted that difficulty of high-status occupations is a bad predictor for the ISEI of the aspired occupation. This, I think, is for the following reason. Two different reasons for finding high status occupations difficult converge: on the part of male and more socially favoured students, finding masculine and high-status occupations difficult is a way to signal their social appropriateness; while for female and socially less favoured students, finding these occupations difficult is a feature of social distance. This leads to all groups finding these occupations fairly difficult and thus makes this variable a bad predictor for occupational aspirations.

An alternative direction in which to seek an explanation for my relative failure in applying Gottfredson's theory to predict occupational aspirations may be provided by the two phases that the theory involves, those of circumscription and of compromise. Do I put too much emphasis on the circumscription phase as the sole predictor of occupational aspirations, when the compromise phase is also relevant and overlooked, and may provide better grounds for predicting aspirations?

I believe this not to be the case for the following reasons. According to the theory, the two processes of circumscription and compromise may span simultaneously over several years in the development of teenagers. However, Gottfredson identifies the specific moment at which compromise kicks in as the end of high school and encounter with the job market. The teenagers interviewed in the present study had not reached this stage yet,

as they have not yet been confronted with feedback from the job market. The feedback they have received, and integrated at this stage of their development is that provided by the school tracking system. I have chosen to treat the institutional framework in which students are embedded as theoretically akin to social class, that is, as part of the social determinants of the occupational decision process making in the circumscription phase, rather than as feedback from the compromise phase. Furthermore, the whole point of the theory of circumscription and compromise is that even in full compromise stage, say after several years of negative experience with employer feedback in chosen fields of employment, it is very difficult for teenagers and young adults to start evaluating options outside the zone of acceptable alternatives which was defined on criteria of social acceptability. The ways in which individuals may start relocating their occupational aspirations inside the zone of acceptable alternatives, and whether for example they will relinquish first their expectations in terms of prestige or of sex-type of jobs, is the topic of thought on the compromise phase. But even the compromise phase is based upon a reassessment of the zone of acceptable alternatives. I thus do consider legitimate, as I have done, to concentrate on the zone of acceptable alternatives and on the relation occupational aspirations have to them when considering the teenage respondents in this sample.

Conclusion

The study conducted in this chapter has limitations, of which one is the way I take each of the six occupations comprised in our questionnaire as representative of a region of the zone of acceptable alternatives. We have no way of verifying whether the proximity between the occupations under consideration and other occupations similar to them in terms of sex distribution or ISEI fitted in any way the modes of reasoning of our respondents. Second, I believe that the difficulty question as it was stated may benefit from clarification as to its ambiguity. The ambiguous normative undertones which it carries may have benefitted from being made explicit, thus rendering the interpretation of this variable less speculative. However, I consider that the variables at my disposal offered an interesting opportunity to put to test this theory and to reveal some of its implicit assumptions.

I find that Gottfredson's model of the zone of acceptable alternatives does not work to predict occupational aspirations. I identify the main reason for this as being because prestige and difficulty measure different things and constitute different concepts. While prestige is a good predictor for aspiring to some categories of occupations, namely high status and masculine occupations, difficulty is not. I also find that Gottfredson's analysis of difficulty judgements as being a factor of discouragement and self-selection out of the high-status occupations for low track students is not verified in our data. This self-selection indeed occurs, but for different reasons.

While prestige effectively provides a lower limit to occupational aspirations insofar as these are masculine or gender-neutral and prestigious, difficulty of studies appears to play no role in ascribing higher limit to the aspirations of our teenagers. I thus consider the "zone of acceptable alternatives" theory as being in need of refinement.

This refinement should issue, in my view, from a reassessment of the relevance of the notion of prestige to all occupational aspirations, a reassessment of the empirical significance of difficulty of access and its fundamental ambiguity, and a widening of the kinds of occupational representations taken as relevant to the construction of the zone of acceptable alternatives, especially when thinking about aspirations to feminine or low status jobs.

Conclusion

To begin with, let us remind ourselves of the research question stated at the beginning of this work: "How do teenagers, confronted with a projected nexus of decisions to be taken about their future educational and employment pathways, construct occupational representations taking account of social norms and their position in the social structure in order to guide their constrained occupational preferences?" I have attempted an answer to this question by taking position on a number of theoretical theses.

A first aim of this work was to re-appropriate representations as a sociological concept and tool, in particular in the field of occupational aspirations. Theories on occupational aspirations are mostly produced by psychologists who make much implicit or explicit use of the notion of representation, but limit their use of the concept to cover individual, non-social factors. I argue that representations are an essential tool in understanding how individual behaviour is shaped by social expectations. In this work, I am able to demonstrate that what psychologists and lay views present as the most personal and private reasons for choice, which ground "(rational) choice", occupational representations, are in fact collective and socially determined. This I have done in Chapter III by showing how occupational representations in terms of gender are determined by a set of gender-related characteristics of respondents – sex, gender identity and sexism. In Chapter IV, I showed how the association of representations of occupations in terms of prestige and masculinity is determined by the social background of respondents, and their belonging to a dominant or dominated group. In Chapter V, I showed how some occupational representations are determined by social background.

I also argue that the viewpoint of social actors is a relevant and interesting basis on which to think about social reproduction in general and occupational aspirations in particular. While institutional and other macro-structural processes are often considered as central in sociological thought on this topic, I believe that they may be complemented by a viewpoint centred on social actors themselves.

Another central thesis of this work is that representations that teenagers have of occupations are not neutral and universal, but are on the one hand laden with normativity, and on the other vary in different social groups. I have given ample demonstration that representations of sex-type and prestige in particular are not just neutral and descriptive,

but that they vary following the social desirability of the object they are attached to, and that this social desirability varies according to the social group to which respondents belong. More generally, almost each of my demonstrations was aimed at showing that representations of prestige, sex-type and difficulty of occupations vary in different social groups. Thus, people from different classes and sexes have different norms and people from all origins do not all desire or value the same educational or occupational outcomes. One's social position is essential in determining what one values, how one sees the world and how one projects oneself into a future in it. I remain agnostic as to the 'real' structure of social space; however, I demonstrate that social actors definitely do not have a unified view of it. This, in particular, is a challenge to Gottfredson's theory of circumscription and compromise, as it makes the representation of social space more complex than suggested in her theory, and thus renders the theory less adequate to predict what goes on in social space.

I look into an array of ways of 'doing' gender and class norms – reproducing through attitudes a normative view of the social structure and thus contributing to its material reproduction. I find that expression of values is a means of social domination, of re-enacting one's favourable position in power relations; for example in Chapter III, I understand sex-typing occupations as one of the many ways in which people 'do' gender and more generally acknowledge and reproduce gender and class norms through their representations. In Chapter IV, we see how dominant groups reassess their power in asserting more strongly than others the relationship between masculinity and prestige of occupations. In Chapter III, I also understand sexist attitudes as a way of doing gender: The 'stronghold defence' attitude of sexist boys with regard to masculine occupations takes place in this framework.

Conversely, I also find that normative attitudes displayed through representations may challenge the social statu quo: in Chapter III, the competition between girls and boys around the relevance of occupations to each sex is expressed by sex-typing desirable, and therefore contested, occupations in direction of one's own sex. Similarly, in Chapter IV, the fact that members of non-dominant groups challenge the association of prestige and masculinity may show a tendency to challenge or reject norms that are unfavourable to one's own group.

This work also provides a new standpoint from which to consider the notion of constrained choices. I find that one of the factors of constraint is representations. Representations provide the social blinkers mentioned at the beginning of this work, that enable teenagers to pursue their life course choices in a direction which is socially acceptable without 'wasting time' on socially inadequate alternatives. In Chapter III, I referred to Gender schema theory. This theory shows how gender may become a criterion on which information about the social world is sifted. One of the sources of constrained representations is parental influence. In Chapter V, I attempted to show how parents contribute to putting social blinkers on their children, by transmitting to them occupational and non-occupational gender-role attitudes and representations of the prestige of occupations. The issue of whether these social blinkers constitute misleading norms cannot be decided in this work. Longitudinal work is needed in order to assess the long-term negative effects of gender and class norms. However, much work in this direction has shown how gender norms are detrimental on the long run to women and class norms to lower class members.

One of the central claims of this thesis is the fact that occupational representations are not the same for everyone and vary according to groups. These variations are systematic and denote, in my interpretations, strategies on the part of members of these groups. We have seen that occupational representations have the general social function of blinkers, of allowing "well-trained actors to refuse what is refused to them and to want the unavoidable" in the very expressive, but perhaps apocryphal, words of Pierre Bourdieu (quoted by Vouillot (2014), p. 35). One of the functions of occupational representations is to provide a rationale for desiring socially suitable occupations which do not necessarily appear desirable to everyone: to want what is unavoidable. A second function of occupational representations is to affirm a worldview which endorses the superiority of the group or groups to which one belongs. A third function is to challenge, in open cases, a worldview in which one's own group is not in a dominant position. In consequence, one of the claims of this thesis is that of demonstrating how occupational representations are mobilised in strategies aiming at reproducing or challenging social norms.

This work has also explored the interplay of occupational representations. In chapter IV, I looked at how representations of prestige and sex-type of occupations have combined effects, and I did similar work in Chapter VI as to the relationship of representations of

prestige and difficulty. In Chapter VI, I also tried to frame how occupational representations and aspirations may be related. This relating proved difficult and demonstrates that much remains to be understood as to how occupational aspirations may be placed in a framework of occupational representations. One thing at least is clear: despite its intuitive attractiveness, Gottfredson's theory of circumscription and compromise is at best an oversimplification of the process of construction of aspirations on the basis of representations. We need a new version of the theory of circumscription that takes better account of the complexity of representations.

This thesis aimed at better to understand the interplay of gender-related factors and social stratification factors on occupational representations and aspirations. I have attempted to provide theory and empirical verification for the relation from a number of different directions, in particular in chapter IV, where I measure the association of prestige and masculinity and the degree to which various social groups adhere to it, and in chapter VI, where I consider the zone of acceptable alternatives of Gottfredson's theory, which is supposed to comprise occupations selected on the basis of their sex-type and level of prestige. However, these two kinds of factors ultimately reveal difficult to connect: social stratification factors play little role in the transmission of gender-related ideologies.

Table 43: Summary of the hypotheses explored in this thesis

Chapter III	
H1: Differences between boys and girls in occupational sex-typing should be greater for occupations with more gender-neutral connotations	H1 is verified: When sexism is considered, only the three less sex-typed occupations are sex-typed differently by girls and boys, who tend to identify these occupations as being closer to their own sex
H2: Girls who score high on the femininity scale and boys who score high on the masculinity scale sex-type occupations more strongly than other people of their sex	H2 is verified: Respondents with stronger convergent gender identities sex-type occupations to a higher extent than other people of their sex
H3: Respondents who are more sexist sex-type occupations in a more stereotypical way	H3 is verified: Higher sexism scores of both kinds elicit stronger sex-typing of occupations
H4: Males with higher degrees of hostile sexism sex-type typically masculine occupations as more masculine than other men	H4 is verified: The 'male stronghold defence' attitude is displayed by hostile sexist males
Chapter IV	
H1: Respondents associate occupational prestige with masculinity	H2 is not verified: Respondents who evaluate occupations as more prestigious sex-type them less than other respondents
H2: Men associate prestige and masculinity more strongly than women	H2 is verified
H3: High-track students associate prestige and masculinity more strongly than lower-track students	H3 is verified
Chapter V	
H1: Parents who assign gender-roles less rigidly have children who also assign gender-roles less rigidly	H1 is verified as to the transmission of benevolent sexism and occupational sex-typing

H2: Parents with better education have children with less sex-typical aspirations	H2 is not verified
H3: Less sexist the parents have children with less sex-typical aspirations	H3 is not verified
H4: Children with parents from working class backgrounds or with low levels of education find low status occupations more prestigious than people from more advantaged backgrounds	H4 is verified
H5: Parental education and ISEI do not influence children's evaluation of the prestige of high-status occupations.	H5 is verified: Parental educational and socio-economic background do not play a role in addition to school track in influencing the representations that children have of the prestige of high-status occupations
H6: The higher parental ISEI and/or level of education, the higher the ISEI of the occupation children aspire to	H6 is verified: Children with university-educated parents, with high ISEI or in high school tracks aspire to higher ISEI occupations
Chapter VI	
Assumption 1: Judgements on the difficulty and prestige of occupations are the same for everyone	A1 is not verified: Judgements on the difficulty and prestige do vary according to the social position of respondents
Assumption 2: Aspired occupations are more likely to be similar in sex composition and prestige to occupations that are found prestigious enough but not too difficult	A2 is only partly verified: The association is only verified for high ISEI masculine occupations. However, I find no association in the other five cases
Assumption 3: Judgements of difficulty and of prestige of occupations correlate perfectly: the more an occupation is judged prestigious, the more it is judged difficult	A3 is not verified: These variables are moderately correlated; more strongly so in the case of engineer
Assumption 4: The less respondents find an occupation prestigious, the less likely they are to aspire to similar occupations; conversely, the more they find an occupation difficult, the less likely they are to aspire to similar occupations	A4 is only partly verified: Evaluations of the prestige of the corresponding occupation are a good predictor of occupational aspirations only for masculine occupations and for high status mixed occupations. Difficulty is a bad predictor of occupational aspirations: the two variables are unrelated in the six situations under consideration

This work was limited in a number of specific ways that have been mentioned in the conclusion of each empirical chapter. The choice of a small number of occupations, which have specific connotations to respondents of which we have neither knowledge or control, limits our claim to generalise these results to other occupations.

Second, in the course of our theoretical and interpretative thought about the central concepts of this work – the sex-type, prestige and difficulty of an occupation –, we have come across ambiguities in these concepts, which make interpretation difficult. I have mentioned that the sex-typing question could have benefitted from being submitted on two independent, masculine and feminine scales, that we may have specified whether by this question we were asking students to evaluate the proportion of men and women in an occupation or whether the question was normative in nature. The prestige question could have been specified to be more easily understandable to our teenage respondents;

perhaps, following the suggestion of Eberhard et al. (2015), it could have been framed along the lines of asking what occupations would be acceptable to the teenagers' social environment; we could even have specified further in order to distinguish what would be acceptable to the group of peers as opposed to the group of adults, for example. Finally, the difficulty question could also have been clarified or complemented in order to reveal whether the purported difficulty of the occupations under consideration was a positive or a negative feature of them.

The sampling process also imposed some limitations upon our data, in particular, our respondents only issue from a small number of cantons and our results therefore cannot be generalized to the whole of Switzerland. In addition, through our chosen method, we were only able to reach a quarter of all parents, since 50% of our student respondents provided one respondent parent. It is possible that the difficulty that I had in finding significant effects of parental characteristics on their children's attitudes in Chapter V was partly due to the composition of this parental sample.

It might have been interesting to consider a number of additional variables whose influence have not been explored in this work. One of them would have been peer influence on occupational representations and aspirations. Unfortunately, the data that was collected was limited in nature and did not provide adequate means to explore this issue. Evidence as to the composition of the network of students, and the relative importance given to peers as compared to other groups is provided by Gauthier (2019).

Another issue to explore would have been how representations evolve according to the age of respondents, to their increasing closeness to the end of obligatory school and thus to the time at which they will have to make occupational choices. This has been provided in the control variables, as the school year in which respondents are enrolled is systematically controlled for. In many analyses, this variable does not yield a significant coefficient and there is therefore no need to discuss it. However, in some cases, it produces a measurable effect on which it is interesting to comment here. We notice two phenomena in students as they get older: the first is an increased critical attitude towards gender norms in girls, illustrated for example by the decrease in benevolent sexism in older girls. The second is a tendency to acquire higher mastery of the norms of the adult world: older students associate prestige and masculinity in the high-status occupations to a higher extent than their younger colleagues. Older students also identify the three high-

status occupations as more prestigious and more difficult to access than their younger counterparts.

The various linear regression tables presented in this work are open to a critique which I would like to consider here. With the exception of the analyses that relate social stratification variables to the ISEI of students' occupational aspirations and of analyses that relate gender-related concepts that are connected in a fairly obvious way (sex and hostile sexism, sex-typicality of parent and child occupational aspirations), most of the analyses presented in this work demonstrate fairly low R2s. R2 is a statistic issued by regression analyses that accounts for the proportion of total variance in the data that is explained by the variables in the analyses. In the case of the analyses offered in this thesis, R2s are mostly comprised between 3 and 10% of explained variance. The positive aspect of this is that there is no large discrepancy between chapters and result tables, thus allowing for fairly similar explanatory power to the variables and theory under consideration. The negative aspect is that this leaves us with sometimes over 90% of unexplained variance, despite my best empirical and theoretical efforts.

Why is this? First of all, note that R2s of under 10% are not unusual in social research. Low R2s result from measuring and relating complex concepts. In the case of the analyses presented in this work, these low R2s may be due to a variety of factors. Measurement error is no doubt part of the explanation: randomness was introduced in the responses of the students by the ambiguity of some of the questionnaire items, by the fact that some students maybe didn't understand them completely, and that, for various reasons related to the conditions in which the questionnaire was completed and to their age, students maybe did not dedicate total attention and care to their responses.

In addition, the work presented in this thesis is fairly exploratory from a theoretical point of view, and relates concepts that had not been related as such in earlier work. In addition, there is quite a lot of missing data, which further blurs the picture, including some which is systematic in nature. Indeed, in the case of our parent-children sample, for half the children, one parent provided responses, which leaves us with one parent in four responding to our questionnaire. The issue of whether we would have found better correlations between parental and child attitudes if we had had a larger proportion of parents responding to the questionnaire remains open to speculation.

How may we translate these observations into further research avenues? If further interest is to be invested in occupational representations of teenagers, I believe that it would be relevant to take into account the refinements proposed above as to the three central concepts. The questions could be complemented by items covering other dimensions of occupational representations.

It would also be interesting to test the idea that occurs frequently in the literature, that teenage thought about occupational representations and aspirations concentrates first and foremost on the social status afforded by given occupations, and not so much on what day-to-day practice of these occupations consists in. In particular, I suspect that the idea that many teenagers have of the tasks and skills involved in the practice of given occupations is pretty vague.

I believe it important to widen the number of occupations taken into consideration and, when they issue from the field of vocational training, to attach to them the title by which they are known to students in the vocational process.

Also, when considering the independent variables, I believe that much remains to be understood of the dynamics of gender stereotyping on occupational representations. To this aim, a number of scales issued from social psychology, which have not been used here, could be put to work, and full versions of the abridged scales used here could add robustness to findings about them.

Finally, longitudinal research would allow to take into account the dynamic process of constructing occupational representations and aspirations at a time of rapid changes in the lives of teenagers. It would allow thought in terms of processes rather than in the somewhat naïve thought framework of causality, to which it is easy to be drawn when doing cross-sectional research.

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Annexes

Annexe 1: Student questionnaire in French

Annexe 2: Parent questionnaire in French

Aspirations et orientations professionnelles

Instructions

Pour répondre, cocher la case appropriée: ☒

Retour

Merci de renvoyer le questionnaire complété à

Service de la recherche en éducation (SRED)
Enquête PNR60
Quai du Rhône 12
Genève 1205 Suisse

Solution Web

Si vous préférez remplir ce questionnaire en ligne
vous pouvez utiliser le site:

http://www.socialsurvey.ch

Université de Lausanne, MISC-SSP et SRED

Merci d'avance de répondre à toutes les questions

Section A

Pour commencer

A1. Merci d'inscrire ici le numéro du questionnaire "parent"

Section B

Nous allons commencer par parler de la suite de ta formation.

B1. Peux-tu nous dire où tu t'imagines être ...

S'il te plaît, lis attentivement toutes les propositions ci-dessous avant de répondre et ne coche qu'une seule case par colonne.

	...juste après l'école obligatoire?	...entre trois et quatre ans après l'école obligatoire?	...entre cinq et sept ans après l'école obligatoire?
sur le marché du travail	☐	☐	☐
en transition (10ème année, en pré-apprentissage, etc.)	☐	☐	☐
en apprentissage	☐	☐	☐
en école professionnelle à plein temps	☐	☐	☐
en école de maturité ou de diplôme	☐	☐	☐
dans une haute école (Université, école polytechnique, HES, HEP)	☐	☐	☐

B2. Si tu as mentionné un apprentissage, s'agit-il de …

- En apprentissage professionnel dans les arts appliqués (par ex. bijoutier/-ière, cordonnier/-ière, décorateur/-trice, graphiste, photographe) ☐
- En apprentissage professionnel dans le commerce, la vente, l'hôtellerie ou la restauration ☐
- En apprentissage professionnel dans la construction ou le technique (par ex: , maçon-ne, menuisier/-ière, mécanicien-ne, électronicien-ne) ☐
- En apprentissage professionnel dans le domaine de la nature et l'environnement (par ex: agriculteur/-trice, fleuriste, bûcheron-ne) ☐
- En apprentissage professionnel dans la santé ou le social (par ex: assistant-e médical-e, laborantin-e, assistant-e socio-éducatif/-ve) ☐

B3. Si tu as mentionné une hautes école, peux-tu préciser ?

- Une haute école (Université/école polytechnique/HES) en Sciences humaines et sociales (sociologie, sciences politiques, travail social, économie et gestion, histoire, géographie, psychologie, etc.) ☐
- Une haute école (Université/école polytechnique/HES) en Sciences du vivant (biologie, médecine, soins infirmiers, agronomie, sciences de l'environnement, etc.) ☐
- Une haute école (Université/école polytechnique/HES) en Sciences naturelles (chimie, physique, géologie, etc.) ☐
- Une haute école (Université/école polytechnique/HES) en Sciences de l'ingénieur-e (mathématiques, informatique, ingénierie, architecture, etc.) ☐
- Une haute école (Université/école polytechnique/HES) en Art (musique, théâtre, architecture d'intérieur, graphisme, design, stylisme) ☐
- À la HEP/Écoles pédagogiques (enseignement primaire et secondaire, formateur/-trice d'adultes, sports, etc.) ☐

Section C

Continuons maintenant sur ton avenir professionnel...

C1. Quel métier espères-tu faire quand tu auras environ 30 ans?

C2. Dans quelle mesure es-tu d'accord avec les affirmations ci-dessous?

S'il te plaît, pour ta réponse, utilise l'échelle ci-dessous allant de 1 à 7.

	1 Pas du tout d'accord	2	3	4	5	6	7 Tout à fait d'accord
J'ai bien réfléchi et j'ai un projet professionnel précis	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
J'ai bien un projet professionnel, mais il ne me satisfait pas vraiment	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
C'est inutile de faire un projet professionnel, il faut s'adapter au travail que l'on trouve	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Section D

Nous aimerions savoir comment tu perçois certains métiers...

Pour chacun des métiers suivants, pourrais-tu nous donner ton opinion sur les affirmations ci-dessous?

D1. C'est un métier intéressant.

S'il te plaît, coche une seule case par ligne.

	1 Pas du tout intéressant	2	3	4	5	6	7 Extrêmement intéressant
Mécanicien-ne	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Coiffeur/-euse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Employé-e de bureau	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Psychologue	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ingénieur-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avocat-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D2. C'est un métier prestigieux/bien considéré par la société

	1 Pas du tout prestigieux	2	3	4	5	6	7 Extrêmement prestigieux
Mécanicien-ne	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Coiffeur/-euse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Employé-e de bureau	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Psychologue	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ingénieur-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avocat-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D3. Les études nécessaires pour exercer ce métier sont très difficiles

	1 Pas du tout difficiles	2	3	4	5	6	7 Extrêmement difficiles
Mécanicien-ne	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Coiffeur/-euse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Employé-e de bureau	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Psychologue	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ingénieur-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avocat-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D4. S'agit-il plutôt d'un métier de femmes ou plutôt d'un métier d'hommes?

	1 Un métier de femmes	2	3	4	5	6	7 Un métier d'hommes
Mécanicien-ne	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Coiffeur/-euse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Employé-e de bureau	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Psychologue	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ingénieur-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avocat-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D5. Je pourrais m'imaginer exercer ce métier plus tard.

	1 Pas du tout d'accord	2	3	4	5	6	7 Tout à fait d'accord
Mécanicien-ne	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Coiffeur/-euse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Employé-e de bureau	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Psychologue	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ingénieur-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avocat-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D6. Lorsque tu penses à ton avenir, qu'est-ce qui est important pour toi?

S'il te plaît, coche une seule case par ligne

	1 Pas du tout important	2	3	4	5	6	7 Tout à fait important
Avoir un travail dans lequel je peux toujours apprendre quelque chose de nouveau	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avoir une profession dans laquelle je peux vraiment valoriser mes capacités	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avoir un travail dans lequel j'ai de nombreux contacts humains	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avoir un travail qui me donne le sentiment que ce que je fais a du sens	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Gagner beaucoup d'argent, un bon salaire	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avoir une profession avec des bonnes possibilités de promotion	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avoir un travail qui est reconnu et estimé par les autres	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avoir des enfants	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avoir beaucoup de temps pour moi	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Passer mon temps libre avec mes ami-e-s	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D7. Plus tard, quand tu auras un métier, voudras-tu plutôt ...?

- ☐ Travailler à temps plein (à 100%)
- ☐ Travailler à temps partiel, pour m'occuper de ma famille
- ☐ Travailler à temps partiel, pour d'autres raisons (ex. sport, activité associative, bénévolat, etc.)

D8. Penses-tu que les situations suivantes peuvent t'arriver un jour ?

	Très probable						Très improbable
Me trouver au chômage	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ne pas avoir assez d'argent à la fin du mois	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Souffrir d'être seul-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Devoir vivre de l'aide sociale	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Section E

Abordons maintenant un autre sujet: l'égalité entre femmes et hommes, puis l'égalité dans notre société...

E1. Nous aimerions connaître ton opinion sur les affirmations ci-dessous.

	1 Pas du tout d'accord	2	3	4	5	6	7 Tout à fait d'accord
Les femmes sont en général moins intelligentes que les hommes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je me sentirais tout aussi à l'aise d'avoir une femme qu'un homme comme chef-fe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Il est plus important d'encourager les garçons que les filles à participer à des compétitions sportives	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les femmes sont aussi capables que les hommes de penser logiquement	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Quand les deux parents ont un emploi et que leur enfant est malade à l'école, celle-ci devrait appeler la mère plutôt que le père	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les inégalités entre les femmes et les hommes ne sont plus un problème en Suisse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Généralement, hommes et femmes sont présenté-e-s de la même manière à la télévision	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Dans notre société, femmes et hommes ont les mêmes droits au sein du couple	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
La société d'aujourd'hui offre aux femmes et aux hommes les mêmes possibilités de réussir dans la vie	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Il est facile de comprendre la colère des groupes de femmes en Suisse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Il est facile de comprendre pourquoi certaines femmes sont encore aujourd'hui préoccupées par les limites que la société leur impose	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

E2. Et à propos des affirmations suivantes?

	1 Pas du tout d'accord	2	3	4	5	6	7 Tout à fait d'accord
Un homme n'est pas vraiment « complet » en tant que personne s'il n'est pas aimé d'une femme	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lors d'une catastrophe, les femmes doivent être sauvées avant les hommes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les femmes se vexent trop rapidement	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Souvent les femmes n'apprécient pas suffisamment ce que les hommes font pour elles	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tout homme devrait avoir une femme qu'il adore	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les femmes exagèrent les problèmes qu'elles rencontrent au travail	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Quand les femmes perdent une compétition contre un homme, elles se plaignent d'être l'objet de discrimination	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les femmes ont un plus grand sens moral que les hommes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les hommes doivent subvenir financièrement aux besoins des femmes, quitte à sacrifier leur propre bien-être	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les femmes, comparées aux hommes, ont tendance à être plus cultivées et à avoir plus de bon goût	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

E3. Dans quelle mesure les affirmations ci-dessous correspondent-elles à ta personnalité?

S'il te plaît, coche une seule case par ligne.

	1 Pas du tout d'accord	2	3	4	5	6	7 Tout à fait d'accord
J'ai une forte personnalité	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
J'ai des qualités de commandement	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je suis attentif/-ve aux besoins des autres	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je suis dominateur/-trice	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je suis chaleureux/-euse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je suis tendre	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je me comporte en chef-fe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je suis doux/-ce	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

E4. Les caractéristiques suivantes sont-elles importantes pour réussir dans la vie?

	1 Pas du tout important	2	3	4	5	6	7 Tout à fait important
Venir d'une famille riche	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avoir des parents avec un bon niveau d'études	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avoir soi-même un bon niveau d'études	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Être ambitieux/-euse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Travailler dur	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Connaître des personnes importantes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Être blanc/-che	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Appartenir à une communauté religieuse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Être une femme	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

E5. Les caractéristiques suivantes sont-elles importantes pour définir qui tu es?

	1 Pas du tout important	2	3	4	5	6	7 Tout à fait important
Ton sexe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ta religion	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ta nationalité	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ton milieu social	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

E6. Dans notre société, il y a des personnes plus favorisées qui se situent « en haut » de l'échelle sociale, et d'autres moins favorisées qui se situent « en bas » de cette échelle. Où penses-tu être?

S'il te plaît, coche une seule case pour ta réponse.

10 Tout en haut ☐
9 ☐
8 ☐
7 ☐
6 ☐
5 ☐
4 ☐
3 ☐
2 ☐
1 Tout en bas ☐

Section F

Parlons maintenant de ton entourage...

F1. Cite les personnes (jeunes ou adultes, membres de ta famille, ami-e-s, enseignant-e-s, etc.) qui ont récemment joué un rôle important dans ta vie. Ce rôle peut être positif ou négatif.

Première personne (prénom ou initiales) ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Deuxième personne (prénom ou initiales) ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Troisième personne (prénom ou initiales) ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Quatrième personne (prénom ou initiales) ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

F2. Tu as donc mentionné ... personnes

☐ *Personnes*

Section G

Concernant la personne 1 citée...

G1. Est-ce un homme ou une femme?

Femme ☐

Homme ☐

G2. Quel est l'âge de cette personne?

☐☐ *ans*

G3. Quel est ton lien avec cette personne? Elle/il est...

...ma mère ☐

...mon père ☐

...ma soeur/mon frère ☐

...un autre membre de la famille ☐

...un-e ami-e ☐

...un-e de mes enseignant-e-s ☐

autre ☐

G4. Quelle est sa formation (effectuée ou en cours)?

- [ ] École primaire
- [ ] Cycle d'orientation, école secondaire
- [ ] Formation professionnelle initiale
- [ ] Apprentissage (CFC), Écoles professionnelles, Entreprises formatrices
- [ ] Écoles de culture générale (ECG) (Maturité spécialisée, certificat d'ECG), Écoles de degré diplôme (EDD), École commerciale
- [ ] Écoles de maturité (maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale), Gymnase, Collège, École normale, Études pédagogiques, École supérieure de commerce
- [ ] Écoles pour maturité après apprentissage et pour adultes (Maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale)
- [ ] Formation professionnelle (deuxième formation)
- [ ] Hautes écoles spécialisées (HES), Hautes écoles pédagogiques (HEP) (Master, bachelor, diplôme, postgrade)
- [ ] Hautes écoles universitaires, Écoles polytechniques fédérales (EPF) (Master, bachelor, licence, diplôme, postgrade)
- [ ] Doctorat, PhD
- [ ] Autre formation

G5. Quelle profession cette personne exerce-t-elle, ou souhaite-elle exercer, plus tard?

G6. Est-ce que cette personne te soutient dans tes études (c'est-à-dire t'encourage à réussir tes études)?

- [ ] Oui
- [ ] Non

G7. Est-ce que cette personne est d'accord avec ton projet professionnel?

- [ ] Oui
- [ ] Non
- [ ] Nous ne parlons pas de mon projet professionnel ensemble

G8. Est-ce que l'opinion de cette personne a influencé ton projet professionnel?

- [ ] Oui
- [ ] Non
- [ ] Nous ne parlons pas de mon projet professionnel ensemble

G9. Est-ce que tu es parfois en conflit avec cette personne à propos de ton projet professionnel ?

- ☐ Oui
- ☐ Non
- ☐ Nous ne parlons pas de mon projet professionnel ensemble

G10. À ton avis, que pense cette personne de l'idée « Les inégalités entre les femmes et les hommes ne sont plus un problème en Suisse » ?

- ☐ 1 Elle/il est pas du tout d'accord
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5
- ☐ 6
- ☐ 7 Elle/il est tout à fait d'accord

Section H

Concernant la personne 2 citée...

H1. Est-ce un homme ou une femme?

- ☐ Femme
- ☐ Homme

H2. Quel est l'âge de cette personne?

☐☐ *ans*

H3. Quel est ton lien avec cette personne? Elle/il est...

- ☐ ...ma mère
- ☐ ...mon père
- ☐ ...ma soeur/mon frère
- ☐ ...un autre membre de la famille
- ☐ ...un-e ami-e
- ☐ ...un-e de mes enseignant-e-s
- ☐ autre

H4. Quelle est sa formation (effectuée ou en cours)?

- ☐ École primaire
- ☐ Cycle d'orientation, école secondaire
- ☐ Formation professionnelle initiale
- ☐ Apprentissage (CFC), Écoles professionnelles, Entreprises formatrices
- ☐ Écoles de culture générale (ECG) (Maturité spécialisée, certificat d'ECG), Écoles de degré diplôme (EDD), École commerciale
- ☐ Écoles de maturité (maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale), Gymnase, Collège, École normale, Études pédagogiques, École supérieure de commerce
- ☐ Écoles pour maturité après apprentissage et pour adultes (Maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale)
- ☐ Formation professionnelle (deuxième formation)
- ☐ Hautes écoles spécialisées (HES), Hautes écoles pédagogiques (HEP) (Master, bachelor, diplôme, postgrade)
- ☐ Hautes écoles universitaires, Écoles polytechniques fédérales (EPF) (Master, bachelor, licence, diplôme, postgrade)
- ☐ Doctorat, PhD
- ☐ Autre formation

H5. Quelle profession cette personne exerce-t-elle, ou souhaite-elle exercer, plus tard?

H6. Est-ce que cette personne te soutient dans tes études (c'est-à-dire t'encourage à réussir tes études)?

- ☐ Oui
- ☐ Non

H7. Est-ce que cette personne est d'accord avec ton projet professionnel?

- [ ] Oui
- [ ] Non
- [ ] Nous ne parlons pas ensemble de mon projet professionnel

H8. Est-ce que l'opinion de cette personne a influencé ton projet professionnel?

- [ ] Oui
- [ ] Non
- [ ] Nous ne parlons pas de mon projet professionnel ensemble

H9. Est-ce que tu es parfois en conflit avec cette personne à propos de ton projet professionnel ?

- [ ] Oui
- [ ] Non
- [ ] Nous ne parlons pas de mon projet professionnel ensemble

H10. À ton avis, que pense cette personne de l'idée « Les inégalités entre les femmes et les hommes ne sont plus un problème en Suisse » ?

- [ ] 1 Elle/il n'est pas du tout d'accord
- [ ] 2
- [ ] 3
- [ ] 4
- [ ] 5
- [ ] 6
- [ ] 7 Elle/il est tout à faire d'accord

Section I

Concernant la personne 3 citée...

I1. Est-ce un homme ou une femme?

- [ ] Femme
- [ ] Homme

I2. Quel est l'âge de cette personne?

☐☐ *ans*

I3. Quel est ton lien avec cette personne? Elle/il est...

- ...ma mère ☐
- ...mon père ☐
- ...ma soeur/mon frère ☐
- ...un autre membre de la famille ☐
- ...un-e ami-e ☐
- ...un-e de mes enseignant-e-s ☐
- autre ☐

I4. Quelle est sa formation (effectuée ou en cours)?

- École primaire ☐
- Cycle d'orientation, école secondaire ☐
- Formation professionnelle initiale ☐
- Apprentissage (CFC), Écoles professionnelles, Entreprises formatrices ☐
- Écoles de culture générale (ECG) (Maturité spécialisée, certificat d'ECG), Écoles de degré diplôme (EDD), École commerciale ☐
- Écoles de maturité (maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale), Gymnase, Collège, École normale, Études pédagogiques, École supérieure de commerce ☐
- Écoles pour maturité après apprentissage et pour adultes (Maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale) ☐
- Formation professionnelle (deuxième formation) ☐
- Hautes écoles spécialisées (HES), Hautes écoles pédagogiques (HEP) (Master, bachelor, diplôme, postgrade) ☐
- Hautes écoles universitaires, Écoles polytechniques fédérales (EPF) (Master, bachelor, licence, diplôme, postgrade) ☐
- Doctorat, PhD ☐
- Autre formation ☐

I5. Quelle profession cette personne exerce-t-elle, ou souhaite-elle exercer, plus tard?

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

I6. Est-ce que cette personne te soutient dans tes études (c'est-à-dire t'encourage à réussir tes études)?

Oui ☐

Non ☐

I7. Est-ce que cette personne est d'accord avec ton projet professionnel?

Oui ☐

Non ☐

Nous ne parlons pas de mon projet professionnel ensemble ☐

I8. Est-ce que l'opinion de cette personne a influencé ton projet professionnel?

Oui ☐

Non ☐

Nous ne parlons pas de mon projet professionnel ensemble ☐

I9. Est-ce que tu es parfois en conflit avec cette personne à propos de ton projet professionnel ?

Oui ☐

Non ☐

Nous ne parlons pas de mon projet professionnel ensemble ☐

I10. À ton avis, que pense cette personne de l'idée « Les inégalités entre les femmes et les hommes ne sont plus un problème en Suisse » ?

1 Elle/il n'est pas du tout d'accord ☐

2 ☐

3 ☐

4 ☐

5 ☐

6 ☐

7 Elle/il est tout à faire d'accord ☐

Section J

Concernant la personne 4 citée...

J1. Est-ce un homme ou une femme?

- [ ] Femme
- [ ] Homme

J2. Quel est l'âge de cette personne?

[ ][ ] *ans*

J3. Quel est ton lien avec cette personne? Elle/il est...

- [ ] ...ma mère
- [ ] ...mon père
- [ ] ...ma soeur/mon frère
- [ ] ...un autre membre de la famille
- [ ] ...un-e ami-e
- [ ] ...un-e de mes enseignant-e-s
- [ ] autre

J4. Quelle est sa formation (effectuée ou en cours)?

- [ ] École primaire
- [ ] Cycle d'orientation, école secondaire
- [ ] Formation professionnelle initiale
- [ ] Apprentissage (CFC), Écoles professionnelles, Entreprises formatrices
- [ ] Écoles de culture générale (ECG) (Maturité spécialisée, certificat d'ECG), Écoles de degré diplôme (EDD), École commerciale
- [ ] Écoles de maturité (maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale), Gymnase, Collège, École normale, Études pédagogiques, École supérieure de commerce
- [ ] Écoles pour maturité après apprentissage et pour adultes (Maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale)
- [ ] Formation professionnelle (deuxième formation)
- [ ] Hautes écoles spécialisées (HES), Hautes écoles pédagogiques (HEP) (Master, bachelor, diplôme, postgrade)
- [ ] Hautes écoles universitaires, Écoles polytechniques fédérales (EPF) (Master, bachelor, licence, diplôme, postgrade)
- [ ] Doctorat, PhD
- [ ] Autre formation

J5. Quelle profession cette personne exerce-t-elle, ou souhaite-elle exercer, plus tard?

J6. Est-ce que cette personne te soutient dans tes études (c'est-à-dire t'encourage à réussir tes études)?

Oui ☐

Non ☐

J7. Est-ce que cette personne est d'accord avec ton projet professionnel?

Oui ☐

Non ☐

Nous ne parlons pas de mon projet professionnel ensemble ☐

J8. Est-ce que l'opinion de cette personne a influencé ton projet professionnel?

Oui ☐

Non ☐

Nous ne parlons pas de mon projet professionnel ensemble ☐

J9. Est-ce que tu es parfois en conflit avec cette personne à propos de ton projet professionnel ?

Oui ☐

Non ☐

Nous ne parlons pas de mon projet professionnel ensemble ☐

J10. À ton avis, que pense cette personne de l'idée « Les inégalités entre les femmes et les hommes ne sont plus un problème en Suisse » ?

1 Elle/il n'est pas du tout d'accord ☐
2 ☐
3 ☐
4 ☐
5 ☐
6 ☐
7 Elle/il est tout à faire d'accord ☐

Section K

Nous abordons ici ta scolarité...

Quelle moyenne as-tu pour les cours suivants?

K1. Mathématiques

☐☐

K2. Français

☐☐

K3. Allemand

☐☐

K4. Dans quelle mesure es-tu d'accord avec les propositions ci-dessous?

	1 Pas du tout d'accord	2	3	4	5	6	7 Tout à fait d'accord
Je réussis la plupart des choses que j'entreprends à l'école	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
J'ai de bons résultats dans toutes les matières scolaires	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je travaille bien à l'école	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je me sens capable de comprendre tout ce que dit mon enseignant-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
J'aime aller à l'école	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Le matin, j'ai envie d'aller à l'école pour apprendre de nouvelles choses	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

K5. Dans quelle mesure es-tu d'accord avec les propositions ci-dessous?

	1 Pas du tout d'accord	2	3	4	5	6	7 Tout à fait d'accord
Quoiqu'il arrive, je suis sûr-e que je m'en sortirai	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je reste calme face aux difficultés, car je peux toujours faire confiance à mes qualités	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
À chaque problème j'arrive à trouver une solution	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lorsque je suis confronté-e à quelque chose de nouveau, je sais comment l'aborder	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Section L

À propos de ta vie de tous les jours...

L1. À la maison, t'arrive-t-il d'aider tes parents pour...

	Jamais	Plusieurs fois par année	Plusieurs fois par mois	Plusieurs fois par semaine	Tous les jours
... les repas, les courses?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... le rangement, les nettoyages, la vaisselle?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... la lessive, le repassage?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... le bricolage, les réparations?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... s'occuper d'un enfant de la famille, plus jeune que toi?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

L2. Dans ton temps libre, t'arrive-t-il de ...

	Jamais	Plusieurs fois par année	Plusieurs fois par mois	Plusieurs fois par semaine	Tous les jours
... regarder la télévision, des DVD, des vidéos?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... aller au cinéma?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... faire du shopping?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... lire des livres?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... aller à des concerts, au théâtre, à des expositions d'arts?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... passer du temps avec les ami-e-s?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... passer du temps avec la famille élargie (qui n'habite pas chez toi)?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... jouer aux cartes, aux jeux de société?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... écouter de la musique?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... pratiquer du sport ou de la danse, se promener ou faire des randonnées?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... aller assister à un événement sportif (pas à la télévision)?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... faire des travaux manuels, tels la couture, les bricolages, etc., pour le plaisir?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... passer du temps à l'ordinateur, sur Internet?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... jouer d'un instrument de musique, faire du théâtre, de la danse, du chant, etc.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Section M

Pour conclure, nous aimerions encore te poser quelques questions plus générales.

M1. Dans quel établissement scolaire étudies-tu?

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

M2. En quelle année scolaire es-tu?

☐☐ *ème*

M3. Dans quelle classe es-tu?

☐☐☐☐☐☐

M4. Et dans quelle section/voie scolaire?

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

M5. Es-tu une fille ou un garçon?

Fille ☐

Garçon ☐

M6. Quelle est ta date de naissance (JJ/MM/AAAA)?

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

M7. Quel est ton lieu de naissance?

☐ Je suis né-e en Suisse → **Aller à M10**

☐ Je suis né-e à l'étranger

M8. Dans quel pays?

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

M9. Si tu es né-e à l'étranger, à quel âge es-tu venu-e en Suisse?

☐☐ *ans*

M10. Quelle est ta nationalité?

☐ J'ai seulement la nationalité suisse → **Aller à M12**

☐ J'ai la nationalité suisse et une autre nationalité

☐ Je n'ai pas la nationalité suisse

M11. De quel autre pays as-tu la nationalité?

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

M12. Combien de soeurs as-tu (y compris les demi-soeurs)?

☐ *soeurs*

M13. Combien de frères as-tu (y compris les demi-frères)?

☐ *frères*

M14. Es-tu l'ainé-e de la famille (la/le plus agé-e de tes soeurs et frères)?

☐ Oui

☐ Non

☐ Nous ne parlons pas de mon projet professionnel ensemble

M15. Avec combien d'adultes (+18 ans) vis-tu?

☐☐ *adultes*

M16. Avec combien d'enfants entre 6 et 17 ans vis-tu?

☐☐ *enfants entre 6 et 17 ans*

M17. Avec combien d'enfants de moins de 6 ans vis-tu?

☐☐ *enfants de moins de 6 ans*

M18. Dans quel canton vit ta famille?

- ☐ Berne
- ☐ Genève
- ☐ Obwald
- ☐ Valais
- ☐ Argovie
- ☐ Fribourg
- ☐ Saint-Gall
- ☐ Tessin
- ☐ Vaud

M19. Peux-tu indiquer le plus haut de formation que ta mère a atteint (avec diplôme ou certificat)?

Si elle n'a pas effectué sa formation en Suisse, coche la case qui correspondrait le mieux à son niveau de formation.

- ☐ École primaire
- ☐ Cycle d'orientation, école secondaire
- ☐ Formation professionnelle initiale
- ☐ Apprentissage (CFC), Écoles professionnelles, Entreprises formatrices
- ☐ Écoles de culture générale (ECG) (Maturité spécialisée, certificat d'ECG), Écoles de degré diplôme (EDD), École commerciale
- ☐ Écoles de maturité (maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale), Gymnase, Collège, École normale, Études pédagogiques, École supérieure de commerce
- ☐ Écoles pour maturité après apprentissage et pour adultes (Maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale)
- ☐ Formation professionnelle (deuxième formation)
- ☐ Hautes écoles spécialisées (HES), Hautes écoles pédagogiques (HEP) (Master, bachelor, diplôme, postgrade)
- ☐ Hautes écoles universitaires, Écoles polytechniques fédérales (EPF) (Master, bachelor, licence, diplôme, postgrade)
- ☐ Doctorat, PhD
- ☐ Autre formation

M20. Peux-tu indiquer le plus haut de formation que ton père a atteint (avec diplôme ou certificat)?

S'il n'a pas effectué sa formation en Suisse, coche la case qui correspondrait le mieux à son niveau de formation.

- ☐ École primaire
- ☐ Cycle d'orientation, école secondaire
- ☐ Formation professionnelle initiale
- ☐ Apprentissage (CFC), Écoles professionnelles, Entreprises formatrices
- ☐ Écoles de culture générale (ECG) (Maturité spécialisée, certificat d'ECG), Écoles de degré diplôme (EDD), École commerciale
- ☐ Écoles de maturité (maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale), Gymnase, Collège, École normale, Études pédagogiques, École supérieure de commerce
- ☐ Écoles pour maturité après apprentissage et pour adultes (Maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale)
- ☐ Formation professionnelle (deuxième formation)
- ☐ Hautes écoles spécialisées (HES), Hautes écoles pédagogiques (HEP) (Master, bachelor, diplôme, postgrade)
- ☐ Hautes écoles universitaires, Écoles polytechniques fédérales (EPF) (Master, bachelor, licence, diplôme, postgrade)
- ☐ Doctorat, PhD
- ☐ Autre formation

M21. Ta mère exerce-t-elle un métier?

- ☐ Oui
- ☐ Non → **Aller à M24**

M22. Si oui, lequel?

M23. Peux-tu indiquer si elle travaille à ...?

- ☐ 50% ou moins
- ☐ Entre 51% et 80%
- ☐ Entre 81% à 100% (plein temps ou presque)

M24. Ton père, exerce-t-il un métier?

- ☐ Oui
- ☐ Non → **Aller à M27**

M25. Si oui, lequel?

M26. Peux-tu indiquer s'il travaille à ...?

- ☐ 50% ou moins
- ☐ Entre 51% et 80%
- ☐ Entre 81% à 100%

M27. Tes parents vivent-ils toujours ensemble?

- ☐ Oui → **Aller à M29**
- ☐ Non

M28. Depuis quelle année sont-ils séparés ou divorcés (veuvage y compris)?

☐☐☐☐

M29. Merci beaucoup de ta précieuse participation! Tes réponses sont complètement anonymes et ne seront utilisées qu'à des fins scientifiques. Tu peux ajouter ici des commentaires, si tu le souhaites.

Merci beaucoup pour votre participation

Ce questionnaire est complètement anonyme, ce qui signifie que vous pouvez être recontacté pour un rappel éventuel. Si vous ne désirez plus recevoir de courrier de notre part, glissez simplement la lettre que nous vous avons envoyé dans l'enveloppe retour avec le questionnaire rempli ou faites le nous savoir par lettre ou email.

Aspirations et orientations professionnelles des élèves, questionnaire enseignants

Instructions

Pour répondre, cocher la case appropriée: ☒

Retour

Merci de renvoyer le questionnaire complété à

Service de la recherche en éducation, DIP, Genève (SRED)
Enquête PNR60
Quai du Rhône 12
Genève 1205 Suisse

Solution Web

Si vous préférez remplir ce questionnaire en ligne
vous pouvez utiliser le site:

http://www.socialsurvey.ch

Université de Lausanne, MISC-SSP et SRED

Merci d'avance de répondre à toutes les questions

Section A

Nous allons commencer par parler de la suite de la formation de votre enfant (qui a participé en classe à l'enquête)...

A1. Mais auparavant merci d'indiquer le numéro du questionnaire que votre enfant a ramené *

A2. Pouvez-vous nous dire où vous l'imaginez être...

S'il vous plaît, lisez attentivement toutes les propositions ci-dessous avant de répondre et ne cochez qu'une seule case par colonne.

	...juste après l'école obligatoire?	...entre trois et quatre ans après l'école obligatoire?	...entre cinq et sept ans après l'école obligatoire?
Sur le marché du travail	☐	☐	☐
En transition (10ème année, en pré-apprentissage, etc.)	☐	☐	☐
En apprentissage	☐	☐	☐
En école professionnelle à plein temps	☐	☐	☐
En école de maturité ou de diplôme	☐	☐	☐
Dans une haute école (Université, école polytechnique, HES, HEP)	☐	☐	☐

A3. Si vous avez mentionné un apprentissage, s'agit il de …

Veuillez sélectionner une seule des propositions suivantes.

- En apprentissage professionnel dans les arts appliqués (par ex. bijoutier/-ière, cordonnier/-ière, décorateur/-trice, graphiste, photographe) ☐
- En apprentissage professionnel dans le commerce, la vente, l'hôtellerie ou la restauration ☐
- En apprentissage professionnel dans la construction ou la technique (par ex: , maçon-ne, menuisier/-ière, mécanicien-ne, électronicien-ne) ☐
- En apprentissage professionnel dans le domaine de la nature et l'environnement (par ex: agriculteur/-trice, fleuriste, bûcheron-ne) ☐
- En apprentissage professionnel dans la santé ou le social (par ex: assistant-e médical-e, laborantin-e, assistant-e socio-éducatif/-ve) ☐

A4. Si vous avez mentionné une hautes école, pouvez-vous préciser ?

S'il vous plaît, ne cochez qu'une seule case pour votre réponse.

- Une haute école (Université/école polytechnique/HES) en Sciences humaines et sociales (sociologie, sciences politiques, travail social, économie et gestion, histoire, géographie, psychologie, etc.) ☐
- Une haute école (Université/école polytechnique/HES) en Sciences du vivant (biologie, médecine, soins infirmiers, agronomie, sciences de l'environnement, etc.) ☐
- Une haute école (Université/école polytechnique/HES) en Sciences naturelles (chimie, physique, géologie, etc.) ☐
- Une haute école (Université/école polytechnique/HES) en Sciences de l'ingénieur-e (mathématiques, informatique, ingénierie, architecture, etc.) ☐
- Une haute école (Université/école polytechnique/HES) en Art (musique, théâtre, architecture d'intérieur, graphisme, design, stylisme) ☐
- À la HEP/Écoles pédagogiques (enseignement primaire et secondaire, formateur/-trice d'adultes, sports, etc.) ☐

Section B

Continuons maintenant sur son avenir professionnel...

B1. Quel métier espérez-vous que votre enfant exerce à l'âge de 30 ans?

Section C

Nous aimerions savoir comment vous percevez certains métiers...

C1. C'est un métier intéressant.

Veuillez utiliser l'échelle allant de 1 à 7 pour votre réponse.

	1 Pas du tout intéressant	2	3	4	5	6	7 Extrêmement intéressant
Mécanicien-ne	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Coiffeur/-euse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Employé-e de bureau	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Psychologue	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ingénieur-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avocat-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

C2. C'est un métier prestigieux/bien considéré par la société

	1 Pas du tout prestigieux	2	3	4	5	6	7 Extrêmement prestigieux
Mécanicien-ne	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Coiffeur/-euse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Employé-e de bureau	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Psychologue	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ingénieur-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avocat-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

C3. Les études nécessaires pour exercer ce métier sont très difficiles

	1 Pas du tout difficiles	2	3	4	5	6	7 Extrêmement difficiles
Mécanicien-ne	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Coiffeur/-euse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Employé-e de bureau	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Psychologue	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ingénieur-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avocat-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

C4. S'agit-il plutôt d'un métier de femmes ou plutôt d'un métier d'hommes?

	1 Un métier de femmes	2	3	4	5	6	7 Un métier d'hommes
Mécanicien-ne	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Coiffeur/-euse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Employé-e de bureau	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Psychologue	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ingénieur-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avocat-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

C5. Vous pourriez imaginer votre enfant exercer ce métier plus tard.

	1 Pas du tout	2	3	4	5	6	7 Tout à fait
Mécanicien-ne	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Coiffeur/-euse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Employé-e de bureau	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Psychologue	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ingénieur-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avocat-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

C6. Lorsque vous pensez à l'avenir de votre enfant, qu'est-ce qui est important selon vous?

Veuillez utiliser l'échelle allant de 1 à 7 pour votre réponse.

	1 Pas du tout important	2	3	4	5	6	7 Tout à fait important
Avoir un travail dans lequel votre enfant peut toujours apprendre quelque chose de nouveau	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avoir une profession dans laquelle votre enfant peut vraiment valoriser ses capacités	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avoir un travail dans lequel votre enfant a de nombreux contacts humains	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avoir un travail qui lui donne le sentiment que ce que votre enfant fait a du sens	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Gagner beaucoup d'argent, un bon salaire	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avoir une profession avec des bonnes possibilités de promotion	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avoir un travail qui est reconnu et estimé par les autres	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avoir des enfants	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avoir beaucoup de temps pour soi	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Passer son temps libre avec ses ami-e-s	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Section D

Abordons maintenant un autre sujet: l'égalité entre femmes et hommes, puis l'égalité dans notre société...

D1. Nous aimerions connaître votre opinion sur les affirmations ci-dessous.

Veuillez utiliser l'échelle allant de 1 à 7 pour votre réponse.

	Pas du tout d'accord						Tout à fait d'accord
Les femmes sont en général moins intelligentes que les hommes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je me sentirais tout aussi à l'aise d'avoir une femme qu'un homme comme chef-fe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Il est plus important d'encourager les garçons que les filles à participer à des compétitions sportives	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les femmes sont aussi capables que les hommes de penser logiquement	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Quand les deux parents ont un emploi et que leur enfant est malade à l'école, celle-ci devrait appeler la mère plutôt que le père	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les inégalités entre les femmes et les hommes ne sont plus un problème en Suisse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les femmes n'obtiennent souvent pas de bons postes à cause de la discrimination sexuelle	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Généralement, hommes et femmes sont présenté-e-s de la même manière à la télévision	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Dans notre société, femmes et hommes ont les mêmes droits au sein du couple	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
La société d'aujourd'hui offre aux femmes et aux hommes les mêmes possibilités de réussir dans la vie	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Il est facile de comprendre la colère des groupes de femmes en Suisse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Il est facile de comprendre pourquoi certaines femmes sont encore aujourd'hui préoccupées par les limites que la société leur impose	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ces dernières années, le gouvernement et les médias ont montré plus d'intérêt aux réelles conditions de vie des femmes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D2. Et à propos des affirmations suivantes?

	Pas du tout d'accord						Tout à fait d'accord
Un homme n'est pas vraiment « complet » en tant que personne s'il n'est pas aimé d'une femme	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lors d'une catastrophe, les femmes doivent être sauvées avant les hommes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les femmes se vexent trop rapidement	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Souvent les femmes n’apprécient pas suffisamment ce que les hommes font pour elles	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tout homme devrait avoir une femme qu'il adore	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les femmes exagèrent les problèmes qu'elles rencontrent au travail	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Quand les femmes perdent une compétition contre un homme, elles se plaignent d'être l'objet de discrimination	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les femmes ont un plus grand sens moral que les hommes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les hommes doivent subvenir financièrement aux besoins des femmes, quitte à sacrifier leur propre bien-être	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Les femmes, comparées aux hommes, ont tendance à être plus cultivées et à avoir plus de bon goût	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D3. À votre avis, dans quelle mesure une fille/un garçon doit correspondre aux qualificatifs listés ci-dessous ? (Répndez en fonction du sexe de votre enfant enquêté). Elle/il doit …

S'il vous plaît, répondez en fonction du sexe de votre enfant concerné-e par l'enquête (par. ex. si votre enfant est une fille, comment pensez-vous qu'une fille doit être?).

	Pas du tout d'accord						Tout à fait d'accord
Être indépendant-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Être compréhensif/-ve	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avoir confiance en soi	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Être affectueux/-euse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Savoir défendre ses opinions	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avoir une forte personnalité	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Être sympathique	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avoir des qualités de commandement	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Être attentif/-ve aux besoins des autres	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Donner volontiers son avis	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Être sensible aux peines et aux problèmes des autres	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Être prêt-e à consoler les gens	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Être dominateur/-trice	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Être chaleureux/-euse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Être tendre	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Se comporter en chef-fe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Être agressif/-ve	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Aimer les enfants	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Savoir prendre des risques	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Être doux/-ce	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D4. D'une manière générale, dans quelle mesure les caractéristiques proposées dans la liste suivante sont-elles importantes pour définir qui vous êtes?

	1 Pas du tout important	2	3	4	5	6	7 Tout à fait important
Votre sexe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Votre religion	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Votre nationalité	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Votre milieu social	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D5. Les caractéristiques suivantes sont-elles importantes pour réussir dans la vie?

	1 Pas du tout important	2	3	4	5	6	7 Tout à fait important
Venir d'une famille riche	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avoir des parents avec un bon niveau d'études	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avoir soi-même un bon niveau d'études	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Être ambitieux/-euse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Travailler dur	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Connaître des personnes importantes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Être blanc / blanche	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Appartenir à une communauté religieuse	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Être une femme	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D6. Dans notre société, il y a des personnes plus favorisées qui se situent « en haut » de l'échelle sociale, et d'autres moins favorisées qui se situent « en bas » de cette échelle. Où pensez-vous vous trouver?

Veuillez utilisez l'échelle ci-dessus pour votre réponse. S'il vous plaît, ne cochez qu'une seule case.

Tout en haut ☐

☐

☐

☐

☐

☐

☐

☐

☐

Tout en bas ☐

Section E

À propos de l'organisation et de la vie dans votre ménage...

E1. Diriez-vous que vous faites personnellement presque tout, les trois quarts, la moitié, un quart, ou moins dans les domaines suivants?

	Moins qu'un quart	Un quart	La moitié	Les trois quarts	Presque tout
Les repas, les courses	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Le rangement, les nettoyages, la vaisselle	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
La lessive, le repassage	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Le bricolage, les réparations	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
S'occuper de votre/vos enfant-s (notamment habillement, toilette, repas)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

E2. Nous aimerions savoir ce que vous faites durant votre temps libre. À quelle fréquence vous arrive-t-il de consacrer du temps aux activités de loisirs suivantes?

	Jamais	Plusieurs fois par année	Plusieurs fois par mois	Plusieurs fois par semaine	Tous les jours
Regarder la télévision, des DVD, des vidéos	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Aller au cinéma	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Faire du shopping	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lire des livres	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Aller à des concerts, au théâtre, à des expositions d'arts	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Passer du temps avec les ami-e-s	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Passer du temps avec la famille élargie (qui n'habite pas chez vous)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jouer aux cartes, aux jeux de société	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Écouter de la musique	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Faire du sport, aller au fitness, se promener ou faire des randonnées	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Aller assister à un événement sportif (pas à la télévision)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Faire des travaux manuels, tels la couture, les bricolages, etc., pour le plaisir	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Passer du temps à l'ordinateur, sur Internet	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jouer d'un instrument de musique, faire du théâtre, de la danse, du chant, etc.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

E3. Veuillez, s'il vous plaît, nous indiquer à quelle fréquence vous adoptez les comportements suivants:

Veuillez utiliser l'échelle allant de 1 à 7 pour votre réponse.

	1 Toujours	2	3	4	5	6	7 Jamais
Je prends en considération les souhaits de mon enfant avant de lui demander de faire quelque chose	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
J'encourage mon enfant à parler de ses sentiments et problèmes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je fais preuve de compréhension et je réconforte mon enfant quand elle/il est triste	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je fais des compliments à mon enfant	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je respecte les opinions de mon enfant et je l'encourage à les exprimer	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je punis mon enfant en lui interdisant de faire certaines choses (par ex. TV, jeux, visite des ami.e.s)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je crie lorsque je désapprouve le comportement de mon enfant	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
J'utilise la menace comme une forme de punition sans me justifier	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je critique ouvertement mon enfant lorsque son comportement ne correspond pas à mes attentes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je rappelle à mon enfant que je suis sa mère/son père	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je cède à mon enfant lorsqu'il fait une crise à propos de quelque chose	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je gâte mon enfant	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

E4. Si vous cumulez toutes les sources de revenu de votre ménage (salaires de tous les membres du foyer, rentes, indemnités de la caisse chômage, de l'aide sociale, etc.), quelle catégorie décrit le mieux le revenu mensuel net total de votre ménage ?

Veuillez utiliser l'échelle ci-dessus pour votre réponse.

- ☐ Moins de CHF 1’100
- ☐ CHF 1’100 à moins de CHF 1’800
- ☐ CHF 1'800 à moins de CHF 2’600
- ☐ CHF 2’600 à moins de CHF 2’900
- ☐ CHF 2’900 à moins de CHF 3’500
- ☐ CHF 3’500 à moins de CHF 4’200
- ☐ CHF 4’200 à moins de CHF 4’400
- ☐ CHF 4’400 à moins de CHF 5’100
- ☐ CHF 5’100 à moins de CHF 5’300
- ☐ CHF 5’300 à moins de CHF 5’900
- ☐ CHF 5’900 à moins de CHF 6’400
- ☐ CHF 6’400 à moins de CHF 7’000
- ☐ CHF 7’000 à moins de CHF 7’400
- ☐ CHF 7'400 à moins de CHF 8’600
- ☐ CHF 8’600 à moins de CHF 8’800
- ☐ CHF 8’800 à moins de CHF 10’200
- ☐ CHF 10’200 à moins de CHF 12’000
- ☐ CHF 12’000 à moins de CHF 15’000
- ☐ CHF 15’000 ou plus

Section F

Concernant votre parcours de formation, ainsi que votre parcours professionnel...

F1. Quel est le plus haut niveau de formation que vous avez atteint (avec diplôme ou certificat)?

Si vous n'avez pas effectué votre formation en Suisse, cochez la case qui correspondrait le mieux à votre niveau de formation.

- ☐ École primaire
- ☐ Cycle d'orientation, école secondaire
- ☐ Formation professionnelle initiale
- ☐ Apprentissage (CFC), Écoles professionnelles, Entreprises formatrices
- ☐ Écoles de culture générale (ECG) (Maturité spécialisée, certificat d'ECG), Écoles de degré diplôme (EDD), École commerciale
- ☐ Écoles de maturité (maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale), Gymnase, Collège, École normale, Études pédagogiques, École supérieure de commerce
- ☐ Écoles pour maturité après apprentissage et pour adultes (Maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale)
- ☐ Formation professionnelle (deuxième formation)
- ☐ Hautes écoles spécialisées (HES), Hautes écoles pédagogiques (HEP) (Master, bachelor, diplôme, postgrade)
- ☐ Hautes écoles universitaires, Écoles polytechniques fédérales (EPF) (Master, bachelor, licence, diplôme, postgrade)
- ☐ Doctorat, PhD
- ☐ Autre formation

F2. Merci d'indiquer ici les principales étapes de votre parcours professionnel ces 30 dernières années.

Pour chaque année, veuillez cocher le type d'occupation exercée avec 1. profession dirigeante, 2. profession libérale, 3.autre indépendant, 4. profession intellectuelle et d'encadrement (y compris enseignant.e), 5. profession intermédiaire (technicien, infirmier), 6. employé qualifié (avec apprentissage), 7. ouvrier qualifié et 8. travailleur non-qualifié (colonnes de 1 à 8) ET votre taux d'occupation à ce moment-là (colonnes « a » et « b »). Si vous avez été au foyer et/ou été sans emploi durant l'année, ne cochez que la colonne « c ».

	1. Direction	2. Prof. libérales	3. Autre indépendant	4. Prof. Intell. et cadre	5. Prof. intermédiaires	6. Employé qualifié	7. Ouvrier qualifié	8. Travailleur non qualifié	a. Plein temps	b. Temps partiel	c. Au foyer ou sans emploi (formation, chômage, etc.)
1985	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1986	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1987	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1988	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1989	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1990	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1991	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1992	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1993	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1994	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1995	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1996	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1997	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1998	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1999	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2000	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2001	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2002	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2003	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2004	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2005	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2006	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2007	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2008	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2009	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2010	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

F3. Et aujourd'hui avez-vous un travail rémunéré ?

oui ☐

non ☐

F4. Combien d'heure travaillez-vous en moyenne par semaine, en comptant les heures supplémentaires?

Si vous travaillez pour plus d'un employeur/-euse ou si vous êtes en même temps employé-e et indépendant-e, merci d'indiquer le nombre total d'heures que vous travaillez

☐☐ *heures*

Les questions suivantes reviennent en détail sur votre activité professionnelle. Si vous avez plus d'un travail, pensez à votre emploi principal. Si vous êtes actuellement sans emploi, en invalidité ou retraité-e, répondez en fonction du dernier travail que vous avez eu.

F5. Êtes-vous... ?

- ☐ Employé-e
- ☐ Indépendant-e, sans employé-e-s
- ☐ Indépendant, avec employé-e-s
- ☐ Collaborateur/-trice de l'entreprise familiale

F6. Combien avez-vous d'employé-e-s?

Veuillez noter le nombre d'employé-e-s (sans vous compter vous-même).

☐☐☐☐ *employés*

F7. Supervisez-vous d'autres employé-e-s?

Cochez une seule case

- ☐ Oui
- ☐ Non

F8. Combien d'employé-e-s supervisez-vous?

☐☐☐☐ *Employé-e-s*

F9. Dans quel type d'organisation travaillez-vous?

- ☐ Je travaille pour une organisation à but lucratif
- ☐ Je travaille pour une organisation à but non-lucratif

F10. Travaillez-vous pour... ?

Cochez une seule case

- ☐ ... une organisation/entreprise publique
- ☐ ... une organisation/entreprise privée

F11. Quel est votre travail, c'est-à-dire le nom ou le titre de votre travail?

Merci d'écrire avec un maximum de précision

F12. Dans votre travail, quel type d'activité faites-vous le plus souvent?

Merci d'écrire avec un maximum de précision

F13. Qu'est-ce que l'entreprise ou organisation dans laquelle vous travaillez fait principalement?

Merci d'écrire avec un maximum de précision

F14. Laquelle des propositions suivantes correspond-elle le mieux à votre situation actuelle?

Si vous ne travaillez temporairement pas à cause de maladie, congé parental, vacances, etc... , merci de vous référer à votre situation de travail habituelle.

- ☐ Travail rémunéré (employé-e, indépendant-e, collaborateur/-trice d'une entreprise familiale)?
- ☐ Sans emploi mais à la recherche de travail
- ☐ En formation (sauf payée par l'employeur/-euse), collégien-ne, étudiant-e (même en période de vacances)
- ☐ Apprentissage
- ☐ Invalide (au bénéfice d'une rente AI complète)
- ☐ Retraité-e
- ☐ Homme ou femme au foyer
- ☐ Service militaire obligatoire ou service civil
- ☐ Autre

Section G

Et encore quelques questions à propos de vous...

G1. Pour chacune des situations suivantes, pouvez-vous indiquer dans quelle mesure vous estimez probable ou non que cela vous arrive dans les prochaines années ?

	Très probable						Très improbable
Me trouver au chômage	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ne pas avoir assez d'argent à la fin du mois	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Souffrir d'être seul-e	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Devoir vivre de l'aide sociale	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

G2. Dans quelle mesure êtes-vous d'accord avec les propositions ci-dessous?

	Pas du tout d'accord						Tout à fait d'accord
Quoiqu'il arrive, je suis sûr-e que je m'en sortirai	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Je reste calme face aux difficultés, car je peux toujours faire confiance à mes qualités	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
À chaque problème j'arrive à trouver une solution	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lorsque je suis confronté-e à quelque chose de nouveau, je sais comment l'aborder	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Section H

À propos de votre enfant (qui a été interrogé à l'école)...

H1. Dans quel établissement scolaire étudie-t-elle/il?

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

H2. En quelle année scolaire est-elle/il?

☐☐ *ème*

H3. Dans quelle classe est-elle/il?

☐☐☐☐☐☐

H4. Et dans quelle section/voie scolaire?

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

H5. Est-elle/il une fille ou un garçon?

Fille ☐

Garçon ☐

H6. Quelle est sa date de naissance (JJ/MM/AAAA)?

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Section I

Pour conclure, nous aimerions encore vous poser quelques questions a propos de vous

I1. Quel est votre sexe ?

Femme ☐

Homme ☐

I2. Quelle est votre année de naissance ?

☐☐☐☐

I3. Quel est votre lieu de naissance?

Je suis né-e en Suisse ☐

Je suis né-e à l'étranger ☐

I4. Si vous êtes né-e à l'étranger, dans quel pays?

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

I5. Si vous êtes né-e à l'étranger, à quel âge êtes-vous venu-e en Suisse?

☐☐ *ans*

I6. Quelle est votre nationalité?

J'ai seulement la nationalité suisse ☐

J'ai la nationalité suisse et une autre nationalité ☐

Je n'ai pas la nationalité suisse ☐

I7. De quel autre pays avez-vous la nationalité?

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

I8. Quel est votre état civil ?

- ☐ Célibataire
- ☐ En ménage avec un-e partenaire
- ☐ Marié-e
- ☐ Séparé-e ou divorcé-e
- ☐ Veuf-ve

I9. Si vous n'êtes pas actuellement marié-e ou en ménage avec quelqu'un, l'avez-vous été par le passé?

- ☐ Oui
- ☐ Non **Aller à I12**

I10. Est-ce que vous et la mère/le père de votre enfant (qui a été interrogé-e à l'école) vivez toujours ensemble?

- ☐ Oui
- ☐ Non

I11. Si la réponse est non, en quelle année le couple s'est-il séparé ou divorcé (veuvage y compris)?

☐☐☐☐

I12. Combien d'adultes (+18 ans) vivent actuellement dans votre ménage (vous y compris)?

☐☐ *adultes*

I13. Combien d'enfants entre 6 et 17 ans vivent actuellement dans votre ménage?

☐☐ *enfants entre 6 et 17 ans*

I14. Combien d'enfants de moins de 6 ans vivent actuellement dans votre ménage?

☐☐ *enfants de moins de 6 ans*

Section J

Concernant les soeurs et frères de votre enfant (qui a été interrogé-e à l'école), veuillez indiquez, pour chacun-e d'entre-eux/-elles, ...

J1. Votre enfant interrogé à l'école a-t-il des frères et soeurs

Oui ☐

Non ☐

J2. Si oui, combien

☐☐

J3. Le plus âgé d'entre eux est-il une fille ou un garçon?

Fille ☐

Garçon ☐

J4. Quel est son âge?

☐☐ *ans*

J5. Quelle est sa formation (en cours ou achevée)?

École primaire ☐

Cycle d'orientation, école secondaire ☐

Formation professionnelle initiale ☐

Apprentissage (CFC), Écoles professionnelles, Entreprises formatrices ☐

Écoles de culture générale (ECG) (Maturité spécialisée, certificat d'ECG), Écoles de degré diplôme (EDD), École commerciale ☐

Écoles de maturité (maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale), Gymnase, Collège, École normale, Études pédagogiques, École supérieure de commerce ☐

Écoles pour maturité après apprentissage et pour adultes (Maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale) ☐

Formation professionnelle (deuxième formation) ☐

Hautes écoles spécialisées (HES), Hautes écoles pédagogiques (HEP) (Master, bachelor, diplôme, postgrade) ☐

Hautes écoles universitaires, Écoles polytechniques fédérales (EPF) (Master, bachelor, licence, diplôme, postgrade) ☐

Doctorat, PhD ☐

Autre formation ☐

J6. S'il travaille actuellement, quelle est sa profession?

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

J7. Le deuxième d'entre eux est-il une fille ou un garçon?

- Fille ☐
- Garçon ☐

J8. Quel est son âge?

☐☐ *ans*

J9. Quelle est sa formation (en cours ou achevée)?

- École primaire ☐
- Cycle d'orientation, école secondaire ☐
- Formation professionnelle initiale ☐
- Apprentissage (CFC), Écoles professionnelles, Entreprises formatrices ☐
- Écoles de culture générale (ECG) (Maturité spécialisée, certificat d'ECG), Écoles de degré diplôme (EDD), École commerciale ☐
- Écoles de maturité (maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale), Gymnase, Collège, École normale, Études pédagogiques, École supérieure de commerce ☐
- Écoles pour maturité après apprentissage et pour adultes (Maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale) ☐
- Formation professionnelle (deuxième formation) ☐
- Hautes écoles spécialisées (HES), Hautes écoles pédagogiques (HEP) (Master, bachelor, diplôme, postgrade) ☐
- Hautes écoles universitaires, Écoles polytechniques fédérales (EPF) (Master, bachelor, licence, diplôme, postgrade) ☐ ▶ **Aller à K9**
- Doctorat, PhD ☐
- Autre formation ☐

J10. S'il travaille actuellement, quelle est sa profession?

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

J11. Le troisième d'entre eux est-il une fille ou un garçon?

- Fille ☐
- Garçon ☐

J12. Quel est son âge?

☐☐ *ans*

J13. Quelle est sa formation (en cours ou achevée)?

- ☐ École primaire
- ☐ Cycle d'orientation, école secondaire
- ☐ Formation professionnelle initiale
- ☐ Apprentissage (CFC), Écoles professionnelles, Entreprises formatrices
- ☐ Écoles de culture générale (ECG) (Maturité spécialisée, certificat d'ECG), Écoles de degré diplôme (EDD), École commerciale
- ☐ Écoles de maturité (maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale), Gymnase, Collège, École normale, Études pédagogiques, École supérieure de commerce
- ☐ Écoles pour maturité après apprentissage et pour adultes (Maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale)
- ☐ Formation professionnelle (deuxième formation)
- ☐ Hautes écoles spécialisées (HES), Hautes écoles pédagogiques (HEP) (Master, bachelor, diplôme, postgrade)
- ☐ Hautes écoles universitaires, Écoles polytechniques fédérales (EPF) (Master, bachelor, licence, diplôme, postgrade)
- ☐ Doctorat, PhD
- ☐ Autre formation

J14. S'il travaille actuellement, quelle est sa profession?

J15. Le quatrième d'entre eux est-il une fille ou un garçon?

- ☐ Fille
- ☐ Garçon

J16. Quel est son âge?

		ans

J17. Quelle est sa formation (en cours ou achevée)?

- ☐ École primaire
- ☐ Cycle d'orientation, école secondaire
- ☐ Formation professionnelle initiale
- ☐ Apprentissage (CFC), Écoles professionnelles, Entreprises formatrices
- ☐ Écoles de culture générale (ECG) (Maturité spécialisée, certificat d'ECG), Écoles de degré diplôme (EDD), École commerciale
- ☐ Écoles de maturité (maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale), Gymnase, Collège, École normale, Études pédagogiques, École supérieure de commerce
- ☐ Écoles pour maturité après apprentissage et pour adultes (Maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale)
- ☐ Formation professionnelle (deuxième formation)
- ☐ Hautes écoles spécialisées (HES), Hautes écoles pédagogiques (HEP) (Master, bachelor, diplôme, postgrade)
- ☐ Hautes écoles universitaires, Écoles polytechniques fédérales (EPF) (Master, bachelor, licence, diplôme, postgrade)
- ☐ Doctorat, PhD
- ☐ Autre formation

J18. S'il travaille actuellement, quelle est sa profession?

Section K

Nous aimerions vous poser quelques questions à propos de l'autre parent de votre enfant (qui a participé en classe à l'enquête)

K1. Quelle a été plus haute formation qu'elle/il ait suivie ?

- ☐ École primaire
- ☐ Cycle d'orientation, école secondaire
- ☐ Formation professionnelle initiale
- ☐ Apprentissage (CFC), Écoles professionnelles, Entreprises formatrices
- ☐ Écoles de culture générale (ECG) (Maturité spécialisée, certificat d'ECG), Écoles de degré diplôme (EDD), École commerciale
- ☐ Écoles de maturité (maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale), Gymnase, Collège, École normale, Études pédagogiques, École supérieure de commerce
- ☐ Écoles pour maturité après apprentissage et pour adultes (Maturité professionnelle et gymnasiale)
- ☐ Formation professionnelle (deuxième formation)
- ☐ Hautes écoles spécialisées (HES), Hautes écoles pédagogiques (HEP) (Master, bachelor, diplôme, postgrade)
- ☐ Hautes écoles universitaires, Écoles polytechniques fédérales (EPF) (Master, bachelor, licence, diplôme, postgrade)
- ☐ Doctorat, PhD
- ☐ Autre formation

Les questions suivantes reviennent sur l'activité professionnelle de l'autre parent de votre enfant. Si elle/il a plus d'un travail, répondez en pensant à son emploi principal. Si elle/il est actuellement sans emploi, en invalidité ou retraité-e, répondez en fonction du dernier travail qu'elle/il a eu.

K2. A-t-elle/il actuellement un emploi rémunéré ?

- ☐ Elle/il a actuellement un travail rémunéré
- ☐ Elle/il n'a actuellement pas de travail rémunéré mais en a eu un dans le passé
- ☐ Elle/il n'a jamais eu de travail rémunéré

K3. Combien d'heure travaille-t-elle/il en moyenne par semaine, en comptant les heures supplémentaires?

☐☐ *heures*

K4. Est-elle/il... ?

Cochez une seule case

- ☐ Employé-e
- ☐ Indépendant-e, sans employé-e-s
- ☐ Indépendant(e), avec employé-e-s
- ☐ Collaborateur/-trice de l'entreprise familiale

K5. Est-ce qu'elle/il supervise le travail d'autres employé-e-s?

- ☐ Oui
- ☐ Non

K6. Quel est son travail, c'est-à-dire le nom ou le titre de son travail?

Merci d'écrire avec un maximum de précision

K7. Dans son travail, quel type d'activité fait-elle/il le plus souvent?

Merci d'écrire avec un maximum de précision

K8. Qu'est-ce que l'entreprise ou organisation dans laquelle elle/il travaille fait principalement?

Merci d'écrire avec un maximum de précision

K9. Laquelle des propositions suivantes correspond-elle le mieux à sa situation actuelle

Si elle/il ne travaille temporairement pas à cause de maladie, congé parental, vacances, etc... , merci de vous référer à sa situation de travail habituelle.

- ☐ Travail rémunéré (employé-e, indépendant-e, collaborateur/-trice de l'entreprise familiale)?
- ☐ Sans emploi mais à la recherche de travail
- ☐ En formation (sauf payée par l'employeur/-euse), collégien-ne, étudiant-e (même en période de vacances)
- ☐ Apprentissage
- ☐ Invalide (au bénéfice d'une rente AI complète)
- ☐ Retraité-e
- ☐ Homme ou femme au foyer
- ☐ Service militaire obligatoire ou service civil
- ☐ Autre

K10. Merci beaucoup de votre précieuse participation! Vos réponses sont complètement anonymes et ne seront utilisée qu'à des fins scientifiques. Vous pouvez ajouter ici des commentaires, le cas échéant.

Merci beaucoup pour votre participation

Ce questionnaire sera traité de manière totalement anonyme