

Gender equality in work experience placements for young people

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Institute for Policy Studies in Education
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First published Spring 2005

ISBN: 1 84206 144 5

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We should like to thank the EOC, JIVE and the DfES for funding this research project, and Susan Botcherby, David Perfect, Anne Madden and David Darton at the EOC for selecting us to undertake the study. We appreciate the input of advice from the EOC team and the project Steering Group, and particularly the invaluable support of Susan Botcherby (EOC) throughout the project's duration. Susan Botcherby has also contributed directly to this report in processing the LSC data and compiling the relevant figures, and providing information about particular Women in Science organisations.

We are grateful to Ian Barrett, IPSE Research Administrator, whose contribution at the 'contacts' stage of research was immensely helpful and appreciated.

Finally, we should like to extend thanks to all respondents – the LSC personnel, EBP managers, teachers, careers advisers and pupils who took time out to complete questionnaires and/or be interviewed.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Gender stereotyping continues to be strongly evident in young people's occupational choices, with negative consequences in terms of sector skill shortages, inequality of opportunity, and inequality of work conditions and rewards. Work experience has a potentially important role in disrupting such trends by providing young people with broader, diverse and/or non-gender traditional experiences and ideas about the adult workplace. Yet, evidence has suggested that uptake of work experience placements¹ reflects and potentially perpetuates gender stereotyping.

The Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC), in collaboration with Joint Interventions (JIVE) and the Department for Education and Skills (DfES), commissioned this project in order to:

- establish the extent to which young people are undertaking stereotypical work experience placements;
- understand the reasons and processes behind this;
- highlight promising practice; and
- explore what might be done to facilitate change.

To this end, interviews were carried out with Education Business Partnership (EBP) managers and questionnaires were completed by 16 work experience coordinators in schools and 566 pupils (across 20 different schools). Analysis of data on over 90,000 placements provided by the national Learning and Skills Council (LSC) was included. Furthermore, in order to look more closely at processes and explanations, case studies were undertaken at four different schools in diverse locations involving interviews with pupils and key personnel.

KEY FINDINGS

Work experience placements are segregated by gender. According to LSC data, out of 10,256 national work experience placements covering mechanical, construction and engineering only 520 were undertaken by girls, or 5 per cent.

In the research sample:

- no girls undertook engineering placements (compared to 31 boys);
- only one girl undertook a placement in IT (compared to 18 boys);

¹ Work experience placements, usually undertaken by pupils in one or two week blocks towards the end of Year 10, are used by schools as the main component of work experience, with between 90-95 per cent of pupils engaged in such placements every year.

- no girls undertook placements in trade areas such as plumbing (compared to 6 boys);
- only two boys undertook placements in childcare (compared to 43 girls). Of the 43
- girls, only 29 had expressed a career interest in childcare.

When asked whether they would have liked to try a non-traditional work experience placement, 36 per cent of girls said yes and a further 33 per cent were undecided. 14 per cent of boys said yes and 38 per cent were undecided. These figures suggest that more pupils want to try non-traditional placements and this degree of interest is not presently facilitated or developed.

Only 15 per cent of girls and boys in the sample said they received advice or information about non-traditional placements.

Placements are linked to socio-economic grouping – some areas of work placement were not undertaken by any pupils who did not expect to go to university. These included IT, legal, media production, science, and medical and para medical professions. These pupils are indicatively in lower socio-economic groups and were also far less likely to undertake office and education placements and more likely than other pupils to take placements in hair and beauty, and semi/unskilled manual work.

EBP managers and school based work experience coordinators recognise the uptake of work experience placements to be overwhelmingly gender-stereotypical. However, challenging gender stereotyping was not a priority. EBP managers and work experience coordinators tended to see their priority in provision of work experience as freedom of choice for pupils, rather than widening opportunities or addressing workforce issues.

The encouragement of pupils to find their own placements and the patterns in uptake according to gender and socio-economic group hint at the problems created by the 'freedom of choice' model in perpetuating inequalities, as different pupils have different levels of knowledge of, and access to work placements through social networks.

When thinking about their future career, almost a half of girls and a third of boys said they would consider doing a job that is usually done by the opposite sex. This correlates with the figure who would have liked to try a non-traditional placement, suggesting a will for change that should not be underestimated.

The scarcity of training in equal opportunities issues, particularly in gender issues was uncovered as a factor in the research. Only two work experience coordinators in schools had received any training on equal opportunities issues for their role and in one case this focused exclusively on racial discrimination.

43 per cent of boys and 38 per cent of girls, particularly those not going to university, said that their placements had encouraged them to choose similar work in the future.

DETAILED FINDINGS

The organisation of work experience placement coordination and organisers' perspectives on gender stereotyping

EBP managers and school based work experience coordinators recognise the uptake of work experience placements to be overwhelmingly gender-stereotypical. However, challenging gender stereotyping was not a priority. EBP managers and work experience coordinators tended to see their priority in provision of work experience as freedom of choice for pupils, rather than widening opportunities or addressing workforce issues.

Methods of identification/allocation of placements in this study reflected a 'freedom of choice' ethos, with pupils positively encouraged to identify and often to arrange their own placements. Over half the coordinators said that the majority of pupils in their school self-identify work experience placements. This approach was considered 'entrepreneurial', and as reflecting freedom of choice.

The evidence for activities undertaken at EBP or school level to reduce gender stereotyping in work experience and careers was minimal. Activities and interventions employed tended to be short-lived and small-scale, usually targeted exclusively at girls and often involving small numbers of pupils.

The scarcity of training in equal opportunities issues, particularly in gender issues was uncovered as a factor in the research. Only two work experience coordinators in schools had received any training on equal opportunities issues for their role and in one case this focused exclusively on racial discrimination.

EBPs and other key organisations involved, collect useful data on gender and work experience placement take up, which is ultimately collated by the LSC. It was recognised that such data could be used as a resource to challenge stereotyping, though is not utilised for that purpose at present.

Pupils' uptake of work experience placements

Unsurprisingly, the uptake of work experience placements in our sample of 566 was highly gender stereotypical. For example, when examining work areas where there is a skills gap:

- no girls undertook engineering placements (compared to 31 boys);
- only one girl undertook a placement in IT (compared to 18 boys);
- no girls undertook placements in trade areas such as plumbing (although only 6 boys were involved here, probably indicating a scarcity of placements in these areas); and
- only two boys undertook placements in childcare (compared to 43 girls).

Our findings of highly stereotypical trends in work experience placement area according to gender are reinforced by national LSC data on over 90,000 placements. The LSC data strongly suggests that gender segregation is more marked in stereotypically male work experience placements. Out of 10,256 placements covering mechanical, construction and engineering only 520 were undertaken by girls, or 5 per cent. Out of 18,428 placements covering education/training and community care, 3,807 were undertaken by boys, or 21 per cent.

This trend is related to availability of work experience placements. Some placements are far more available than others – shortages of placement are often evident in work areas experiencing skills shortages. In the LSC data, 11,458 placements were available in mechanical, construction, engineering and building maintenance, compared to 25,928 in community care, education/training, health and personal service.

Placements are linked to socio-economic grouping – some areas of work placement were not undertaken by any pupils who did not expect to go to university. These included IT, legal, media production, science, and medical and para medical professions. These pupils are indicatively in lower socio-economic groups and were also far less likely to undertake office and education placements and more likely than other pupils to take placements in hair and beauty, engineering and semi/unskilled manual work.

The patterns in uptake according to gender and socio-economic group hint at the problems created by the 'freedom of choice' model in perpetuating inequalities, as different pupils have different levels of knowledge of, and access to work placements

through social networks. These issues and processes were clearly illustrated by the case study data.

There were clear differences between the range of work placements undertaken and the range of pupils' occupational aspirations. The range of work placements was narrower. There is a clear shortage of placements in particular areas to which pupils aspire (including areas experiencing skills shortages). There was little evidence that non-traditional placements were being prioritised in these areas. In some work areas the over-representation of placements to which few pupils aspire as future occupations was leading pupils to experience broadly non-traditional areas (such as boys in retail), but in others was channelling pupils into stereotypical areas. For example, in our sample:

- 43 girls undertook placements in childcare compared to only 29 who listed it as their choice of future occupation. This placement steer did not apply to boys in childcare, as only 2 boys undertook childcare placements.
- More than twice as many boys undertook placements in semi/unskilled manual labour as those who sought this for their career (26 boys, compared to only 12 who listed it as their choice of occupation). Again, only one girl undertook such a placement.

This evidence suggests that work experience placements are constraining occupational trajectories and extending stereotyping.

When asked whether they would have liked to try a non-traditional placement, a significant 36 per cent of girls said yes and a further 33 per cent were undecided. 14 per cent of boys said yes and 38 per cent were undecided. These figures suggest that more pupils want to try non-traditional placements and this degree of interest is not presently facilitated or developed.

Although only constituting 53 pupils in the sample, so this finding can only be considered suggestive, it is interesting to note that 33 per cent of South Asian pupils said that they would have liked to try a non-traditional placement, compared to 22 per cent of white pupils; and only 29 per cent said that they would not have liked to try such a placement, compared to 44 per cent of white pupils (the remainder answered they did not know). This contradicts the perceptions of some EBP co-ordinators who indicated that South Asian pupils are more gender stereotypical than white pupils in their attitudes and aspirations concerning work and work placement.

Only 15 per cent of girls and boys in the sample said they received advice or information about non-traditional placements.

When interviewed, those pupils who had purposefully undertaken anti-stereotypical placements appeared to have been more motivated/enabled to undertake them due to their individual interests, ideological perspectives, and strength of character, than by strategies from their school or employers.

Pupils' experiences of work experience placements

Pupils overwhelmingly enjoyed and valued their placements. The social aspects of the placements were rated somewhat more highly by pupils than the actual work involved, but pupils generally rated placements as beneficial in preparing them for the world of work.

There was evidence that placements had an impact upon challenging gender stereotyping, as some pupils drew on examples from their work experience to show that men and women have equal ability. This suggests, however, that traditional placements in gender-traditional environments may exacerbate previously held stereotypes. Unfortunately, in some instances, pupils who undertook non-gender traditional placements complained that they had been given gender-traditional tasks to perform, which affected the value of their experience.

The majority of pupils indicated that their work placements had affected their decisions about future work. 43 per cent of boys and 38 per cent of girls said that their work placement had encouraged them to choose work in that area. A smaller proportion (16 per cent boys; 22 per cent girls) said that placements had discouraged them from pursuing such work. Only 41 per cent of boys and 40 per cent of girls said that their work placements had not affected their decisions about future work at all.

Pupils' constructions of gender and work

When thinking about their future career, almost a half of girls and a third of boys said they would consider doing a job that is usually done by the opposite sex. This correlates with the figure who would have liked to try a non-traditional placement., suggesting a will for social change that should not be underestimated.

Pupils are not completely bound by gender stereotypical thinking in relation to their own interests or beliefs about occupations. Pupils clearly struggle with imagining themselves comfortably in atypical occupations.

Of those pupils who would not consider doing a job that is usually done by the opposite sex, boys in particular gave the reason that the sexes are better at different

jobs. This suggests that pupils' perceptions are drawn from and influenced by a highly segregated labour market. In exploratory interview situations, pupils were much more likely to suggest that both sexes can be equally good in gender stereotypical jobs.

Examples of promising practice

A range of initiatives and approaches exist to challenge gender stereotyping in work experience placement which, if joined up, offer potential to broaden pupils' horizons. These include class discussion on gender stereotyping generally and in careers; specific interventions provided by schools and outside organisations; and monitoring of placement experiences.

Various organisations are attempting to encourage pupils (particularly girls) into non gender-traditional careers, and some of these are increasingly attending to early experience from school to work which influence gendered decision-making – including work experience placement. Particularly, JIVE and the Gender Equality and Race Inclusion (GERI) project are building approaches which constitute promising practice for challenging gender stereotyping in work experience placements.

Implications and conclusions

The research leads us to suggest that:

- If the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) strategy of work-related learning is effectively implemented then it should enable pupils to critically reflect upon work practices, environments, conditions and opportunities in relation to gender equality.
- A new strategy is developed to put gender back on the work experience agenda developed centrally, in collaboration with key organisations such as the UK Resource Centre for Women in Science, Engineering and Technology, the Trident Trust, the EOC, EBPs and Connexions. The strategy is coordinated through key players and organisations, to ensure that approaches and provision are not fragmented.
- Pupils experience at least 2 different types of work placement with one in a non-traditional occupation.
- Data collection is improved and targets are set to reduce gender stereotyping in work experience placements.
- Guidance and information are provided for pupils that include the benefits and opportunities of non-traditional options.

- Guidance and training is provided for schools and employers to tackle gender stereotyping in work experience placements.
- Pupils are given appropriate support to succeed in a non-traditional placement.
- Promising practice and strategies developed by key organisations are integrated into future strategy.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research background and objectives

In June 2003, the EOC launched an investigation into gender segregation. The focus of the investigation, which is being funded by the European Social Fund (ESF), is on Apprenticeships, which are currently the main training route way into work for young people in Britain. It also concentrates on five occupational sectors where there are skill shortages: construction, plumbing, engineering, Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and childcare.

This study, which the Institute for Policy Studies in Education (IPSE) was commissioned to carry out in December 2003 is the fourth in a series of research studies that the EOC has set up to support the investigation. JIVE, DfES and the EOC funded the study. Work experience placements undertaken by young people constitute an important part of a young person's education in preparation for the world of work. Therefore, there are concerns that stereotypical work experience placements can have a negative and limiting impact upon young people's training and work choices. Stereotypical work experience placements are likely to compound occupational segregation in the labour market. The study of gender equality in work experience placements is, then, extremely important. It is vital to establish the extent to which young people are taking stereotypical placements, but also, to understand the reasons and processes behind this, and what might be done to facilitate change to open up a wider range of workplace opportunities.

This study aims to:

- explore the extent to which work experience placements in a sample of schools in England are currently stereotyped;
- examine work experience placements undertaken by Key Stage 4 pupils in a sample of schools according to gender and explore links with training and work choices;
- provide evidence to support non-traditional work experience placements for young men and women; and
- highlight promising practice around non-traditional work experience placements and discuss how this might be developed.

1.2 Research methodology

The research employed quantitative and qualitative methods and was designed to generate data from key respondents in four stages:

- Telephone interviews with representatives of Local Learning and Skills Councils (LLSCs);
- Telephone interviews with EBPs;
- Questionnaires completed by work experience co-ordinators in schools and year 11 pupils; and
- Case studies of schools.

Stage 1

Short telephone interviews were conducted with representatives of 12 Regional LSCs. The purpose of the interviews was to gather information on the number and nature of EBPs in the locality, the arrangements for co-ordination between EBPs and schools, and any information on specific programmes, initiatives and/or trends regarding the range of work experience placements.

Stage 2

Semi-structured telephone interviews were conducted with 10 EBP managers. The purpose of the interviews was to identify the role of the EBP in relation to schools, pupils and the provision of non-traditional work experience placements; EBP managers' views about work placements and gender issues; local trends concerning gender and work experience placements; and any strategies promoted by the EBP to encourage, prepare and support young people undertaking non-traditional work experience placements.

Stage 3

Questionnaires were completed by 16 work experience co-ordinators from different schools across 10 selected Local Education Authorities (LEAs) in England. A mixture of inner city, urban and rural schools (in both broadly white and multi-ethnic areas) were included (See Appendix 1 for further detail), as we sought to represent diverse localities and populations in England. The purpose of the questionnaire was to gather information about the role of the work experience co-ordinator, the organisation of work experience at the school, their views on gender and work experience, and any equal opportunities/anti-stereotyping interventions employed by the school.

566 year 11 pupils in mixed-ability classes from 18 schools completed questionnaires. The purpose of the questionnaire was to gather information about the work-experience placements undertaken by pupils, how the placement was allocated/chosen, their experience of the placement and gender stereotyping issues.

Stage 4

4 schools were the focus of case studies (in diverse LEAs). Two schools were selected as they reported interventions relating to gender and work experience. Two additional schools were selected for comparison, as they reported no interventions. 32 interviews with pupils (8 per school) were conducted. We interviewed a range of pupils who had undertaken gender-stereotypical or non-stereotypical work experience placements. Key adults were interviewed (3 per school). They included work placement co-ordinators (in all cases), Head teachers, Heads of Year and Connexions Officers or Careers Advisors.

1.3 Gender, ethnicity and socio-economic group

Although gender constitutes the key focus for this study we have also been attuned to nuances according to ethnicity and socio-economic group. Such factors are inseparably intermeshed with gender in constructions of identity. Research has shown how 'race' and socio-economic group impact on pupils' aspirations for future work (e.g. Mirza, 1992; Rolfe, 1999; Lightbody, 1997; Biggart, 2002; Archer, 2003; Archer and Yamashita 2003). Often pupils' choices are limited by perceptions of the local labour market and what pupils believe is achievable for 'people like me'. In the case of minority ethnic pupils these perceptions may be tempered by awareness of racism in the workplace (Archer and Yamashita, 2003). Hence we have endeavoured to analyse aspects of socio-economic group and ethnicity and the impact that such variables have on perceptions and 'choices' of workplace experience placement. In the case of ethnicity, small numbers limits our analysis: only South Asian and white pupils constituted large enough groups in our sample to enable comparative analysis.

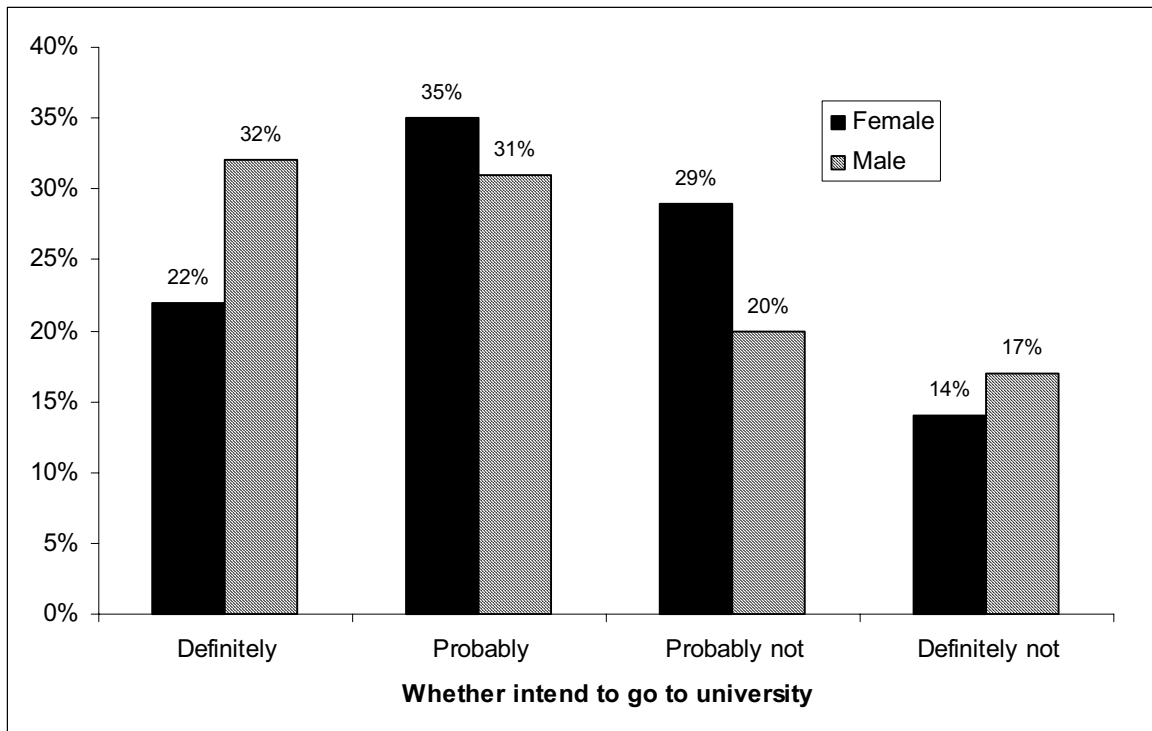
Identifying the socio-economic group of individual pupils is notoriously difficult, hence, we have used pupils' intentions for higher education as a point of analysis. Intentions to enter higher education (or not) have been shown to be an extremely good indicator of socio-economic group (Archer et al, 2003) and statistics on Higher Education participation by different socio-economic groups have followed regular patterns over time (e.g. NCIHE 1997; DfES, 2003), although these intentions are mediated by gender and by ethnicity (i.e. girls, and boys from some minority ethnic groups, are more likely to pursue higher education). Table 1 sets out the sample profile.

Table 1 Pupil questionnaire respondents according to gender, ethnicity and aspirations concerning higher education

		Responses	
		Percentages	Number
Gender	Male	57	306
	Female	43	233
Ethnicity	White Includes White British (432), White Irish (1) and White Other(10)	82	442
	Asian Includes: Indian (15), Pakistani (23), Bangladeshi (8), and Asian Other (7)	12	53
	Black Includes: Black African (9), Black Caribbean (3) and Black Other (2)	3	14
	Other Includes Chinese (3), Mixed White-Asian (10),. Mixed White-Black (3), and Other* (14)	3	30
University Expectations	Will 'definitely' go to university	28	151
	Will 'probably' go to university	33	176
	Will 'probably not' go to university	24	130
	Will 'definitely not' go to university	15	84

Figure 1 illustrates pupils' aspirations concerning higher education according to gender:

Figure 1 Gender breakdown of pupils' higher education aspirations



1.4 Data analysis

The interviews were recorded and confidentiality guaranteed. Qualitative data has been analysed thematically. The quantitative analysis is predominantly descriptive. The level of significance in the differences in (quantitative) response based on gender, ethnicity and intentions concerning higher education has been calculated using the chi square (χ^2) method. Responses such as 'don't know', 'other' etc were ignored to simplify/ clarify coding/analysis and to ensure that minimum frequency requirements were met. Findings comparing responses according to variables such as gender have only been reported where differences are statistically significant at $p < .05$ (actual figures for significance are listed under Appendix 2).

1.5 Scale and scope of the study

This was a small-scale study; therefore, we focused upon traditional 'block' work experience placements (i.e. where pupils engage in a work placement full-time for a short duration, typically a week).

1.6 Structure of the report

In the next section we contextualise the research by outlining the nature and purposes of work experience placement and exploring pupils' gendered trajectories from school to work. This discussion provides explanation for the significance of gender stereotyping in work experience placements. Chapters 3 – 7 then set out our project findings. Chapter 3 examines the organisation of work experience placement coordination and methods of placement take-up/allocation, as well as analysing the views of those organising work experience placements concerning gender stereotypical patterns in placement take-up. In Chapter 4 we analyse the placements undertaken by pupils in our sample according to gender and compare these with their future career aspirations, attending to issues around gender, ethnicity and social class. Their reflections on whether or not they would be prepared to try non-traditional placements are also discussed. Chapter 5 explores pupils' experiences of gender-traditional and non-traditional work experience placements, examining issues arising. Pupils' constructions of gender and work are analysed in Chapter 6, which explores their occupational aspirations and views on stereotypical employment patterns and non-gender traditional employment. Promising practice to address gender stereotyping in work experience is reported and explored in Chapter 7. Finally, Chapter 8 summarises our key findings and outlines the implications for practice in the field of work experience.

2. WORK EXPERIENCE AND GENDER STEREOTYPING

2.1 National framework for work experience

The status of work experience has recently been boosted: from September 2004 it was a statutory requirement that work related learning is included in the curriculum at Key Stage 4 (QCA, 2004). Although work experience will neither be a fulfilment or requirement of this obligation it is recognised by the QCA as a 'key activity that supports work-related learning' (QCA, 2003, p.12).

A major component used by schools to meet this obligation is the work experience placement. Approximately 90-95 per cent of school pupils in England engage in block work experience placements, usually of one or two-week duration, in key stage 4. These activities normally take place in the final term of Year 10, or early in Year 11.

Work experience placements can be organised by a number of different educational organisations. It is the LEAs' legal responsibility to make arrangements for pupils' work experience, and they are responsible for ensuring that health and safety guidelines are met; however, LEAs can delegate a number of responsibilities to the school and/or its governing body. LLSCs are provided with government funding to maintain and promote local coordination of work experience and to ensure that health and safety monitoring systems are in place. Education Business Link Consortia (linked to LLSCs) also provide administrative advice to schools. These represent different organisations building relationships between education and business within particular LSC regions. Members may include EBPs, The Trident Educational Trust, and Business Dynamics (NEBPN, 2003).

2.2 Key organisations in work experience provision

The key organisations involved in work experience include:

Learning and Skills Council

The LSC is responsible for strategic development, planning, funding, management and quality assurance in relation to education and training for over 16-year-olds in England. Its work includes further education, work-based training and young people, workforce development, adult and community learning, advice and guidance for adults, and education business links. The LSC has a national duty to arrange adequate and sufficient adult and community learning provision; and to develop a strategy for workplace learning.

Education Business Partnerships

There are currently 138 EBPs operating across 11 regions in England. They play a major role in liaising with schools and local businesses in relation to work experience placement. The constitution and activities of EBPs vary, but they share a number of common goals around preparing young people for the world of work. Through this, they support business by contributing to young people's employability and life skills and promote the world of work in schools.

The Trident Trust

The Trident Trust is an educational charity which aims to help young people aged 14-25 prepare for life beyond the classroom. Hence, Trident aims to enable young people, to improve their employability and enterprise skills and develop as individuals. Work Experience is one of the three strands of Trident's 'Skills for Life Programme' for those aged between 14 and 18. Trident works with educational, industrial and voluntary bodies to help develop young people and is able to provide block pre-16 work experience and find extended work experience for disaffected and/or excluded students and tailored placements for special needs students.

Connexions

Connexions is the Government's support service for all young people aged 13 to 19 in England. The service aims to provide integrated advice, guidance and access to personal development opportunities for this group and to help them make a smooth transition to adulthood and working life. This includes practical help with choosing the right courses and careers.

2.3 Benefits of work experience

Work experience is a significant factor in pupils' development of conceptions of the world of work. Johnson and Burden (2003) found that almost without exception, employers felt that young people who had undergone a period of work experience while at school (either through formal programmes or via their own part-time work) were better equipped for the world of work (see also QCA, 2002). Young people expressed similar views, feeling that they were better prepared for the adult workplace after engaging in work experience, although some expressed misgivings about the quality of placements. It was found that the 'real life skills' young people learn on work experience equip them with the necessary skills for future work.

The DfES (2002a, see p.4) suggest that work experience feeds into different elements of the national curriculum by:

- developing students' employability and key skills;

- facilitating careers education and guidance;
- supplementing personal and social education;
- contributing to vocational courses including GNVQ and NVQ programmes; and
- meeting curriculum requirements in specific subjects e.g. citizenship and ICT.

The QCA guidance (1998) on work experience provision for 14-19 year olds flags up the potential of work experience to be 'a major link between school and the workplace, enabling the development of skills and attitudes young people will need in the world of work.' (cited Nick Tate Chief Executive of QCA, 1998). Work experience placements are noted to help pupils develop key competencies and skills that enhance employability (QCA, 2002). So work experience placements are seen as:

- improving pupils' skills and aiding their employability;
- expanding their understanding of and preparation for the adult workplace;
- supplementing and linking with aspects of the school curriculum; and
- impacting on their careers education.

Further, work experience placements have been found to engage pupils (Hillage et al, 2001). Pupils' enjoyment of, and engagement with, work experience, has been seen as a potential method for re-motivating disaffected pupils, particularly boys (QCA, 1998; Cullen et al, 2000; DfES, 2002a).

2.4 Work-related learning

This research was conducted at the time of reform in 14-19 education and the development of a new QCA strategy for work-related learning. From September, 2004 it has become a statutory requirement that all schools provide pupils at key stage 4 with work-related learning.

Work related learning comprises three strands:

- learning through work: for example, placements in the community, work experience, part-time jobs, school enterprise activities, vocational contexts in subject learning;

- learning about work: for example, vocational courses and careers education; and
- learning for work: for example, developing employer-valued key skills and career management skills

The change in emphasis with work-related learning is that work-related experiences will be developed in ways that maximise pupils' learning. Pupils' experiences will be accompanied by structured reflection and interpretation, so that they can apply their learning in future situations.

It is impossible to assess the impact upon work experience and young people's outcomes as a result of this strategy at this stage.

2.5 Gender segregation in occupations and skill shortages

The workplace remains highly gendered, with horizontal and vertical segregation clearly evident across occupational sectors (EOC, 2004). The concentration of women in particular areas of employment ('occupational segregation') is damaging the UK economy by contributing to skill shortages (EOC, 2004). There are skill shortages in many particularly 'gendered' work areas. Shortages are particularly acute, for example, in areas such as construction, plumbing and childcare. For example, according to the EOC (2004):

- Women make up just 1% of employment in construction occupations;
- Women account for only 8% of employment in engineering occupations; and
- There are around 300,000 people working in childcare occupations, and virtually all of these are women – men account for around 0.3% of paid child carers.

Hence, under-representation of women or men in sectors experiencing skills shortages is exacerbating these shortages (EOC, 2004). As Rees (1999) has pointed out, engineering and care-work are two of the leading skill/labour shortages evident across Europe. Yet it continues to be the case that few women pursue technical jobs such as engineering, or men pursue care-work such as nursing.

Occupational segregation is also one of the key reasons that women continue to earn less on average than do men, as the majority of women work in sectors where pay rates are low. The Department for Trade and Industry (DTI) (2004) shows how although few women are engaged in Science Engineering and Technology (SET)

occupations, the gender pay gap is smaller in these occupations (although still an issue, as they observe). Occupational segregation also restricts individual life choices and chances, and means that the economy is not benefiting from all potential talent. However, even aside from equity issues, the skill shortages in certain areas mean that there is an urgent need to recruit more women into particular occupational sectors.

So what are the reasons for the continuation of concentrations of men and women in different work areas? Miller et al (2004) discuss the various causes of occupational segregation, including factors such as:

- employer discrimination;
- stereotyping among employers, employees and those pursuing different occupations; and
- differing pay rates and conditions in different sectors.

It is generally agreed that a key component required to decrease occupational segregation is to decrease gender stereotyping on the part of employees and employers. This would lead potential employees to be less influenced by gender stereotypes in their choice of career, and make employers more likely to employ (and less likely to discriminate against) non-gender-traditional applicants. Challenging occupational segregation is not exclusively about access, as non-gender-traditional employees need to be retained as well as recruited. But initial choices and access have a key part to play. As the EOC succinctly argues:

One of the key ways to influence the make-up of tomorrow's workforce, is to stop current patterns of occupational segregation being replicated automatically, in the vocational education and training choices that young people make. This is particularly important when vocational GCSEs currently offer, and Young Apprenticeships will soon offer, the chance to specialise at age 14.
(EOC 2004, p.9).

2.6 Boys' and girls' career choices

How does stereotyping work and how stereotypical are pupils' current occupational choices? 'Stereotypes' link a social category (such as 'females') with particular attributes (such as 'caring', 'emotional' and so on). Such stereotypes are extended to perceptions of ability, and in the case of occupational stereotypes, abilities at different jobs (see Miller et al., 2004 for a full discussion of the nature of stereotypes and theory of stereotyping).

Gender stereotyping is evident in young people's choices both in the curriculum subjects that affect their future career direction and in their choices of future occupation. There are signs that pupils are slightly more likely to enjoy non-gender-traditional curriculum subjects than was the case in the past (Miller and Budd, 1999; Francis, 2000), but stereotypical patterns persist, particularly regarding their least favourite subjects (Francis, 2000; Francis et al., 2003). At GCSE/GNVQ level, there is some restriction on pupils' take up of curriculum subjects due to the constraints of the National Curriculum, although subject choices nevertheless remain gendered (EOC, 2001). But even a cursory look at A level uptake reveals gendered patterns.

Schoolgirls' occupational aspirations have broadened considerably and become more ambitious over the last two decades (Riddell, 1992; Francis, 1996, 2002; Sharpe, 1994; Arnot et al., 1999; Wikeley and Stables, 1999). Researching in the 1980s, Spender (1982), Gaskell (1992) and others found that girls planned to work until they were married, and then to stop work or assume the role of secondary breadwinner. Recent studies in primary and secondary schools show that girls have since become far more career-oriented (Sharpe, 1994; Francis, 1998, 2002; Lightbody and Durndell, 1996). Many girls now choose jobs that normally require a degree, demonstrating a high level of ambition (Lightbody and Durndell, 1996; Francis, 2002), and they appear to see their chosen career as reflecting their identity, rather than as simply a stopgap before marriage.

These findings might, then, seem to suggest that equality has been realised in terms of school to work pathways: girls are now as ambitious as boys, and see an equal range of jobs as open to them. However, as the EOC has led the way in demonstrating, this is far from being the case. The subject choices made by girls and boys remain gendered (EOC 1997; 2001b; Thomas, 1990; Arnot et al., 1999). Girls' post-compulsory pathways have been shown to differ significantly according to socio-economic group and ethnicity, with white girls from lower socio-economic groups more likely to pursue gender-stereotypical future occupations (Biggart, 2002; Francis et al., 2003). A closer examination of the data regarding choice of future occupation reveals that the types of jobs chosen by boys and girls generally remain very different. Boys avoid jobs that have been seen as stereotypically feminine (Riddell, 1992; Miller and Budd, 1999; Francis, 1996; 2002). Furthermore, Francis (2000; 2002; Francis et al., 2003) argues that the reason that there is little overlap between the jobs chosen by girls and boys despite increased diversity of choice is that the attributes of the jobs chosen by girls and boys are stereotypically gendered. So that, for example, girls tend to choose jobs with attributes that can be classed as 'caring or creative', while boys choose jobs that are scientific, technical, or business oriented.

It is, therefore, not surprising that EOC/Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) research in Scotland has found that pupils are still following traditional sex stereotypical patterns in work experience placements (2003). As we have seen, these gendered patterns of occupational choice and pursuit have strong implications for pupils' future positions in the labour market, financial remuneration, and life outcomes (EOC, 2001a; EOC 2003).

2.7 What are the reasons for stereotypical choices?

As EOC findings show (2001a, 2001b), stereotypical perceptions and constructions of gender difference remain key in influencing the types of subject and future occupation that are pursued by young people. This can be due to stereotyping on the part of young people themselves (who form stereotypical impressions based on information from the media, family, community and so on), or due to stereotypical expectations and 'steering' on the part of family, peers, teachers, careers officers etc. (Rolfe, 1999; EOC, 2001b). Findings about variables that might affect choices have been somewhat contradictory and inconclusive. Davey and Stoppard (2002) compared young people intending to pursue traditional and non-traditional occupations, and found few significant points of distinction. 'Significant others' as role models/supporters did appear important, whereas the job/role of mothers was found not to be (see also Dalgety and Coll, 2004 in relation to young women and science). Miller et al., (2004) discuss various explanations for young people's gender-stereotypical choices, including:

- differences in interest, ability and attitude according to gender;
- the influence of parental attitudes,
- the influence of teaching styles;
- different experiences, for instance as a result of different types of out of school activities;
- the image of different work areas and/or apparent rewards on offer; and
- advice/information about careers and particular occupations.

Furthermore, there is evidence that pupils may be put off certain areas of work by fear of gender discrimination. Girls, in particular, have been found to be highly aware of gender discrimination as a continuing issue in the adult workplace (Francis, 2000; 2002), while Henwood (1996) points out that this is particularly pertinent in traditionally male-dominated areas such as science and technology. Hence Henwood

(1996) argues that in avoiding such areas many girls may be simply acting pragmatically on their recognition of the gender prejudice they might encounter therein.

What the list above does not explain, of course, is why young people might have different interests, abilities and attitudes according to gender. Here the relational theory of gender identity can help. Davies (1989) and others have shown in detail how children understand from a very early age that gender is one of the most important (if not the most important) pillars of social identity, and that certain traits and attributes are associated with either gender. Gender is relational: there can be no conception of masculinity without a notion of femininity with which to compare it. Children, therefore, make efforts to align themselves with their own sex by taking up stereotypical modes of behaviour and presentation, both consciously and unconsciously. In this account, different subject and career choices (where girls opt for more social subjects and caring/creative occupations; and boys opt for more technical subjects and technical/business occupations) are explained by pupils' wish to associate themselves with traits seen as gender appropriate. Clearly, over the years these tendencies also mean that pupils may become more able in the areas associated with their gender (e.g. girls at communication, boys at technical skills), which also increases the likelihood that they will seek to pursue them as aspects of career.

Miller et al., (2004) conclude that:

...no one theory by itself accounts for the establishment and continuation of gender segregation, but...all have made some contribution to our attempts to make sense of these employment phenomena. (p.100).

2.8 Work experience and gender stereotyping

Work experience placements have a potentially important role in providing pupils with broader, diverse and/or non-traditional experiences and ideas about the adult workplace. As the National Education Business Partnership Network (NEBPN) (2003) observes, for most young people their work experience placement is 'the most significant contact with the world of work that they have before entering employment'. Hence, if this experience is a gender-stereotypical one it is likely to exacerbate the students' stereotypical perceptions of what is available/possible for 'young women/men like me', thus constraining, rather than broadening, future career choices. As Rolfe (1999) discusses, gender stereotypical work experience placements represent a lost opportunity to interest young people in non-stereotypical careers. Conversely, a non-gender traditional work experience placement may provide affirmation for those pupils who have chosen non-stereotypical careers, or

may open up new perceptions and possibilities to young people with more traditional outlooks. The availability of non-stereotypical information and resources has been shown to be crucial in enabling non-stereotypical choice: Francis (1998) shows that children are able to draw on examples to demonstrate and justify non-gender stereotypical behaviour and to challenge stereotypical gender constructions.

The DfES is supportive of equal opportunities issues in work experience, including non-gender stereotypical work experience placements. The DfES (2002b) document to employers on work experience states that:

Employers and schools should adopt a policy of equal opportunities in their work experience programmes. This should be taken forward particularly in the areas of gender, race and disability by encouraging students to take up non-traditional placements. This may need special preparation for the reactions they encounter and even more careful supervision during the placement. (p.11)

The DfES (2002a) argues that schools should link a policy of equal opportunities in their work experience programmes with the broader school equal opportunities policy. They recommend, 'As a minimum, schools should check that their programmes are free from both overt and covert stereotyping...Schools should pay particular attention to equal opportunities aspects when briefing students'. They reiterate that students taking up non-traditional placements may need special preparation and careful monitoring during the placement.

3. WORK EXPERIENCE PLACEMENT ORGANISATION AND GENDER STEREOTYPING

3.1 Arrangements for the coordination of work experience

Arrangements for the coordination of work-experience placements across EBPs are diverse and often distinctive to the local area. Some take comprehensive responsibility for the provision of placement opportunities, maintaining and extending databases of employers, undertaking preparatory interviews, matching pupils to placements, health and safety vetting, and briefing and debriefing. In other EBP areas, schools take responsibility for the majority of these tasks, with EBPs simply playing a support role in maintaining databases regarding health and safety issues and supplying information about employers.

The local area and labour market influences the range of placements offered to pupils. There are often shortages in particular sectors. The Trident Trust (Norgrove 2004) found Hospital/Nursing/Medical placements to be most frequently noted as a shortage, and these may be compounded by concerns over health and safety issues e.g. in the construction industry. As travel to work experience placement is for many pupils limited by cost and issues of safety, the geographical spread and location of businesses limits placement opportunities.

Many EBPs require participating employers to sign up to a statement of good practice regarding equal opportunities. As one EBP manager explained, some employers do refuse pupils on the basis of gender, and are subsequently not used for work experience placements. Further, it was common practice for EBP managers to keep data on gender and work placement choice, a few reporting these figures annually to schools and Connexions. However, there was no evidence to suggest that this data was being used. This information could be utilised more effectively as one EBP manager admitted:

I recognise that if this analysis was used and brought to the attention of young people then it might change attitudes and behaviour, but it's not high on the agenda... years ago when I did lots of work on gender it was overtaken by ethnicity and racist issues and now it is disability.

3.2 EBP manager perceptions of gender stereotyping in work experience placements

EBP managers overwhelmingly recognised gender stereotyping of work experience placement to be an issue, agreeing that work experience placements undertaken by pupils remain gender stereotypical. Some discussed how these issues could be intertwined with those of socio-economic group – for example, pupils in lower socio-economic groups opting for gender stereotyped semi-skilled and manual jobs, and

pupils in higher socio-economic groups opting for (gendered) professional areas. There was no awareness of how work experience could contribute to perpetuating stereotypical job choices by gender and socio-economic group (see section 3.3). EBP managers differed in their views as to whether gender stereotyping in work experience is an important issue. For one EBP manager, addressing gender stereotyping is a central concern:

It just seems so obvious to me that we should be trying to challenge stereotypes...we are trying to get work for young people that they are going to enjoy and be a success at for the rest of their lives, and there just aren't enough opportunities for them to do that, boys or girls. And if they dismiss a whole bunch of careers because it's non-traditional they've immediately got 50% less opportunity...our motivation is thinking about young people and how we can encourage them to think more widely.

This view was atypical. For many others gender stereotyping was seen as inevitable and less of a concern. Crucially, it seems that key respondents were not driven to prioritise gender stereotyping for two key reasons. One Head teacher admitted that a reduction in gender stereotyping in work experience has never been discussed as a target and that they are not 'actively seeking' non-traditional placements. Others admitted that it is 'not a current priority'. The absence of target setting and prioritisation at a national and local level means that challenging gender stereotyping in work experience placements lacks support. The second key reason relates to notions of 'choice' and is discussed further in the chapter.

Certainly, examples of coherent or substantial strategies being employed at EBP level to address gender stereotyping in uptake of placements were in the minority (although they do exist, and we do not of course seek to overlook this good work – see section 7). No EBP managers mentioned programmes to challenge gender stereotyping or issues pertaining to stereotyping on the part of employers: the issue tended to be seen as one concerning pupils. EBP managers differed as to how far they believed employer attitudes to be gender stereotypical, with some presenting quite contradictory perspectives:

I do think it is less (stereotypical) than it used to be, there is more acceptance on the part of employers, well what I mean is they are more aware, but we still go to places where you go to the loo and see page three girls. That's still there.

One of the EBP managers interviewed described a portfolio of related activities to combat gender stereotypes among pupils and to engage them with non-gender traditional work sectors. (This involved drawing on provision of interventions by organisations such as Women Into Science Engineering and Construction (WISE) to

encourage secondary school girls into science and technology areas, working with primary school pupils to engage them in science and technology in order to 'reach them early'; provision of a 'role model panel' aiming to break down stereotypes for use in careers education; and work with industries and services to ensure provision of non-traditional placements, and promotion of such placements in schools).

Some EBPs were engaged in small-scale initiatives provided for schools to combat stereotyping, for example working with a Construction Industry Training Board (CITB) curriculum centre, providing sample days on non-traditional college courses, tours of particular work environments, or 'role models' to talk about their non-gender traditional careers; but it was acknowledged that these involved small numbers of girls and overlooked boys. Some managers reported a reduction of interest in such initiatives on the part of schools. Some felt that the pursuit of non-traditional placements was the responsibility of schools responding to the needs of individual pupils who 'buck the trend', suggesting that such cases are out-of-the-ordinary.

Some EBP managers appeared to feel that strong measures to address gender stereotyping would be beyond their remit, as their duty is simply to provide pupils with experiences of the workplace and to facilitate individual student choices. For example, some talked about how pupils were welcome to approach employers under their own initiative, and that such individualised practices are actively encouraged as entrepreneurial. The emphasis on individual, freedom of choice belies the fact that there is segregation in the labour market and in work experience placements. Many respondents noted that they did not provide extra support or guidance for non-traditional placements and argued that such use of resources would not be supported due to the issue not being seen as a high priority. As one EBP manager explained:

Students are invited to fill in an application form to state where their interests are, but the emphasis (for EBPs) is not on the type of placement but on the experience of work. So whether EBPs are encouraging non-traditional placements is secondary. They are just encouraging them to experience work.

Yet, there was little reflection on any possible link between lack of resourcing and provision to challenge gender stereotyping and the behaviour of pupils in making choices.

Other EBP managers were concerned that their small-scale activities to reduce gender stereotyping might even be having adverse effects. There was a feeling that exposing girls to 'dirty' industrial environments on work place tours and the like might be more off-putting than enticing:

It puts them off; they aren't the kind of places, unless you were absolutely smitten with the idea that you want to work with engines, that you'd want to go.

Such concerns were also applied to placements for girls:

I wouldn't want to place girls on building sites where, with the best will in the world, they are going to meet quite a few challenging things because they are girls, I wouldn't want them to find it so stressful that it is not actually a positive experience, and to do that just to challenge gender stereotypes.

One EBP manager observed that they do receive requests from girls wishing to undertake placements in mechanics:

...but it is difficult to get garages to take girls and this is, they say, due to the male working environment and that is to with toilets, and it's certainly to do with what's hanging on the walls and, I suppose, to do with the culture and language within a small garage.

Hence, it was in some cases suggested that it is acceptable to prevent girls undertaking non-gender stereotypical placements because of the possibility of off-putting sexist or discriminatory experiences they might hypothetically endure. What was absent from such arguments was that it is possible to ensure that girls are not faced with such experiences during placements, or are appropriately prepared. Moreover, the view that girls will be put off by 'dirty' environments, is a stereotypical generalisation.

Other EBP managers noted the adverse effects that placements or trips to non-gender traditional work sites may have due to the gendered environment therein: "of course when you go to those places what do you see? Women working in the office or canteen and men doing the non-traditional [sic] work". One manager recounted how an NHS Trust, which was seeking to improve recruitment offered a programme for young people to attend a range of presentations. However, because attendance had been entirely female she believed the programme had an inadvertent effect of reinforcing gender stereotypes.

Some EBP managers referred to the way in which pupils' choices of curriculum subjects remain gendered (particularly in the case of new vocational courses). Many EBP Managers seemed to feel that gender stereotyping is hard to tackle effectively. As one manager reflected:

It's easy to think I've 'done' gender...but it is one of the few areas where initiatives haven't worked in schools unlike work with ethnic groups, disabilities, special needs and different age groups - that work seems to have permeated but the gender issue remains stubborn. People are very defensive when it comes to gender differences, they claim to do as much as they can but it remains a problem.

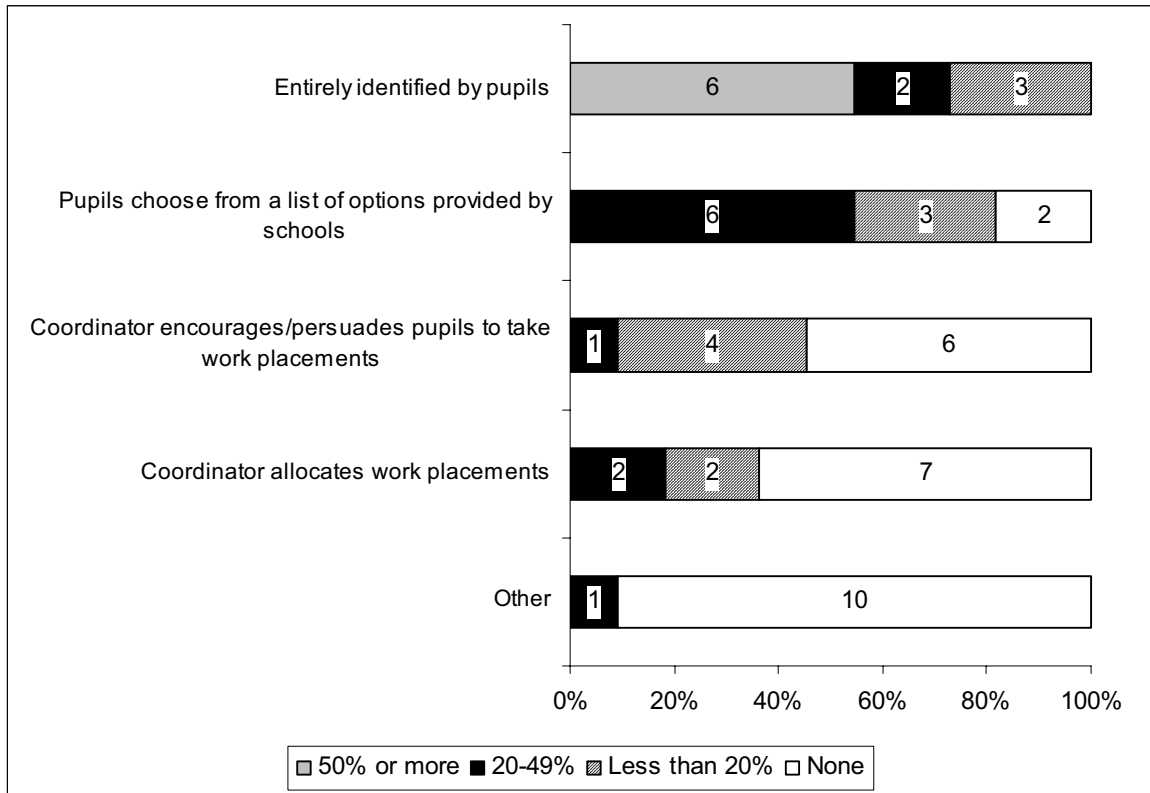
3.3 Work experience placement coordination

Work experience placements for pupils are organised by school based work-experience coordinators, who are usually members of the teaching staff (occasionally they may be administrators or librarians). There is diversity between schools in terms of what this coordination entails: in some cases work placement allocation is entirely managed by the EBP or Trident in liaison with the work experience coordinator, while in others the school work experience coordinator organises all aspects of placement. There is also diversity of practice between schools concerning the apparent quality of delivery and the extent to which gender stereotyping in work experience placements is being challenged.

Responses to the questionnaires revealed how busy work experience coordinators are, combining this substantial role with other (often major managerial) duties. The majority spent between 1-6 hours per week on their role, although three of the 16 coordinator respondents reported spending 10-13 hours per week. Half of them had received some form of training for their work experience coordinator role, but only two said they had received any training on equal opportunities issues when taking up their role (and in one case this focused exclusively on racial discrimination, rather than gender stereotyping issues). Scarcity of training and professional development in gender issues is of clear concern.

Asked about methods of allocating placements, 11 of the 16 work experience coordinators responded. Of these, over half (6) reported that at their school the majority of placements undertaken by pupils are identified by pupils themselves.

Figure 2 Methods of placement allocation



Three said that a majority of pupils choose from a list of options presented to them, and one explained that a majority are allocated a place by the coordinator. In contrast, seven said that no pupils have their placements directly allocated by the coordinator, and a further three said that less than half their pupils have their placements allocated for them. This trend for pupils to be allowed to identify their own choices of placement, which is encouraged at EBP level, reflects the ‘freedom of choice’ ethos which emerged from the questionnaires and interviews with practitioners. Such individual approaches and contacts with employers by pupils were actively supported and viewed as ‘entrepreneurial’. Nationally, there are of course different systems for placement take-up and allocation in schools, with the proportions that are chosen by individual pupils varying from school to school. However, individual identification of placements is always evident to some extent and currently appears to be preferred in some locations.

The onus on pupils to identify their own placements has limitations, and raises equity issues in relation to gender and socio-economic group. Firstly, the approach has implications for the diversity of work placement available, as some pupils have knowledge of, and access to, a limited number. Following from this, there are implications around socio-economic group and ethnicity concerning the sorts of jobs that pupils are aware of, and have access to. (For example, in relation to the sorts of jobs which family members and friends are working in, from which they can facilitate

placements). The well-connected pupils from higher socio-economic groups in the case study schools appeared able to secure both more prestigious and often more meaningful work placements than their counterparts in lower socio-economic groups. Many pupils went on placements with relatives: this satisfied the common concern of parents and some teachers and EBP managers that pupils are 'at risk' when travelling to placements and/or on the placements, but also meant that pupils were more likely to be channelled into professions linked to socio-economic group and gender. Gender issues compound those of socio-economic group, as boys are found consistently to have greater levels of confidence than girls (Jones & Jones, 1989; Walkerdine et al, 2001), and may therefore be more likely to feel able to approach employers independently.

Responses to our questionnaire support findings by the Trident Trust (Norgrove, 2004) that many work experience coordinators feel that work experience placements encourage pupils to take up training and/or careers in the area concerned. This view of work experience placement as facilitating career paths was often expressed by teachers in the case study interviews, and hence this aspect appeared to be given greater precedence by teachers than is suggested by DfES or QCA policy (see also Norgrove, 2004).

Opportunities were missed by schools to use their data that monitors placements undertaken by pupils (sometimes according to gender) to challenge gender stereotyping. Some teachers did report using it to inform their own thinking or practice.

3.4 Coordinator perceptions of gender stereotyping in work experience placements

Two of the case study schools were thought to have generally good practice in their schools relating to careers education (one school had won awards for this) and in all case-study schools the coordinators were passionate and committed. Teacher respondents acknowledged that gender stereotyping in pupil uptake of placements remained deeply entrenched, but this was seen as unsurprising. Non-traditional placements were recognised by most teachers to be relatively rare – one coordinator explained, "We have one person this year who's mentioned to me that she wants to do motor vehicle maintenance of some kind but that's the first in the four years I've been here". We found little awareness of the implications of gender stereotyping in work experience placements and their links to pay inequalities and skill shortages in the labour market. As some of the teachers pointed out, work experience per se is often seen as having slipped down the agenda somewhat for schools, due to the increased pressure for academic achievement as a result of government policy concerns and the publication of league tables.

In line with EBP managers, many teachers clearly thought that attempts to tackle 'inevitable' gender stereotypes were frustrating and as one work-experience coordinator said, "Sorry, I think we just have to 'chip away' on any problem areas. I just do not see this as a major issue". The extent of gender segregation has caused some teachers to give up, rather than find even more creative ways to respond to an entrenched problem.

Some coordinators perceived encouragement to undertake non-traditional placements as over intervention, "I have boys doing childcare and girls doing carpentry because it is what they want to do, not to meet equal ops agenda". This reaction appears to tie in with the opinions of many work-experience coordinators that equality of opportunity pertaining to work experience placements lies in the offer of freedom of choice to all pupils, rather than in encouraging pupils to undertake non-traditional placements. As another coordinator explained, "Quite frankly it really does not worry me. Jobs are jobs and it does not matter which sex does them. I do not think people should be forcing the issue". In reality, some young people are interested in trying non-traditional placements (see chapter 4, section 4.5) and are lacking the opportunity to do so.

A clear finding emerging from our fieldwork in schools is that teachers took the view that "equal opportunities are embedded in everything we do", which is a particular view of equality of opportunity. In this view, the lack of uptake of non-gender traditional placements does not reflect barriers or discrimination, but simply the individual choices of pupils (which happen to be gender-stereotypical). The notion of individualism was prioritised whereby pupils were felt to be free to make choices about their own careers. Freedom of choice was seen as paramount. One coordinator summed up this position when she explained that equal opportunities are "at the forefront of everything we do" and:

...it just comes naturally to us now. It may not come naturally to some students who are still making choices which are generally stereotypical but I think they're making informed choices within their realms of being informed. There's not much else we can do about that. I don't actually have a problem with it if that's what they want to do. I don't think we should be forcing students.

Within this view of equal opportunities such gender stereotyping is not perceived to be a concern (this coordinator went on to admit that non-traditional placement take up in her school is "very low, unfortunately"). An EBP manager identified this problem precisely when she explained:

When we have encouraged schools to be more encouraging about non-traditional areas we've had quite a mixed reaction...I think schools are very wary of pushing pupils or over-encouraging, they are trying to show them a range of options and allowing them to select. But obviously that doesn't deal with the individuals...you know, a girl may have the skills to be a motor mechanic, but if they don't have the confidence to do that then it's very difficult.

As we have seen, the teacher perspective to which this EBP manager refers presents pupils' 'failure' to take up non-traditional placements as due to their own individual failings rather institutional issues. This general view that a commitment to equal opportunities at policy level contextualises all activities and hence does not require further action appeared to be a view which percolated through all levels, from LSCs, to EBP managers to teachers.

3.5 School-based efforts to counter gender stereotyping

The research uncovered minimal evidence of strategies in schools to counter gender stereotyping in work experience placements. When asked about curriculum activities and interventions which raise awareness or combat stereotyping, thirteen of the sixteen work experience coordinator respondents maintained that pupils learn about gender equality and employment issues in their school and fourteen indicated that they encourage young people to consider non-gender stereotypical career choices.

It was interesting then, to note that when pupils were asked if they had received any information or advice about work experience placements in a job that is usually done by the opposite sex, only 15 per cent of girls and boys said yes. When asked whether they adopted methods to challenge gender stereotypes around work experience, teachers expounded generalised approaches, mainly involving taking care not to stereotype about work-experience placements when talking to pupils and to provide resources and information that are non-stereotypical. These 'background' approaches were sometimes supplemented by one-off lessons on issues of stereotyping, or occasionally other brief initiatives such as an opportunity to attend an initiative supplied by the EBP or elsewhere. For example, WISE summer schools and other interventions encouraging girls in science and technology were mentioned; one work experience coordinator mentioned organised tours of science and technology worksites for girls; one careers teacher discussed carrying out reasoning tests with her class of pupils to ascertain and then discuss pupils' gender stereotyping around careers; and non-stereotypical careers panels (to provide non-stereotypical role models in different areas of work) were mentioned by several teachers. Teacher questionnaire respondents also noted that gender stereotyping as a general issue was sometimes tackled in Personal Social Education (PSE) or Citizenship lessons.

Many teachers recognised that more could be done in schools (as one careers teacher observed, "They could have a bit more careers education, ...to open up

ideas and challenge it (stereotyping), and actively encourage non-traditional placements ”.

We selected two of the case study schools because they were identified by EBP managers as delivering interventions to reduce gender stereotyping in careers and work experience. For example during careers day at one of the schools, a panel of professionals are invited in and the pupils have to guess what they do for a job (women undertaking non-traditional careers used to address gender stereotyping, and minority ethnic professionals challenge ‘race’ stereotypes). Later in the day the truth is revealed and stereotypes challenged. The WISE bus had also been used to encourage girls to explore science and technology, and trips to science and technology workplaces were organised for girls to encourage them to consider such careers.

Evidence uncovered in the research from pupil interviews suggested that these various interventions were having limited impact, perhaps because of their ‘one-off’ nature, or because their purpose was opaque. Even when asked specifically about the interventions conducted in their schools, pupil respondents in the case studies were rarely able to recall these (or perhaps had not realised their purpose). Asked whether there is an equal opportunities emphasis in school careers activities, Katie replies:

I wouldn't say they make a big emphasis on it but they didn't really, they don't like not encourage you, so if one of the girls said like I want to be an engineer they wouldn't have said like no don't do it. But there's not like a big emphasis for it, if you see what I mean. It's not so much, there's not like something for it but they don't like obviously say against it.

Likewise Jolie maintained that she had not covered equal opportunities as part of Personal Social and Health Education (PSHE), only as an aspect of religious studies, and not as connected to careers. Anka recalls her careers teacher talking about non-traditional careers (in this case in the police force), but says, “that wasn’t very helpful because she didn’t know much about it”.

In all cases endeavours to challenge stereotypes were geared towards encouraging girls into male-dominated areas of work – stereotypes for boys tended to be overlooked². As one of the teachers reflected on the panel of professionals at the Careers Day event, “I don’t think we’ve had any male nurses or male hairdressers.’ The Coordinator agreed, “I can’t think of any male, where we’ve had a male person doing a traditionally female role but we’ve certainly had quite a few females doing

² Except where one case study school had a single-sex dance class for boys, in order to encourage boys in the performing arts.

what would traditionally be perceived as male roles. So we see that as being important...”

Where interventions existed, there appeared to be a greater emphasis on encouraging girls into male dominated careers than boys into female dominated areas. Encouraging girls into masculine professions is seen as raising their ambition and future prestige. Perhaps issues of status relating to female dominated careers meant that enabling boys to pursue such routes was not seen as so desirable. Or perhaps stereotypes around ‘what is appropriate’ for males and females in terms of occupation remain more entrenched in relation to males. Certainly many teachers seemed to respond to our questions concerning equal opportunities exclusively in relation to girls, rather than girls and boys.

4. PUPILS' UPTAKE OF WORK EXPERIENCE PLACEMENTS

4.1 Degree of gender stereotyping in work experience placements

The 566 pupil respondents to the questionnaire were asked to say what work experience placement they had undertaken. Table 2 depicts the areas in which placements were conducted (Appendix 3 sets out the placements comprising these categories).

Table 2 Areas of work placement undertaken by gender (IPSE sample)

SECTOR	Female	Male	Total
Agriculture & horticulture	0	8	8
Animal work – semi/unskilled	13	5	18
Animal work – professional	3	0	3
Armed forces	0	5	5
Arts, fine	2	1	3
Arts, performing	1	1	2
Arts & crafts	1	2	3
Automotive/transport	1	4	5
Business	2	1	3
Catering	8	13	21
Charitable/public sector	1	2	3
Children (working with)	43	2	45
Design	1	17	18
Education	34	15	49
Emergency services	1	4	5
Engineering	0	31	31
Finance	4	7	11
General care industry	9	0	9
Hair and beauty	23	2	25
IT	1	18	19
Legal	7	6	13
Leisure/travel/tourism	9	10	19
Marketing/sales	5	6	11
Media production	3	6	9
Medical –professional level	2	2	4
Nursing	3	0	3
Office work	23	33	56
Para medical professions	1	6	7
Printed media/literary arts	3	3	6
Retail	26	44	70
Science	1	4	5
Semi/unskilled manual labour	1	26	27
Skilled/semi-skilled manual trades	0	6	6
Sports	1	6	7
Odd/joke answers	0	4	4
Uncodable	4	9	13
TOTAL	237	309	546

There are more boys than girls in our sample, which needs to be taken into account when considering the data in Table 2. However, it is evident that placement uptake among our sample is strongly gender-stereotypical. The different roles/jobs within these categories tended to represent strongly gendered patterns (for example, within

media production more boys were in areas connected to technical production, where girls tended to be in artistic production). Despite the lower number of girls in our sample, they were far more likely than boys to be working with children or animals (see also Connexions Cheshire & Warrington, 2003). Conversely, far more boys undertook placements in technical, technological and engineering areas. When examining work areas experiencing a skills gap (EOC, 2004), we can see that:

- no girls undertook engineering placements (compared to 31 boys);
- only one girl undertook a placement in semi/unskilled manual labour (compared to 26 boys);
- only one girl undertook a placement in IT (compared to 18 boys);
- no girls undertook placements in trade areas such as plumbing (although only 6 boys were involved here, probably indicating a scarcity of placements in these areas); and
- only two boys undertook placements in childcare (compared to 43 girls).

Where the two largest placement areas, retail and office work, might traditionally have been seen as 'feminine' areas, more boys undertook these placements than girls. Retail was a particularly surprising case, as nearly double the number of boys undertook retail placements compared to girls. Clearly, the over-representation of boys in our sample has an impact, but can by no means fully explain this finding. However, the increased popularity of retail placements among boys in recent years was noted by some teacher respondents. Generally this trend may reflect young men's increased propensity for interest in fashion, designer labels, grooming and shopping (Francis, 2000). It is also important to observe that very few pupils of either gender chose retail as their future occupation, indicating that these placements were chosen for expedient reasons or were directed due to availability.

The LSC collects national data on gender and type of work placement. Table 3 gives details of returns for one term. (Also see Figure 4 – Appendix 4 depicts the percentage figures). The LSC categories are extremely broad, meaning that some (often highly gendered) areas are not clearly identified or distinguishable. For example, there is no category for childcare, or administrative/office work, and it is unclear where categories such as 'legal' placements might be included. Moreover, categories such as 'health' and 'business' are misleading in gender terms, because they subsume such diverse and gendered jobs (e.g. doctors and nurses under 'health', business management and administrators under 'business'). However,

because of the large size of the LSC sample, 91,288 pupil placements (45,187 boys, 46,101 girls) we have endeavoured to conflate our categories in order to enable comparison with this data ('childcare' has been placed in the 'community care' category). Figure 3 depicts our data, weighted according to gender to represent a balanced sample.

Table 3 Areas of work placement undertaken by gender (LSC sample)

SECTOR	Female	Male	Total
Agriculture	287	546	833
Animal work	2157	970	3127
Art, design and craft	1295	1267	2562
Building maintenance	103	1100	1203
Business	6196	6588	12784
Catering	1369	1403	2772
Community care	3697	631	4328
Construction	173	3049	3222
Education/Training	10924	3176	14100
Engineering	211	3691	3902
Financial	632	910	1542
Fishery	6	26	32
Forestry	13	89	102
Health	1635	690	2325
Horticulture	175	695	870
Hotel	1392	800	2192
Leisure services	2105	3203	5308
Manufacturing	287	1382	1669
Mechanical	136	2996	3132
Personal service	4673	501	5174
Retail	7596	8673	16269
Scientific	261	522	783
Technical	259	1148	1407
Uniformed services	519	1131	1650
TOTAL	46101	45187	91288

The majority of work experience placements nationally are in retail, education/training and business. There are clear shortages in the work experience placements available in certain sectors. For example, there is a shortage of science specific work placements. This point is particularly revealed by a comparison between the placements undertaken by pupils, and their reported occupational aspirations (see Table 4 below).

It appears that the trends emerging in our small sample largely reflect those in the LSC data. The tendency for boys to concentrate in science, engineering and technology areas, and girls to be over-represented in 'work with people' (education, community care and personal services), is clear from both datasets. The LSC data strongly suggests that gender segregation is more marked in stereotypically male work experience placements. Out of 10,256 placements covering mechanical, construction and engineering only 520 were undertaken by girls, or 5 per cent. Out of

Figure 3 Work experience placements by gender

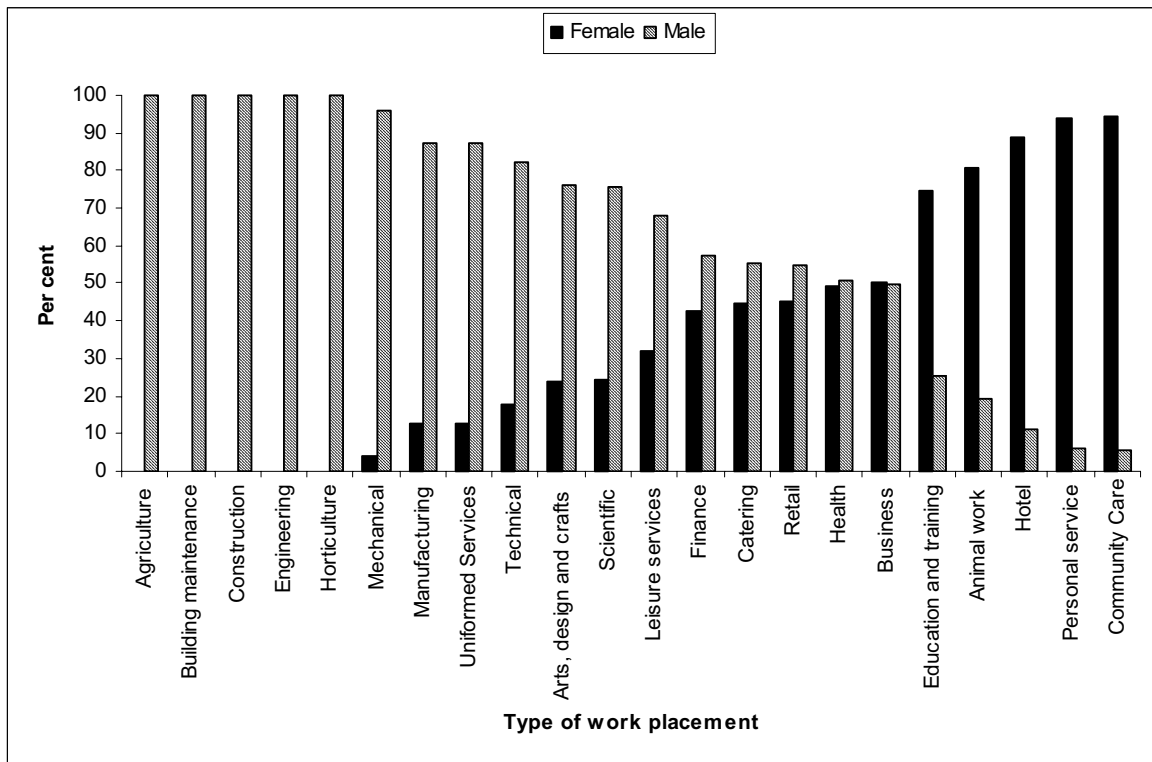
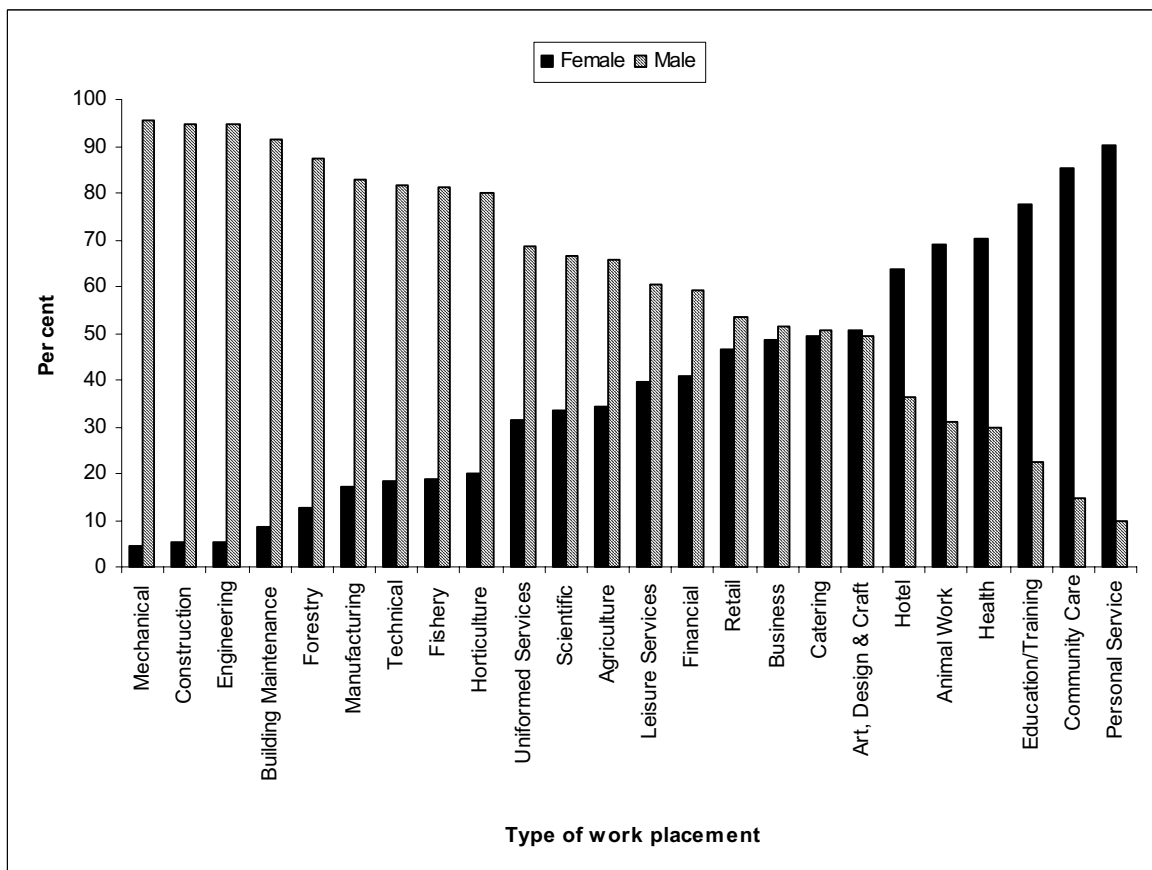


Figure 4 National work experience placements by gender



Source: National LSC 2004, one term returns

18,428 placements covering education/training and community care, 3,807 were undertaken by boys, or 21 per cent.

Our data read as more gender-stereotypical, but this is partly caused by the use of percentages, as in some areas (such as 'agriculture', 'horticulture' etc) numbers are very small – meaning that even a small number of boys reads as '100 per cent' if there are no girls involved. Hence, the LSC data, though generalised, supports our more detailed categorisation from a small sample of pupils' placements in demonstrating the extent of gender stereotyping in work experience placements in England (see Hamilton [2003] for evidence of a similarly stereotypical picture in Scotland).

4.2 Work experience placements and socio-economic group

In terms of intentions to go to university (as a proxy measure for socio-economic group – see introduction), we found some interesting patterns emerging in the work experience placements undertaken by pupils. For the purpose of clarity, we concentrated only those pupils who 'definitely plan to go to university' and those who 'definitely do not plan to go to university' (because these pupils are arguably more clear-cut in their likely backgrounds as belonging to higher and lower socio-economic groups³). Some placements were not undertaken by any of the pupils not expecting to go to university. These included IT, legal, media production, science, high status medical jobs and paramedical professionals. Higher percentages of pupils expecting to go to university than those who do not undertook placements in: animal work/veterinarian (6:1), education/teaching (17:4) and office work (25:3). Placements undertaken by higher percentages of pupils not aspiring to university were, predominantly in 'lower socio-economic group' areas of employment, including hair and beauty, leisure and tourism and semi/unskilled manual labour (ONS, 2001). Borrowing from Willis (1977), one wonders if work experience placements may be contributing to 'how working class kids get working class jobs', rather than opening up opportunities in terms of gender and socio-economic group. In particular, girls from lower socio-economic groups are further disadvantaged because of the low pay they receive in traditionally 'female' sectors like childcare, compared to traditionally male' sectors like construction and plumbing (EOC, 2004).

These patterns hint at the problems created by work placement (and the role played by co-ordinators/EBP managers) in reproducing socio-economic and gendered patterns of employment. This in turn impacts upon the (potentially wasted) future talent available for different areas of work.

³ Some may feel that issues of ability are also at play here. Aside from the argument that social class overwhelmingly outweighs ability as a factor impacting on educational achievement (see Archer et al, 2003), pupils are not, of course, able to engage in technical/advanced aspects of work during their placements, irrespective of their ability. We maintain that all pupils should be able to experience any placement in order to facilitate learning and experience and broaden their horizons.

4.3 Work placement areas and pupils' aspirations

The most popular job aspirations of girls and boys are also discussed in chapter 6 on pupil perceptions of gender and work. Here we are concerned with broad occupational areas. Pupils were asked which job they thought they'd end up doing. Table 4 depicts the total numbers of girls and boys aspiring to jobs in particular occupational areas (Appendix 5 delineates the jobs represented by these categories).

If we compare Table 4 with Table 2 (listing work experience placement occupational areas) we can immediately see that there are more sectors (39) represented in their aspirations than there are in their placements (34). This is indicative of a key point: there is a narrower range of work experience placements on offer than the pupils' stated range of aspirations. There is clearly a shortage of placements in areas such as the performing arts, business (in this case not including 'office work'), IT, legal, media production, medical, nursing, science, and skilled/semi-skilled manual trades in comparison with the numbers of pupils seeking to pursue occupations in these areas. It is poignant to note that some of these areas are experiencing skills shortages (e.g. IT, nursing, science and semi/skilled manual trades). There were proportionally fewer placements undertaken by girls and boys compared to stated career aspirations in sectors such as IT, the emergency services, armed forces, and science; which meant in most cases hardly any girls undertaking such placements.

Conversely, there are far more placements undertaken in areas such as retail and office work (which very few pupils sought as their future occupation), and substantially more in comparison with pupils' aspirations in areas such as semi/unskilled manual labour, education, catering, and working with children. This provision of placements in areas to which few pupils aspire is interesting to examine in relation to gender. It is worrying to see that the placements available appear to be channelling girls and boys into gender-stereotypical areas. Those areas do not necessarily correlate with pupils' own interests. For example:

- 43 girls undertook placements in childcare compared to only 29 who listed it as their choice of future occupation. This placement steer did not apply to boys in childcare, as only 2 boys undertook childcare placements.
- More than twice as many boys undertook placements in semi/unskilled manual labour as those who sought this for their career (26 boys, compared to only 12 who listed it as their choice of occupation). Again, only one girl undertook such a placement.

Table 4 Pupils' aspirations

SECTOR	Female	Male	Total
Academic	3	3	6
Agriculture & horticulture	0	4	4
Animal work – semi/unskilled	9	1	10
Animal work – professional	2	1	3
Armed forces	1	14	15
Arts, fine	1	4	5
Arts, performing	11	8	19
Arts & crafts	1	0	1
Automotive/transport	0	5	5
Business	0	13	13
Catering	4	5	9
Charitable/public sector	1	0	1
Civil Service	0	2	2
Children (working with)	29	1	30
Commercial/enterprise	0	2	2
Design	12	12	24
Education	19	11	30
Emergency services	5	9	14
Engineering	1	32	33
Finance	3	12	15
General care industry	1	0	1
Hair and beauty	30	0	30
IT	6	33	39
Legal	19	16	35
Leisure/travel/tourism	11	2	13
Media production	7	20	27
Medical –professional level	10	9	19
Medical – low level/related	0	2	2
Nursing & midwifery	14	1	15
Office work	7	2	9
Para-medical professions	9	5	14
PR/Advertising	2	1	3
Printed media/literary arts	3	7	10
Retail	2	2	4
Sales	4	2	6
Science	7	11	18
Semi/unskilled manual labour	0	12	12
Skilled/semi-skilled manual trades	0	18	18
Sports related	4	11	15
Odd/joke answers	0	6	6
Uncodable	1	2	3
TOTAL	239	301	540

This evidence suggests that work experience placements are constraining occupational trajectories and extending stereotyping. Our finding that only 15 per cent of pupil questionnaire respondents said they had been provided with information on non gender-stereotypical work experience placements when far higher percentages of young people are interested in them suggests that far more could and needs to be done to engage with pupils to challenge stereotypes and encourage take-up of non-traditional placements.

In our sample:

- 1 boy wanted a job in the sector 'Working with Children' compared to 29 girls.
- 33 boys aspired to jobs in the IT sector compared to 6 girls.
- 1 girl aspired to a job in engineering compared to 32 boys

Unsurprisingly, when asked which jobs they thought they'd end up in, numbers of the pupils in the sample suggested sex stereotypical aspirations, though not exclusively. This can be contrasted with the finding that almost a half of girls and a third of boys in the same sample would consider a job traditionally done by the opposite sex (see chapter 6, section 6.2). This suggests that the scope of pupils' interests is not static nor overwhelmingly stereotypical, and indicates a will for change that is unaddressed.

4.4 Methods by which work experience placements were allocated

In judging the extent to which pupils appear to be pursuing gender-stereotypical work experience placements, it is important to consider whether pupils actually chose these placements themselves or were directed into them; and the processes involved in identifying placements. Half of the pupils in our sample (49 per cent) said that their work experience placement was found by themselves or by family or friends. A further third of pupils (32 per cent) said that they chose from a list of options provided by the school. There was little difference according to gender. Only 7 per cent of pupils said that they were encouraged or persuaded to pursue a particular placement by school staff and a further 10 per cent said they had been allocated a placement without being able to choose. This trend supports our earlier findings concerning an ethos of freedom of choice and autonomy for individual pupils, and encouragement for them to identify their own placements. It is not possible to indicate how widespread nationally this type of practice is. It is possible to say that in most schools, some pupils choose and identify their own placements.

As we have already observed, this ethos impacts upon gender, socio-economic group and ethnicity in terms of the range of placements consequently accessed by pupils. Although there did not seem to be strong differences in methods of identification of placement according to gender, there was some indication that ethnicity and socio-economic group had a bearing. South Asian pupils were as likely as white pupils to self-identify their placements, but they were slightly less likely to say they gained their first choice than were their white counterparts, and more South Asian pupils said that their placement was acceptable but not their first choice (36 per cent, compared to 25 per cent of white pupils). They were also more likely than white pupils to feel that they had been steered, or had had no choice and a

placement allocated to them (although here numbers concerned were small and differences not statistically significant). This diminished choice was also true of the group of pupils who said they would ‘definitely not’ be going to university.

Conversely, pupils who said they would ‘definitely’ go to university were more likely to have identified placements themselves (or with help from family and friends), and less likely than other groups to have chosen their placements from a list provided by the school. As one work experience coordinator pointed out, pupils seeking placements “in a certain field like journalism, and television and music technology type places then they are really going to have to find their own because those employers don’t touch us”. This lack of employer availability for particular jobs and professions means that only those pupils with the right connections have opportunity to access such placements. In fact, the response of a head of year suggested that in the rare cases where such employer placements are made available particular pupils are selected for these competitive places:

...we want to make sure that the kids that go there are the best kids and the most likely to succeed in that position. We don’t want to send just any kids to that sort of place.

As illustrated in Table 5, pupils were generally positive concerning their ability to access their choice of work placement: 63 per cent said they gained their first choice of placement, with 28 per cent saying they did not get their first choice but found the placement they had undertaken instead to be acceptable, and only 9 per cent stating that their placement was not at all what they had wanted to do.

Table 5 Extent of pupils’ choice of placement

	Male	Female
Was your placement?	Per cent	Per cent
Your first choice	64	63
Acceptable but not your first choice	25	31
Not at all what you wanted to do	11	7

It is important to note, however, that many of these ‘first choice’, self-identified placements were revealed in the case studies to be expedient choices. They were not necessarily dynamic and interesting or particularly suited to the career aspirations of the pupils concerned. For example, some chose placements from which they were likely to gain Saturday jobs or future employment (retail being a common example). Others simply linked up with family members for the sake of convenience. As one girl explained, her mother who works for the local council suggested that that would be a

good placement, and it “might be a good place because it is just down the road as well”.

4.5 Would pupils like to try non-traditional placements?

Crucially, when asked whether they would have liked to try a non-gender traditional placement, 36 per cent of girls said ‘yes’, with a further 31 per cent undecided and only 33 per cent said ‘no’. Table 6 sets out the responses to this question, from pupils who had not undertaken non-gender stereotypical placements (i.e. the vast majority).

Table 6 Whether pupils would have liked to try a non-traditional placement

	Male	Female
Would you have liked to try a non-traditional placement?	Per cent	Per cent
Yes	14	36
No	48	33
Don't know	38	31

These findings are interesting on a number of levels. Firstly, that the largest proportion of girls say they would like to try a non-gender traditional placement (with a further large group undecided or unclear, and hence not rejecting the idea either), suggests un-tapped potential here to develop girls interests and widen choices. We would argue that our findings about both girls and boys are important here. That so many girls said they would have liked to try a non-gender traditional placement suggests that more work could productively be done to address this potential. Conversely, that fewer boys said they would like to try a non-traditional placement demonstrates the extent to which boys are further restricted by constructions of masculinity (see Whitehead, 1996; Miller and Budd, 1999), and arguably illustrates the urgent need to address this and to enable them to make more diverse choices.

South Asian pupils appeared more likely than white pupils to say that they would have liked to have tried a work experience placement in a job that is usually done by the opposite sex. 33 per cent of South Asian pupils said that they would have liked to try a non-traditional placement, compared to 22 per cent of white pupils; and only 29 per cent said that they would not have liked to try such a placement, compared to 44 per cent of white pupils (the remainder answered they did not know). Although the number of South Asian pupils is small (53) so these findings can only be suggestive rather than conclusive, this finding is interesting given the prevalence of assumptions (some voiced by teachers and EBP managers in this study) that South Asian pupils are more gender stereotypical than white pupils in their attitudes and aspirations concerning work and work placement.

4.6 The uptake of non-gender-traditional work placements

In the case studies we interviewed 12 pupils who were identified as having undertaken placements in non-gender traditional areas⁴. Half of these pupils were committed to careers in non-traditional areas and held strongly equitable opinions and outlooks about gender and work. As a boy who sought to become a paediatrician explained, “Any job can be done by a man, any job can be done by a woman, if you’re qualified to do it then you can do it”. However, where boys were in female dominated environments, in only two cases was this intentional – the boy above had very clear idea that he wanted to be a paediatric nurse and therefore opted for nursing placement. His work placement coordinator explained that he was “very confident” and therefore his choice was not questioned by peers, parents or teachers but supported. Another boy also undertook a nursing placement, but he also had very clear career goals: he wanted to become a consultant (doctor) and was interested in nursing to gain insights into how hospitals operated more generally. Some pupils had also ended up in non-traditional placement environments as expedient practical solutions: for example, one girl shadowed her dad, a BT engineer. However, she had actually wanted to do a placement within the music industry – though had been turned down as too young. One boy had wanted to assist his father, a plasterer, but was unable to. As time was running out he arranged to work at a family friend’s hairdressing business. Despite being given meaningful tasks and being treated well he was “gutted” as it was not at all what he wanted to do and he felt self-conscious and embarrassed doing a feminine job.

Thus, the pupils purposefully undertaking anti-stereotypical placements constituted a small minority in the sample of case study schools, including the two with more interventions to tackle gender stereotyping. Given our findings that so few pupils received any advice or information about non-traditional placements, this number is not surprising. These findings should not be generalised as they constitute a snapshot of a small range of schools. It is possible that in other schools outside of the sample, pupils may have had very different experiences. However, in our sample we were interested to know about these pupils’ motivations, and/or what enabled them to pursue non-traditional placements.

Several of the pupils concerned expected to face some sexism from fellow employees or employers. As the girl who wished to join the army observed, “Probably there will be sexist people there...there would be a lot of men saying you are not good enough but I think I will be able to do it”. The girl interested in marine biology noted that women scientists might not be given “credit as much as men”, and that “a

⁴ Pupils’ placements were hard to categorise in this way, due to the variety of reasons for undertaking placements, and the types of work involved. For example, some of these pupils had undertaken non-traditional jobs for expedient reasons, and for others the title of the placement appears non-traditional, but the nature of the work provided was actually gender traditional. Other pupils (not included in this figure) had wanted to undertake non-traditional placements but had not been able to.

man might get better treatment than me because I'm a woman", although she believes things are changing for the better. Hence those pupils pursuing non-traditional routes were exceptionally committed, and often appeared (and were identified by their teachers as) self-confident. They were able to face the challenges they might face as minorities in their chosen careers due to their passion for these occupations and the self-confidence necessary to put aside sexism predicted or already experienced.

The pupils concerned were also all pro-equal opportunities, the majority making strong and consistent arguments against gender-stereotyping in any direction. As one boy argued, "Regardless of sex they should be able to do what they want, and if that [non-traditional job] interests them they should go for it". Hence an aversion to gender stereotyping and a belief in equality of opportunity appeared to be an important prerequisite in the current system for undertaking non-traditional placements. However, many of their contemporaries who undertook traditional placements voiced these views too, illustrating how such beliefs are far from being the only factor enabling these pupils. Clearly their apparent confidence and assertiveness in the face of potential adversity is an additional factor at play. Asked why they particularly sought to engage in these non-traditional placements their responses were invariably that they had "always" wanted to engage in the occupational area concerned, because of intrinsic aspects of the job (such as it being interesting, exciting, and so on). For example, the boy who sought to be a paediatric nurse said that he wanted to "help people" and enjoys "working with kids".

None of the pupils suggested that they had been particularly motivated by interventions within the school – in some ways this was unsurprising, as it appeared that none of the areas chosen by the pupils concerned (e.g. Female marine biologist, male nurse) were represented in the small scale interventions undertaken in particular schools.

It appeared that the pupils we interviewed who had purposefully undertaken non-gender traditional placements had done so due to a combination of their individual interests, ideological perspectives and strength of character. It is inevitable that information drawn from family, school, the media and other institutions will have also informed their decisions (for example, family connections and possible influences are illustrated by some of the pupils' routes into their placements through such connections).

5. PUPILS' EXPERIENCES OF WORK PLACEMENTS

5.1 Pupil enjoyment of work experience placements

There was a high level of endorsement of work placements among pupils. Pupils generally enjoyed their placements: 67 per cent said that they enjoyed their placement 'a lot', with only 7 per cent saying that they did not enjoy it at all. Comments on the questionnaires sometimes illustrated how respondents had found placements both enjoyable and inspiring:

I found the Animal Care course at ... a very thrilling, exciting place to be. I would like to get a degree and eventually become a vet.

White boy, will 'probably' go to university

It was a pleasure shadowing a solicitor as it showed and pictured a basic portrait in my mind. It showed me how life as a solicitor would be – the challenges that could be present in front of me. As I read through many ... and horrifying cases – I realised that others had suffered worse (sic) than me and I was one of the lucky ones.

Boy, ethnicity unknown, will 'definitely' go to university

Fewer said that they enjoyed the work involved on their placement, but nevertheless half of the pupils said that they enjoyed the work involved 'a lot'. Comments from questionnaire respondents sometimes indicated that where pupils had not enjoyed the work this was due to being allocated menial tasks:

It was not realistic and I was allocated boring jobs no one wanted to do.

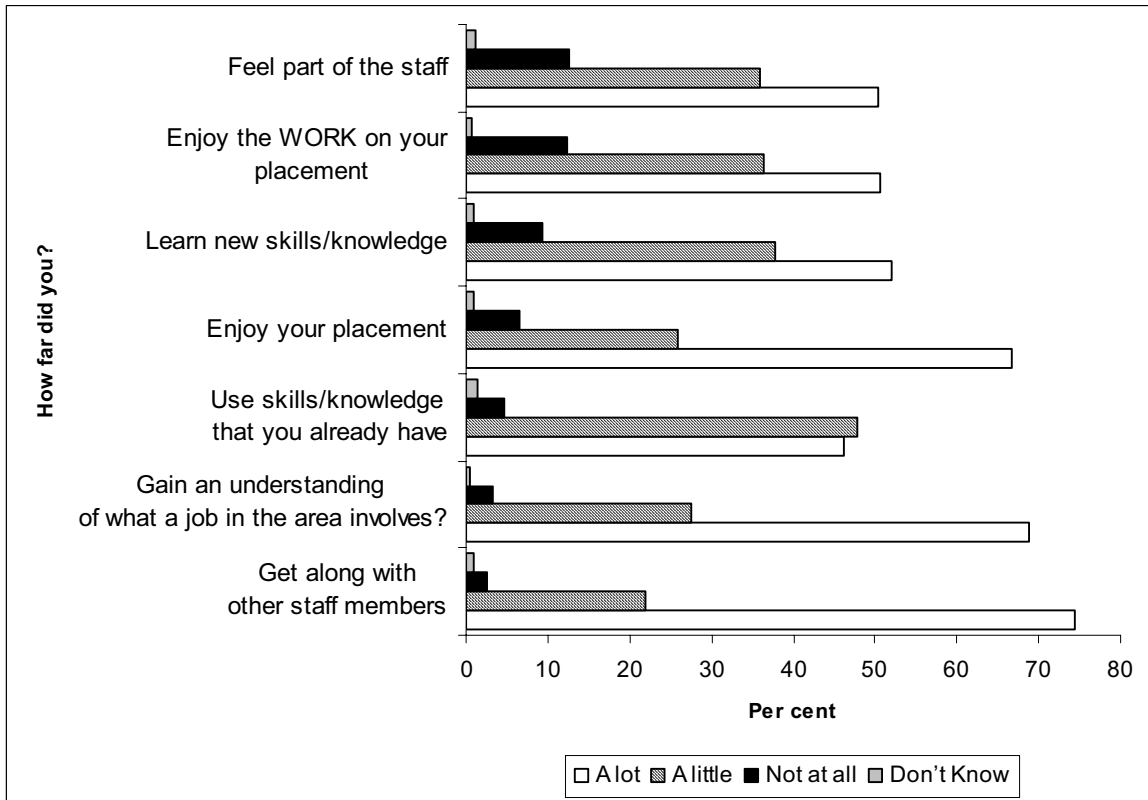
White boy, will 'probably' go to university

Figure 5 presents the general figures and constitutes a ringing endorsement of work experience placements by pupils as enjoyable and generally engaging experiences.

Pupils talked about the usefulness of work placements in terms of giving them an understanding of the world of work. Some pupils mentioned pragmatic benefits, such as their having gained part-time or future jobs as a result of their placements. In some cases it had clearly raised pupils' self-esteem and had built on or affirmed skills that they held (illustrating the benefits of linking work experience placements to the curriculum). One girl explained that the most enjoyable aspect of her placement was:

...going on the internet finding out information because I am quite good at that. I use the internet a lot. I am able to use the keyboard, and the person who I was working for was really surprised when I was typing up a letter for her; she was like, "you are able to type!" because I was typing really fast. They got me a lot to do, a lot of letters after that.

Figure 5 Pupils' responses concerning their work experience



Some pupils who had chosen their own placement had benefited from very effective parental connections to enable rewarding placements. For example, the girl from the case studies who had gained a placement at the local university marine biology department had done so via one of her “dad’s mates” who worked there and she was involved in all aspects of the work. She explained enthusiastically about a beach dig in which she participated:

They like had these big grabber things and it like grabbed this massive chunk of mud and put it on the thing, and then they were like shaking it out, and it was all like crabs and fish and stuff in it. And they were, it was for their projects like, in like a metre square bit how many creatures and stuff are in it.

Even those whose placements had made them see that the work involved was ‘not for them’ recognised the benefit of this experience:

It (placement) was very useful as at the time I wanted to be an architect. It has shown me that I would not enjoy doing this line of work and has saved me many years at university to find that I did not enjoy architecture.

White male, will ‘definitely’ go to university

It is interesting to note that the social aspects of the work experience placements (enjoyment, getting along with the staff) seemed to be rated somewhat more highly by pupils than did the actual work involved (using current skills and developing new ones, enjoying the work on placements). Perhaps unsurprisingly given the temporary nature of work experience placements, only half of pupils felt 'part of the staff'. Boys were slightly more likely than girls to feel comfortable with other workers on placement: 16 per cent of girls and 9 per cent of boys said they did 'not at all' feel part of the staff (with 47 per cent of girls, and 54 per cent of boys saying that they felt part of the staff 'a lot'). The comments of 3 individuals included, "The staff were ignorant especially the manager who was horrible" (female). "It was fun but the staff was very distant" (female). "I found the people very friendly and could easily have a laugh with" (male). However, as the figures indicate, the majority of pupils of both sexes seemed to feel at ease with their colleagues during their placements.

Those pupils who said that they will 'definitely' go to university were less likely than other groups to enjoy the work on the placements (39 per cent of pupils who expect to 'definitely' go to university said they enjoyed the work involved 'a lot', compared to 65 per cent of those who said they 'definitely did not' expect to go to university). The group who said they would 'definitely not' go to university particularly relished work experience placements, with a greater proportion highly rating aspects than any other group in almost all cases. This trend might be explained in various ways, but it seems likely that the more aspirational pupils have greater expectations of placements and may have felt less extended or more dissatisfied with their placements as a result, particularly when we recall their lesser satisfaction with the process of placement allocation. It seems unlikely to have been caused by poorer quality placements, as this group were more likely than other groups to identify their own placements. It is certainly the case that in unskilled jobs the placement work is less likely to differ so significantly from the 'real' work than in high status/ professional jobs; and therefore perhaps pupils who aspire to less highly qualified work may gain a more 'authentic' placement experience. Moreover, pupils from this group are keener to get out of school and in to the 'adult' world of work (e.g. Archer et al., 2003), and may, therefore, be more enthusiastic.

5.2 Gender issues arising during work experience

There was evidence that work experience placements had the potential to challenge the gender stereotypical views of pupils. In some cases new experiences and knowledge challenged their stereotypes, for example one girl commented:

I worked with a male primary school teacher. He was very efficient at what he did and I was quite surprised. He was even better than women. That changed my mind about male primary school teachers. They are equally able.

Black African female, will 'definitely' go to university

In other cases though, there was evidence that pupils' experiences during work placement were negative as a result of stereotyping:

The girls were made to clean the rooms and toilets while the boys helped in the kitchen and waited tables. I would have liked it more if I was given the chance to do everything.

White female, will 'probably' go to university

I think I may have been slightly disappointed with my work placement because the job did not involve the things I wanted to learn about. I wished to be involved in activities related to theatre work and instead I was left in a crèche, office etc to do pretty mundane activities

White female, will 'definitely' go to university

5.3 Mismatch between work area and work allocation in some non-traditional placements

The quality and type of work undertaken on various placements emerged as a gender issue during our data collection. There were issues for many pupils regarding the types of tasks provided/undertaken during placements in relation to the expected placement area. We have already seen how some pupils found work unexpectedly menial or boring, but there were also problems with 'fit' in terms of a disjuncture between the apparent area of the placement and the actual work tasks provided. This was particularly pertinent in relation to gender stereotyping.

In a number of cases it emerged that even when female pupils had chosen a non-traditional placement they were often located in an administrative role among predominantly female staff. As a result, they did not gain insights into the profession they were interested in and instead were confronted by gender stereotypical environments and forced to undertake gender stereotypical tasks. For example, one girl was interested in medical research and was sent to a local hospital. She was delighted, as she knew there were few placements available in hospitals (she reported how she was the only pupil in her year allowed access), and she expected an opportunity to gain insights into medicine or medical research. Instead she was placed with administrators and spent her entire placement sitting in an office, filing! She remarked despondently, "I didn't really like it a lot, it wasn't really what I wanted to do." Her experience juxtaposed dramatically with that of a boy in a different case study school who had similarly gained a hospital placement because of his interest in Medicine. He shadowed nurses and doctors on a stroke ward and found it an

extremely rewarding, meaningful and thought-provoking experience. As he explained, “It was very enlightening, I never really like knew what it was like so it was just a new experience really, I thoroughly enjoyed it as well...I think it exceeded them [expectations] in many ways, I didn’t expect for one thing to be able to go in with GPs”.⁵

This mismatch between intention and outcome in some apparently ‘non-traditional’ choices also applied to a female interviewee who had sought a placement and career in law. A particularly illustrative example is that of a pupil who told us she sought a career in either the Police Force or the Army. A placement was arranged for her in the Army but she broke her arm and was unable to go. Instead she was sent to a local pre-school and was utterly disappointed as it could not have been further from her chosen career. Hence, even amongst the very few pupils who sought to undertake anti-stereotypical placements, some did not actually get to experience the area of work they had sought to pursue and opportunities to facilitate non-traditional routes were being lost and even impeded.

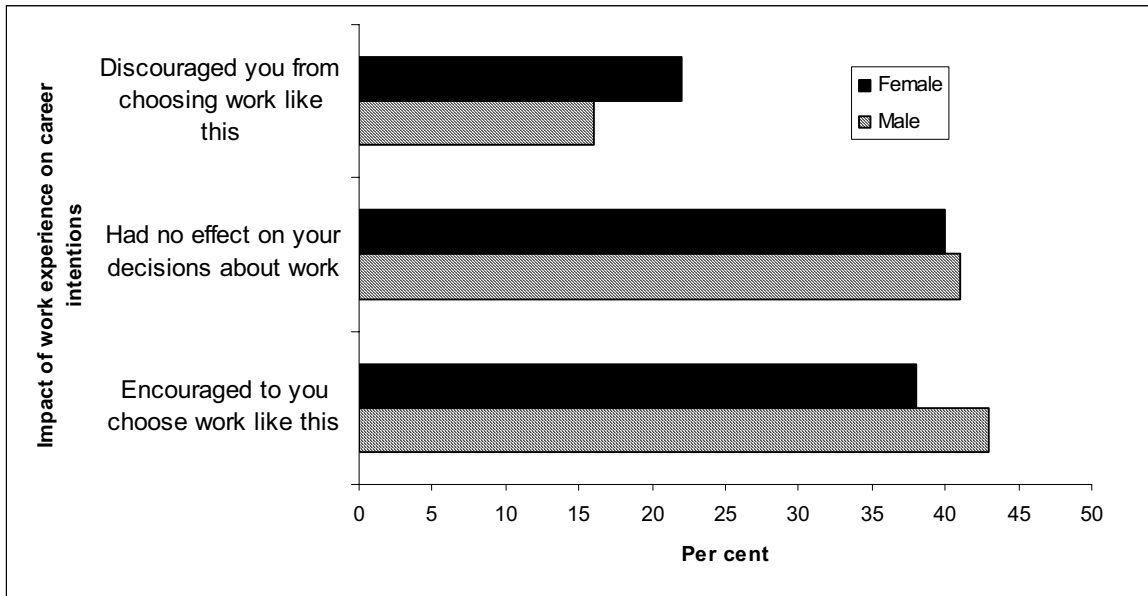
5.4 Impact of work experience placement on career choice

When asked whether their placements had affected their career intentions (see Figure 7), the majority of pupils indicated that their work placements had affected their decisions about future work. 43 per cent of boys and 38 per cent of girls said that their work placement had encouraged them to choose work in that area. A smaller proportion (16 per cent boys; 22 per cent girls) said that placements had discouraged them from pursuing such work. Only 41 per cent of boys and 40 per cent of girls said that their work placements had not affected their decisions about future work at all.

The more ‘aspirational’ pupils were less likely to have been encouraged to choose similar jobs and more likely to have been discouraged than other pupils. It was the pupils who said they would ‘definitely not’ go to university who had most often been encouraged by their placement to choose similar work and least often said they had been discouraged by their experience. Although the numbers concerned are not statistically significant, this tendency for such groups of pupils to have been more ‘steered’ in their placements is a cause for concern given our findings concerning the gender stereotypical and often low-status nature of the occupational areas concerned.

⁵ We did also find a case where a boy working in a veterinary surgery spent all his time doing admin, showing that such cases are not exclusively tied to gender. However, arguably the impact in terms of stereotyping is more profound in apparently non-gender traditional placements.

Figure 6 Impact of work placement on career intentions



6. PUPILS' CONSTRUCTIONS OF GENDER AND WORK

6.1 Pupils' views of future occupations

As explored in chapter 4 (see table 4) pupils were asked which job they thought they'd end up doing. Together they provided an extensive and diverse list of jobs, which we have analysed according to gender (see Appendix 5). These findings were slightly more stereotypical than recent work which shows a more diverse and less stereotypical range of choices among pupils in this age-group (e.g. Francis, 2000; 2002). This suggests that sample location and ethnicity have a significant impact on findings around pupils' choices (as Francis' sample was London-based and ethnically diverse, and showed less gender-stereotyping than in the case of this national study or Warrington and Younger's more rural study; 2000). The findings in our sample do indicate some contemporary changes and developments according to gender and job choice: for example, that 'solicitor/lawyer' and 'doctor' (traditionally masculine professions) are among girls' most popular choices (Lightbody and Durndell, 1996; Francis et al., 2003). Furthermore, there were some non-gender-stereotypical choices made by both girls and boys. Almost equal numbers of girls and boys were interested in science related occupations.

In addition, pupils were given a list of jobs and asked whether women, men or both are best suited to them and if they would consider them as a possible future job. 39 per cent of girls and 55 per cent of boys would consider a business director as a possible future job and the majority of pupils thought that both women and men were suited to the job. In the stereotypically 'male' occupational areas, the findings were interesting. 28 per cent of girls and 56 per cent of boys would consider being an IT consultant and 69 per cent of boys and 80 per cent of girls consider both women and men to be equally suited to the job. 56 per cent of boys and 13 per cent of girls would consider being an engineer, and a fifth of pupils consider both women and men to be equally suited to the job. 47 per cent of boys and 17 per cent of girls would consider being a mechanic and almost a fifth of pupils consider both women and men to be equally suited to the job. Although there are gender differences here, they are not as stark as the actual labour market, where much smaller percentages of women are employed in those occupations. These trends are also confirmed in forthcoming research by Fuller et al. (2005). In stereotypically 'female' occupational areas, the findings were also interesting, though corroborate the fact that boys tend to be more constrained by gender stereotyping. 6 per cent of boys compared to 53 per cent of girls would consider being a child carer as a future job, however, over a fifth of boys and almost a third of girls believe both women and men are equally suited to the job. 6 per cent of boys compared to 42 per cent of girls would consider being a nurse, however, 43 per cent of boys and 51 per cent of girls believe that women and men are equally suited to nursing.

These findings, and other evidence in the research, leads us to suggest that pupils are not completely bound by gender stereotypical thinking in relation to their own interests or beliefs about occupations. Pupils clearly struggle with imagining themselves comfortably in atypical occupations. Some of the reasons for this are developed in the next section. It is clear, however, that interests and inclinations of pupils are not sufficiently supported or developed to enable them to make positive choices.

6.2 Pupils' views on non-gender traditional employment

Along with findings in the previous section, when thinking about their future career, almost a half of girls and a third of boys said they would consider doing a job that is usually done by the opposite sex. This correlates with the figure who would have liked to try a non-traditional placement., suggesting a will for social change that should not be underestimated.

The half of girls and two-thirds of boys who answered 'no', they would not consider a job usually performed by the opposite sex, were asked to rate a list of statements which might explain their reasoning. Clear factors came to the fore in these responses, that differed for girls and boys and were also shared. 49 per cent of girls compared to 30 per cent of boys doubted that there would be many opportunities for promotion, suggesting a greater fear of discrimination as females. 35 per cent of boys compared to 11 per cent of girls indicated that their friends or family would make fun of them or wouldn't want them to do it, suggesting a greater fear of peer pressure as males. Just under a half of both girls and boys agreed that they would be embarrassed to be the only woman or man in the workplace.

In case study interviews, some pupils depicted the sexes as having 'naturally' different abilities, leading them to be better at different jobs. For example, women tended to be seen as more imotherly, caring, sensitive, methodical; and men as physically stronger and capable of emotional detachment. Particular jobs tended to be used as examples – 'builder' was invariably produced as an example of a job that men are better at, because they are 'stronger'. Construction work (and much SET work) was seen as involving physical strength beyond women. There was also evidence that construction was sometimes seen as too menial for girls. When asked whether there are any jobs that are better suited to men than women, one boy replied:

I don't know, maybe some more of a building and like heavy labour jobs maybe, only because like maybe there's not much interest in them, it's more generally. But I think generally people do that cos they weren't so like, weren't so clever at school and that and it's like they don't have to be overly smart to be, like do it and it's apprenticeship. Whereas I think

generally in school girls are a lot smarter, they have like higher expectations anyway

Q: Do you think it's possible for a girl to be a builder though?

A: Yeah and I think it's, a lot of guys do it because they like, maybe didn't get the grades and stuff they wanted.

These findings underline the importance of challenging perceptions of the skills required, and image of, particular SET occupations, as noted by the DTI (2004).

Other pupils reported stereotypical views which were clearly influenced by their environment and local/familial experience. For example, when probed as to why she believed women make better childcarers, one girl explained:

I have grown up with it always being women. Both my sisters (nursery nurses) have had women in the nursery and I had women in the nursery (in her work experience placement). When my sister was younger all her nursery teachers were women.

However, when probed about these views of gendered abilities, many of the respondents also reflected that they knew people who contradicted these stereotypes. The vast majority of pupils suggested that they (or people more generally) can do anything they want regardless of gender. Some strongly subscribed to an equal opportunities view. As one girl asserted, "I think everyone can work wherever they want, I don't think because you're a man you are able to do better than a woman can". Although some discussed stereotypical perceptions and workplace discrimination as barriers to entering non-gender traditional careers the view of many pupils was that with enough determination (apparently irrespective of qualifications or connections), anybody could do a non-gender traditional job. As a female pupil maintained, "It does not matter what sex you are to do a job if you want to do it, are good at it and have the right personal qualities then sex shouldn't matter".

6.3 Explanations for gender stereotyping in work experience placements

Key adults in the research provided a variety of explanations for the continuation of gender stereotyping in work experience placements, which included:

Parents

Many teachers maintained that parents have stereotypical views of occupations and that they influence or steer pupils' choices. It is interesting to compare this view with our finding that pupils seem to think their parents do not pressure them – over half of pupils said that family expectations are 'not at all important' in determining their choices. As one girl explained, her parents would support her whatever job she chose, "they believe in what I do because it's my choice". However we did find

evidence that pupils interviewed in the case studies tended to express interest in their parents' or other family members' job as a future occupation (9 of the pupils chose the same jobs as their family members, and more chose jobs which were in similar areas). This shows how pupils' home and local environments and the examples of occupations therein inform their view of what is available or appropriate for 'people like me' (Reay et al., 2001, Archer et al., 2003).

Community attitudes

Attitudes in the wider community were also blamed for gender stereotypical views among pupils. One assistant head at a rural case-study school went further and maintained that stereotypical community attitudes were also present among the other teachers in the school.

Peer pressure

Peer pressure was cited by many teachers as a factor impeding take-up of non-traditional placements, particularly on the part of boys. One EBP manager recommended single-sex activities in order to address the issue of peer pressure, describing a successful initiative they had implemented called "Girls on Wheels". This involved two days of 'hands on' activities for girls in motor vehicle engineering and body work. The EBP manager maintained that the girls would not have participated had boys been present.

School policy and practice

Teachers were far more likely to blame outside influences for gender-stereotypical work experience placement uptake than they were to see schools or the curriculum as responsible (see also findings from Hamilton, 2003). Only one teacher reflected on the possible impact of the 'individual freedom of choice' model employed by schools in relation to the allocation of work placement. She noted a disadvantage in the self-identification approach in that pupils are unaware which employers might offer non-traditional placements, plus:

...you have actually got to approach them in the first place and you know that requires a lot of guts from a kid to do that, because that is what we encourage the girls to do.

More generally, a number of teachers and EBP Managers observed that, in spite of government concerns to promote workplace experience (QCA, 2002), work experience placements are increasingly seen in many schools as a distraction from the priority focus on academic success at Key Stage 4.

Careers advice

A number of teachers argued that stereotypical uptake of work experience placements reflects the paucity of input from the Connexions Service. One work experience placement coordinator complained:

They don't do anything now. They used to when they were the Careers Service. They used to get involved a little bit in visiting places for their own sake, you know, building up their own knowledge of local employers and things like that, but Connexions is useless as far as I'm concerned. The actual careers adviser we've got coming in here now is brilliant, but she's terribly disillusioned by what the Connexions service has done to careers really and so am I. We used to get a lot more input from them and I think the idea of getting them dabbling in all the other aspects of young people's lives has just zapped time away from what they can spend on careers....We're all disillusioned with Connexions I have to say.

However, views of Connexions were not all negative – at one case study school the work experience coordinator had an excellent relationship with Connexions, including an advisor on site three days per week. Both she and some pupils at the school spoke of the useful guidance pupils receive, demonstrating the value of such input where resources are provided at an appropriate level.

Educational materials

Some of the educational materials available on occupations were noted to be poor, especially in relation to gender stereotyping. One teacher said of video resources:

I have dumped so many now because they are very stereotyped. The 20 second spiel will show 100 ladies on sewing machines – now, will that really attract boys?

Health and Safety/Workplace discrimination

Teachers identified a range of concerns relating to health and safety in the workplace which they believed impede the take up of non-traditional placements by girls. Coordinators and EBP managers seemed very concerned that girls might find themselves at risk in certain male dominated professions which are associated with sexist behaviour/environments (car mechanics and construction being frequently mentioned as examples), and therefore were reluctant to place them in these work environments. However, there was no evidence of work with employers to support placements in better working environments.

Gender distribution of staff

Some pupil interviewees maintained that they felt more comfortable in environments where they were not in a small minority in terms of their gender. Asked for her thoughts on potentially undertaking a non-traditional placement, one girl replied:

I know a work placement is just work, but it is a lot about who you are working with, and I think if it is male dominated then I would feel quite separate from them... I think that would affect my work a lot because you need that bond with your work mates.

7. PROMISING PRACTICE DESIGNED TO ADDRESS GENDER STEREOTYPING

7.1 Promising practice

The research uncovered no examples of coherent strategies to widen non-traditional work experience opportunities for pupils and only limited examples of good practice. Where this was happening, as reported in earlier sections of this report, different activities and interventions were being used. Several teacher questionnaire respondents alluded to classroom discussions of occupational stereotyping in PSHE lessons. These kinds of approaches where gender issues are directly discussed and stereotypes explored and challenged in groupwork have been found to be highly effective (Davies, 1989; Wing, 1997), so long as they are properly thought through and guided by the teacher (see Francis, 2000). Moreover, such approaches provide vital contextualisation for more specific interventions geared towards enabling pupils to pursue non-traditional interests and choices.

A small number of EBP managers and careers coordinators were playing a proactive role in contacting placement providers with a view to facilitating non gender-traditional placements, and advertising their availability, and this appears a positive approach. In one case an EBP manager had forged links to encourage girls into the Fire and Rescue Service, with specific placements targeted at girls (as previously demand for places by boys had outstripped supply, meaning that the likelihood of girls taking up placements was minimised). Four girls took up the available placements, and the Fire Service were delighted, as such representation had apparently been previously unheard of. When pupils take up non-traditional placements it is vital that such experiences should be positive, and in this regard Trident systems of employer (and pupil) report forms and check-lists provide excellent models with which to monitor and ensure such positive provision.

As well as specific interventions provided by organisations such as WISE and bodies representing various industries, two particular strategies seemed to be used for challenging stereotypes: these were the 'Role Model Panel' and tours of traditionally gendered (usually masculine) worksites. As we have discussed above, the 'Role Model Panel' comprises a panel of invited professionals who do not fit common gender/ethnic occupational stereotypes - pupils have to guess what each panel member does for a living, and later truth is revealed and stereotypes challenged. Tours of different work environments usually involved groups of girls being taken to manufacturing plants, engineering and mechanics workplaces. In order to make such tours effective girls (and boys) need to be properly briefed as to the traditionally gendered nature of the work environment, and employers encouraged to make efforts to make these trips positive and engaging for pupils of both sexes.

It was evident that pupils did not recall the interventions or mention their impact when questioned. We suggest that this may have been because interventions were often 'one off', and do not often appear to be joined up either between different individual organisations or central agencies. Sometimes they only reach particular groups of pupils. We would argue that strategies ought to be coordinated and cumulative, and in this the current work by JIVE (see below) in training careers teachers around equal opportunities and linking various organisations, appears extremely promising.

An important further point is that no substantial organisations are targeting boys: the interventions conducted in our sample schools did not seek to reduce gender stereotyping of occupations among boys, and indeed our research found that boys are almost never considered in this regard.

7.2 Respondents' suggestions for challenging gender stereotyping in work experience

Teachers volunteered various ideas as to what might help reduce gender stereotyping in work experience placements. These included:

- positive non-gender traditional role models ("speakers who have successfully broken the mould") for careers education in Years 8 and 9 (rather than at Key Stage 4).
- more up-to-date teaching resources to challenge gender stereotyping in adult work (and for use with all age groups).
- pupils in non-gender traditional placements linked with a person of the same sex from the work placement provider.
- more efforts from employers to 'actively aim for' and even 'positively discriminate' in favour of, non-gender traditional pupils.

It was also observed by teachers in the case study schools any effective challenge to gender stereotypes in school to work would require prioritisation by the school, and integration as a planning/policy issue. As one careers teacher observed:

It has to be agreed at the top of the school. It has to be something that really the leadership team has got to look at the school and say 'this is part of our development plan', this is something we want the strategy, and it is not going to be just through work experience. It is going to be a kind of whole school approach and look at how different aspects could feed into that.

However, there were no plans for this to happen in the schools.

Teachers and pupils suggested that:

- pupils should undertake several placements in a variety of workplaces instead of only one, including non-traditional options. Pupils felt this would give them better diversity of experience, including provision of insights into non-traditional areas without this being the only placement available (hence removing the pressure of having to make a single choice directly related to their chosen career).

7.3 Organisations developing strategies to challenge gender stereotyping in work experience placements

A number of organisations are developing strategies and interventions designed to challenge occupational segregation and to encourage and support young people who make non-traditional choices.

The following organisations are developing strategies that are similar to those previously suggested by teacher respondents:

JIVE

JIVE (Joint Interventions) Partners is a national ESF Equal funded project led by Bradford College delivering initiatives with learning providers, careers professionals and employers in the engineering, construction and technology sectors . It draws on the experience gained in an earlier two-year project led by Bradford College, LET'S TWIST, which focused on developing careers education materials (posters, case studies, videos), hands on events for girls and a careers library promoting science, engineering, construction and technology careers to women and girls.⁶

The overall aim of the JIVE project is to create cultural change in the engineering, construction and technology sectors by addressing the barriers that prevent women from pursuing careers in these sectors.

JIVE delivers a range of strategies designed to widen the choices available to girls. Interventions are offered to employers, education/training providers and careers professionals who are pivotal in effecting change.

These include:

- The development and delivery of LET'S Twist gender inclusive awareness training to lecturers of engineering, construction and technology

⁶ The five case studies produced as a result of this project and information about JIVE can be obtained from the following website: <http://letstwist.bradfordcollege.ac.uk/>

- The development and piloting of a new equality cultural audit tool with follow up advice and training, covering 250 employers in the engineering, construction, property services and ICT sectors.
- The development and delivery of CPD training in how to overcome gender stereotyping for use with careers professionals

JIVE promotes a model of good practice to schools based on the 'Outlook' approach pioneered by WISE. Interventions are targeted at Year 9 girls who are at a critical stage in making GCSE choices. Ongoing work supports girls to make wider work experience choices and education or training choices at 16.

The model of good practice includes key components that are necessary to tackle entrenched gender segregation.

It includes:

- Work with a key member of staff in the school who will 'champion' the work with girls.
- 'Hands on' events for girls where they experience practical project work; meet women role models and visit a company who employ women. Girls present their findings to parents and teachers.
- Follow up mentoring for girls and after-school clubs, including support for non-traditional work experience placements.

The GERI partnership

The GERI consortium consists of research partners in five countries: the UK, Denmark, Austria, Finland and Spain. The UK partners in the project include Careers/Connexions companies, a national Sector Skills Council (e-Skills UK) and organisations from the voluntary and private sectors. Partners work closely with schools, other education and training providers and Learning and Skills Councils. The lead partner is Connexions Lancashire.⁷ In the UK the GERI project is helping the Connexions and Careers Guidance Sector, schools, colleges, training providers, and employers to tackle gender & ethnic stereotyping.

⁷ See the GERI website: <http://www.geriproject.org/teachers/index.htm>.

Their interventions include:

- Locating and publicising role models to communicate both the positive attitudes and the difficulties experienced by women and men who have selected learning and careers against the grain of common stereotypes, and have succeeded.
- Developing new teaching & learning resources to promote gender & ethnic equality, exploiting the potential of DVD, CD-ROM, online learning, interactive video and animation.
- Designing standardised equal opportunities information, training & guidance materials for use by Connexions & Careers staff and others.

8. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

8.1 Conclusion

This study has revealed how work experience placements are strongly segregated by gender. In addition it has shown that the minority of pupils are given information or advice about non-traditional placements, yet significant numbers of young people indicated interest in trying such a placement. It has shown how current practices have the potential to exacerbate, rather than challenge, these stereotypical trends, and that young people from lower socio-economic groups (definitely not going to university) are more likely to undertake 'traditional' placements. It has demonstrated that pupils are overwhelmingly positive about work experience, seeing it as an often enjoyable insight and preparation for the adult workplace. It has shown that work experience influences the majority of young people (positively or negatively) in their decisions about work. In addition, it has shown how impressions around gender taken from work experience can help to inform future decisions, and also how many pupils support equal opportunities regarding occupation and would be willing to experiment with non-traditional placements.

The research uncovered no examples of coherent strategies to widen non-traditional work experience opportunities for pupils and limited examples of good practice. Any interventions taking place to address gender stereotyping from school to work are relatively small scale, limited in number and impact and are not reaching all pupils. The interventions conducted in our sample schools did not seek to reduce gender stereotyping of occupations among boys, indeed our research found that boys are almost never considered in this regard.

8.2 Implications

1. **A strategy to put gender back on the work experience agenda in the context of skills shortages, raising aspirations and widening choices.**

This report has documented our finding that gender issues in work experience were not a priority by the majority of respondents from all groups of 'key players'. We argue that the results of this lack of prioritisation speak for themselves, clearly revealed in pupils' gender stereotypical uptake of placement and choices of future careers. Such levels of stereotyping exacerbate skills shortages, limit aspirations and narrow choices. A new strategy can be developed in order to put gender back on the work experience agenda organised centrally by the DfES in collaboration with key organisations such as the UK Resource Centre for Women in Science, Engineering and Technology, the Trident Trust, the EOC, EBPs and Connexions.

2. Increase the number of work experience placements pupils undertake.

The benefits of work experience placement reported by pupils and employers in this and other research builds a case for increasing work experience placements. We would argue that pupils might engage with two or more very different placements, in different occupational sectors. The aim of these placements could be to:

- provide pupils with experiences of different types of work environment (including non-gender traditional), and the various practices and work involved;
- develop skills from the school curriculum (which would be aided by application in different work environments);
- develop personal and social skills necessary for the world of work (which would be aided by application in different work environments);
- learn new work-based skills (which would be aided by experience of different work environments); and
- increase pupils' choices regardless of gender, 'race' or social class.

3. Revise work experience policy documents.

The research suggests that if work experience is to increase pupils' choices and extend opportunities, then the process of placement allocation requires further examination and guidelines. Placement allocation in the research was based upon a 'freedom of choice' model and pupils were actively encouraged to find their own placements. The patterns in uptake according to gender and socio-economic group hint at the problems created by the 'freedom of choice' model in perpetuating inequalities, as different pupils have different levels of knowledge of, and access to work placements through social networks.

4. Improved data collection and target setting.

In facilitating an improvement in engagement with gender issues in work experience then it is important that adequate data is collected and appropriate targets are set as a result. As we have seen, LSCs collect data on work experience placements according to gender, but currently do not utilise it to address gender segregation. The LSC (2002) recommends the use of Equality and Diversity Impact Measure (EDIMs) and this would provide a good mechanism for improving the gender balance in work experience placements. Data collection needs to be adequately detailed and disseminated. Evidence from data could be used to set targets for improving the take up of a wider range of work experience placements by the DfES and at LSC level.

5. Guidance and information for pupils that includes the benefits and opportunities of non-traditional options.

If pupils are to gain access to broad choices then the guidance and advice they receive has to reflect the depth and breadth of what is available to them in work placements and careers. This should include information about potential pay rates, progression and the broad benefits of diverse work options. In this study only 15% of pupils received information or advice about non-traditional placements. Given the degree of stereotyping in work experience placements, the absence of guidance and information suggests that pupils are not making informed choices. Our findings suggest that many pupils are aware of ideas around equality of opportunity and can apply them to occupation, and say they would be willing to experiment with non-traditional placements.

6. Guidance and training for schools and employers to tackle gender stereotyping in work experience placements.

It is vital that schools and employers are given guidance about the importance of tackling gender segregation in the context of national skill shortages, raising aspirations and widening choices. The role of work experience as a key opportunity for young people can be made explicit.

Suggestions for reaching employers arose in the research and included an employer check-list to monitor gender stereotyping in work experience placements. JIVE have developed a badge and award system to identify good practice companies and those willing to take girls (and boys) on placements. JIVE also provide training for employers to improve awareness of gender stereotyping and how to tackle it. There is a role for sector skills councils and employer organisations like the CITB to promote the importance with employers of encouraging young men and women to experience non-traditional work placements.

As previously mentioned, GERI and JIVE provide materials, guidance and practical support to schools to counter gender stereotyping in work related learning and work experience placements. As we saw in Chapter 3, only 2 of the work experience coordinators in our study had accessed training in equal opportunities issues related to their role, and this is something that could be remedied (JIVE is already training careers professionals and is well-placed to extend this training). A range of additional interventions are available to schools to tackle gender stereotyping, several of which were outlined earlier in this report. It is important that girls *and* boys' have wider choices. The DfES and QCA are well placed to promote good practice in tackling gender stereotyping in work experience placements to schools.

7. Support for pupils undertaking non-traditional placements.

There was no evidence in our study that the few pupils who had undertaken non-traditional placements had received particular support to do so. As JIVE briefing notes (2004) pertinently observe, a negative experience of a non-gender traditional work placement for either pupils or employers can reinforce stereotyping and negative attitudes towards the person or industry. Hence the importance of adequate preparation before the work experience placement with pupils and employer. Simple strategies like pairing the pupil with a same sex employee/mentor in a work place or sending pupils in pairs or groups to non-traditional placements were suggested in the research

APPENDIX 1: SAMPLE DETAILS

The wards in which the schools were located in had an average employment rate of 60.4 per cent (compared to 60.9 per cent of all England) and an average proportion of the population with a degree level qualification or higher of 19.8 per cent (compared to 19.9 per cent of all England). Thus the data generated from the sample has a similar geographical and socio-economic profile to all maintained schools in England (ONS, 2004).

The sampling framework deliberately over-represents single sex schools to ensure that the views of more than one school are included. To this end there were two single sex girls schools and three single sex boys schools. A range of funding types were included in the sample (e.g. two voluntary aided and 2 foundation schools) as well as a number of specialist schools (2 arts schools, 2 technology schools, 2 sports schools and 1 language school). Along national lines the majority of schools were comprehensives (16), with one selective and one modern school also included.

The demographic data of the sample shows some differences in structure to that of all secondary schools in England (DfES, 2004). Within the sample 57 per cent of the respondents were male, compared to 47 per cent of all students in secondary schools in the August 2003. Similarly, students from Asian backgrounds are over represented (12 per cent of our sample, compared to 7 per cent in secondary schools in August 2003). Other non-White ethnicities, however, were in similar proportions.

<http://www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001/profiles/64-A.asp>

APPENDIX 2: STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF COMPARATIVE FIGURES REPORTED

How was your work experience placement allocated? (please tick only ONE answer)

	Male		Female		X ²	p
	Count	Col per cent	Count	Col per cent		
Your choice - you found it yourself/your family or friends	147	48.5	117	51.1	1.715	0.634
Your choice - from a list of options provided by school	98	32.3	70	30.6		
Work experience coordinator encouraged/persuaded you	18	5.9	18	7.9		
No choice - placement was allocated to you	35	11.6	21	9.2		
Other	5	1.7	3	1.3		

Was your placement?

	Male		Female		X ²	p
	Count	Col per cent	Count	Col per cent		
Your first choice	192	64	144	62.9	3.792	0.150
Acceptable but not your first choice	76	25.3	70	30.6		
Not at all what you wanted to do	32	10.7	15	6.6		

How much did you ...?

		Male		Female		X ²	p
		Count	Col per cent	Count	Col per cent		
Enjoy your placement	Not at all	18	5.9	16	7	0.406	0.816
	A little	76	25.1	60	26.3		
	A lot	206	68	150	65.8		
Enjoy the WORK on the placement	Not at all	39	12.9	25	11	0.762	0.683
	A little	106	35	87	38.2		
	A lot	155	51.2	115	50.4		
Feel part of the staff*	Not at all	28	9.3	37	16.2	6.293	0.043
	A little	109	36.1	81	35.5		
	A lot	162	53.6	107	46.9		
Get along with other staff members	Not at all	7	2.3	7	3.1	5.639	0.060
	A little	55	18.2	60	26.3		
	A lot	238	78.5	159	69.7		
Gain and understanding of what a job in this area involves	Not at all	11	3.6	5	2.2	0.907	0.635
	A little	84	27.7	63	27.8		
	A lot	207	68.3	158	69.6		
Learn new skills / knowledge	Not at all	28	9.3	19	8.4	0.648	0.723

	A little	110	36.5	90	39.6		
	A lot	161	53.5	115	50.7		
Use skills / knowledge that you already have	Not at all	16	5.3	8	3.5	1.008	0.604
	A little	143	47.5	112	49.6		
	A lot	138	45.8	103	45.6		

* statistically significant at $p < .05$

Has your placement?

	Male		Female		X^2	p
	Count	Col cent	Count	Col cent	per	
Encouraged to you choose work like this	130	43	86	37.7	3.862	0.145
Had no effect on your decisions about work	124	41.1	91	39.9		
Discouraged you from choosing work like this	48	15.9	51	22.4		

Was your work experience placement in a job that is usually done by the opposite sex?

	Male		Female		X^2	p
	Count	Col cent	Count	Col cent	per	
Yes	26	8.7	12	5.3	2.612	0.271
No	215	71.9	173	76.9		
Don't know	58	19.4	40	17.8		

Any information/guidance provided on work experience placements done by the opposite sex?

	Male		Female		X^2	p
	Count	Col cent	Count	Col cent	per	
Yes	10	15.2	5	15.2	5.204	0.074
No	37	56.1	25	75.8		
Don't know	19	28.8	3	9.1		

Would you have like to try a non-gender traditional placement?

	Male		Female		X^2	p
	Count	Col cent	Count	Col cent	per	
Yes	34	14.3	67	35.8	27.338	0.000*
No	114	47.9	62	33.2		
Don't know	90	37.8	58	31		

* statistically significant at $p < .05$

Who do you think are best suited to the following jobs?

(In order to meet frequency requirements of the χ^2 tests the non-traditional gender has been omitted from all by the advertising executive analysis)

		Male		Female		X^2	p
		Count	Col cent	Count	Col cent	per	
Advertising Executive*	Men	43	14.4	14	6.2	9.438	0.009
	Women	16	5.4	10	4.4		
	Both equally suited	240	80.3	202	89.4		
Beautician	Women	252	83.2	188	82.5	0.289	0.591
	Both equally suited	46	15.2	39	17.1		

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Business Director*	Men	127	41.9	49	21.7	24.619	0.000
	Both equally suited	171	56.4	175	77.4		
Child Carer*	Women	231	76.2	155	68	5.286	0.021
	Both equally suited	67	22.1	71	31.1		
Doctor*	Men	73	24.2	29	12.7	10.786	0.001
	Both equally suited	228	75.5	197	86.4		
Engineer	Men	246	80.9	182	79.8	0.008	0.931
	Both equally suited	57	18.8	43	18.9		
IT Consultant*	Men	87	28.9	46	20.2	5.862	0.015
	Both equally suited	207	68.8	181	79.4		
Mechanic	Men	247	81.8	180	78.6	1.477	0.224
	Both equally suited	49	16.2	47	20.5		
Nurse	Women	167	55.3	111	48.7	2.947	0.086
	Both equally suited	130	43	117	51.3		
Primary Teacher*	Women	123	40.7	65	28.5	9.464	0.002
	Both equally suited	171	56.6	161	70.6		
Scientist*	Men	59	19.5	29	12.7	4.303	0.038
	Both equally suited	240	79.5	196	85.6		
Secretary	Women	203	67.2	140	60.9	3.267	0.071
	Both equally suited	89	29.5	86	37.4		

* statistically significant at $p < .05$

Which of these jobs would you consider as a possible future job?

		Male		Female		X ²	p
		Count	Col per cent	Count	Col per cent		
Advertising Executive	Would consider as a possible future job	126	43.8	78	35.3	3.723	0.054
	Would not consider as a possible future job	162	56.3	143	64.7		
Beautician*	Would consider as a possible future job	9	3.2	112	50.2	151.707	0.000
	Would not consider as a possible future job	274	96.8	111	49.8		
Business Director*	Would consider as a possible future job	159	55.2	86	38.7	13.623	0.000
	Would not consider as a possible future job	129	44.8	136	61.3		
Child Carer*	Would consider as a possible future job	16	5.7	118	53.2	142.407	0.000
	Would not consider as a possible future job	264	94.3	104	46.8		
Doctor	Would consider as a possible future job	79	27.9	74	33.8	2.011	0.156
	Would not consider as a possible future job	204	72.1	145	66.2		
Engineer*	Would consider as a possible future job	161	56.1	13	6	137.886	0.000
	Would not consider as a possible future job	126	43.9	205	94		
IT Consultant*	Would consider as a possible future job	160	56.3	61	27.9	40.728	0.006
	Would not consider as a possible future job	124	43.7	158	72.1		
Mechanic*	Would consider as a possible future job	135	46.7	17	7.8	90.143	0.000

	Would not consider as a possible future job	154	53.3	202	92.2		
Nurse*	Would consider as a possible future job	18	6.4	91	41.6	89.184	0.000
Nurse	Would not consider as a possible future job	263	93.6	128	58.4		
Primary Teacher*	Would consider as a possible future job	33	11.7	115	52	97.065	0.000
	Would not consider as a possible future job	249	88.3	106	48		
Scientist*	Would consider as a possible future job	87	30.6	44	20.3	6.833	0.009
	Would not consider as a possible future job	197	69.4	173	79.7		
Secretary*	Would consider as a possible future job	19	6.8	97	44.5	97.550	0.000
	Would not consider as a possible future job	261	93.2	121	55.5		

* statistically significant at $p < .05$

Would you consider a job that is usually done by the opposite sex?

	Male	Col cent	Female	Col per cent	X^2	p
Yes	91	31.9	107	48.2	13.570	0.000*
No	194	68.1	115	51.8		

* statistically significant at $p < .05$

How much do you agree with the following reasons for not wanting to do a job that is usually performed by the opposite sex?

		Male	Col per cent	Female	Col per cent	X^2	p
I wouldn't be any good at it	Strongly agree	19	8.9	7	5.3	4.334	0.363
	Agree	57	26.8	30	22.9		
	Neither agree nor disagree	85	39.9	54	41.2		
	Disagree	37	17.4	24	18.3		
	Strongly disagree	15	7	16	12.2		
I would be embarrassed to be the only man / woman in the work place	Strongly agree	32	15	15	11.4	4.609	0.330
	Agree	66	31	50	37.9		
	Neither agree nor disagree	43	20.2	32	24.2		
	Disagree	50	23.5	27	20.5		
	Strongly disagree	22	10.3	8	6.1		
I doubt that there would be many opportunities for promotion*	Strongly agree	13	6.2	4	3	18.188	0.001
	Agree	52	24.6	60	45.5		
	Neither agree nor disagree	72	34.1	31	23.5		
	Disagree	54	25.6	31	23.5		
	Strongly disagree	20	9.5	6	4.5		
I doubt that I would be well paid*	Strongly agree	7	3.3	6	4.6	10.527	0.032
	Agree	31	14.6	33	25.4		

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	Neither agree nor disagree	82	38.7	36	27.7		
	Disagree	61	28.8	43	33.1		
	Strongly disagree	31	14.6	12	9.2		
My friends or family would make fun of me or wouldn't want me to do it*	Strongly agree	30	14.2	3	2.3	34.237	0.000
	Agree	45	21.2	11	8.5		
	Neither agree nor disagree	59	27.8	31	23.8		
	Disagree	43	20.3	44	33.8		
	Strongly disagree	35	16.5	41	31.5		
It would not be considered to be a very important job to do*	Strongly agree	18	8.5	4	3	11.247	0.024
	Agree	45	21.2	18	13.6		
	Neither agree nor disagree	80	37.7	53	40.2		
	Disagree	45	21.2	44	33.3		
	Strongly disagree	24	11.3	13	9.8		
The job would be unpleasant or I wouldn't enjoy it	Strongly agree	18	8.5	9	6.9	6.169	0.187
	Agree	49	23.1	32	24.6		
	Neither agree nor disagree	75	35.4	39	30		
	Disagree	47	22.2	42	32.3		
	Strongly disagree	23	10.8	8	6.2		
I think men are better at certain jobs and women are better at certain jobs	Strongly agree	78	36.6	33	25	8.590	0.072
	Agree	61	28.6	53	40.2		
	Neither agree nor disagree	43	20.2	24	18.2		
	Disagree	15	7	7	5.3		
	Strongly disagree	16	7.5	15	11.4		

* statistically significant at $p < .05$

How important are the following to you when choosing your future job?

		Male		Female		X ²	p
		Count	Col per cent	Count	Col per cent		
Good salary / wages	Not at all important	8	2.7	6	2.7	5.331	0.076
	Quite important	106	36.3	103	45.8		
	Very important	176	60.3	112	49.8		
Opportunities for promotion*	Not at all important	19	6.5	15	6.8	12.620	0.002
	Quite important	115	39.4	114	51.4		
	Very important	153	52.4	77	34.7		
Being among people like myself	Not at all important	23	7.9	19	8.4	5.644	0.059
	Quite important	125	42.8	117	52		
	Very important	140	47.9	84	37.3		
Being interested in the work	Not at all important	3	1	1	0.4	0.586	0.747
	Quite important	26	8.9	21	9.3		
	Very important	263	89.8	204	89.9		
Opportunities to help others*	Not at all important	44	15.1	11	4.9	17.269	0.000
	Quite important	132	45.2	102	45.3		
	Very important	103	35.3	108	48		

Doing what my family expects of me	Not at all important	159	54.5	126	56.8	0.898	0.638
	Quite important	81	27.7	63	28.4		
	Very important	41	14	25	11.3		

Comparisons according to ethnicity

How was your work experience placement allocated? (please tick only ONE answer)

	Grouped ethnicity				X ²	p
	White		Asian			
	Count	Col per cent	Count	Col per cent		
Your choice - you found it yourself/your family or friends	221	50.7per cent	26	49.1per cent	3.047	0.218
Your choice - from a list of options provided by school	144	33.0per cent	11	20.8per cent		
Work experience coordinator encouraged/persuaded you	24	5.5per cent	6	11.3per cent		
No choice - placement was allocated to you	40	9.2per cent	10	18.9per cent		
Other	7	1.6per cent				

Was your placement?

	Grouped ethnicity				X ²	p
	White		Asian			
	Count	Col per cent	Count	Col per cent		
Placement choice Your first choice	283	65.2per cent	31	58.5per cent	9.091	0.028*
Acceptable but not your first choice	110	25.3per cent	19	35.8per cent		
Not at all what you wanted to do	41	9.4per cent	3	5.7per cent		

* statistically significant at p<.05

Would you have liked to try a non-gender traditional placement?

	Grouped ethnicity				X ²	p
	White		Asian			
	Count	Col per cent	Count	Col per cent		
Yes	77	21.9per cent	14	33.3per cent	8.620	0.013*
No	153	43.6per cent	12	28.6per cent		
Don't know	121	34.5per cent	16	38.1per cent		

* statistically significant at p<.05

Comparisons according to university expectations

How much did you ...?

	Grouped ethnicity				X ²	p	
	Definitely		Definitely not				
	Count	Col per cent	Count	Col per cent			
Enjoy your placement	Not at all	6	4.0per cent	6	7.4per cent	3.484	0.175
	A little	46	30.9per cent	17	21.0per cent		
	A lot	95	63.8per cent	58	71.6per cent		
Enjoy the WORK on the placement	Not at all	15	10.1per cent	11	13.6per cent	19.034	0.000*
	A little	74	49.7per cent	17	21.0per cent		
	A lot	58	38.9per cent	53	65.4per cent		
Feel part of the staff	Not at all	18	12.1per cent	8	9.9per cent	2.469	0.291
	A little	56	37.6per cent	24	29.6per cent		

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Get along with other staff members	A lot	73	49.0per cent	49	60.5per cent	1.236	0.539
	Not at all	3	2.0per cent	1	1.2per cent		
	A little	38	25.5per cent	16	19.8per cent		
Gain and understanding of what a job in this area involves	A lot	106	71.1per cent	63	77.8per cent	3.363	0.185
	Not at all	2	1.4per cent	3	3.7per cent		
	A little	45	30.4per cent	17	21.0per cent		
Learn new skills / knowledge	A lot	100	67.6per cent	60	74.1per cent	6.287	0.043*
	Not at all	12	8.2per cent	6	7.4per cent		
	A little	62	42.5per cent	21	25.9per cent		
Use skills / knowledge that you already have	A lot	71	48.6per cent	52	64.2per cent	0.840	0.857
	Not at all	4	2.7per cent	4	4.9per cent		
	A little	68	46.3per cent	35	43.2per cent		
	A lot	73	49.7per cent	39	48.1per cent		

* statistically significant at $p < .05$

Has your placement?

		Definitely		Definitely not		X^2	p
		Count	Col per cent	Count	Col per cent		
Effect of placement on work	Encouraged to you choose work like this	60	40.5per cent	37	45.7per cent	1.594	0.451
	Had no effect on your decisions about work	54	36.5per cent	31	38.3per cent		
	Discouraged you from choosing work like this	34	23.0per cent	13	16.0per cent		

APPENDIX 3: PLACEMENTS UNDERTAKEN BY PUPILS, AND HOW THEY WERE CATEGORISED

Agriculture and Horticulture	Farmer (3), Gamekeeper (1), Gardener (4).
Animal work - semi/unskilled	Animal care/ working with animals - general (13), Working with animals - specified (horses, eventing yard) (5).
Animal work- professional/ managerial	Vet (3).
Armed forces	Air force - general rank & file (4), Army - general rank & file (1).
Arts – fine	Art & design student (2), Photographer (1).
Arts – performing	Actor/ actress (1), Musician - general (1).
Arts & Crafts	Assistant craftsperson (3).
Automotive/ Transport	Car sales (1), Car Valet (2), Parts sales (1), Station assistant (1).
Business	Business manager (1), Self-employed/ own business (2).
Catering	Baker (1), Catering - general (6), Chef (4), Waiter (10).
Charitable/ public sector	Public sector/ charities - general (2), Religious (1).
Children	Childcare (6), General working with children (1), Nursery worker/ nursery nurse (40).
Design	Architect/ architectural engineer (6), Building surveyor (1), Graphic design (11).
Education	Teacher - primary (31), Teacher - general (10), Teacher - special needs (3), Teacher - vocational specialism (5).
Emergency services	Fire-fighter (1), Police officer (4).
Engineering	Aerospace Technician (2), Car mechanic (24), Electrical engineer (1), Engineer - specific (4).
Finance	Accountant (4), (Finance/ banking (7).
Freaky answers	Em folkling and bombfire. (1), Housewife (1), Jemlar (1), Temptation Island (1).
General care industry	Care worker (9).
Hair and Beauty	Beauty therapist/ beautician- general (4), Hairdresser/ hair stylist (21).

IT	Computer engineer (1), Computer software engineer/ software developer/ games designer/ computer graphics/ programmer (3), IT repair (5), IT/ ICT general (10).
Legal	Lawyer/ general law/ attorney (2), Solicitor (11), Barrister (1).
Leisure/ travel/ tourism	Gym or leisure centre worker (8), Hotel worker - general (7), Travel agent (3), Travel industry - general (1).
Marketing/Sales	Estate agent (2), Market researcher (3), Marketing (1), Sales person - general (5).
Media production	Light/ sound stage equipment (2), Music producer (2), Sound engineer (2), Working in media/ film/ stage or TV industry - general (3).
Medical - high professional status	Dentist (3), Doctor (1).
Medical - lower level	Nurse (3).
Office work	Receptionist (5), Secretary (2), Advanced administrator/Business administrator (e.g. minute taking/ working with spreadsheets) (11), Administrator (e.g. filing, answering phone) (34), Administrator - professional organisation (e.g. doctor, law firm) (4),
Para-medical professionals	Pharmacist (chemists) (4), Physiotherapist (2), Psychologist (1).
Printed media/ Literary arts	Journalist (2), Librarian (4).
Retail	Retail/ shop manager/ supervisor (1), Retail/ shop worker - general (72).
Science	Chemist (3), Marine biology (1), Science/ scientist - general (1),
Semi/ unskilled manual labour	Construction/ Builder - general (incl Bricklayer) (4), Manual labour - general (14), Manufacturing/ production (7), Painter/ decorator (1), (Cleaner (1).
Skilled/ semi-skilled manual trades	Carpenter (2), (electrician (2), Telecommunications engineer (2).
Sports	Instructor (3), Sports coach (2), Sports instructor (2).
Unable to code	Unable to code (34).

APPENDIX 4: LSC DATA**TYPES OF TRADITIONAL BLOCK WORK EXPERIENCE PLACEMENT BY GENDER
YEARS 10 AND 11**

Type of Placement	Per Cent	
	Female	Male
Agriculture	34	66
Horticulture	20	80
Forestry	13	87
Fishery	19	81
Animal Work	69	31
Construction	5	95
Building Maintenance	9	91
Engineering	5	95
Mechanical	4	96
Scientific	33	67
Technical	18	82
Manufacturing	17	83
Art, Design & Craft	50	50
Retail	47	53
Personal Service	90	10
Hotel	63	37
Catering	49	51
Leisure Services	40	60
Community Care	85	15
Health	71	29
Education/Training	78	22
Uniformed Services	31	69

Note: The figures are based on returns for one term.

Source: National LSC, 2004

APPENDIX 5: FUTURE OCCUPATIONS CHOSEN BY PUPILS AND HOW AREAS HAVE BEEN CATEGORISED

Hair and Beauty	Hairdresser/ hair stylist (11), Hair/beauty owner/manager (1), Beauty therapist/ beautician – general (9), Hair and beauty (combined) (9).
Education	Teacher – general (11), Teacher – secondary (4), Teacher – primary (7), Teacher - vocational subject specialism (7), Teacher - academic subject specialism (1).
Emergency services	Fire fighter (1), Paramedic (2), Police officer (11).
Animal Work-semi/unskilled	Animal care/working with animals (8), Working with animals - specified (horses, eventing yard) (2).
Arts-performing	Dancer (3), Actor/Actress (6), Comedian (1), Musician – general (5), Opera (1), Musician specified (drummer, rock star) (2), Theatre work (1).
Academic	Historian (3), English Lecturer (1), Linguist (1), Archaeologist (1).
Children	Nursery Nurse (16), Children – general (1), Child care (9), Play worker (1), Working with children (3).
Science	Scientist (2), Science/ scientists – general (5), Biochemist/ Biomedical (3), Forensic science (incl. Crime scenes investigation, forensic psychologist) (6), Astrophysicist (1), Chemist and physicist (1).
Animal work-professional/managerial	Vet (2), Owner of racing yard (1).
Engineering	Mechanical design (2), Car mechanic (19), Mechanical engineer (1), Civil Engineer (1), Engineer - specific (incl. Oil rigs) (11).
Media production	Camera man (1), Animator (5), Sound engineering (2), Film/stage/music director or producer (5), Work in media/ film or TV industry – general (7), Make up/ hair artist (2), Media (TV, film etc executive) (2), Script writer (2), Music producer (1).
Automotive/Transport	Driving instructor (1), Pilot – commercial (2), Pilot – unspecified (1), Taxi driver (1).
Finance	Accountant (13), Finance/banking (2), Underwriter (1).
Office work	Administrator / Business Administration (2), Secretary (5), General office work (2), Receptionist (1).
PR/Advertising	Advertising General (2), Advertising – Executive (1).
Business	Business/company director/executive (3), Business manager (3), Consultant/Strategic Advisor (1), Business 'man' (4), Self-employed (2).
Medical-lower level	Nurse (10), Children's nurse (2), Midwife (3), Medical - general/related (1), Medical assistant (1).
Semi-unskilled manual trades	Construction/ builder-general (incl. Bricklayer) (10), Painter and decorator (1), Cleaner (1).

Skilled/semi-skilled manual trades	Construction (1), Electrician (6), Plumber (6), Carpenter (4), Telecommunications (1).
Commercial/Enterprise	Property developer (2).
Arts-Fine	Illustrator (2), Photographer (2), Artist (1).
Para-medical professionals	Psychologist – General (6), Occupational therapist (1), Physiotherapist (4), Psychiatrist (2), Psychologist – specified (1).
Design	Designer – General (6), Graphic designer (3), Interior designer (2), Fashion/ Clothes Designer (5), Architect/ Architectural engineer (8).
Sales	Estate Agent (2), Sales person – general (4).
Leisure/Travel/Tourism	Air hostess / Cabin crew (4), Holiday rep (2), Hotel inspector (1), Travel industry – general (2), Travel agent (2), Self-employed - nightclub owner (1), Hotel manager (1).
Catering industry	Chef (5), Baker (1), Pub worker (1), Catering – general (1), Waiter (1).
Retail	Retail/ shop worker – general (3), Window Dresser (1).
IT	IT industry (4), Computer systems analyst (2), Computer engineer (2), Computer software engineer/ software developer/ games designer/ computer graphics/ programmer (11), IT/ ICT – general (8), IT consultant (4), IT manager (2), IT support/ technician/ repair (6).
Medical-high professional/status	Doctor (17), Dentist (2), Paediatrician (1).
Legal	Solicitor (9), Judge (1), Lawyer / General Law/ Attorney (21), Barrister (5).
Armed forces	Air Force - general rank & file (incl pilot, gunner, PEI) (2), Army officer (incl. Colonel) (1), Air Force – Officer (1), Air Force - general rank & file (incl pilot, gunner, PEI) (2), Army - general rank & file (incl. Engineer, infantry soldiers) (8), Navy - general rank & file (incl. Engineer) (1).
Charitable/public sector	Overseas development (1), Civil servant (2).
General care industry	Care worker (1).
Printed media/Literary Arts	Author/ novelist (2), (Arts) critic (1), General editor/ newspaper editor (2), Journalist (3), Librarian (1), Poet (1).
Arts and Crafts	Wood crafting (1).
Fantasy futures	Win lottery (1), Earning money in an easy way (2), Part of the Mafia (1), Queen (1), To be like Falchini (1).
Sports	Sports coach (general and specified - football) (5), Footballer (1), Cricketer (1), Sportsperson/athlete – general (3), Sports/ sports science – general (4), Instructor (general and specified - outdoor pursuits) (1).
Freaky answers	Being a muscular (1), Formalist (1), Her Olroa Sc (1).
Agriculture and Horticulture	Landscape designer (3), Farmer (1).

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