Gender and attitudes to work and family roles: the views of young people at the millennium

Teresa Tinklin*, Linda Croxford, Alan Ducklin and
Barbara Frame
University of Edinburgh, Scotland

The last century, in particular the latter half, saw radical shifts in the roles and expectations of women in society. This article investigates the views of 14- to 16-year-olds in the year 2000 on work and family roles, exploring both their general views on gender roles and their own personal aspirations for the future. In general the young people believed that it was equally important for males and females to get good qualifications at school, to have worthwhile careers and that childcare should be a joint responsibility. They also believed that males and females could do any job they wanted to these days. Their views were tempered, however, by the inequalities that they saw around them in the workplace and in their own families. While young people's attitudes may have changed, they are still choosing fairly gender-typical subjects at school and aspiring to different types of occupation. The article concludes that while great strides have been made in changing attitudes towards gender equality, there is still a long way to go before equal opportunities are really achieved.

Introduction

The last century saw radical shifts in the roles and expectations of women in British society. At the beginning of the twentieth century, women were very much seen as second-class citizens, not worthy of a vote in general elections. The worlds of politics, the law, science, medicine, business and higher education were seen as male realms and opportunities available to women were severely limited. Working class women could expect to be servants or factory workers, and middle class women were expected to focus on marriage and motherhood. In contrast, in the year 2000, work has become a much more central feature of women's lives, with women making up almost half the workforce at the beginning of the twenty-first century (Equal Opportunities

*Corresponding author: Centre for Educational Sociology, University of Edinburgh, St Johns Land, Holyrood Road, Edinburgh, EH8 8AQ, Scotland. Email: teresa.tinklin@btinternet.com

Commission, 2000). It is questionable whether this is, indeed, an indication of equality, since women have tended to enter the workforce in lower status, lower paid jobs (Heath, 1996). While the landmark decision to give all women over the age of 21 the vote came as long as ago as 1928, the campaign for equal treatment and equal rights continues today, with the focus on equal pay for equivalent work and on equalizing the gender balance in positions of authority (Equal Opportunities Commission, 2000). The latter half of the twentieth century, in particular, brought significant changes in the roles and expectations of women in society through the politics and activism of feminism, high profile cases arising from the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and the politics, rhetoric and practice of Equal Opportunities.

After a century of change for women, concerns have been raised recently over the roles and expectations of men in British society. Rising divorce rates and the increase in lone parent families coupled with women's entry *en masse* into the workforce have eroded traditional expectations of the male as breadwinner and the person with primary responsibility in the world of work. Opportunities available to boys post-school have changed radically. Whereas historically the youth labour market provided incentives to young men to enter at 16, these were severely reduced by the collapse of employment opportunities for 16-year-olds in the 1980s. Moreover after decades of promoting equal opportunities for girls in school education, the 'under achievement' of boys has now become the focus of policy concern.

Given the wide-ranging changes in society, we were interested to find out what young people themselves thought about the roles of men and women in society in the year 2000 and how this was shaping their own future expectations of work and family roles. This article examines the attitudes of almost 200 young males and females in Scotland, from a range of different family and social backgrounds at the turn of the twenty-first century, exploring both their general views on gender roles and their own personal aspirations for the future. The work comes from a wider project on gender and pupil performance carried out in Scottish schools (see Tinklin *et al.*, 2001a, b, for a full report of the findings). The research is located in Scotland—however, we believe that it is of relevance across the UK, since cultural expectations of women and men are similar north and south of the border and similar trends in educational attainment are evident in all parts of the UK (and, indeed, in other countries around the world, such as France, Germany, Japan, Australia and Jamaica) (Sutherland, 1999). Before discussing the findings of the research, we examine evidence available of changing opportunities and attitudes since the 1960s.

Changing expectations of men and women in society will have affected not only their educational and future aspirations, but also the educational opportunities offered to them. Riddell (2000) argues that, prior to the 1970s, boys and girls were being educated for very different occupational and domestic roles, which meant that they were channelled into different subject areas (Scottish Education Department, 1975). While the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 made it 'unlawful to refuse to allow girls in a coeducational school to join a course or class to which boys are admitted and vice versa' (Scottish Education Department, 1976), this was not enough in itself, particularly initially, to break down stereotypical beliefs that some subjects were more

suited to girls and some to boys. Even today, with the restrictions on choice provided by the Curriculum Framework and National Guidelines, research shows that, while gender inequality in access to the curriculum has reduced (Croxford, 1996; Gamoran, 1996), there are still inequalities in uptake of subjects where there is room for choice (Tinklin *et al.*, 2001a, b). For example, at ages 14–16 all students studied a science subject in 1999, but 70% of biology candidates were female compared with only 31% of physics candidates; and, within the technological activities mode, 80% of office and information studies candidates and only 36% of computing candidates were female (Scottish Qualifications Authority [SQA] data, 1999).

While the Curriculum Framework (from 1983) did not have a specific focus on gender, the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) (from 1984) did have the explicit objective of promoting gender equality (Turner *et al.*, 1995) and indeed was the first major national educational initiative to do so. Its main focus was to improve the technological and vocational relevance of the school curriculum, and it also set out to reduce gender stereotypes with regard to subject choice and career aspirations. Equal opportunities coordinators were appointed in all regional authorities and this led to the creation of a network of support for work on equal opportunities in schools. By 1994, only one local authority lacked a policy on equal opportunities in Scotland (Turner *et al.*, 1995). While TVEI undoubtedly put equal opportunities on the educational agenda across Britain, Heath (1996) argues that, in England and Wales, TVEI's equal opportunities agenda was fundamentally flawed, with an over-emphasis on changing girls' but not boys' choices, thereby operating a deficit model of females. More generally, Arnot *et al.* (1998) characterize different phases that work on equal opportunities has been through since the 1960s. They describe an initial *equal opportunities phase*, which was marked by concern about females' experiences within male-dominated structures, followed by a phase of concern with *equity and social justice*, in which more complicated interactions between gender, race and poverty were explored. More recently there has been a move to *mainstream equal opportunities*, particularly at government level. This means '… the systematic integration of an equality perspective into the everyday work of government …' (Scottish Executive, 2000, Section 3).

This changing context has given rise to changing attitudes and aspirations among young people. Gaskell (1983) reports that during the 1970s women expected to work but that they generally saw this as secondary to their domestic responsibilities. Burnhill and McPherson (1983) surveyed able Scottish school leavers in 1971 and 1981, and were able to chart a marked shift in females' post-school expectations. Whereas in 1971 47% of the young women believed that women could get as much sense of achievement from their husband's careers as from a career of their own, only 21% of women believed this in 1981. This corresponded with a marked increase in the proportion of women believing that they were likely to work full time for most of their married lives (15% in 1971 rising to 40% in 1981). Furthermore, women in 1981 were more likely to believe that they could get as much satisfaction from having a career as from having a family (27% in 1971, rising to 50% in 1981). This article will show that attitudes have shifted even further since then.

Methodology and findings

The findings reported here are based on questionnaires and group interviews with 190 young people: 94 males and 96 females, aged 14- to 16-years-old. They were studying in six Scottish secondary schools chosen as case studies for the Gender and Pupil Performance research project (funded by the Scottish Executive and carried out mostly in the year 2000). We spoke to two groups of boys and two of girls in each school. For each gender, we spoke to one average-to-higher attaining group and one average-to-lower attaining group, except in one school, where all pupils we spoke to were in the middle attaining range because this was more relevant to the school's particular gender-related initiatives. The selection and allocation of students was carried out by school staff, in discussion with ourselves, based on pupils' attainment at school. The six schools were spread across Scotland and represented a range of different social circumstances and average attainment levels: from inner city to rural, deprived to affluent, denominational and non-denominational. Before each group discussion, pupils were given a short questionnaire to fill in by themselves.

The young people were asked about their parents' occupations and educational levels in the questionnaire, allowing us to assign them to social class groupings using the Registrar-General's classification.[1] All responses to the questionnaire were analyzed by these social background variables and these are reported in the text where they were statistically significant. The majority of the young people (82%) were hoping to stay on at school after completing their S4 year (i.e., post-16).

General views on qualifications, work and family roles

All of the young people believed in the importance of gaining good qualifications at school. In fact 97% of them stated in the questionnaire that this was very important and the remainder that it was quite important. The importance of gaining qualifications at school was emphasized very strongly by the young people in group discussions. School qualifications were seen as essential to getting a good job and securing a good future:

> It's the most important thing cos after you leave school you don't want to be lying in the gutter, you want to have a good job and getting on with your life cos you won't be able to enjoy it if you don't have a good job. You don't have to worry.
>
> If you don't have any qualifications what are you going to do?
>
> You won't be accepted in any colleges.
>
> You want to go and make something of yourself.
>
> The qualifications you get just now determine the rest of your life.
> (Girls group, lower attaining)
>
> If you're unemployed … it's just good for a wee bit cos you just laze about but I think it ends up getting boring … Also if you have a family to support—if you don't have a job. And if you have no money, you can't do nothing cos then you have no social life and [end

up] on the dole—wasting your dole money on the bookies and that—getting drunk, you know.

(Boys group, middle attainment)

One boys group, however, admitted that the need to get good qualifications was not always at the forefront of their minds.

… eventually boys just can't be bothered cos you just forget that it matters … see if it's a sunny day or something, you don't want to be cooped up in the house—don't want to be sitting revising on a Saturday afternoon.

(Boys group, lower attaining)

Almost all the young people believed that it was equally important for boys and girls to get good qualifications at school. Only a small number (males 7%, females 1%) indicated in the questionnaire that it was more important for boys to get good qualifications than for girls.

I think boys should get the exact same as girls.

Cos we are the exact same.

You shouldn't have to be brought up like your mother.

It's the twenty-first century, it's not how it was … years ago. Things have changed and women are doing more things that men used to do.
(Girls group, middle attainment)

While boys and girls groups stated that it was equally important for girls and boys to get good qualifications at school, some of the boys groups added qualifiers. One group thought that women might need better qualifications in order to prove themselves in the workplace.

Boy: If they've [girls] got the qualifications then it's giving them an extra bonus as well—you see like a lot of guys get picked over women for jobs and they mightn't be as good at the job that they've been chosen for.
Interviewer: Why is that? Why do men get picked before women?
Boy: Sexist. Maybe think men haven't got so many distractions. Women can get pregnant and … leave and men aren't going to get pregnant.
(Boys group, higher attaining)

In another boys group, the members agreed with equal opportunities in principle, but believed that it might be more important for boys to get good qualifications because the man should take primary responsibility for being the breadwinner in the family. This was the pattern that they saw in their own homes. In the questionnaire, just over one-fifth of the boys (22%), and only 2% of the girls, agreed with the statement 'The man should be the main breadwinner in the family'.

In response to a question about whether it was more important for boys or girls to get good qualifications:

Boy: The same (general agreement). Maybe more for boys because I don't know many mums who have a better paid job than their husband. My Dad has a much better job than my Mum. It will always be like that …

Interviewer: How can you square the fact that the girls are doing so much better than the boys and yet it's more important for the boys to do well?

Boy: … a man—support a family and stuff.

(Boys group, higher attaining)

Some boys were not convinced that girls were in fact doing better on average at school, because it did not accord with what they saw in the workplace.

Interviewer: Do you think it's more important for boys or girls to get good qualifications at school?

Boy: Both the same—but in saying that there's so many more men MPs than women sort of showing that I don't know if women are getting better results you see—it's not evident—there's more guys than girls like overall.

(Boys group, lower attaining)

In the questionnaire, the vast majority agreed (males 92%, females 95%) that it was important for both women and men to have successful and worthwhile careers. Furthermore, in discussion, they generally agreed that men and women could do any jobs they wanted to these days. However, some believed that women might have difficulty doing jobs that were physically strenuous. They also thought that men and women entering non-traditional occupations would have to deal with prejudice among employers and colleagues. They were all aware of jobs that were usually done by women or men, such as secretarial work, engineering or the care of young children and said it might be hard for someone of the opposite sex to do those jobs.

Girl: Something like a bouncer, that's just physically harder because women aren't physically bigger. There's nothing anybody can do about that. Any job like an astronaut, then of course you can …

Girl: I think women can do any job that they want to but I think there's less allowance in the work place for them to do it. It's not a question of their ability, it's a question of other peoples' ability to let them into the jobs in the first place …

Girl: Guys wouldn't like it if women were in charge of them, like if we were in management and then you were below them …

Girl: I think if it's the right person for the job, it doesn't matter if they're male or female …

Interviewer: Do you all think if you really wanted to do a job that was traditionally a man's job, say engineering or … a scientist. Do you think you would just do it anyway or do you think you would worry about it being difficult? …

Girl: You'd worry about getting the job.

Girl: Sometimes it might put you off because you know that you might not get the job because there'd be all this hassle. It might put you off it.

Interviewer: Would you do it anyway do you think?

Girl: Yeah.

(Girls group, lower attaining)

… there's more pressure on a girl if she goes to try out for, to be an engineer say. And the boys all make a fool of her and say 'you can't do that as good as me'.

It's still in the employers that they'd rather go for the male than the female within a working environment, for more practical jobs.

(Girls group, higher attaining)

You are able to—it's just sometimes you don't want to cos of prejudice and things like that.

…some people in the workplace might feel intimidated because there's more of one sex than the other.

… you don't see many female bricklayers or builders or …

… you've got to be quite physical when you're a bricklayer … and it's maybe not suited to women …
(Boys group, higher attaining)

When asked who should take responsibility for childcare in the family, young people were almost unanimous that it should be a joint responsibility (males 98%, females 100%). Only a handful (males 4%, females 1%) thought that the woman should give up her career to bring up children. The majority (males 72%, females 79%) also agreed that they would respect a man who stayed at home and looked after the children while his wife worked. Higher attaining pupils of either sex were more likely to agree with this, as were girls with mothers in non-manual occupations (89% vs. 68% of other females). In the discussion groups, some girls said that they thought that it was more likely to be the woman who cared for the children, however, because she carries them and forms a stronger bond with them and that in reality few men actually take primary responsibility. Some of the boys said that it would be more likely to be the woman because the man would most likely have a better job, that women are better at it, or that the partner earning the least money would be the one to stay at home. Reflecting the rise in divorce and the increase in dual-income families, some young people stated that it should still be a joint responsibility even where parents had split up and that responsibility should fall to whichever parent was around because both parents were so busy these days.

Girl:	It's supposedly equal but I don't think …
Girl:	I think maybe it's because females carry that child inside them for nine months and have a stronger bond so they feel that they can't part with it, they can't go to work. But then others feel …
Girl:	The thing about women and careers these days is that people in the workplace think that young women are gonna have babies in six, seven years time so is there any point in giving them that job. That's just not fair.
Girl:	And when you do have the child it's like you can't do the job cos you're gonna have to go and look after your children …
Interviewer:	So in theory any woman could do any job she wants to but having children is a factor that you've got to fit in somewhere.
Girl:	Yeah [general agreement].

(Girls group, lower attaining)

Boy:	They've got a lot of extra things to deal with as well like babies … which men don't have to deal with.
Interviewer:	What's your view about that—if you grow up and you have your own family, do you think that child care should be a woman's or a man's role or both should be involved?
Boy:	Both—it always seems to be the woman who does give up her career usually—you may think both but it doesn't happen most of the time—it's only very occasionally that it's the man who takes over.

(Boys group, higher attaining)

Yes, but … your Dad like he's got the higher work—the better job you know—that's what usually happens but it should really be both that look after them; it should be both but I think the Mum's really better.

(Boys group, lower attaining)

In general the young people that we spoke to held modern, rather than traditional views on the roles of men and women in work and the family. Other parts of the research showed that this was, at least in part, due to the promotion of equal opportunities in subject and career choice by schools. While young people agreed, in principle, with equal opportunities, views of equality were tempered by what they saw around them in their own families and in the workplace. For example, while they believed that bringing up children was a joint responsibility, they were aware that this was most often done by women. They also saw that men tended to have higher status, higher paid jobs and about one-fifth of the boys retained the idea that the man should be the main breadwinner. Both girls and boys believed that women may have more difficulty getting jobs because employers would be expecting that they would get pregnant and leave at some point. Also, while they believed, in principle, that men and women could do any jobs they wanted to these days, they were aware that those entering non-traditional occupations might encounter prejudice among their colleagues and employers and they perceived differences in ability of males and females, particularly in terms of physical strength, which they felt would have a bearing on their ability to undertake certain jobs.

Their own future aspirations

The young people clearly believed in the principle of equal opportunities when considering the general roles of men and women in society. We were also interested, however, in their personal aspirations for the future and whether these varied by gender, attainment levels or social background. We asked them, in the questionnaire, to indicate how important each of the items listed in Figure 1 were to them in the future. The items covered work, qualifications, family and lifestyle. All of the items were rated as either very or quite important by the majority of young people. Getting good qualifications at school and having a successful career were rated as very important by most of them. These were closely followed in importance by having good friends, a healthy lifestyle and getting further qualifications after leaving school. Not surprisingly, higher attaining pupils tended to consider further qualifications and a university degree to be more important than lower attaining pupils. They also valued having good friends more highly. Interestingly the aspirations of males and females were broadly the same. The only significant gender difference was for 'opportunities to travel'. This was considered to be 'not important at all' by significantly more males than females ($p < 0.05$, using a chi-squared test). In addition, there was a marginally significant gender difference for having a successful career, with more females than males rating this as very important ($p < 0.1$).
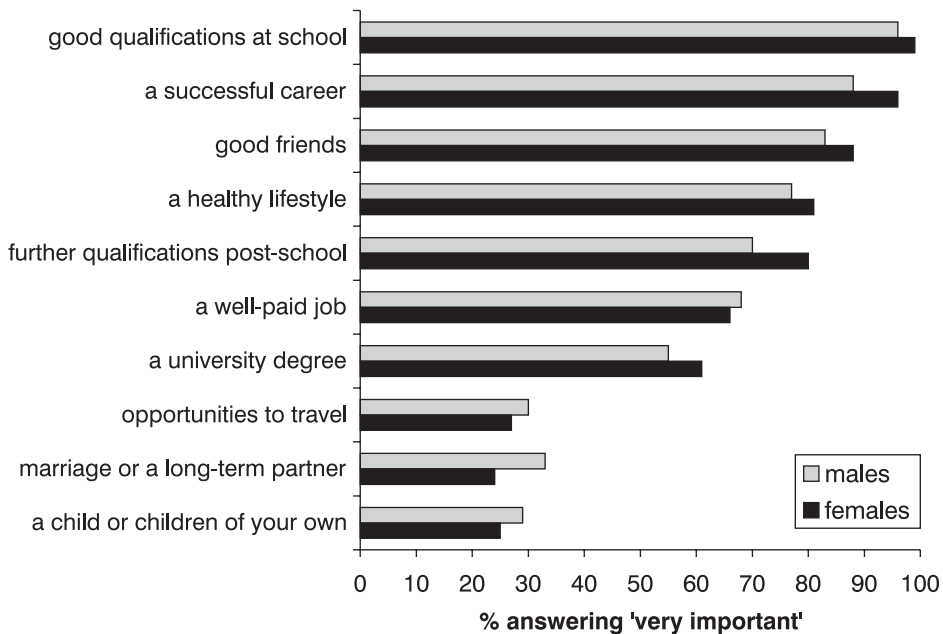
Figure 1.   Responses to the question: how important are each of the following to you in the future? (males = 94, females = 96)

We also asked the young people what they were looking for in their future jobs, to see whether males and females had different aspirations. Figure 2 shows their ratings of the importance of different items that we put to them. Having an interesting job with plenty of variety and long-term security were considered important features of a future job by the majority of the young people. As before, the views of males and females were broadly similar. The only exception to this was that more females than males considered it important to be able to help others in their future work ($p<0.05$ using chi-squared tests). This was particularly the case for lower attaining females (percentage answering 'matters very much': lower attaining females 81%, higher attaining females 63%, males 43%). Higher attaining males were more interested in long-term security than lower attaining males (percentage answering 'matters very much': higher attaining males 90%, lower attaining males 54%, females 71%). About half the young people were not concerned about having to work hard in their future jobs (not shown).

The items in Figures 2 and 3 came from a report of the 1986 sweep of the British Cohort Study (BCS70) reported in Furlong (1993). This allowed us to compare the views expressed by our sample with those of 16-year-olds surveyed in 1986. Similar to the 2000 survey, all items in Figure 2, except for the last item about working hard, were considered to matter, either very much or somewhat, by the 1986 cohort. The 1986 cohort showed more gender differences in response, however. Girls were more interested in having an interesting job and helping others, while boys were more interested in long-term security and promotion. This suggests that, by the year 2000, male and female attitudes had become more similar. It should be noted that the BCS70
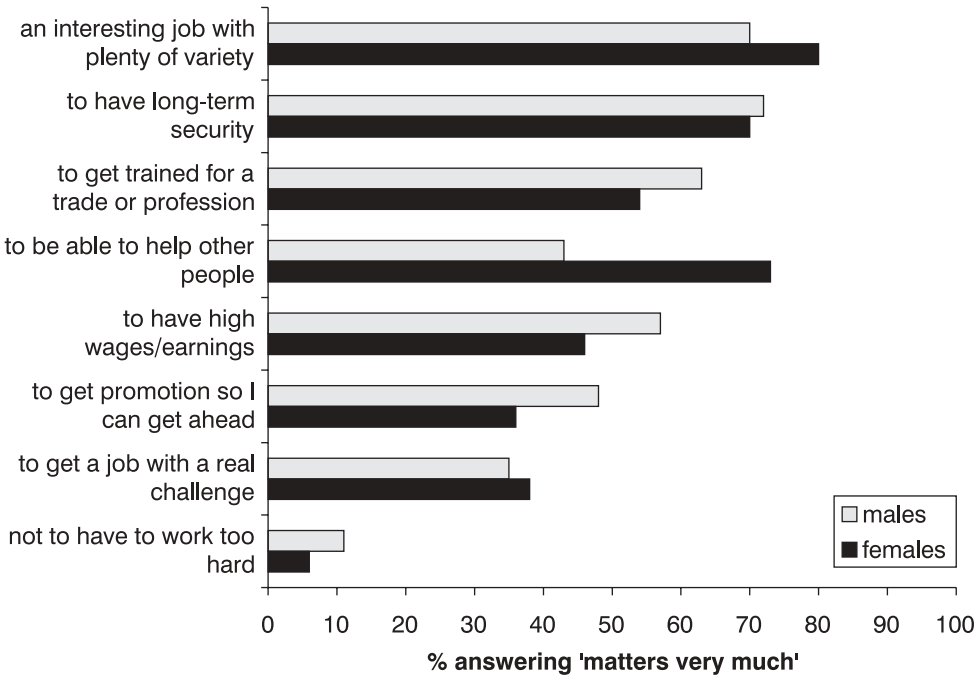
Figure 2.   Responses to the question: how much do each of the following matter to you in your future job? (males = 94, females = 96)

involved over 11,000 young people, considerably more than the sample for this research. The findings reported should, therefore, be treated with some caution until the findings can be verified using a larger sample.

   It was clear from other parts of the research that teachers considered girls to be less confident than boys and more anxious about their schoolwork, while boys were considered to be more confident, both contributing more to classroom discussions and attracting more attention through misbehaviour. We were interested, therefore, in whether girls and boys felt that their strengths lay in different areas. In fact, when we asked them about what they believed to be their strong points for the future, there were slight variations by gender, but none were statistically significant (at the $p < 0.05$ level). Figure 3 shows that more than three-quarters of the young people considered themselves to be reliable, hardworking and able to take responsibility. While there were no significant gender differences, there were significant differences by attainment levels. Lower attaining boys were more likely to say that they were better with their hands than other boys (52% vs. 31%). Higher attaining girls were more likely to state that they were more hardworking than other girls (89% vs. 67%) and more lower than higher attaining girls considered themselves reliable (90% vs. 75%).

   Again, a comparison is possible here with the 1986 survey. The young people in 2000 were generally more positive about their own abilities and, while male and female views were very similar in the year 2000, there were significant gender differences in 1986. Boys were more likely to consider themselves good with their hands
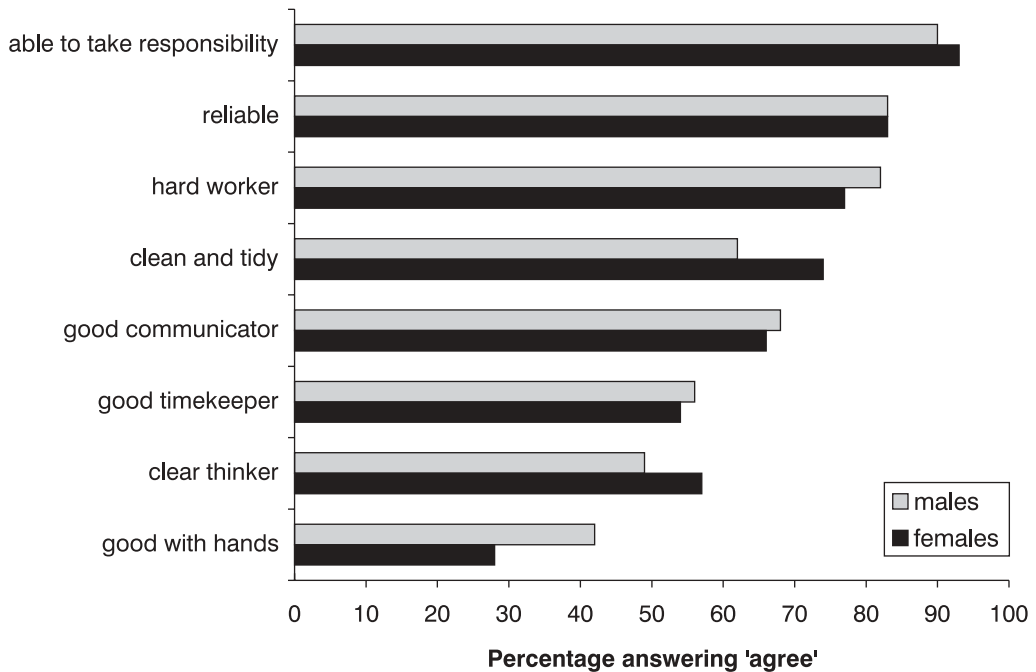
Figure 3. Responses to the question: what do you think are your strong points for the future? (males = 94, females = 96)

and to be clear thinkers, while girls were more likely to consider themselves to be good communicators, clean and tidy, reliable and able to take responsibility.

On the whole, the future aspirations of young males and females were broadly similar. Almost all of them considered getting good qualifications and having a successful career important. They also had similar views on what they were looking for in their future jobs. The only significant gender differences were that girls were more interested in having opportunities to travel in the future and in being able to help others in their future work. Males and females also had similar views of their strong points for the future. There were more significant differences within genders by attainment levels than there were differences between the sexes. Lower attaining females were particularly interested in helping others in their future work and more likely to consider themselves reliable than other females. Lower attaining males were more likely to say that they were good with their hands than other males. Higher attaining females were more likely to state that they were hardworking and higher attaining males were more interested in long-term security. Higher attaining pupils of either sex considered post-school qualifications and having good friends more important than lower attaining pupils.

Discussion

What is really striking about the findings is the unanimity in the young people's views. In particular, gender differences in attitudes and aspirations were few and far

between, as were differences in their beliefs about their own aptitudes. The results suggest that young people in the year 2000 had really 'got' the equal opportunities message: they believed that males and females should have the same opportunities and expectations in their future work and family lives. Their own individual aspirations were also broadly similar by gender. However, while they believed in equal opportunities in theory, their views were tempered by the inequalities that they saw around them in the worlds of work and in their own families. They also stated that, while all jobs should be open to either sex in theory, jobs involving physical strength might be less suited to females. They believed that males and females still might encounter stereotypical attitudes in the workplace, such as employers favouring men because they expected women to prioritize childcare over work at some point in the future. The young women, in particular, articulated the current dilemma facing all young women, which is how to successfully combine work and family roles. Many women now expect to do both, which can lead to them feeling torn between two major responsibilities. This is at least partly because employment conditions are not especially family-friendly. More opportunities for job-sharing, part-time working, flexible hours and supported childcare arrangements could all go a long way to alleviating some of the difficulty.

There were more differences within each gender by attainment levels than there were between the sexes. For example, lower attaining females were particularly interested in helping others in their future work and higher attaining females were more likely to consider themselves hardworking. This emphasizes the importance of always considering gender differences in relation to other sources of inequality. In particular, social class and levels of parental education have been shown to have a persistent and significant relationship with educational attainment (Sammons, 1995; Burnhill *et al.*, 1990; Paterson, 1991; Biggart, 2000; Tinklin *et al.*, 2001a), with young people from less advantaged homes who had less well educated parents tending not to do as well at school as their more advantaged peers. Few differences by social class or parental education were reported in our findings, but given the strong relationship between social background and educational attainment, it is likely that any social class differences will have been accounted for by attainment levels. Nagel and Wallace (1997) argue that, in spite of modernization and the widespread notion that young people can succeed through their own individual aspiration and effort, traditional mechanisms continue to govern the distribution of chances and risks among social strata. Indeed our findings suggest some differences in interests and priorities between different groups, which appears to support arguments that the greater range of opportunities available to young people 'helps to obscure the extent to which existing patterns of inequality are simply being reproduced in different ways' (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997, p. 7) and that structures look different but remain powerful in young people's lives (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997).

These arguments seem further supported by the evidence that, while young people's attitudes appear to have changed, their behaviour is still fairly gender-typical. There are still gender differences in subject choices at school, in occupational aspirations and career choices. Analysis of 1999 examination data from the SQA showed that, at Higher

Grade (post-compulsory qualifications typically taken at 17- and 18-years-old), while English and mathematics had a reasonable gender balance, modern languages, history, art, drama and music all had a majority of female candidates and physical education had a majority of males. Furlong and Biggart (1999), in a study of the aspirations of 13- to 16-year-olds, found that the young people tended to aspire to very gender-specific occupations, and figures from the Equal Opportunities Commission (1999) show that, in the late 1990s, women and men still tended to enter fairly gender-typical occupations. Thus, while our results suggest that attitudinal barriers have, to some extent, been eroded, differences in behaviour persist. While, in theory, anyone can do any job they want to these days, it is still unusual to see a female mechanic or a male nurse. It seems it will take a long time for more deep-seated ideas about appropriate employment for males and females to really shift. If we ever reach the point where opportunities are indeed equal (i.e., free from cultural bias), it will be interesting to see whether, in fact, a gender balance is achieved in every occupational area.

This article has charted significant societal shifts since 1900, in particular the research evidence presented charts a fascinating shift in attitudes since the 1970s. The fact that 47% of the most able female school-leavers in 1971 believed that women could get as much sense of achievement from their husband's career as from having one of their own, today seems quite shocking. Significant attitudinal shifts are clearly evident. However, a lot of work remains to be done. In particular, inequalities in pay need to be addressed. The introduction of more family-friendly working practices would help women, in particular, to juggle the dual responsibilities of work and family roles. Finally we need to move away from a situation in which women tend to do lower paid, lower status jobs. Research shows that men do not reject these jobs because they are seen as 'women's work', but because they are too poorly paid (Lloyd, 1999).

Notes

1. A system used by Government to classify occupations: I Professional, II Managerial and technical, IIINM Skilled non-manual, IIIM Skilled manual, IV Partly skilled, V Unskilled.

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