



Boys' Day— Future Prospects for Boys

New Paths in Boys' Career Orientation and
Life Trajectories

written by Michael Cremers

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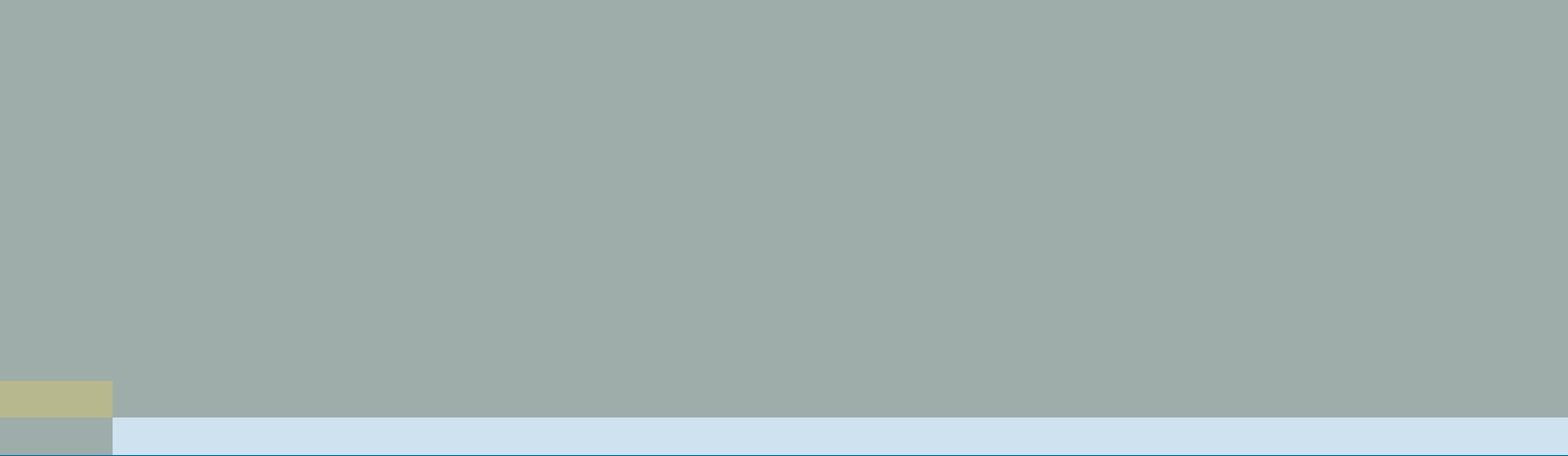


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Opening remarks



5

Opening remarks

Dear reader,

When boys are asked what they want to be when they grow up, they often say pilot, computer expert or mechatronics technician. Occupations in the manual and technical sector seem natural to them; service occupations, in contrast, tend to come into their consciousness infrequently or far too late. This relates to how girls and boys are still held unequally accountable for household tasks. In addition, many boys continue to be confronted with the expectation that they will later be their family's "breadwinner."

With this expert opinion we are making available the latest research findings and practical recommended activities with which you can support boys in trying their hand at new paths. The focus is on opening up new prospects to boys for their occupational and life planning. [Boys' Day](#), which takes place annually, is a good possibility to do so. The federal initiative [New Paths for Boys](#) offers additional successful concepts for boys' orientation.

On the basis of new data and study findings on the topics of school, dual apprenticeship training and full-time school-based vocational training, the labor market, concepts of masculinity as well as possibilities of gender-related approaches to pedagogy, you will be provided with a sound overview of the situation for boys. The results make it plain that we need to work against the one-sided fixation on gainful employment, open up life alternatives and lend more attention to active fatherhood. The results from [New Paths for Boys](#), presented here as well, are encouraging in this context because they show quite clearly: boys are open for new ways of life and role patterns.

My heartfelt thanks go out to the numerous educators engaged in boys' work. The results below show: your dedication is well-received by the boys.

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Kristina Schröder". The signature is fluid and cursive.

Dr. Kristina Schröder

Federal Minister for Family Affairs, Seniors, Women and Youth

1. Foreword

“You’ve gotta really keep your guard up. If you don’t, the guys will call you a dork and tell people you’re not cool.”
(Ian, 14 years)¹

“It’s really hard being a guy because you’re really expected not to talk about your feelings. You’ve got to deal with everything yourself. With girls, everybody expects they’ll go off and talk to somebody.
When you’re a guy you’re really not allowed to do that. There are so many things a normal person would probably do, but you’re just not expected to!” (Calvin Branford, 15 years)²

“Sometimes just because you’re a guy, people treat you like you’re a little hoodlum. I think if they opened their eyes, they’d see that most of us are actually pretty good people.” (Dirk, 17 years)³

“Today, if I decide to be tough, then people will say I’m not soft enough; if I decide to be empathic and take sides for children, then I’ll be considered a softie and a wimp.” (statement from a boys’ worker about boys in an interview in the scope of the evaluation of [New Paths for Boys](#))

“Of course being a boy has changed. Of course the old notions of masculinity are obsolete – so what? That’s a big advantage, not a reason to complain. Change and openness make room for new things.” (Winter 2011, p. 11)⁴

This third edition of the expert opinion “[New Paths for Boys](#)?! A gender-related view of the situation at the crossroads between school and work” was written by Michael Cremers (Dissens e.V.) in 2006 in its first edition as part of the academic evaluation of [New Paths for Boys](#) and was published by the Competence Center Technology—Diversity—Equal Opportunities. At the end of 2007, the same version of the expert opinion was published again by the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Seniors, Women and Youth. The present edition—with the new title “[Boys’Day—Future Prospects for Boys](#). New Paths in Boys’ Career Orientation and Life Trajectories”—has been completely revised, and integrates the most important findings from the first (2005–2007) and second (2009–2010) academic evaluations as well as the findings from new expert opinions and studies, as well as additional data on the topic. Special thanks to Dr. Jürgen Budde, Katharina Debus, Stefanie Krüger and Olaf Stuve, who bore principal responsibility for conducting the academic evaluation in the second funding phase of [New Paths for Boys](#) and who contributed chapters eight and nine of this publication.

1.1 Structure of contents of the expert opinion

In the first part of the expert opinion the current situation of boys and girls in school and in occupational training and the current situation at the transition between school and vocational training are described from a gender-related perspective. In the second part of the expert opinion the state of research on boys, men and masculinity that is relevant for executing *Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys* is depicted and embedded in the context of societal transformations. Both traditional concepts of masculinity and new and alternative concepts are described. Particularly dealing with the transformation in gender images makes clear that expanded constructions of masculinity are not only possible but can also serve as a framework for orientation for pedagogic aims. The third part of the expert opinion introduces the approach of gender-related pedagogy with boys, the most important findings of the first (2005–2007) and second (2009–2010) academic evaluation phases, and their significance for pedagogic practice with boys. In conclusion, on the basis of the academic evaluation, practical tips are given for conducting activities from *Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys*.

1.2 Objective of the expert opinion

The objective of this expert opinion is to provide assistance in implementing gender equality policy: on the one hand, those groups of persons who work with boys at the crossroads between leaving school and starting work are to be enabled to develop appropriate strategies that encourage the participation of boys in professions in which, from a quantitative perspective, women dominate. On the other hand, the reader's view is to be directed towards societal images of boys / men / masculinity and expectations from boys / men / masculinity in order to appropriately reflect on these jointly with boys. The quotations above provide a first indication of this. The aim here is also to address the pluses and minuses of masculine constructions with boys and to support them in discovering or sticking to occupational fields and spheres of activity as well as personality characteristics if these have been connoted in a feminine way on the basis of historical-cultural processes.⁵ The feminist, emancipatory credo below is intended to provide direction for the political and pedagogic goals:

“A modern gender equality policy aims to a new division of labor in which men and women share the work in a fairer way. And everyone can benefit from that. [Because] gender equality policy [is] not a zero-sum game where someone can win only if something is taken away from someone else. On the contrary: everyone can win in terms of freedom of choice if the structural constraints that push people into gender roles are overcome. To free oneself from the pressure to fulfill roles and to criticize the structures that generate this pressure—this is what emancipation [...] signifies and it [...] is one aim of feminism.”⁶

1.3 Advantages and disadvantages of a relational approach in gender research

This expert opinion compares the situation of youth at the crossroads between leaving school and starting work, and shows the overall societal conditions that affect boys and young men and girls and young women in different ways.

The comparison between the gender groups girls/women on the one hand and boys/men on the other reproduces problems that have been regarded critically in gender research for some time. First of all, the depiction of gender differences through a relational consideration of boys/men and girls/women suggests a homogenization of the two gender groups (*the girls / the boys / the men / the women*). Secondly, a relational consideration obscures that the two gender groups do not only differ from one another, but have a lot in common. Thirdly, a relational depiction contributes to codifying gender differences, and emphasizes narrowly defined gender images rather than overcoming them. For this reason, the reader's view in the chapters below will keep being directed towards the differing living situations and forms of behavior on the part of boys and young men, since boys and men (just like girls and women) are distinguished by their biographies, i.e. through milieu-, age-, and culture-specific factors, among others. In summary, a relational consideration of girls and boys and of women and men is less about an awareness of the difference, but rather about how this difference is socially fabricated (to the extent that this can be proven).

Fourthly, in addition, “gender relationships cannot be completely covered by theories [and descriptions of study results, added by the author] conceived with two genders.”⁷ People who can be categorized neither as the one nor as the other gender—or else do not want to pigeonhole themselves or be categorized by others—are generally not the focus of attention. This applies not only to

intersexual and transsexual people, but also to those who do not (want to) subject themselves⁸ to the given gender norms of the so-called “binary gender culture.”⁹ Since the existing studies and data that have been analyzed continue to persist in the binary gender system and do not undertake any differentiations beyond girls/boys and women/men, it is unfortunately not possible to take into account in this expert opinion the diversity of genders and ways of life and their effects on this work—a situation for which I hope the readers will forgive me.¹⁰

1 Pollack 1998, p. 158

2 *Ibid.* p. 47

3 *Ibid.* p. 50

4 Each main chapter opens with quotations that relate to the contents of the particular chapters. The five introductory quotations here in the foreword of the expert opinion—from boys and educators who work with boys—concern a main topic of the expert opinion, namely gender-related expectations of boys and young men and gender-related images and constructions of masculinity on the part of boys and young men.

5 On the historical creation of gender cf. Hausen 1976; Duden 1991a and 1991b; Honegger 1991; Laqueur 1996; Hirschauer 1993. On the historical creation of social work (or “motherliness as profession”) cf., e.g., Sachße 1994. On the significance of men in social work cf., e.g., Ganß 2011.

6 Ebenfeld/Köhnen 2011, p. 6. What Ebenfeld and Köhnen mean by feminism is a “multiplicity of emancipatory movements in thought and action aimed to politically dismantle gender hierarchies and gender constraints. Today, feminism comprises a variety of theories and explanatory models which are linked more or less strongly with women’s movements and other emancipatory and civil rights movements, as well as with academic research and theory construction,” *ibid.*, Glossary, p. 60.

7 Cf. Prengel/Rendtorff 2008, p. 17.

8 Cf. Rieske 2011, p. 3; Scheele 2011, p. 48 et seq.

9 In newer approaches to gender research, today’s gender relations are characterized as a cultural system of binary gender. Dividing people into women/girls and men/boys is not considered a consequence of a gender which is given a priori, but rather a work of construction whose result is the binary coding of the world in the binary gender system. According to this, binary gender is a historical construction that creates the difference between the genders in the first place and makes the categories of “man” and “woman” appear natural, exclusive and opposite (cf. for the first time in the German-speaking countries Hagemann-White 1984; cf. also chapter 4.3.1. The concept of hegemonic masculinity).

10 On the increasing significance of queer concepts in civic education and in social work that goes beyond the distinction between girl/boy and man/woman, cf. Busche et al. 2010; Czollek et al. 2011; Scheele 2011.

2. A strategy for gender equality policy: Girls' Day—Future Prospects for Girls and Boys' Day— Future Prospects for Boys

“Not long ago, woman was still the dark continent of humanity, whereas no one dreamed of questioning man. Masculinity appeared to be self-evident: luminous, natural, and the opposite of femininity. The past three decades have shattered these age-old certainties. Because women have undertaken to redefine themselves, they have forced men to do the same.” (Badinter 1995, p. 11)

“The current gender equality policy debate has increasingly attracted notice to boys. We appreciate this because it shows that gender equality policy is not only widely accepted, but in fact has finally become a policy for women and men, for girls and boys. Gender equality policy as social life course policy can only be successful if it keeps in mind the life challenges of both sexes.” (Federal Minister for Family Affairs Dr. Kristina Schröder)¹¹

2.1 Girls' Day—Future Prospects for Girls, a success story

2010 saw the tenth anniversary of Girls' Day.¹² Since 2001, Girls' Day—Future Prospects for Girls has been carried out across Germany by the *Verein Frauen geben Technik neue Impulse e.V.* (since 2005 Competence Center Technology—Diversity—Equal Opportunities) and supported by the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ), the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) and the European Social Fund (ESF). In addition, Girls' Day—Future Prospects for Girls is financed and supported by a broad coalition made up of trade associations, trade unions and the Federal Employment Agency.

“The goal is both to expand career opportunities for young women and thus provide them with better opportunities against the backdrop of the constrained situation on the labor market, and to better use the potential of young women's capabilities.”¹³

11 Preface to the study *Male Educators in Kitas*. In: Cremers/Krabel/Calmbach 2010.

12 Cf. *10 Jahre Girls' Day—Mädchen Zukunftstag: Ein starkes Netzwerk* (http://www.girls-day.de/News/Girls_Day/Jubilaeumstagung).

13 *Frauen geben Technik neue Impulse e.V.* 2004, p. 5.

Usually on the fourth Thursday in April each year, girls attending grades 5 through 10 in Germany have the opportunity to broaden their horizons in terms of career opportunities and to get to know fields of work in technology, skilled crafts and trades, IT, and science.

“They can solder and weld, program screen savers or build photoelectric barriers at various sites offering activities, and they get acquainted with occupational profiles such as management assistant in informatics, biophysicist, and audio technician.”¹⁴

In addition to gaining insights into quantitatively male-dominated occupations,¹⁵ girls also get the opportunity to experience female managers, self-employed women, and female politicians: in other words, women in segments of society where their presence is still relatively minor.

While approx. 1,800 girls participated in the 39 events that took place on the first Germany-wide Girls’Day, the number of slots for participants made available by 9,800 organizations for female students to find out about various occupational and academic opportunities had increased to more than 125,000 in 2011. The starting point for developing the concept for the day of action was and still is to broaden the girls’ gender-stereotyped¹⁶ occupational orientation, which has traditionally tended to be oriented towards the social and communications fields, while at the same time, innovative technological

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁵ According to official statistics, an occupation is female- or male-dominated if it is practiced by no more than 20% of the opposite gender. An occupation is considered predominantly staffed by one gender if the opposite gender makes up 20 to 40% of its personnel (cf. Granato/Schittenhelm 2003, p. 1059).

¹⁶ The term “gender-stereotyped” indicates that a particular way of thinking or acting occurs frequently or predominantly in one gender without there being a biological-physiological basis for it. The term “gender-specific,” in contrast, points to exclusively inherent differences, e.g., menstruation (cf. Rendtorff 2006, p. 10).

¹⁷ The term “gender-oriented” refers to the differentiation between (biological) sex and (social) gender frequently used in gender studies. Feminist theory used the sex-gender concept for political and strategic reasons. The goal was to make it impossible to render social inequality a natural or essential phenomenon by referring to biological sex differences, as feminism considered gender roles and identities to be a product of history, society, and culture, and by no means an expression of biological sex differences.

¹⁸ Cf. *Frauen geben Technik neue Impulse e.V.* 2004, p. 86.

¹⁹ Cf. 25 Jahre Bundesfrauenministerium — Von der Frauenpolitik zu einer nachhaltigen Politik der fairen Chancen für Frauen und Männer.

²⁰ Cf. *ibid.*

sectors of work in Germany are running short of young blood. Another goal of the day of action is to contribute long-term to making the division of labor based on gender justice a reality. The day is intended to make everyone involved in the process of vocational choice aware of young women’s potential for shaping the economic and technological future.

Since 2002, the nationwide coordination office Girls’Day—Future Prospects for Girls has been providing suggestions and teaching materials for carrying out projects on boys-related career and life planning on the central website www.girls-day.de. In the Evaluation Report for 2003 (edited by *Frauen geben Technik neue Impulse e.V.*), principals and teachers were encouraged to develop concepts for a gender-oriented¹⁷ strategy in school-supported occupational choice that takes the needs of both girls and boys into account.¹⁸

2.2 Gender equality policy as a policy of fair opportunities¹⁹

The gender equality policy of the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth is increasingly directed towards women and men, girls and boys equally. New ranges of options and opportunities to make them a reality are to be fleshed out by a dynamic policy that is cognizant of the complexity of both genders’ life courses.²⁰

A case in point is the recent publication of the BMFSFJ *25 Jahre Bundesfrauenministerium—Von der Frauenpolitik zu einer nachhaltigen Politik der fairen Chancen für Frauen und Männer* (25 years of the German Women's Ministry—from women's policy making to a sustainable policy of fair opportunities for women and men). The goal is not equality of outcomes, but rather equity of opportunities, made real by means of modern sociopolitical action.

The studies, brochures and expert opinions funded and/or published by the BMFSFJ—*Neue Wege—Porträts von Männern im Aufbruch*,²¹ *Männer im Aufbruch/Männer in Bewegung*,²² *Wege zur Gleichstellung heute und morgen*,²³ *Männer: Rolle vorwärts, Rolle rückwärts*,²⁴ *Male Educators in Kitas*,²⁵ as well as the second and the present completely revised third edition of the expert opinion “*New Paths for Boys?! A gender-related view of the situation at the crossroads between school and work*”—also represent this gender equality policy.

Reforms such as that of the Federal Act on Child-Raising Allowances and Parental Leave in 2001 and 2007²⁶ or the overarching initiative *Männer in Kitas* (Men in Daycare) characterize these efforts.²⁷

The appointment of the *Beirat Jungenpolitik* (Council on Boys' Policy), the working group *Geschlechtsspezifische Aspekte von Gewalt in Haushalten und Partnerschaften—im Fokus Männer* (Gender-specific aspects of domestic violence and violence

among partners—focus on men) and the support provided for the Bundesforum Männer (Federal Forum on Men) are also expressions of this gender equality policy, as is, of course, *Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys/New Paths for Boys*, with its three focus areas “Expanding the spectrum of occupational options,” “Making the masculine role more flexible” and “Supporting social competencies,” which shall be described in depth in the following.

According to the BMFSFJ, changes in underlying societal conditions as well as changed needs on the part of women and men due to the transformation of values, lifestyles, and life perspectives are making the policy of fair opportunities the focus of modern gender equality policy.²⁸ In this context, providing equity of opportunities is no longer seen solely and above all as a cross-cutting task, but also as a long-term one. Specific topics and the decisions connected with them are not considered in isolation, but in the context of life trajectories, conditions and interdependencies.²⁹

To this end, according to the BMFSFJ the task of policy is to develop a framework that enables us to shape dynamics in the life trajectories of women and men in such a way that “fair opportunities and fair distributions of risk” are possible for both genders.³⁰ Gender-related disadvantages are the result of both societal structures and of decisions and arrangements made individually in partnerships. As shown in the

21 Cf. BMFSFJ 2008.

22 Cf. Zulehner/Volz 1999, 2009.

23 Cf. Sinus Sociovision 2007.

24 Cf. Wippermann et al. 2009.

25 Cf. Cremers et al. 2010.

26 For example, the parental benefits introduced early in 2007 mark a paradigm shift in family policy, according to the BMFSFJ (*Familienreport 2009*, p. 6).

27 This includes the establishment of the coordination office *Männer in Kitas* (Men in daycare centers), which works nationwide, the ESF model projects MEHR *Männer in Kitas* (MORE men in daycare centers), the so-called Tandem-Studie (Tandem study) on female and male skilled workers in daycare centers, which is being carried out at the Evangelische Hochschule Dresden (University of Applied Sciences for Social Work, Education and Care Dresden) under Professor Holger Brandes, and the so-called Quereinsteigerprogramm (Career changer program) (cf. www.koordination-maennerinkitas.de).

28 Cf. *25 Jahre Bundesfrauenministerium—Von der Frauenpolitik zu einer nachhaltigen Politik der fairen Chancen für Frauen und Männer*.

29 *Ibid.*

30 *Ibid.*

German federal government's first *Gleichstellungsbericht*, the effects of societal structures and individual decisions on trajectories of later life are often at the expense of one of the partners—as a rule, the female partner—which is why preventing gender-related disadvantages must top any holistic and farsighted sociopolitical and gender-policy agenda. Therefore, regarding the target group of boys who participate in *Boys' Day / New Paths for Boys* activities, the decisions at the crossroads between leaving school and starting work are to be scrutinized critically in terms of their main consequences for boys' further life trajectories, as well as their side and long-term effects. The activities of *Boys' Day / New Paths for Boys* open up a space to shape this crossroads as a resource. The policy of fair opportunities for women and men is substantially supported and promoted by Federal Minister for Family Affairs Dr. Kristina Schröder and is also expressed in the German federal government's coalition agreement of 2009 "Growth. Education. Solidarity":

"Policy for boys and men

We want to develop an independent policy for boys and men and continue and intensify existing projects for boys and young men to give them better prospects in the educational and nursing professions. In this way we will also open up expanded perspectives in the educational and nursing professions to them."³¹

However, the goal of such a "policy of fair opportunities" is not only to recruit more men and boys for areas of work which have previously had a more feminine connotation (care, education, nursing, and early childhood education), but also to reflect critically upon outdated and increasingly dysfunctional guiding principles and role models for men, taking the perspective of life trajectories into account.

2.3 New Paths for Boys

In 2005, the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ) launched a pilot project for boys intended to bundle, accompany, and expand on approaches developed in practical application and on the ground for accompanying boys at the crossroads between leaving school and starting work—inspired by the annual Girls' Day. The project *New Paths for Boys* is managed by the Competence Center Technology—Diversity—Equal Opportunities in Bielefeld and considers itself a network project and service office for disseminators.

New Paths for Boys offers a platform for dialogue and exchange and for networking of various actors. The project makes available information, background data, and concrete materials for carrying out projects on the website www.neue-wege-fuer-jungs.de and documents the results of workshops in order to disseminate successful concepts and enable critical reflection.

As the *New Paths for Boys* service office primarily addresses teachers and social service specialists who do pedagogic work with boys in grades five to ten, it supports people involved in school, youth work, and career counseling in implementing appropriate measures for boys. Boys of this age grapple intensely with gender issues and are confronted with different societal concepts of masculinities. Processes of constructing gender are particularly acute during adolescence, as this phase of development is about not only creating a gender-appropriate image, but also about an age-appropriate one, which is why youths are often insecure regarding their images.³²

³¹ *Growth. Education. Solidarity. The Coalition Agreement Between the CDU, CSU and FDP for the 17th legislative period*, p. 105.

³² Cf. Böhnisch/Winter 1997 and King/Flaake 2005.

“It is about interactively working out orientations and practices which enable self-representation, practicing them hands-on, and presenting and orchestrating them so that others perceive and confirm them as age- and gender-appropriate.”³³

2.4 Boys’Day—Future Prospects for Boys

The Competence Center intentionally chose the name *New Paths for Boys* in the first funding phase to differentiate it from the term “Boys’Day,” as the concept of Girls’Day—Future Prospects for Girls was not to be simply copied as long as a distinct format for boys oriented towards their subjective worlds of experience and their patterns of perception and processing had not yet been developed and tested.

Accordingly, the focus of *New Paths for Boys* in terms of content was not only to broaden the spectrum of potential occupations by means of one-day mini-internships, as is the case with Girls’Day, but particularly to support longer-term activities for boys intended to contribute to broadening the spectrum of potential occupations, making masculine role models more flexible and strengthening social competences.

After five years of experience with the project, *New Paths for Boys* has not only been extended at the initiative of Dr. Kristina Schröder, Minister for Family Affairs, but on April 14, 2011, the first structurally and financially expanded nationwide *Boys’Day—Future Prospects for Boys* (www.boys-day.de)³⁴ took place, with institutions, organizations, schools, universities, and companies inviting students from fifth grade on, and more than 34,000 boys taking up this invitation.

33 Jösting 2005, p. 12. On the construction of youth and youthfulness in connection with gender, cf. in detail Breitenbach 2001 and Jösting 2005. Cf. on this also chapter 4.3.1 The concept of hegemonic masculinity.

34 Cf. on this also the information clip: *Wozu der Boys Day?* (www.boys-day.de/Ueber_den_Boys_Day/Boys_Day-Infoclipclips/Infoclip_Wozu_der_Boys_Day)

35 on education in Germany cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Education_in_Germany

2.5 The key points at a glance

The most important findings of the expert opinion are summarized below. The findings from chapters 3 to 6 will be presented here, but not the results from the first and second evaluations of *New Paths for Boys*, which are summed up in chapters 7 and 8.

The data and the results of studies presented in this expert opinion substantiate choices of occupations segregated by gender for men and women. This gender-segregated choice of occupation is brought about and continually reproduced not only by selection mechanisms on the vocational training and labor markets, but also through culturally based gender stereotypes on the part of young women and men. In addition to structures internal to the labor market, gender-related aspects must not be neglected if the cycle of gender segregation on the labor market is to be broken and the success of programs supporting stronger participation of girls and boys in so-called male and female professions, respectively, is to be ensured.

School³⁵

■ It must be stated that overall the educational level has increased in recent decades compared with previous generations, and one can state that in absolute numbers, an ever greater trend towards attending the *Gymnasium* can be observed for both genders; this trend is stronger for girls than for boys. However, when it comes to the proportion of people with university entrance qualifications per year, the Federal Republic of Germany ranks fairly poorly compared with other countries (cf. chapter 3.1.1 Gender-related opportunities at school).

- The educational trajectories of girls and boys have been characterized for quite some time by the fact that on average, boys attain poorer grades and school-leaving qualifications than girls (cf. chapter 3.1.1 Gender-related opportunities at school).
- Studies comparing performance at school show that boys are a significantly more heterogeneous group than girls, as they make up the majority of both at-risk students and highly successful ones (cf. chapter 3.1.1 Gender-related opportunities at school).
- Educational opportunities in the German school system, however, are not distributed primarily along gender lines, but according to social class, as well as citizenship or ethnic group. The potential to obtain qualifications of students who have migrated to Germany or who do not have German citizenship is developed to the least adequate degree (cf. chapter 3.1.3 Unequal opportunities for learners with and without German citizenship).
- The hypothesis that a “feminized” school culture was responsible for boys’ poorer school achievements became popular in the context of the discussion about the initial PISA results. Recent studies and the empirical fact that girls achieved higher grades in both Western Germany and in the German Democratic Republic, i.e. at a time when the proportion of male teachers was significantly higher, at least call this interpretation of the data into question (cf. chapter 3.1.1 Gender-related opportunities at school).
- Besides the general observation that girls are more diligent and have more self-discipline than boys, and therefore allegedly enjoy a bonus when their schoolwork is graded, gender-typical conditions for socialization that continue to exist seem to play a role concerning boys’ difficulties as well. Boys are under pressure in many situations, especially in their peer groups, to prove their masculinity. As a rule, it

is more often expected of them than of girls that they are or (must) appear to be “cool,” “nonconformist,” “funny,” and “lazy” (cf. chapter 3.1.1 Gender-related opportunities at school).

- Apparently, the “pressure to be masculine” is particularly high at school. The boys themselves make a connection between the institution of school and their own behavior and explicitly point out that they behave differently in terms of friendliness, lack of respect or ability to learn in the partially public situation of a group at school or in the classroom than in individual or private encounters outside of school (cf. chapters 5.1 Traditional masculinity and 3.1.1 Gender-related opportunities at school).
- It is not that successes at school are considered unmanly in and of themselves, but rather the willingness to discipline oneself and work hard to achieve them. Masculinity is negotiated when you yourself and others attribute “natural intelligence” to you and a cool, laid-back, almost contemptuous attitude towards the demands of school. Students who put in hard, disciplined work to achieve their success serve as foils for distancing oneself from such behavior. Such students are considered “uncool” and therefore less masculine by the other students, and, together with the girls, they form a counterpart with a feminine connotation. Provided that the achievements are attained with apparent lack of effort, top performance at school and masculinity do not cancel each other out. Hardworking students, however, are considered less intelligent and are denigrated as overly studious teacher’s pets, which in turn affects their perceived masculinity (cf. chapter 5.1 Traditional masculinity).

Vocational training in the dual system and with full-time school attendance

- Girls and boys already develop ideas about their later occupations during childhood. The younger children are when asked, the more gender-typical their responses (cf. chapter 3.2.1 Gender-related differences in vocational training).
- Young women are trained predominantly in social and communications occupations in the service sector, young men in crafts and trades and technical fields. Most training courses are dominated either by women or by men, and the number of training courses with a preponderance of men is significantly higher than the number dominated by women. The spectrum of occupations chosen by young men is less limited than that selected by young women: approx. 70% of young women and 50% of young men are concentrated in the top twenty occupations (cf. chapter 3.2.1 Gender-related differences in vocational training).
- A general preference for or discrimination against one gender or the other cannot be clearly ascertained at the transition from school to vocational training.
- However, young women are more often negatively affected by structural conditions of the labor market, while for boys, it tends to be their poorer grades and lesser school-leaving qualifications that have negative effects (cf. chapter 3.2 Vocational training and education).
- On the one hand, male youths are more frequently given the opportunity to obtain training in the dual system despite their poorer school-leaving qualifications. This results in comparatively better access to relatively well-paid occupations that require training, are secured by means of collective labor agreements, and offer good working conditions, and which also provide better opportunities for vocational integration (cf. chapter 3.2 Vocational training).
- On the other hand, young men are affected more strongly than young women by youth unemployment. This can be attributed to several factors: the shifting of the traditionally male-dominated mining and industrial sectors as well as agriculture and forestry out of Germany in the course of globalization, the higher qualification requirements and constant reduction in the number of dual in-company training positions, the increasing number of jobs in the service sector with its feminine connotation, and boys' lower grades in their school-leaving qualifications (cf. chapter 3.2 Vocational training). In addition, young men must take part more often in pre-vocational and basic vocational training measures to be able to fulfill the quality requirements of the vocational training market at all (cf. chapter 3.2 Vocational training).
- As is already the case in school, the German vocational training system distributes opportunities according to social class, citizenship, and ethnicity. Young men without German citizenship are increasingly approaching the consistently poor vocational training situation of girls and young women without German citizenship (cf. chapter 3.2.4 Unequal training opportunities for young people with and without German citizenship).

Labor market

- A comparison of girls' and boys' success in the educational system with the trajectories of their occupational development shows significant differences concerning their starting situations for entering their working lives and for the careers that follow. The gender-segregated labor market, the valuation of the various occupations (horizontal segregation), access to positions of leadership in all areas of society (vertical segregation), the unequal income situation of men and women as well as the distribution of part-time work, parental leave, and family work continue to

characterize unequal conditions that benefit the majority of men and affect all but a few women (cf. chapter 4.1 Crisis of legitimacy of the “masculine norm”).

- Structural discrimination against women in the form of better pay in occupations dominated quantitatively by men may possibly hold a further explanation for girls’ and young women’s better grades at school: After all, women can equalize this inequality only by investing more in their general education and their vocational training than men do (cf. chapter 4.1 Crisis of legitimacy of the “masculine norm”).
- Women’s stronger orientation towards employment has not yet resulted in an egalitarian distribution of vocational and family work. Men perform significantly more paid work, women significantly more unpaid work. The decisive root cause of the distribution of paid and unpaid work following gender stereotypes is the preservation of the traditional division of labor in child-rearing and family care (cf. chapter 4.1 Crisis of legitimacy of the “masculine norm”).

Gender

- Men’s studies has made important contributions towards a comprehensive understanding of gender relationships; it is indispensable for shaping gender relationships in an egalitarian manner. At the conceptual-theoretical level, two basic assumptions must be emphasized in particular: the plurality of patterns and concepts of masculinity and the hierarchization of the various masculinities.
- The preponderance of men in leadership positions and society’s higher valuation of norms, values, and practices with a masculine connotation do provide evidence for the continuing supremacy of men, but also obscure the extent

to which other groups of men are affected by downward social mobility (cf. chapter 4.3 Multiple masculinities).

- Hierarchizations can also be found among boys. Boys to whom the attributes heterosexuality, authority, independence, athleticism, and psychological and physical strength are attributed top the popularity scales of their peer groups, while other boys are subordinate and less popular. However, popularity can be reconciled only with difficulty with extreme exaggeration of one of these characteristics. Further attributes contributing to popularity and a top position within the peer group include a laid-back attitude, being funny, wearing brand-name clothes, physical size, and attractiveness (cf. chapter 5.1 Traditional masculinity).
- Being a boy and becoming a man are often closely linked to the principle of externalization, i.e. with an overly strong shift of perception and action into the subject’s external world (“action,” “experiencing,” “doing”), and with the dissociation of norms, values, and practices with a feminine connotation (cf. chapter 5.1 Traditional masculinity).
- When selecting an occupation, youths consider not only what activities and contents that occupation involves, but also how the people in their close social environment—especially their peer group—respond to the occupation in question. It is decisive for youths whether the occupation they have decided on can make a beneficial contribution to their own image (cf. chapter 3.2.2 Cultural gender stereotypes influencing vocational choices).
- As boys and girls, like men and women, usually stand to gain from gender-typical actions and to lose from gender-atypical ones, a gender-atypical choice of occupation will usually promise a loss in one’s image—especially within one’s peer group (cf. chapter 10 Conclusion—Planning for a career and the future requires reflection on gender). And since a job with a feminine connotation, in which a young

man cares for sick old people and changes their diapers, means not only relatively poor pay for hard work accorded little value by society, but at the same time always potentially threatens his own masculinity, it is not surprising that the proportion of men in geriatric care is so low (cf. chapter 10 Conclusion—Planning for a career and the future requires reflection on gender).

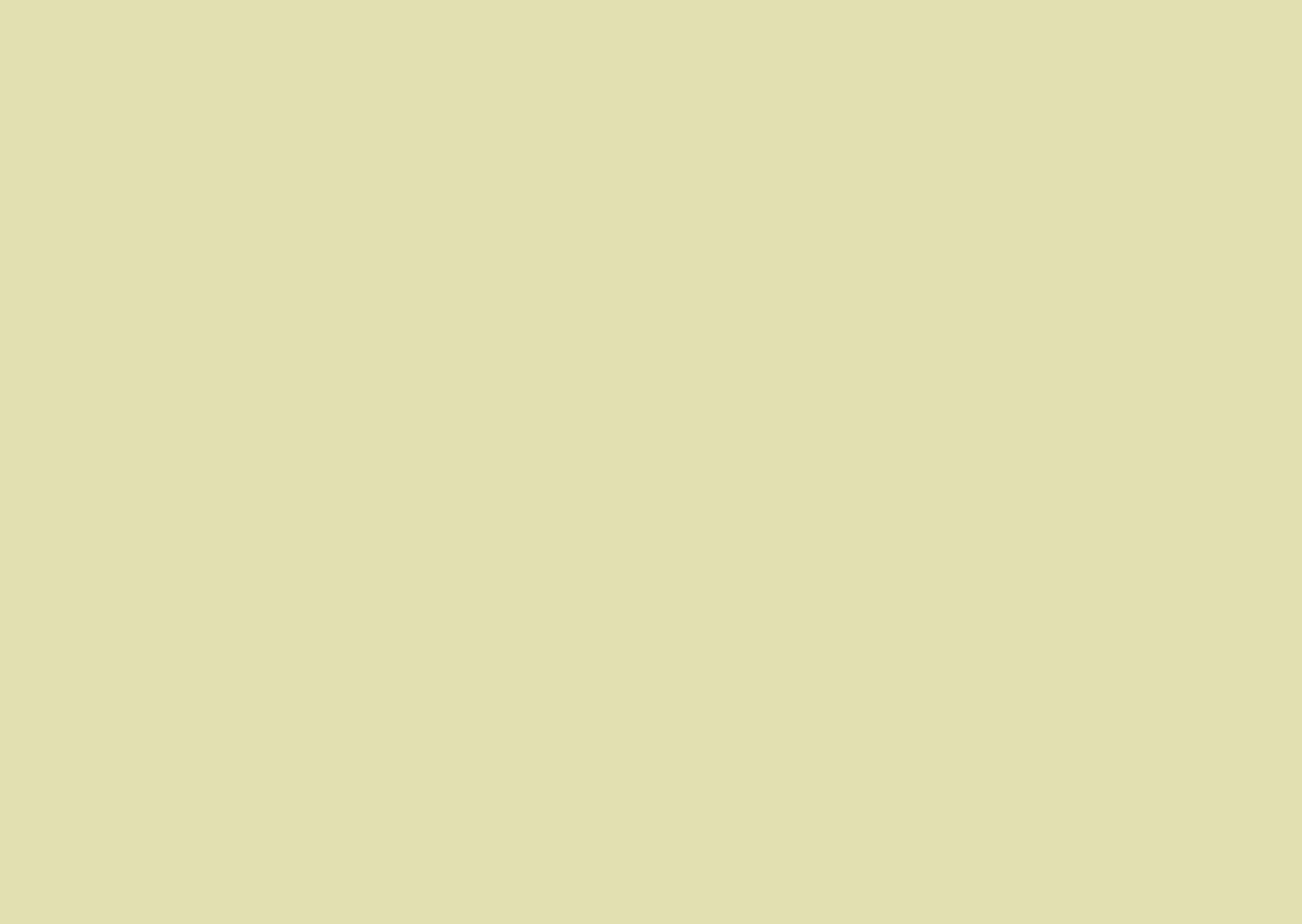
- The overwhelming majority of young women would like to combine a career with family and children. Hence, they have far more flexible ideas about reconciling work and family than their male counterparts. The young men, in contrast, would like to retain the old gender roles and continue to prefer to see themselves in the role of the main breadwinner (cf. chapter 5.1 Traditional masculinity).
- Changes in men's attitudes concerning issues of gender equality can be ascertained first and foremost at the rhetorical level. In addition, measured by the goals of gender justice, men tend to assess themselves as more progressive than women do (cf. chapter 5.1 Traditional masculinity).
- If the goal of men and women cooperating as partners is to be attained, a necessary precondition is for men to change with regard to their concepts and practices of masculinity. Passing laws, banning discrimination, and supporting women's advancement are not enough to create equal rights in everyday life (cf. chapter 4.3.2 Obstacles to an egalitarian gender order and chapter 5.1 Traditional masculinity, as well as chapter 11 Prospects—a transformation is needed).

A gender-related approach to pedagogy

- Gender-related pedagogy conceives of itself as a specialization within pedagogy centering around the topic of gender. Its main concern, differentiating it from other pedagogical aims, is to take up the restrictions and opportunities connected with the societal requirement of being and becoming a man or a woman. Gender-related pedagogy aims to enable boys and girls to reflect upon blueprints of masculinities and femininities offered by society, as well as upon the places where gender identity is constructed in social interaction, in order to support them in dealing with their gender identity in a self-determined and self-responsible manner. It is about enabling children and youths to develop freely, with more than one predefined role open to them (cf. chapter 6 A gender-related approach to pedagogy).
- The pedagogue's individual personality provides an important foundation for successful gender-related pedagogy with boys. Grappling with "gender-related" "becoming and being" is very helpful, even downright necessary, to avoid reproducing, bringing about, or forcing gender-typical behavior on boys. Grappling with the boys' diverse circumstances is just as important as being aware that and to what extent one's own gender is relevant when interacting with boys (cf. chapter 6.4 Principles of gender-related pedagogy with boys).
- In boys' studies, people have come to appreciate the problems caused when boys' needs, interests, and actions are assumed to be uniform ("the boys ..." or "all boys ..."). A subject- and resource-oriented perspective is becoming prevalent in boys' work, according to which boys are or should be perceived in their complexity and accompanied reflexively in their self-determined development. In so doing, agents who work with boys in a gender-related way must prioritize

questions about coping with life. What paths can boys choose, which ones are they permitted to choose, and which ones are blocked? What kind of support is necessary, what do those affected need in each individual case? This raises the question not only about individual potential, but also about power and access to resources (cf. chapter 6 A gender-related approach to pedagogy).

- But it is also necessary and important to view the problems and shortcomings of children and youths in order to understand problematic behavior as a protective and defensive strategy on the part of boys in high-stress situations. A one-sided perspective oriented towards resources or strengths can get in its own way when it comes to necessary processes of understanding (cf. chapter 6 A gender-related approach to pedagogy).



3. Boys and girls at the crossroads between leaving school and starting work

“In our school system, gender equality must be measured against its capability to secure equal opportunities for women and men. This shows clearly that in the future education must be more than ensuring a school leaving certificate and access to secondary or tertiary education. Education needs to empower young women and young men to deal with life in complex and flexible patterns. This becomes ever more necessary due to the dissolution of borders and institutions in the structural patterns of many parts of society [cf. on this Chapter 4. Masculinity in crisis? M.C.]. Life models may not remain stable and employment can be precarious. Geographical mobility, political participation and multi-ethnic communities are additional requirements for which men and women need skills in dealing with insecurity and changing living conditions. They will no longer be able to live in secure gender arrangements according to pre-defined schemes. Instead, time and again in the course of their lives they will have to strike a new balance between work and love. In a fluid future society, equal opportunities can exist only if both young women and young men are capable of securing their independence and livelihood in confusing times.” (Cornelißen, 2004)³⁶

Education is a vital resource when it comes to life options. The qualifications acquired through the school system and vocational training and education are key prerequisites for the career and income options of young women and men later in life. Educational background, however, always correlates with social features, too.

“Young people’s social characteristics—their social, ethnic and regional origin, their gender—influence their course of education, either independently of how good their grades are, or else because performance is in part determined by living conditions which in turn are linked to the social characteristics mentioned above.”³⁷

This chapter focuses on describing school education and vocational training and education from gender-relevant perspectives.

³⁶ Cf. on this the descriptions in chapter 4. *Masculinity in crisis?*

³⁷ Geißler 2002, p. 333

3.1 School

Generally speaking, educational standards have improved over the past few decades compared to earlier generations, and this applies to girls as well as boys. “In absolute terms both genders show an increasing trend towards attending *Gymnasium* while the girls’ share has grown faster than the boys.”³⁸ However, in an international comparison the Federal Republic of Germany ranks rather low when it comes to the number of students acquiring general qualification for university entrance.³⁹ This is why education has again become a significant issue in Germany in the past few years.⁴⁰

“Germany (...) is concerned about the international competitiveness of its economy. Today, just as four decades ago (before the school system was expanded and various reforms were carried out since the 1960’s), research institutes predict a lack of qualified personnel for trade and industry. According to their diagnosis, deficits within the educational system harm the economy as it is not capable of adequately nurturing and utilizing the performance and qualification potential of the German population.” (Geißler 2005, p. 71)

38 Rieske 2011, p. 18; cf. also Stürzer 2005, p. 20.

39 Quenzel/Hurrelman 2010, p. 61.

40 Cf. Geißler 2005, p. 71.

41 The first PISA study comparing different countries was carried out in 2000 in 32 American, European, and Asian states. It compared the reading literacy, mathematics literacy, and science literacy of a total of about 180,000 students. In all countries—including Germany—it identified gender-specific differences in reading literacy to the disadvantage of boys, a difference in mathematics literacy to the disadvantage of girls in almost 50% of the countries, and no gender-related differences in science literacy. The difference in reading literacy between girls and boys here is significantly higher than the difference in mathematics literacy.

42 Cf. on this Diefenbach/Klein 2002; Stürzer 2005; Pimminger 2010; Rieske 2011; Quenzel/Hurrelman 2010.

3.1.1 Gender-related opportunities at school

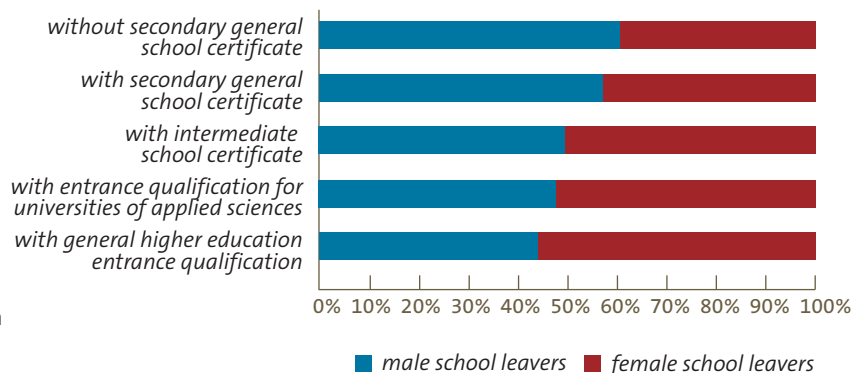
Additionally, the (expert) public has been discussing for several years the difficulties boys have at school—especially after international performance assessment studies were published.⁴¹ Figure 1 shows that the share of boys is higher at schools providing qualification of less significant value for the labor market.⁴²

Figure 1: School leavers 2009 by gender

Male and female graduates after leaving school

School leavers 2009 Data source:

Federal Statistical Office 2011



The reasons for this difference are a matter of contention among experts.⁴³ The available data on gender-related changes in the education sector is adequate in substance, “but there are only isolated in-depth empirical studies on the possible reasons behind these developments.”⁴⁴

Causes are sought in the different approaches and motivations to learning between the genders⁴⁵ and the so-called feminization of schools,⁴⁶ but also in the deficient performance of some boys in developmental tasks—in the context of schools—during their adolescence.⁴⁷ Other potential causes are that boys’ dysfunctional ideas of what masculinity is or the images of masculinity with which society confronts them stand in the way of some boys’ behavior at school.⁴⁸ Potential reasons relevant and important for this project will be described briefly below. The project aims to provide research-based recommendations for educational implementation of the three focus areas of [Boys’ Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys](#).⁴⁹

Gender-specific socialization processes as a reason for poorer school leaving grades

“I always look up as if I’m interested. Sometimes I don’t understand what the teacher is saying, but that doesn’t matter. You have to raise your hand two or three times, then you really appear to be interested. It’s always worked for me.” (quote from a female ninth-grader)⁵⁰

“Ultimately, I think it’s really annoying that boys never bother to do anything. If they made an effort, they would have much better grades (at least some of them).” (quote from a female tenth-grader)⁵¹

“We simply didn’t care. It wasn’t the teachers’ fault. It didn’t make any difference what they did. We didn’t want to work or learn.” (group interview with male eighth- and ninth-graders)⁵²

“I noticed that throughout our school years, but I believe it’s because boys hardly study for school, though there are exceptions. But I don’t mind much. For me it’s important that I am happy with my grades.” “It’s because boys our age are more interested in their friends, leisure activities, and parties than school.” (quotes from two male tenth-graders)⁵³

43 Cf. Geißler 2005; Koch-Priewe et al. 2009; Bundeskuratorium (Federal Board of Trustees) 2009; Rieske 2011; Quenzel/Hurrelman 2010; Gesterkamp 2011.

44 Quenzel/Hurrelman 2010, p. 62.

45 Cf., e.g., Pollack 1998, 230 et seq.

46 Cf., e.g., Dannenböck/Meidinger 2003.

47 Cf. Quenzel/Hurrelman 2010.

48 An explanation found predominantly in the discussion in English-speaking countries about “failing boys”; cf. on this Epstein et al. 1998; Epstein 2001. For a summary of this discussion see Michalek/Fuhr 2009.

49 Cf. for more in-depth information on comparative studies on school performance, e.g., Rieske 2011. Cf. for more in-depth information on possible gender-related differences in ways of learning, e.g., Pollack 1998, p. 230 et seq.

50 Geist 2011, p. 8.

51 Thurn 2009, p. 169 et seq. according to Geist 2011, p. 8.

52 Geist 2011, p. 6. Cf. also Geist et al. 2005.

53 Thurn 2009, p. 169 et seq. according to Geist 2011, p. 8.

The fact that girls generally perform better at school than boys is a first indicator for the reasons why boys leave school with poorer qualifications. Boys and girls' grades vary from subject to subject depending on the type of school and age, but assessment studies have come to the general conclusion that "if you compare an entire age group, rather than male and female pupils at individual types of school, girls on average perform better than boys."⁵⁴ The difference in performance is predominantly attributed to girls' gender-stereotypical diligence and studiousness.⁵⁵ Young women are significantly better than young men at self-control and self-discipline.⁵⁶ In specific terms, this means that young women dedicate on average an additional hour a day to homework, i.e. twice as much as young men.⁵⁷

The historical continuity of this phenomenon is of particular interest in this context. In her historical analysis Cohen has shown that there is evidence for boys' underperformance in England since 1868,⁵⁸ but that it was never considered a problem.⁵⁹ In Germany too, even at the times of the "female education deficit," girls had better grades at school. Klaus Rodax and Klaus Hurrelmann proved this for West Germany and Barbara Hille for East Germany.⁶⁰ Apparently the transformations that followed the feminist women's movement were needed for social barriers to fall and girls to use their good grades for good

school leaving certificates.⁶¹ Before that, the prevailing concept was that girls did not need good school leaving certificates as they needed different types of skills as wives and housewives.

Boys' underperformance, however, has also been attributed to additional gender-specific socialization processes. It can be observed, for example, that many boys are subject at school to enormous coolness pressure (masculinity pressure) from their peers. It seems that "merely getting together at school is enough to make many boys strangely behave 'cooler' than usual."⁶² This is why in the literature they are described as generally lazy and as the cool-funny-naughty type of learner.⁶³

Andreas Krebs (2006), who described the competing behavior of male learners in a presentation at a congress at which she presented the results of a research project concerning the specific situation of boys at school, points out that boys themselves see the connection between the school as a physical space and their behavior. They explicitly point out the difference in their friendliness or disrespectful behavior between meeting certain other youths individually, privately, or outside school and meeting them in a group at school or in the classroom. Krebs summarizes the boys' explanations about their behavior at school as follows:

54 Cornelijßen et al. 2003, p. 226.

55 Cf. also the quotes from students introducing this chapter.

56 Cf. Duckworth/Seligman 2006, p. 201 according to Quenzel/Hurrelman 2010, p. 80.

57 Ibid.

58 First systematic survey on school performance in England.

59 Cf. Cohen 1998.

60 Cf. Rodax/Hurrelmann 1986, p. 138 et seq.; Hille 1990, p. 591 according to Geißler 2005, p. 84; Neutzling 2005.

61 Cf. Geißler 2005, p. 84.

62 Cf. Krebs 2008, p. 188.

63 On the basis of a quantitative survey Peter Zimmermann conducted at 28 schools in Dortmund in 1995, he described how boys often feel under pressure to be "easygoing", "funny" or "cool" in order to be respected by their peer group. Some of the boys are quite aware that this behavior is sometimes used to cover insecurity and powerlessness (cf. Zimmermann 1998, p. 90). Cf. on this also the quotes from students introducing this chapter, and Thies/Röhner 2000; Kassis 2003; Cornelijßen 2004; Geißler 2005; Krebs 2002, 2006, 2008 and chapter 5.1: Traditional masculinity.

“Being basically ‘different’: to behave ‘like a different person’ as a boy at school, being all ‘wacky’, giving in to the fundamental ‘transformation process’ that is school, behaving ‘simply totally differently’ with certain school-mates.

Being more offensive: ‘badmouthing’ others and ‘making fun of them’, ‘laughing’ or ‘yelling’ at them, ‘offending’ and ‘belittling’ others in a discussion.

Being less tolerant and less respectful: ‘not accepting’ others, not showing ‘politeness’ or ‘respect’ towards each other, displaying an ‘overbearing attitude’.

Paying less attention, being more spontaneous: ‘playing up’, sometimes being completely ‘irrational’, ‘forgetting about manners’, ‘reacting spontaneously’ and ignoring one’s own ‘desired ideal’.

Acting ‘strong’: ‘acting your role in a group’, representing a certain image, living up to a certain image, ‘mimicking’ it, ‘throwing one’s weight around’ especially when girls are around and ‘trying to impress’.

Being discouraged inside: not having the ‘courage’ in the classroom to defend one’s own social values, pretending instead not to be interested or even ‘violating one’s own rules’.⁶⁴

Krebs stresses that boys interpret their competitive behavior, which is about their “standing as a boy,” as a constant fight for recognition.⁶⁵ Especially the points “acting strong,” “less tolerant, less respectful” and “discouraged inside” show

a link to the traditional constructions and expectations of masculinity.⁶⁶

As this correlation is usually not adequately taken into consideration, it seems logical in school sanction policies to reprimand boys more frequently than girls for inadequate discipline and for disrupting class. Boys are thus more frequently subject to disciplinary punishments⁶⁷—which in turn has an adverse effect on their grades⁶⁸ and their school career.⁶⁹

According to observations by Budde et al. in 2008, girls receive a bonus from their teachers that is associated with their higher motivation and willingness to make an effort, and because of their social compatibility. However, the authors also draw attention to the point that girls who do not behave as expected by their teachers are graded particularly badly.⁷⁰

School, not only as a physical space but as an institution, influences boys’ processes of constructing their gender identity in society in many ways. It often even increases the masculinity pressure. The following example is a good case in point:

“There are various situations in which the formal frame of the school enhances staging masculinity, for example, when tests are returned. It has become apparent that when boys get back tests that are graded worse than they expected, they use a myriad of strategies to avoid saying aloud what their grade is. They indicate it with their fingers, type it into a pocket calculator, present it ironically or as a puzzle.”⁷¹

64 Cf. Krebs 2006, p. 16. Cf. also Krebs 2008, p. 188 et seq./p. 216 et seq.

65 Cf. Krebs 2006, p. 7; Krebs 2008.

66 Cf. on this chapter 8.1. Structurally embedding boys’ work.

67 Cf. Boldt 2001, p. 19 et seq.

68 Cf. Beutel 2005; Budde et al. 2008; Geist 2011.

69 Boys evidently need better grades than girls to be eligible for a recommendation to attend Gymnasium (cf. Kuhn 2008, p. 49 et seq.; Aktionsrat Bildung (Educational Action Council) 2009, p. 95).

70 Budde et al., p. 124; cf. also Koch-Priewe 2009, p. 103.

71 Budde / Faulstich-Wieland 2006, p. 49.

The study results presented here suggest that conventionalized patterns of masculinity are behind this behavior on the part of boys. They “make it impossible to deal with negative emotions.”⁷² One reason for that is that boys (must) fear that boys their own age or older (but especially girls) will make fun of them or degrade them in some other way.⁷³ Boys have reason to be afraid of being put into an “inferior position.”

“If necessary, in order to counter the possible damage to their position, they revert to contexts in which they put themselves in danger. They choose a range of different ways when trying to offer masculine gestures to impress other boys.”⁷⁴

This is why Corinna Voigt-Kehlenbeck pleads for “understanding interaction among boys as a tug of war”⁷⁵ or a balancing act which originates from the must-win bearing “that boys feel subjected to.”⁷⁶ “The obsession of adolescent masculinity implies: you have to win always in order to avoid pain, because only superiority protects you against feeling helpless.”⁷⁷

“Social tensions can arise in groups or even grip the entire classroom (Voigt-Kehlenbeck 2007b). Especially when they feel growing social differences, boys who cannot keep up feel under stress if others use material possessions to ensure their status in the classroom. Boys feel inferior when

they do not have any knowledge of Game Boy games [for example, the author] or no access to specific computer games. In order to avoid *looking like a loser*, these boys will look for other possibilities to ensure their status in the group.”⁷⁸

The tug of war described here can be called an (early) practice of “serious competitive games,” in the words of Pierre Bourdieu (1997). In this connection Bourdieu speaks of social fields where men are among themselves and play serious games from which women by definition due to their gender are excluded in fact or by law.⁷⁹ These games of domination excluding women and girls range from economic competition and scientific disputes to military battles. Michael Meuser (2005) takes up Bourdieu’s approach and stresses that this competition is about “claiming and displaying masculinity” and aims to establish or complete the male habitus.⁸⁰ According to Bourdieu, girls and women have a marginalized but not insignificant role to play in these serious competitive games. They are given the role of listeners or, as Virginia Woolf says, “*looking-glasses* possessing the magic and delicious power of reflecting the figure of man at twice its natural size,”⁸¹ an image the man is intended to and wants to become like.⁸²

Due to their gender-stereotypical externalizations,⁸³ boys are perceived as problem children not only at school but in

72 *Ibid.* p. 49 et seq.

73 Cf. on this chapter 6. A gender-related approach to pedagogy, especially the descriptions in chapter 6.5 Boys’ work as a protected space—protecting boys from having to be boys.

74 Voigt-Kehlenbeck 2009a, p. 127.

75 *Ibid.* cf. on this also chapter 8.1: Structurally embedding boys’ work.

76 *Ibid.*

77 Richter 2006, p. 11.

78 *Ibid.*

79 Bourdieu 1997, p. 203

80 Meuser 2005, p. 285.

81 Woolf 1929, chapter 2.

82 Bourdieu 1997, p. 203.

83 On the term externalization cf. chapter 5.1 Traditional masculinity. Girls, in contrast, tend to react to conflicts by internalizing, which is why their problems are noticed less often. For this reason, the reactions to them are less.

education in general. Already at day-care centers boys stand out more frequently due to problems with impulse control and their social behavior (aggression/violence).⁸⁴ They are represented twice as often as girls at family educational guidance centers.⁸⁵ Establishing and financing specific youth work for boys is closely linked to the debates about youth deviance and violence held since the early 1990's. The discussion has revealed that physical violence committed by adolescents needs to be examined from a gender-specific perspective, as it is mainly a male phenomenon.⁸⁶

“For many boys—especially those with difficult experiences at home and in the classroom—the principal means of displaying manhood and virility in adolescence is violence, or to be more precise: applying physical force in fights competing for positions of power, usually among their own sex. The peer context provides the occasions and the impetus, and intensifies the competition.”⁸⁷

The increase in violence by girls and young women sometimes reported in the media is not reflected in statistics; most offences involving violence are committed by male youth aged fourteen to twenty.⁸⁸ Adolescent men are in the majority not only among perpetrators, but also among victims.⁸⁹ In order to set up a preventive gender-specific educational approach to boys,⁹⁰ the “cultural denial of male physical integrity” or

the myth of the “inviolability of a man’s body”⁹¹ has to be addressed. Many boys, male adolescents and men interpret “experiences of violence”⁹² not as violence but as (male) normalcy. This is the more true

“the more an act of violence committed against a man or a boy aims to establish hierarchical positions among men or boys. It is then seen as a ‘normal’ component of a male biography and thus not perceived as ‘violence’. This includes fist fights and threats among boys and young men.”⁹³

Conversely, Gabriele Strobel-Eisele and Marleen Noack advocate the hypothesis that boys’ primary reason to tend towards anomic behavior is not that “they wish to impress or dominate over or compete with girls or other people,” but because they associate pleasure and fun with forbidden behavior.⁹⁴

The authors understand anomy as

“a verbally expressed relative distance to actions and behavior according to the rules (...), a ‘light’ form of a lack of social order and conformity, combined with the inclination to succumb to one’s own affects and emotional sensitivities, to ensure some leeway for freedom, if necessary even in defiance to educational measures.”⁹⁵

84 Cf. Wahl 2007/2009.

85 Cf. Bründel/Hurrelmann 1999.

86 Cf. Möller 2005; Wahl 2009, p. 27 et seq.

87 *Ibid.*, p. 82. cf. for more detail Möller 2001, 2002, 2004.

88 Cf. Wahl 2009, p. 27 et seq.

89 Jungnitz et al. 2007, p. 12.

90 Cf. for more detail chapter 6. A gender-related approach to pedagogy.

91 *Ibid.* p. 23.

92 The prefix “wider” in “Gewaltwiderfahrnis” (receptive experience of violence) indicates that the experience of violence is not a positive one; cf. Jungnitz et al. 2007, p. 22. In their semantic selection the authors follow the descriptions provided by Jan Reemtsma (1998), who powerfully advocates using the term *Gewaltwiderfahrnis* (cf. Reemtsma 1998, p. 45 et seq.)

93 *Ibid.* p. 15. Cf. on this also chapter 6. Gender-related approach to pedagogy.

94 Strobel-Eisele/Noack 2006, p. 114.

95 *Ibid.* p. 101.

The anomaly in boys' behavior evidently causes problems at school, but according to the authors it also strengthens their own character. In the opinion of Gabriele Strobel-Eisele and Marleen Noack there is no doubt that "anomaly is an important basis for developing self-esteem and a positive concept for development phases during childhood."⁹⁶ They point out that "the phase of anomaly is an issue at a certain age, as ultimately boys integrate themselves into the framework of social expectations (...)."⁹⁷

In summary, it can be stated that school as an institution has not yet found a strategy for adequately responding to some boys' underperformance and anomic behavior. The PISA performance assessment, however, shows that not every boy is underperforming, as boys are the largest groups not only among at-risk children but also among top performers. Other studies also prove that in contrast to girls, boys are a significantly more heterogeneous group as far as their performance is concerned.⁹⁸ Boys are "more frequently identified as highly gifted, more often encouraged to skip a year, and benefit more profoundly from specific programs for the gifted."⁹⁹ Furthermore, young women may graduate from school with better grades than young men, but this does not (yet) give them good career prospects as could be expected, especially not in terms of income and management positions.¹⁰⁰

The results of various studies provide additional food for thought. There are, for example, the Dortmund surveys among boys conducted in the years 1995 and 2005—according to which boys themselves, not adults, said that they feel at a disadvantage compared to girls.¹⁰¹ In 2005 half the boys gave an

affirmative answer to the question whether girls were favored at school; 47% of the boys thought that boys and girls were treated equally, and only 3% of the boys said boys were favored. In comparison, the Dortmund survey of 1995 showed that only (or as many as) 38% of the boys felt at a disadvantage. The question of whether this increase simply reflects the public discourse about boys as losers in education or whether boys indeed feel less comfortable with the way their interests are taken into consideration remains unanswered. The latter would be in line with 38% of the boys saying in 2005 that there were not enough interesting subjects, whereas in 1995 only 13% of the boys were of that opinion. The survey, however, does not give any indication of what subjects boys would prefer, or whether they generally dislike school or whether they consider learning on the whole—and especially at school—'uncool' (or have to due to masculinity pressure). In this context it is interesting that 88% of the boys stated they could learn almost anything if they only made the effort.¹⁰² Irrespective of how this question may be answered, schools have to develop strategies to counter boys' negative assessment of learning at school. It is counterproductive in any case if teachers give up on some boys per se as uninterested troublemakers. A teacher with such an attitude drives pupils with genuine learning difficulties into isolation.

"Indeed when boys feel pain at school, they sometimes put on the mask and then 'act out'. Teachers, rather than exploring the emotional reasons behind a boy's misconduct, may instead apply behavioral control techniques that are intended somehow to better 'civilize' boys."¹⁰³

97 *Ibid.*

98 *Cf. BMFSFJ 2007.*

99 *Stamm 2008, p. 11.*

100 *Cf. most recently Pimminger 2010; BMFSFJ 2011.*

101 *In 2005 a total of 1,635 boys aged 12-19 participated in the survey.*

102 *Cf. Koch-Priewe 2009, p. 103 et seq.; cf. also the quotes introducing this chapter and chapter 5.1. Traditional masculinity. It is interesting in this context that boys' objective performance often fails to correspond with how they judge themselves. When asked, boys attest to noticeably high capabilities and think that they are more competent than girls, though their grades are lower. (cf. Koch-Priewe 2009).*

103 *Pollack 1998, p. 17. The same of course also applies for girls.*

The findings by Budde et al. in 2008 mentioned above suggest that boys' perceptions—they feel at a disadvantage—have at least a realistic core.¹⁰⁴ Koch-Priewe et al. are right, however, when they point out that additional studies with larger samples are necessary to pursue this question.¹⁰⁵

But if it is true that the traditional masculine requirement for boys to be cool and their corresponding coolness and the traditional requirements for girls to display “adjusted, pro-social behavior and diligence”¹⁰⁶ and their corresponding behavior result in girls having better grades and school leaving certificates, then

“a gender-aware and fair way of teaching would look not only at how (‘typical’) boys can feel good at school and how they can perform better, but the teaching would have to be individual enough to adequately support and challenge every child and youth, independently of their gender and capabilities.”¹⁰⁷

A consensus in society and an ensuing school reform are required to achieve this. First and foremost the aim may no longer be to “convey as much knowledge as possible in as little time as possible to the most heterogeneous group possible [...]”¹⁰⁸ But also the grading system regarding individual performance, the number of students per classroom, 45-minute lessons, compulsory implementation of the curriculum, standardized examinations, as well as the standard half-day school schedule and the subdivision of German schools into a ‘class system’ will need to be open to discussion.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, it

104 Cf. Budde/Scholland/Faulstich-Wieland 2008.

105 Koch-Priewe et al. 2009, p. 110 et seq.

106 Koch-Priewe et al. 2009, p. 23 and p. 100 et seq.

107 Koch-Priewe 2009, p. 23 et seq.

108 Freyberg 2011, p. 236.

109 Cf. Freyberg 2011, p. 237.

110 Koch-Priewe 2009, p. 23.

111 Koch-Priewe 2009, p. 23.

112 Cf. Stürzer 2005, p. 41 et seq.; Rieske 2011, p. 28.

would become important to “highlight social learning much more strongly than it is currently the case at many schools.”¹¹⁰ Teachers would need to be able to develop a gender-sensitive perspective and be aware of their own possible biases in order to neither reinforce nor in fact produce gender role-based stereotypes.¹¹¹

The feminization of the educational system as a reason for underperformance

One of the reasons mentioned time and again over the past few years for boys' underperformance is the so-called “feminization of schools.” This hypothesis has been referred to more and more frequently, in particular since the discussion of the first PISA results. The reasons are primarily sought in the larger number of female teachers, resulting in a lack of male teachers who could serve as role models for boys in their gender identification. In addition to a lack of male teachers, boys' underperformance is attributed to a “feminized” school culture in which typical boy behavior is evaluated as negative. Figure 2 illustrates the ratio of male and female teachers in Germany by type of school.

While in 1960 the male proportion of teachers still exceeded 50% by far (at elementary schools it was 54%), this proportion had dropped to below 40% (at elementary schools down to 11.7%) by the 2009–2010 school year. The older the children and the higher the educational level, the higher the share of male teachers, meaning it is highest among teachers at *Gymnasium* level.¹¹²

Current studies¹¹³ and the empirical fact that girls already performed better when the share of male teachers was significantly higher¹¹⁴ cast some doubt on the hypothesis that boys' poor school performance depends on the lower numbers of male teachers.

Male teachers are not more popular among boys than female teachers. In the second Dortmund survey of boys, 59% of them, when asked whether they preferred to be taught by a male or a female teacher, answered that they did not have any preference; 18% of the boys said that it depended on the subject taught, 17% that they preferred female teachers and 6% that they preferred male teachers. These answers are more or less an exact repetition of the results of the earlier study from 1995.¹¹⁵

In the context of the changes in the gender equality policy described above¹¹⁶ and the resulting goal of bringing about a "change in gender roles," it may still make sense to employ more male specialists in institutions of social and academic education (in particular day-care centers and elementary schools) than are currently working there. In educational institutions the focus is not only on developing performance, but on developing a child's character.¹¹⁷ Currently, children up to the age of twelve and beyond experience a female dominance in child-rearing and educational institutions,¹¹⁸ but also in the field of social work.¹¹⁹ They thus grow up in a world which

is characterized by gender stereotypes and a gender-based division of labor (women and not men are responsible for social and care work, early childhood and school education). This has an influence on their own understanding of gender. The stereotypes and corresponding division of labor thus continue to be reproduced.¹²⁰

However, demanding more male specialists in institutions of social and academic education or the introduction of a quota for men, as is sometimes called for, is not easy to accomplish. Michael Gomolzig, spokesperson for the *Verband Bildung und Erziehung (VBE)* (teachers' and educators' association) in Baden-Württemberg puts it in a nutshell: demanding a quota is unrealistic "because there are not enough male students training to become elementary school teachers."¹²¹ Another problem is raised by Rainer Dahlem, regional head of the GEW (German education and science workers' union). In his opinion the bad overall conditions are responsible for boys' underperformance at school. He states that the problem

"is not the shortage of men, but the gross neglect child-care centers and elementary schools suffer from in educational policy making. This type of work needs to be appreciated more. Dahlem warns against creating the impression that female teachers do not adequately support boys at elementary schools."¹²²

113 Cf., e.g., Valtin et al. 2006; Bacher et al. 2008; Helbig 2010.

114 Quenzel/Hurrelman 2010, p. 68.

115 Cf. Koch-Priewe et al. 2009, p. 109.

116 Cf. chapter 2.2. Gender equality policy as a policy of fair opportunities.

117 Cf. Quenzel/Hurrelman 2010.

118 Cf., e.g., Cremers et al. 2010.

119 Cf., e.g., Ganß 2011; Wulf-Schnabel 2011.

120 Cf. on this also chapter 3.2.2. Cultural gender stereotypes influencing vocational choices.

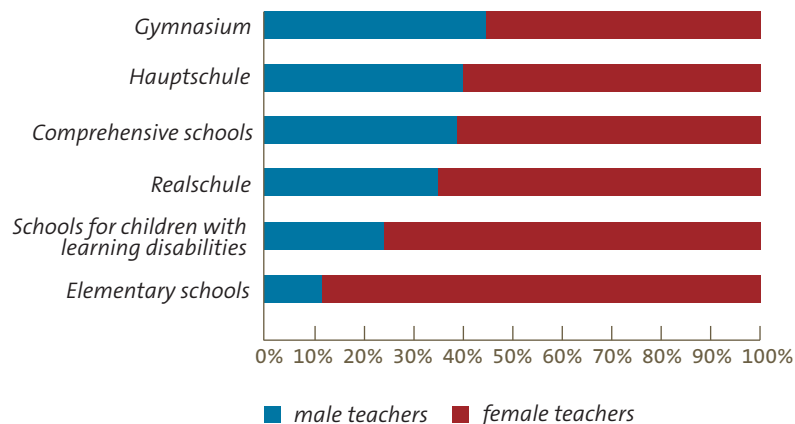
121 dpa September 29, 2003; quoted according to Neutzling 2005, p. 56. The same applies to social work; cf. Klein/Schnabel 2007, p. 138.

122 dpa September 29, 2003; quoted according to Neutzling 2005, p. 56.

Figure 2: Gender ratio among teachers at selected schools of general education in Germany in the school year 2009–2010 (in %)

Share of male and female teachers at selected schools of general education

School year 2009–2010 Data source: Federal Statistical Office 2011



Summarizing the above, it is at least questionable that debates in the media and discussions among experts

“do indeed highlight the educational efforts by mothers, the achievements of female teachers, career options chosen by men, [... but] do not challenge social framework conditions such as social status, the relationship between employers and employees, the relationship between school and family life, the time budget within families, a family’s financial situation or the under-funding of educational institutions.”¹²³

The academic research accompanying *New Paths for Boys* proves that employing more male specialists is not free of risks with respect to reconstructing traditional gender relationships. Without a gender-sensitive (self-)reflection, the risk still remains that unchallenged practices of masculinity will be reproduced or will even increase in institutions of social and academic education.¹²⁴

123 *Andresen 2008, p. 37.*

124 *Cf. Budde et al. 2011. Cf. also chapter 8. Evaluation during the second funding phase of the project (2008-2010).*

3.1.2 Social-class related opportunities at school

While changes have been observed in girls and boys' differing educational careers, social class-related inequalities have remained stable. Though in the 1960's educational reforms were implemented in the Federal Republic of Germany to lower social class-specific inequalities, the results of the PISA studies in particular make it clear that the opportunities depending on social class have remained stable.

In his article *Zum Wandel der Chancenstruktur im Bildungssystem nach Schicht, Geschlecht, Ethnie und deren Verknüpfungen* (Concerning the change in the structure of opportunities children have depending on social class, gender, ethnicity, and related factors), Rainer Geißler concludes as follows:

“Children from all social backgrounds have benefitted from the expansion in the educational system, but the social class-specific differences were only completely abolished at the medium level (*Realschule* level). The situation is different at the *Gymnasium* and university levels: there, *the social class-specific disadvantages have shown a distinctive resilience*.”¹²⁸

The question about why opportunities typically differ on the basis of a person's social background meets with different answers in expert discussions. In addition to differences in a child's individual performance potential and motivation, educational researchers have identified two major reasons:

“One reason has to do with the child's family, the other with school. Even when children perform the same, the

educational decisions taken within families as well as the teacher's appraisal at school differ depending on the child's social background.”¹²⁹

3.1.3 Unequal opportunities for learners with and without German citizenship

In the German school system, not only are opportunities unequal depending on social background, but also children without German citizenship are at a significant disadvantage.

Analyzing the existing data in a differentiated manner reveals that children's educational opportunities are influenced first and foremost by their parents' socio-economic situation and educational background.¹³⁰ “The German school and educational system has traditionally served to provide academic choice and selection [...]. Unlike any other system it makes educational success and educational careers largely dependent on one's parents' social situation and the educational background determined by it [...].”¹³¹ The better educated the parents are, the more frequently their sons and daughter will attend *Gymnasium* and the more likely it is that they will decide to go to university.¹³² If citizenship and ethnicity are also included in the analysis, it becomes apparent that the qualification potential of children without German citizenship is the least developed. They frequently do not have a proper degree upon completing the compulsory years of schooling. They are also the biggest group among the students graduating from *Hauptschule* and the smallest group among those graduating from *Realschule* or reaching the general higher education entrance qualification. This applies in particular to students of Turkish descent¹³³ and cannot be explained due to their

128 Geißler 2005, p. 74. Highlighted thus in the original text.

129 *Ibid.*, p. 77.

130 Cf., e.g., Geißler 2005; Alt 2006; Weber 2008; Andresen 2008; Herwartz-Emden 2008. Cf. for the following also Busche/Cremers 2010, p. 19 et seq.

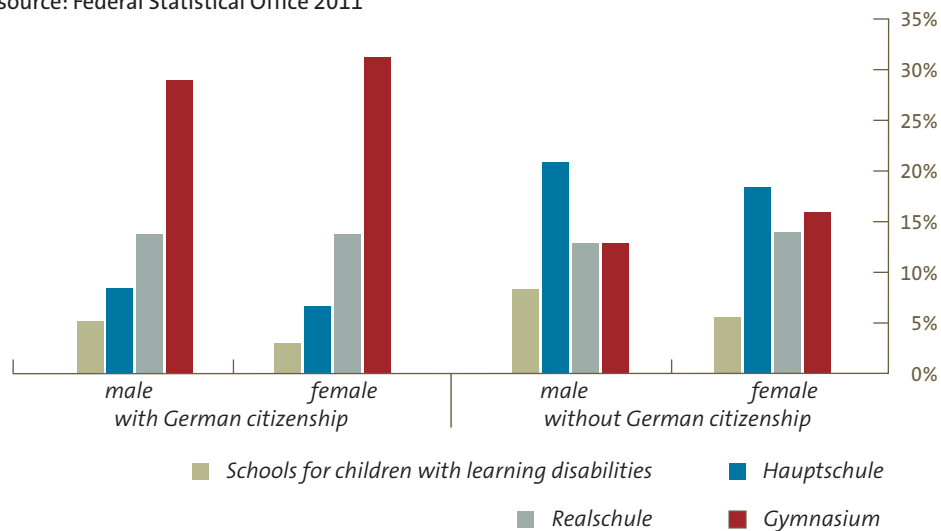
131 Freyberg 2011, p. 227.

132 Cf. Stürzer 2005, p. 33.

Figure 3: School leavers with and without German citizenship in the school year 2009–2010 (in %)

Percentage of learners with and without German citizenship at selected types of school

School year 2009–2010 Data source: Federal Statistical Office 2011



immigrant background but rather due to their socio-economic situation. Data from the *DJI* (German Youth Institute) children’s panel show a close correlation between social and ethnic backgrounds: “Children from any socio-economically weaker family background have poorer grades. There are no additional differences connected to having a family background of migration.”¹³³ The data also suggests: “If a child’s social origin is measured in terms of household income and their family’s school and educational background, 31% of the German children (...) but 87% of the Turkish children belong to the group with the smallest income.”¹³⁵

A more differentiated breakdown shows that there are significant differences among children and youth from a family background of migration.

“Families with a background of migration and other families with experiences of cultural difference vary from each other with respect to their origin, immigration background and motivation, age, family’s social status and educational background, residency status and their language habits [...]”¹³⁶

133 Cf. *MAGS 2007*, p. 294; *Prenzel et al. 2004*, p. 264.

134 Cf. *Alt 2006*, p. 17.

135 *Ibid.* The expert report by Leonie Herwartz-Emden (2008) “*Interkulturelle und geschlechtergerechte Pädagogik für Kinder im Alter von 6 bis 16 Jahren*” (*Intercultural and gender-neutral pedagogy for children aged 6-16*) describes in detail and discusses reasons for inequalities and possibilities to intervene.

136 Cf. *Herwartz-Emden 2008*, p. 4.

A family background of migration increases the inequality in opportunities in the educational system when a lack of education goes hand in hand with seeing no future for oneself and experiencing marginalization. At the same time, poverty is usually based on inadequate education and unemployment.¹³⁷ In summary, the welfare state does not fulfill its responsibility and obligation “to compensate for social inequality in opportunities and one’s start in life with its educational system, and to make available the necessary resources and competences [...]”.¹³⁸

3.2 Vocational training and education

“I think working as a nursery school teacher when you do your community service is good, but I don’t think it’s good as a permanent job. I don’t think it fits. There are so many children and I believe women are better at it than men. I’ve never seen a male nursery school teacher coping with children.” (male student at mid-level at *Gymnasium* during a group discussion in the context of academic research accompanying the *New Paths for Boys* project)

“Yes, I don’t know: being a nursery school teacher might be a good idea. I want to work in a hospital or at a nursery school. I don’t really care, it just needs to be some kind of social work.” (male student at *Realschule* during a group discussion in the context of academic research accompanying the *New Paths for Boys* project).

There are three different types of vocational training and education in the Federal Republic of Germany: in-company vocational training, full-time vocational schools, and universities. In-company training is characterized by the dual system of combining hands-on training at a company with learning theory at a vocational school. If companies authorized to provide training cannot offer enough apprenticeships, vocational training can also be organized externally or at joint training centers serving a number of companies (i.e., with public funding).¹³⁹ Since 1992, the number of students having to attend / attending such training measures has increased considerably.¹⁴⁰ Overall, more young men than young women are trained in the dual system, though in the meantime a majority of young women are trained within the dual system.¹⁴¹ Women are even less represented at the training schemes in joint training centers than in the dual system overall.¹⁴² Furthermore, young men are more successful in finding the training they desire.¹⁴³

The second type of vocational education is offered by full-time schools. These are specialized trade schools and schools in the health sector. Measured against the number of trainees in the dual system, these schools clearly rank lower. Generally speaking, there are more young women than young men trained at full-time schools. Young women are more frequently forced to switch to full-time schooling than young men.¹⁴⁴ The numbers of men and women choosing universities for qualifying for a job is more or less the same at the moment. In an international comparison, Germany already counts as an exception with its slim majority of male university students.¹⁴⁵

137 Cf. Andresen 2008, p. 44.

138 Freyberg 2011, p. 233.

139 Joint federal and state government programs funded by the Federal Employment Agency.

140 BMBF 2010, p. 23. “1992 was chosen as reference year because this year was the first after German unification in which reliable data could be collected both nationwide and separately for the eastern and western Länder.” BMBF 2006, p. 6.

141 BMBF 2010.

142 Cf. Pimminger 2010, p. 8.

143 Cf. *ibid.* p. 9.

144 *Ibid.*

145 Cf. Quenzel/Hurrelman 2010.

3.2.1 Gender-related differences in vocational training

Already as small children, girls and boys develop a vision of the job they wish to have in the future. The younger children are when they are asked what they would like to become, the more gender-specific their answers. Girls aged ten to fourteen prefer jobs in education or “care” or wish to become actresses, singers or dancers. Boys at that age dream of a future life as professional soccer players, racecar drivers, policemen, soldiers or in technical jobs.¹⁴⁶

The older children are, the more frequently girls and boys change their ideas about the future in general, their future jobs and lives,

“partly because as they grow older they become aware of a broader range and thus their wishes change, but also partly because in the course of time they become more realistic in assessing their own potential and future opportunities and abandon unattainable goals.”¹⁴⁷

When searching for a suitable job, young people focus much more on the possibilities their education will provide for them. They adapt to the available training and employment options, i.e., they adapt to the conditions in the labor market.¹⁴⁸ However, not every youth can choose their jobs as they like, because

“the scarcity of available jobs necessitates that they make concessions and already be flexible when choosing an occupation.”¹⁴⁹

Figure 4: Childhood dream jobs of boys and girls (in %)

	4 th grade	5 th grade	6 th grade	7 th grade
Boys	1. Police/Army (19)	1. Police/Army (14)	1. Police/Army (11)	1. Techn. trade (13)
	2. Professional soccer player (15)	2. Professional soccer player (11)	2. Professional soccer player (11)	2. Police/Army (12)
	3. Other sports professional (8)	3. Other sports professional (6)	3. Techn. trade (8)	3. Professional soccer player (10)
	4. Aviation/Space travel (7)	4. Techn. trade (6)	4. Businessmen (7)	4. Computer (8)
Girls	1. Physician (22)	1. Physician (18)	1. Physician (12)	1. Physician (12)
	2. Teacher (9)	2. Artist (8)	2. Nurse (9)	2. Nursery school teacher (9)
	3. Nursery school teacher (6)	3. Job involving animals (7)	3. Nursery school teacher (8)	3. Nurse (8)
	4. Nurse (6)	4. Nurse (7)	4. Artist (7)	4. Teacher (7)

Source: Walper/Schröder 2002, p. 119, in: Cornelißen/Gille 2005, p. 7

146 Cf. also Walper/Schröder 2002, p. 119.

147 Cornelißen/Gille 2005, p. 1.

148 Cf. Stürzer 2005, p. 46.

149 Heinz 2002, p. 601.

This is further confirmed by the fact that a considerable number of young people can imagine being trained for any job.¹⁵⁰ But 79% of male adolescents and 70% of female adolescents applying as apprentices in 2008 indeed found their desired training placement. Conversely, 12% of female adolescents and 7% of male adolescents starting an apprenticeship in 2008 were denied their desired training or found their apprenticeship did not correspond to their initial expectations.¹⁵¹

A look at vocational training statistics shows that gender stereotypes are reflected not only in childhood ideas of future jobs, but also in the actual career choices by girls and boys. Girls and young women tend to choose jobs in which the focus is on creative or social and communications activities and less in sectors where primarily technical requirements are imposed. For young men the opposite is true regarding these two aspects.¹⁵² The tables below show that, in accordance with the above, young women are represented mainly in social and communication-oriented jobs and young men in crafts-oriented and technical jobs.¹⁵³

On the whole, 71.9% of young women and 54.0% of young men starting an apprenticeship in 2010 focus on twenty jobs (among about 350 recognized trades).¹⁵⁴

The qualifications at full-time vocational schools also show different focuses: while women tend to opt for areas in the health sector that have to do with direct contact to people, i.e., care, education and medical and administrative assistance, men predominantly choose qualifications in information systems and technical jobs, e.g., communication and information management in the relatively new IT sector. The share of male students at full-time vocational schools has tripled since 1992 due to the growth in the IT sector and the decline in training places in in-company vocational training.¹⁵⁵

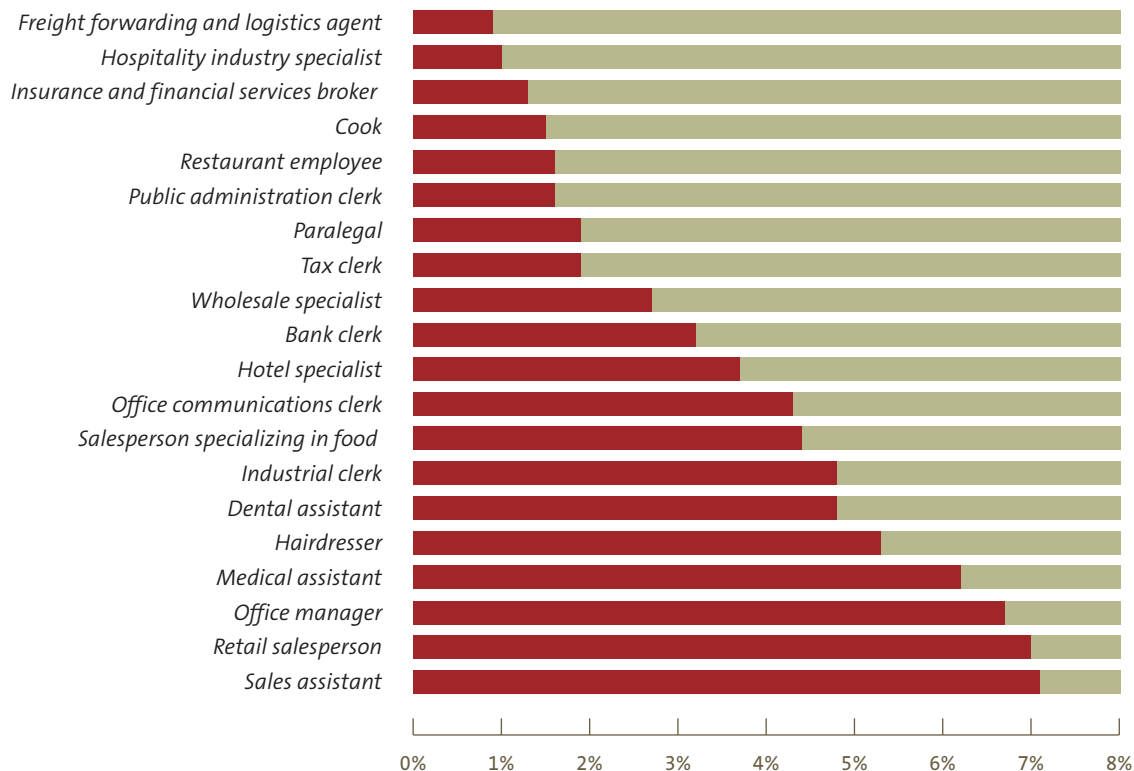
The career choices made by men and women also differ at university level. The proportion of female students in natural

sciences and engineering continues to be low, whereas there are still few male students in social sciences, education and languages.

Figure 5: Top 20 occupations chosen by female trainees starting in 2010

Female trainees in 20 occupations most frequently filled by young women

Beginning of training 2010 Data source: Federal Institute of Vocational Education and Training 2011



150 *Ibid.*

151 Cf. Pimminger 2010, p. 9.

152 Cf. Krewerth et al. 2004, p. 129. See also Geißler 2005, p. 87 and BMBF 2010, p. 19.

153 Cf. Geißler 2005, p. 87; cf. also BMBF 2010, p. 19.

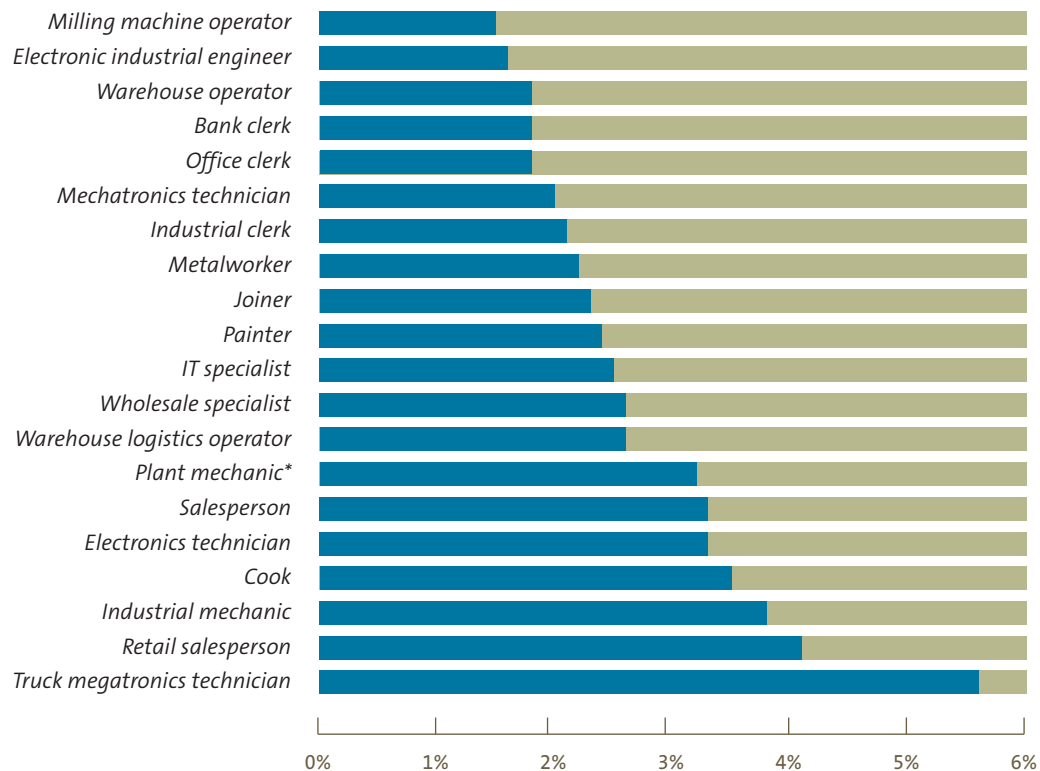
154 One of the reasons for the wider range of careers chosen by young men lies in the availability of a wider selection of specialized technical jobs in the dual system.

155 Cf. Stürzer 2005, p. 52 et seq. Pimminger 2010.

Figure 6: Top 20 occupations chosen by male trainees starting in 2010

Male trainees in occupations most frequently filled by young men

Beginning of training 2010 Data source: Federal Institute of Vocational Education and Training 2011



*for sanitation, heating and air conditioning systems

156 Cf. Stürzer 2005, p. 91; Pimminger 2010.

157 Cf. Cornelißen/Gille 2005, p. 8; Pimminger 2010.

158 Cf. Deutsche Shell 2000, p. 346 and 2006, p. 78; Koch-Priewe et al. 2009; p. 59 et seq.

159 Cf. Cockburn/Ormrod 1997, p. 29.

160 Cf. Budde/Faulstich-Wieland 2005.

161 Wajcmann 1994, p. 166 quoted according to Döge 2001, p. 67.

162 Cf. Döge 2001, p. 66 et seq.

163 Cf. Ulrich/Krewerth 2004, p. 9.

3.2.2 Cultural gender stereotypes influencing vocational choices

Gender segregation is not, however, generated and reinforced only by selection mechanisms in the training and job markets, which break down into the dual system on the one hand and a vocational school education on the other. In the dual system young men have a larger range of jobs available that are male-connoted. Companies tend to hire applicants belonging to the dominating gender within a specific type of work.¹⁵⁶ But in fact: the segregation is also based on cultural stereotypes that young men and women have internalized.¹⁵⁷

It is therefore not surprising that computers are a discipline chosen by boys and men—and that they particularly like to engage with computers in their leisure time.¹⁵⁸ In our culture technology and technical competences are closely associated with masculinity.¹⁵⁹

Society's connotations with regard to natural sciences in general and technology in particular lead to specific expectations of learners on the part of teachers and trainers. It is taken for granted that male students and graduates of such trainings have a general interest and competence in these fields, while interest and competence are at best assumed to exist in exceptional cases in female students and graduates.¹⁶⁰ A link between technology and masculinity is already reflected in the associations that come with the term technology itself, because

“when we talk about technology, we generally think of industrial machinery and cars and ignore all the other technologies that have to do with most aspects of everyday life. [...] Highlighting technologies dominated by men leads to downplaying technologies used by women such as those for gardening, cooking and child rearing.”¹⁶¹

Large and risk-prone technologies such as the ones used in military and business contexts (nuclear energy, aviation and space travel, genetic and reproduction technologies, armament technology) are considered particularly masculine. Other technologies such as environmental technologies are devalued because of their caring character with a female connotation.¹⁶²

Job titles also contribute to a gender-stereotypical selection of the occupation learned, as the study “Job titles and their influence on occupational choices by young people”¹⁶³ has shown. It concludes that job titles fulfill three important functions in young people's occupational choices:

- a) Signal function: among young people job titles trigger notions of the activities, contents and requirements a specific job entails.
- b) Selection function: as it is almost impossible to have extensive knowledge of all the skills that can be trained for, job titles work as a filter.
- c) Image function: When choosing a career, young people take into consideration not only what activities and contents their future jobs entail, but also how their social environment—particularly their peer group—will react to their job title. For young people it is vital that the job they choose will contribute to enhancing the image of themselves they wish to present.

The newly created qualification to become a “designer of digital and print media,” replacing the former job descriptions of “typographer” and “polygrapher,” has illustrated how significant job titles are when young people are in the process of deciding on a career. Its new name has turned this job into the most popular at the moment.

How attractive a career is for young men and women largely depends on its title. Jobs including words in their title such as “construction”, “installation”, “electrical”, “electronic”, “expert”, “specialist”, “driver”, “wood”, “industrial”, “information technology”, “structural”, “maker”, “mechanic”, “metal”,

“wright”, “assembler”, “system”, “tech-”, “processor”, “crafts(man)”, “tool” have a large share of male trainees. Women dominate in jobs with the elements “office”, “precious stones/diamond/gold/jewel”, “assistant”, “nurse”, “administrative”, “artist”, “fashion”, “laboratory”, and “care”.

Jobs including components such as “chem-”, “specialist”, “design”, “trade”, “media”, “business” in their titles are popular with both men and women.¹⁶⁴

3.2.3 No general discrimination of a specific gender at the transition school/vocational training and education

The data available does not suggest that there is any general positive or negative discrimination of either gender at the transition between school and vocational training and education. However, young women are more frequently adversely affected by structural conditions of the labor market (occupation-based segregation), while boys feel the negative impact of their poorer grades and underperformance between leaving school and starting to work. There is a higher share of male youth among trainees in in-company training schemes. They thus have better access to jobs with relatively good pay and a secure base in collective agreements, which also means better working conditions and opportunities to find employment once their training is completed.¹⁶⁵

In contrast to full-time schooling at vocational schools, usually requiring fees, an apprentice in the dual system receives remuneration as an inherent part of the in-company

training scheme, mostly on the basis of a collective agreement provision. The average remuneration for men in 2009 amounted to €692 in west German federal states and €610 in east German federal states. This is higher than the remuneration for women of €658 in Germany’s western part and €569 in its eastern part. The remuneration varies greatly among different apprenticeships. The number of young men in apprenticeships with the highest remuneration is significantly higher than that of young women. The lowest remunerations are found in typical women’s jobs.¹⁶⁶ Figure 7 taken from the *DGB* (Confederation of German Trade Unions) Training Report of 2009 shows that young women and young men are not treated equally with respect to remuneration, but that there are also structural inequalities in female-dominated qualified jobs.

On the other hand, young women are slightly more successful in completing their training than male trainees. Additionally, male trainees tend to drop out without any alternative more frequently than female trainees.¹⁶⁸ Due to their poorer school leaving certificates, a larger share of male adolescents (2008: 57%) can be found in vocational preparation programs and basic instruction programs that are offered in a so-called transitional system.¹⁶⁹

As illustrated in Figure 9, young men are more affected by youth unemployment than young women because traditionally male-dominated sectors such as mining and manufacturing have relocated away from Germany in the course of increasing globalization. At the same time the number of jobs in the services sector, usually with a female connotation, has been increasing continuously. Growing youth unemployment

164 Cf. Krewerth et al. 2004, p. 30 et seq.

165 Cf. Cornelißen/Blanke 2004, p. 164; Stürzer 2005, p. 45; Pimminger 2010, p. 19 et seq.

166 Cf. BIBB 2010: Datenbank Ausbildungsvergütung (Training remuneration data base).

167 Quoted as in Pimminger 2010, p. 20.

168 Cf. Aktionsrat Bildung (Action Committee on Education) 2009.

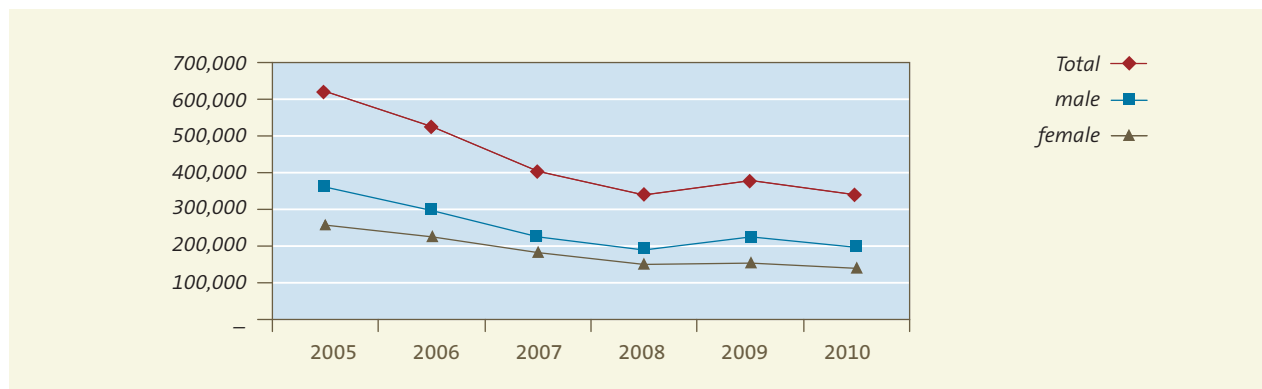
169 Cf. Pimminger 2010, p. 5/p. 16.

Figure 7: Working conditions in female- and male-dominated occupations

	Female-dominated jobs (>80% women)	Male-dominated jobs (>80% men)
	Percentage of interviewees in female-dominated jobs	Percentage of interviewees in male-dominated jobs
Overtime		
Regularly working longer hours	47.3%	42.7%
Overtime compensated by time off	46.1%	61.1%
Paid overtime	4.5%	17.5%
No compensation for overtime	33.5%	11.4%
Paid holidays		
Average number of paid holidays	25.2	28.2
Holidays = Working days (Mo – Sa)	45%	14.1%
Rare or no consideration of personal wishes concerning the time for paid holidays	17%	6.6%
Regeneration		
Problems to unwind after work (always or most of the time)	35.5%	16.6%
Satisfaction: content or very content	69.9%	79%

Source: DGB—Training Report 2009¹⁶⁷

Figure 8: Youth unemployment according to the annual average

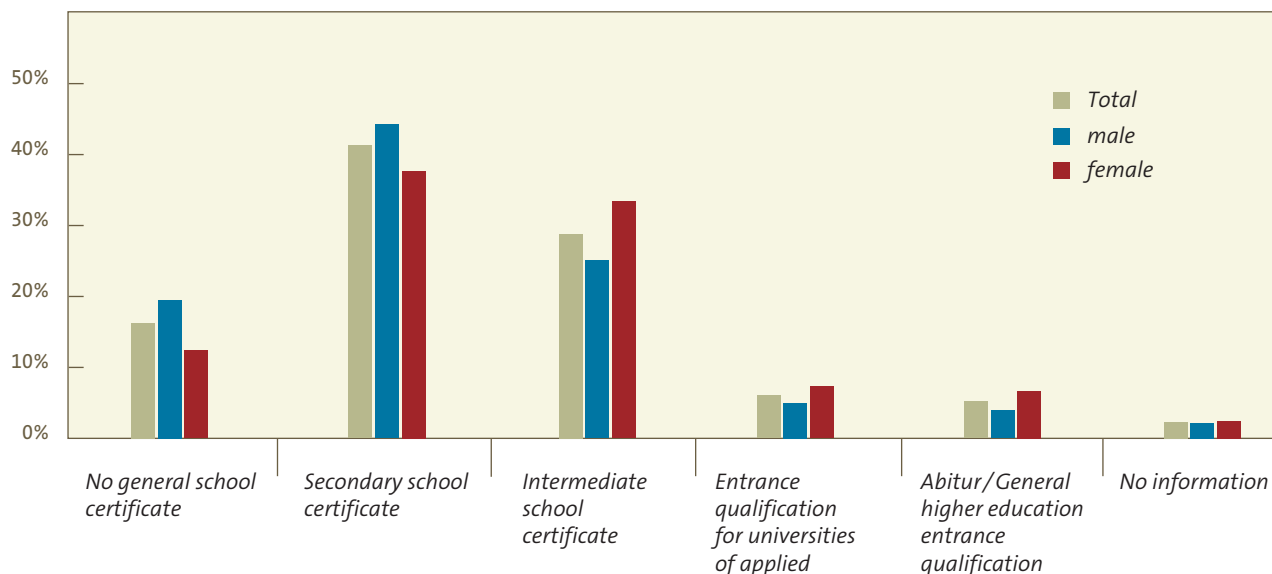


Source: Federal Statistical Office U25 (aged 15 to 24), Report of October 2010

Figure 9: Unemployed youth by school leaving degree

Unemployed youth by school leaving degree and gender

Source: Federal Statistical Office, Report of October 2010



among young men is also due to their poorer grades, as well as the conscription practice that was changed in 1992 to reduce the numbers of enlisted soldiers in the German Armed Forces.¹⁷⁰ This trend is likely to be reinforced due to upcoming *Bundeswehr* reforms.

Figure 9 shows that unemployment mostly affects young men graduating from *Hauptschule*, followed by those graduating from *Realschule* and school dropouts. Young people who have acquired an entrance qualification for universities of applied sciences or higher are only rarely affected.

Among school dropouts and young people graduating from *Hauptschule*, unemployment is more widespread among young men than young women.

However, young women are overrepresented in the youth unemployment statistics among young people graduating from *Realschule* or *Gymnasium*. When young women have a child they are even less likely to take part in any type of vocational training or education.¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Dressel 2005, p. 139 et seq.

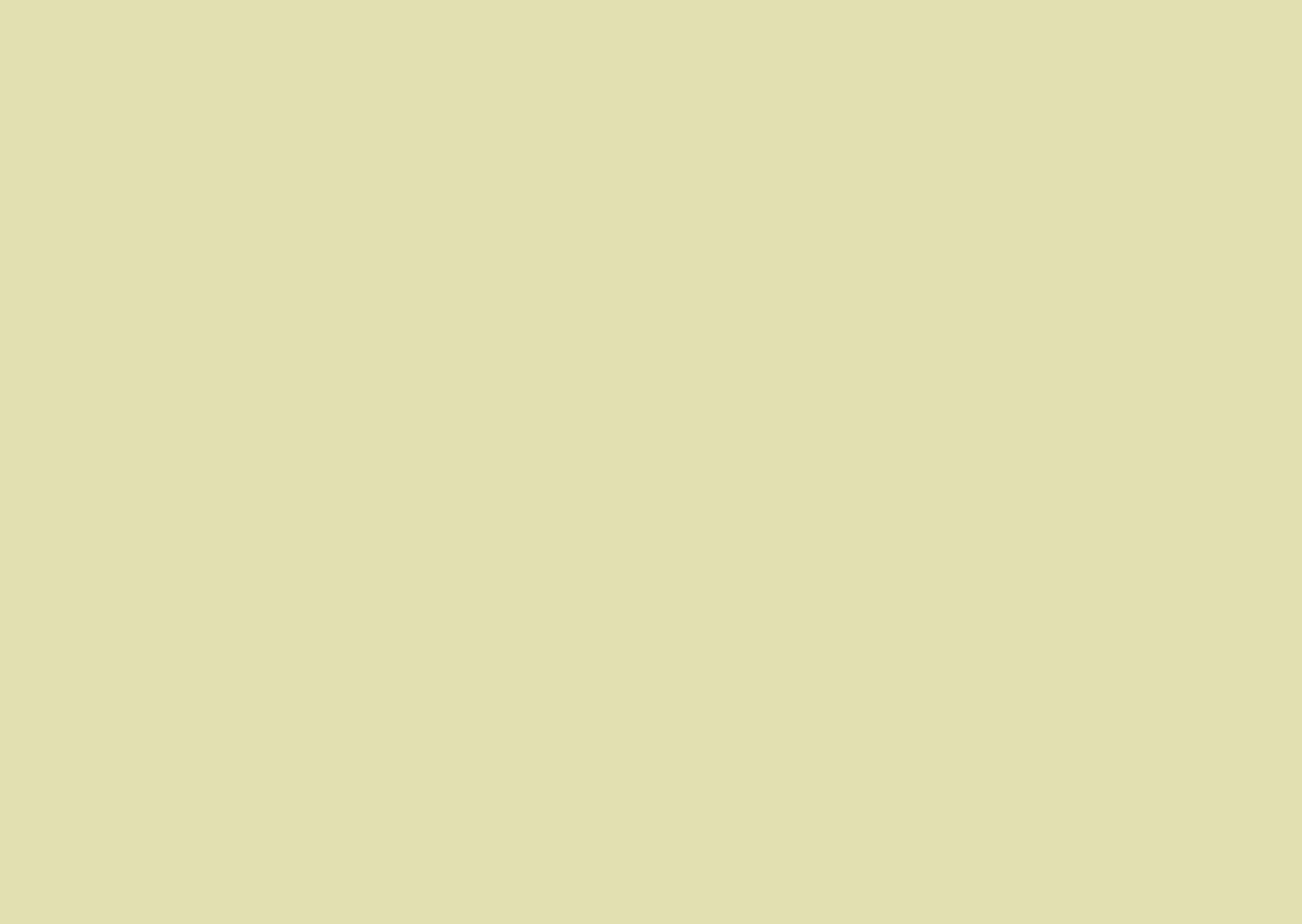
¹⁷¹ Cf. Pimminger 2010, p. 6.

3.2.4 Unequal training opportunities for young people with and without German citizenship

The opportunities young people have within the German system of vocational training and education mirror the situation at school and depend not only on gender or social background but also on their citizenship. The transition from school to work is much more difficult and takes longer for young people without German citizenship than for those with German citizenship. The share of young people without German citizenship not completing any type of vocational training or education was above average with 39.4% (versus 11.8% of young people with German citizenship) in 2007.¹⁷² In 2008 “the training participation rate of young foreigners amounting to 32.8% was significantly lower than that of German young people at 68.2%.”¹⁷³ The authors of the 2010 Report on Vocational Education and Training correspondingly express the need for considerable improvements in favor of young people without German citizenship.

172 BMBF 2010, p. 29.

173 *Ibid.*



4. Masculinity in crisis?

“Sexism is an essentialism; like ethnic or class racism it is intended to attribute historically instituted social differences to a biological nature, which acts as an essence from which all acts of existence are unrelentingly derived. And among all the forms of essentialism it is presumably the hardest form of essentialism to uproot because the labor that aims at transforming an arbitrary historical product into nature finds in this case a plausible basis in the very real effects thousands of years of socialization of the biological and the biologization of the social have produced in the bodies and the minds.” (Bourdieu 1997, p. 169)

The start of [New Paths for Boys](#) in 2005 took place at a time when on the one hand men and boys, primarily through the implementation of gender mainstreaming, were being paid increasing attention in German gender equality policy¹⁷⁴ and on the other the media, triggered by the first PISA results, imputed discrimination against men and a crisis.¹⁷⁵

4.1 Crisis of legitimacy of the “masculine norm”

The first PISA study in 2000 provoked a discussion on gender equity in which, besides boys’ poorer performance in reading proficiency, their poorer school performance and school-leaving qualifications as well as other boy-specific problems (for instance, the issue of “violence”) became the focus of discussion.¹⁷⁶

Since then, articles and cover stories in the print media have been devoted to the situation of boys and young men, stating that they are now “the weak gender, “frequently under-achievers and absentees, maladjusted and criminal” as well as “fractured heroes in need,” that we are heading for a “boys’ catastrophe” and no one is taking care of the “poor” or “dumb” boys.¹⁷⁷

The increased media attention being paid to boys and men is often accompanied by the thesis that girls and women are “exceeding the target for emancipation.”¹⁷⁸

174 Cf. chapter 2.2 Gender equality policy as a policy of fair opportunities.

175 A headline in the weekly national newspaper *Die Zeit* 2007: “The crisis of the little men.”

176 Cf. Bruhns 2004. cf. on this also Chapter 3.1.1. Gender-related opportunities at school.

177 A summary and outline of this public discourse about boys can be found in *Schultheis/Fuhr* 2006, p. 12 et seq. Cf. on this also Koch-Priewe et al. 2009, p. 9.

178 Schmauch 2005, p. 34.

This is a thesis that is probably based on the perception that girls and women are increasingly participating in society, in a manner of speaking (may) participate in the “serious games of competition”, and no longer have to settle for the role of the *looking-glasses*.¹⁷⁹ This applies for the current chancellor, as well as for the possibility for women to choose to become soldiers or policewomen. In addition, increasing changes can be confirmed in the education and labor market sectors due to the transition from industrial capitalism to service capitalism.

The debate about discrimination against men and boys—especially if it occurs in the guise of claiming that the goal of women’s emancipation has been exceeded—should not misjudge or conceal that there continues to be an inequity of opportunities to women’s detriment, particularly as relates to quantitative access to management positions, political and economic shaping power, and the distribution of paid and unpaid work.¹⁸⁰ The better school performance of girls and young women substantiated in the previous chapter could also be related to how men continue to benefit from structurally higher remuneration in the professions quantitatively dominated by men. This is because

“Women can only overcome this structural inequity by investing relatively more in their general education and professional training than men.”¹⁸¹

179 Cf. Chapter 3.1.1. *Gender-related opportunities at school.*

180 Cf. Kurz-Scherf 2004; Cornelißen 2005; BMFSFJ 2009, 2010, 2011; Roßhart 2011.

181 Quenzel/Hurrelman 2010, p. 67.

182 60% of professions are male-dominated, 20% are female-dominated (cf. Granato/Schittenhelm 2003, p. 1059).

183 Cf. Cornelißen 2005; Geißler 2002, p. 373 et seq.; Hinz/Gartner 2005, p. 3; Wanger 2005, p. 3; BMFSFJ 2011.

184 Cf. Connell 1999, p. 13

185 Unlike in gender research in German, in the English-language men’s and gender research the concept of patriarchy has not been completely abandoned (cf. Döge 2001a, p. 36, footnote 77). The criticism of the concept of patriarchy in German-speaking countries refers to its simplistic representation as (quantitative) domination of men over women, which was frequently understood using only the sex dimension (biological gender) and not the gender dimension (social gender). One can continue to use the term “patriarchy” by focussing on the gender dimension. “Patriarchy could accordingly be understood as the dominance of the individual gender project connotated as hegemonically masculine” (ibid., p. 148, footnote 524; cf. also Chapter 4.3.1: *The concept of hegemonic masculinity*).

186 Cf. Busche/Cremers 2009, 2010.

187 Cf. Winter 2011, p. 29f.

The labor market segregated by genders,¹⁸² evaluation of respective activities (horizontal segregation), access to management positions in all sectors of society (vertical segregation), unequal incomes for men and for women, the higher share of men on supervisory and management boards, among doctorates conferred, postdoctoral qualifications and professorships, the gender-stereotypical distribution of part-time work, parental leave, family and care work remain structural characteristics of sexist and patriarchal dominance relations which affect boys/men and girls/women in differing ways.¹⁸³

“Women are not suffering from economic discrimination without men achieving economic advantages from it. It is men who control the state, the corporations and the means to use force [and that is still the case in the year 2012 M.C.]. Men get two thirds of private income in advanced economies, hold the great majority of existing weapons and dominate most professions.”¹⁸⁴

This patriarchal structure¹⁸⁵ is also evident, however, in youths’ behavior: thus, for instance “you girl” is just as much a curse word as “you victim”; “you boy”, in contrast, is not—for the simple reason that it is not derogatory to be called a boy.¹⁸⁶ The same is true for the terms ‘mama’s boy’ and ‘papa’s boy’. While the term ‘mama’s boy’ is meant in a derogatory fashion and serves as a curse word, the term ‘papa’s boy’ simply does not exist.¹⁸⁷

In the gender and masculinity research literature it is pointed out that the following phenomena are concealed behind the objective societal situation of gender hierarchy and the debate about the crisis of masculinity:

1. The transformation processes of the last three decades, triggered by a strong women's movement, have torn the "androcentric veil."¹⁸⁸ Those working in women's studies came to the conclusion that in the history of philosophy, religion and science women and girls were either not mentioned or were studied as a deviation from the norm, "taken for granted" and not perceived in their discreteness.¹⁸⁹ Through this finding, the matter-of-courseness of the "prevailing masculinity" and of the "male norm" were called into question, and masculinity became increasingly in need of explanation and legitimation.¹⁹⁰
2. Most men feel neither privileged nor particularly powerful. Very many men feel out of their depth and don't know how they should live their "being a man" in a world of large-scale unemployment, rapid transformations on the labor market, the growing number of self-confident women and changing sexual encoding.¹⁹¹ Particularly male adolescents in the Federal Republic of Germany prove to be—as documented by the *Shell Jugendstudie*—overwhelmed by the 'new' requirements, express anxieties about the future and "complain about the loss of traditional masculine biographical patterns."¹⁹²
3. In addition it is apparent that there is no such thing as "men" and "masculine socialization", just as there are not "women" or "feminine socialization." Not all boys and men profit from the existing gender hierarchy in the same way.

The heated reactions in the media and to some extent also in the professional discourse, which perceive unilateral discrimination against boys and men and represent them as the new losers in the war between the sexes, are not only false—as was scientifically proven for Germany, most recently with the first report on equality from the federal government in 2011—but are interpreted by gender researchers as an attempt to maintain the status quo of the dominance of certain structures and practices of masculinity.

"Structures of male solidarity, competition, naturalization, defense, denigration of women (...) and the attempt to defend male supremacy make it clear that the response to delegitimizing (the masculine norm) is reconstruction."¹⁹³

Given the interest currently being paid to boys and their circumstances, it can be feared that girls' interests and needs will no longer be borne in mind (or much less than previously), and that related reductions in resources will have to be experienced in the promotion of girls.¹⁹⁴

Particularly the articles in the print media mentioned above distort the reality of youths' living circumstances, trivialize girls' problems and denigrate them and their interests. In addition, not only in print media but also in expert discourse, pedagogical work with boys is frequently reduced to remedying learning disabilities and socially unacceptable behaviors. Embedded in a discussion about their biological make-up, boys are described as the "natural others" who require teaching about violence prevention.¹⁹⁵

188 Cf. Kimmel 2004, p. 338.

189 Cf. Hausen/Nowotny 1986.

190 Cf. Döge 2001, p. 9 and Meuser 1998, p. 33.

191 Cf. Connell 1999, p. 13.

192 Quenzel/Hurrelman 2010, p. 73. Hurrelman et al. 2006.

193 Budde 2005, p. 244. Cf. on this at length Ebenfeld/Köhnen 2011.

194 Cf. Voigt-Kehlenbeck 2005, p. 113.

195 Cf. as an example Weidner 1997; critical on this Krasmann 2000.

Sensitizing the public for the fact that the prevailing gender order and associated ideas of masculinity do not signify a privilege for all men and boys, but rather also bring about negative consequences, challenges and conflicts for men and boys, harbors the opportunity that insights from gender and masculinity research, as well as gender-related pedagogy, could be received with more wide-ranging interest.¹⁹⁶

“Through this debate and the conjectures related to an endangered masculine position, some groups may register for the first time to what extent societal areas like [family, day care centers, emphasis of the author] school, youth welfare, the job market and occupations are gendered.”¹⁹⁷

4.2 What kinds of masculinity are in crisis?

There can be no question of a collective crisis of masculinity, because in that case the prevailing patterns, standards and practices of masculinity would no longer be able to hold sway generally. Michael Meuser points out that in such a case in the long run possibilities for presentation and identification that had been handed down would have to break off for a majority of men.¹⁹⁸

However, the feminine “adjustment upwards” to the masculine “normal biography”¹⁹⁹ detected and criticized in the 1970’s in the feminist discussion has in the meanwhile been complemented by a tendency of masculine “adjustment downwards” to the feminine “normal biography.” Socially and educationally disadvantaged men are particularly affected by

this tendency. The rivalry between the systems which ceased after the collapse of the communist states at the end of the 1980’s and the associated global economic changes, as well as structural developments in the production and labor market towards a post-industrial service capitalism, are triggering this tendency.²⁰⁰ Employment in the service sector has been expanding for decades, while employment in the sectors of mining and industry (manufacturing) with a traditionally male connotation and in agriculture and forestry is being outsourced out of Germany as part of increasing globalization and thus declining. This is accompanied by a strong reduction in “living labor” through increasing automation, the outsourcing of labor-intensive but simple manufacturing processes to lower-cost foreign countries, the expansion of marginal employment (so-called mini-jobs), and a considerable decline in full-time positions. In addition, through economic restructuring the need for academic jobs and the requirements from non-academic occupational training have increased. Supplemented by increasing competition on the labor market for wage labor, which as a whole in society is becoming more scarce (through so-called rationalization processes), ever more men are finding themselves in jobs that are temporary, low-paid, with no social or only poor social protection, and associated with low or no opportunities for advancement—characteristics that at least in former West Germany tended to be characteristic of women’s occupational lives.

196 An overview of the international men and masculinity research can be found in Wedgwood/Connell 2004. For German-speaking countries cf. for example Böhnisch/Winter 1997, BauSteineMänner 1996, Kersten 1997, Meuser 1998, Döge 2001a/b, Böhnisch 2003/2004.

197 Schmauch 2005, p. 34. On the significance of ‘gender in institutions’ cf. also Lorber 1999.

198 Cf. Meuser 2001, p. 7.

199 What was criticized was a simplified principle of equality which understood the adaptation of women to men under the term gender equality.

200 Cf. for example Hradil 2004, p. 185.

4.3 Multiple masculinities

The discrepancy between continuing male domination on the one hand and the social declassification of many men on the other leads to a rather trivial insight: neither men nor boys form a homogeneous group.²⁰¹ Instead, men, just like boys, differ based on their individual development as well as through class-related, age-related, culturally specific, etc. factors. Collinson and Hearn, for instance, name 17 lines of difference.

For this reason, most authors who are dealing with masculinities in the social sciences explain that these are always constructed in a configuration of different categories. These categories have in common that they are hierarchically structured and govern the access to resources as well as the scope for action, whereas in their effects they overlap and mutually reinforce each other.²⁰² Thus, for example, not only one's gender but also one's social origin are decisive in occupying management positions in business. Though managers are preponderantly men, not all men are managers. Only a small percentage of all men in the Federal Republic of Germany are in management positions, whereby top managers come predominantly from the upper classes and hardly at all from non-Western cultures.²⁰³

Figure 10: Differentiation criteria of masculinities

age	occupation
appearance	place
bodily facility	religion
care	sexuality
economic class	size
ethnicity	violence
Vaterschaft	personality
leisure	biography
marital and kinship status	

Source: Collinsen/Hearn 1994, p. 11

In the debates “within” feminist theory and practice, the interweaving of various categories has had particular significance since the 1970's. Particularly black women criticized the universalizing claim of the white, middle-class American women's movements, and described systems of rule as interwoven.²⁰⁴ Somewhat later, complex analysis models were created with which the various systems of inequality can be grasped; the intersectionality approach is currently the best known.²⁰⁵

201 Cf. exemplarily Connell 1999 for men's research and Winter 2004 for boys' research.

202 Cf. West/Fenstermaker 1996, p. 357 et seq. In this way, “depending on the interaction context, the relevance of these categories or patterns of order can vary” (Herwartz-Emden 2008, p. 110), whereby the differing categories become more or less apparent depending on the context, but continue to exist and do not simply disappear Rendtorff 2005; following Herwartz-Emden 2008, p. 110.

203 Cf. Döge 2001a.

204 Cf. Combahee River Collective 1981, p. 210. The criticism of the exclusion of other marginalized women (e.g., women with handicaps, proletarian women, immigrant women, Jewish women, lesbians, intersexual women) also found its expression in other countries, such as, e.g., Germany (cf. on this in detail Walgenbach 2007). In men's research, Haywood and Mac an Ghaill (2003, p. 136 et seq.), for instance, point out the increasing significance of dissident masculinities. In particular, gay movements, black activists, and initiatives of transsexual and queer activists attack the existing gender order by addressing homophobia, racism and compulsory heterosexuality as power relations and constructions of domination, just as various women's movements do. Cf. Forster 2004, p. 479.

205 Cf. e.g. McCall 2005; Winker/Degele 2009. On the discussion of intersectionality in boys' and girls' work cf. Busche/Cremers 2009 and 2010; Tunç 2010.

4.3.1 The concept of hegemonic masculinity

The social-constructivist concept of hegemonic masculinity developed in the mid-1980's by Carrigan, Connell and Lee as part of Men's Studies, which was coming into being in the USA at the time,²⁰⁶ was a reaction of men's research to the empirical reality of a multiplicity and hierarchization of masculinities.²⁰⁷ The concept distinguishes between hegemonic, complicit, marginalized and subordinate masculinities, and enables a differentiated view of the position of men in the social order in general and in the gender order in particular. It emphasizes both structures in society as a whole and the interactions among the acting subjects.

As Connell asserts, one can think of masculinity as a position in the relationship between the genders, as practices through which people take this position, and as the effects of these practices on physical experience, personality and culture. Masculinity constructions thus always implicitly contain femininity constructions.²⁰⁸ That means that masculinity and femininity do not exist per se, but rather are the result of everyday social construction processes.

All persons (apart from a few exceptions) make an effort to behave appropriately in social situations as man or woman, boy or girl.

“Rather than attempting to define masculinity as an object (a natural character type, a behavioral average, a norm), we need to focus on the processes and relationships through which men and women [and girls and boys M.C.] conduct gendered lives.”²⁰⁹

Gender is created when people make use of the means and strategies available to them in a certain social context. “Structuring being a boy and becoming a man is thus a task in the field of tension between social ideologies, structures and ideas of masculinity and individual possibilities.”²¹⁰

With this perspective, attention is directed to “doing gender,”²¹¹ that is, to the active and process-related act of creating gender and the difference between the genders.²¹² Children pick up gender-typical competences during the socialization process. Besides knowledge of how one presents oneself and what behavior is appropriate, these also include the mastery of physical functions and skills and the ability to take part in discussing experiences “as a man” or “as a woman.” The “presentation know-how” includes movements, gestures, facial expressions, one's pitch when speaking, one's position in the room, clothing and using one's body when playing or working.²¹³

206 The concept was introduced by Carrigan, Connell and Lee 1985 into the sociological gender debate and pursued and fleshed out since then primarily by Raewyn (formerly Robert W.) Connell (cf. Connell 1986; 1987; 1995a; 1995b; 1995c; 1998; 1999; 2000a; 2000b). In the following I will thus mention only Connell in connection with the concept of hegemonic masculinity (cf. BauSteineMänner 1996, pp. 38-75).

207 Unlike Connell, who conceives of gender as a social construct, in the German-language literature on understanding men (on the literature on understanding men cf. critical Meuser 1998) and in parts of the academic literature on boys and boys' work, the image of a psychological essence of masculinity shimmers through—sometimes contrary to the authors' intention (cf. exemplarily Böhnisch/Winter 1997). Cf. on this also the quotation that begins the chapter.

208 Cf. Connell Masculinities 1995c, Polity Press, Chapter 3, “The Social Organization of Masculinity”, p. 67 et seq.

209 Ibid., p. 71.

210 Koch-Priewe 2009, p. 18.

211 The process of creating social gender in everyday interactions is expressed with the term “doing gender” (cf. West/Zimmermann 1987).

212 Cf. Kraus 2001, p. 318.

213 Cf. Hirschauer 1993.

Figure 11: What men like in women

“Which of the following skills and characteristics do you personally like *in a woman*?
(multiple answers possible)”

Basis: Men above 18 years of age in Germany; N = 1,435 cases

What men like in women	Percent
1. Affectionateness	80%
2. Loving nurturing of children	80%
3. Sexual fidelity	80%
4. Providing well for the family	76%
5. Showing feelings	73%
6. Being romantic	67%
7. Taking care of household chores	66%
8. Creating a pleasant atmosphere	66%
9. Understanding others' feelings	61%
10. Helpfulness, taking care of others	55%
11. Settling conflicts, mediating	53%
12. Feeling of how to get along with the people one deals with	50%
13. Being creative	50%
14. Organization skills	47%
15. Wearing deliberately feminine clothing	44%
16. Being flexible, able to adjust	41%
17. Looking out for compensation /balance between personal life and the job	41%
18. Taking time for one's hobbies	39%
19. Adaptability, fitting in	34%
20. Not avoiding conflicts	31%
21. Self-actualization	31%
22. Self-control, discipline	27%
23. Assertiveness, not letting yourself get discouraged	27%
24. Professional competence; being an expert	24%
25. Self-criticism	23%
26. Performance orientation, ambition	21%

What men like in women	Percent
29. Consistency; stubbornness	16%
30. Being independent, going your own way	15%
31. Willingness to take risks	14%
32. Managing/leading employees	13%
33. Pursuing a career	11%
34. Competing with others	11%
35. Superiority	9%
36. Toughness	5%

Source: Wippermann et al. 2009, p. 58

Figure 11 illustrates how, for example, men's expectations could be linked to constructions of femininity. What men particularly like in women are attributes like *affectionateness; creating a pleasant atmosphere; being romantic; showing feelings; taking care of household chores; settling conflicts, mediating; helpfulness, taking care of others*. In contrast, attributes like *superiority; being independent, going your own way; pursuing a career and professional competence; being an expert* end up at the bottom of the ranking. In a "culture of two genders" that rewards boys and girls and men and women for gender-typical actions and punishes them for gender-atypical actions, and which is also characterized by a heterosexual matrix,²¹⁴ one can assume that men's expectations from women and the attributes that men like in women are not inconsequential, neither for women's gender identity nor for their interactions with men. The same is true for women's expectations of men and for the attributes that women like in men. Thus, for instance, these days more or less all men need to deal with equality issues, though often only superficially, "so as not to make themselves open to attack."²¹⁵ Men are aware that "given the gains of emancipation, nowadays one may not fall behind."²¹⁶

Men often show their hostile stance towards gender equality issues only when among themselves.

"In the underlying structure of attitudes and behaviors, considerable resistance [emphasis in the original] can be seen at times, often articulated only off the record towards like-minded people—and certainly not in the presence of women."²¹⁷

The concept of hegemonic masculinity is based on the term hegemony, which designates an intellectually ideological domination characterized by cultural recognition.²¹⁸ In this case, the domination does not result mainly from material structures, but primarily from an ideological domination that enables one social group to assert its interpretations and interests.²¹⁹

Connell ties in to this idea, since, according to her, hegemonic masculinity is not based first and foremost on visible repressions, prohibitions and physical violence, but rather on internalized norms, the "bundling of interests and creating consensus,"²²⁰ meaning the agreement and cooperation of those who are being dominated.²²¹

The concept describes the existence of different masculinities that vary culturally and socially, exist both successively in history and simultaneously, and change continually. Yet every society has had and has a hegemonic pattern of masculinity

214 The "heterosexual matrix" denotes a normative grid that is characterized by the assumption of two opposing genders that are clearly distinguishable physically and socially, arranged hierarchically and related in that they desire each other. For most people, this goes hand in hand with the compulsion to a coherent sexual self-definition and self-image and heterosexual practice. Another essential aspect is the fact that most people behave differently in similar social situations towards boys/men and girls/women, and interpret identical behavior by girls/women and boys/men differently without being aware of it.

215 Wippermann et al. 2009, p. 23.

216 Ibid.

217 Ibid.

218 Antonio Gramsci developed the term hegemony in the 1920's in reference to class antagonisms.

219 Cf. Höyng/Puchert 1998.

220 Scholz 2004, p. 41.

221 However, the question arises "whether the assent of women implied with the concept of hegemonic masculinity to circumstances that codify their own inferiority is to be found at all in all milieus and under what socio-structural conditions man's cultural hegemony must expect problems of legitimation" (Koppetsch/Maier 2001, p. 28 f).

to which femininity and other forms of masculinity are subordinated. In European and American culture institutionalized monasticism, men of the lower nobility (gentry), bureaucrats and businessmen have in the recent past been examples of hegemonic masculinity concepts.²²² Hegemonic masculinity patterns are, on the one hand, as Connell emphasizes repeatedly, not to be misunderstood as inflexible and immutable doctrine and, on the other, not “multi-optional,” but are currently associated with the following characteristics: white skin color, heterosexuality, power, authority, between 45 and 55 years of age, supporting a family, able-bodied, assertive, competitive and social climbers.²²³ “The hegemonic form of masculinity in the new world order, one can now conclude, is masculinity, which can be seen in managers operating in global markets as well as political leaders who interact with (and often coincide with) them.”²²⁴

Of particular significance for pedagogic work with boys is the fact that hegemonic masculinity is indeed the form of masculinity that is the most recognized and popular; however, it need be neither the most common quantitatively nor the most comfortable.²²⁵ In practice, hegemonic masculinity is carried out completely by only a few persons. It serves, however, as an obligatory orientation pattern to which men / boys in particular but also women/girls (must) behave by consenting or

refusing.²²⁶ Figure 12 also shows that attributes that are associated with hegemonic masculinity need not necessarily be the most common nor categorically rated by men as likeable.

Here, there’s a blend of several hegemonic masculinity attributes like *heterosexuality; providing for one’s family; self-control/discipline; performance orientation, ambition; assertiveness* with contrary attributes like *affectionateness; showing one’s feelings; understanding others’ feelings*. Much lower in the rankings there are typically hegemonic attributes like toughness and superiority; however, most of the men surveyed find the attribute *subordinating oneself* extremely unappealing: it came in last.²²⁷ A comparison with Figure 11 *What men like in women* suggests that gender images overall are becoming modern, in that attributes with a male connotation are being supplemented with attributes with a female connotation, but that men not only continue to desire a difference between the genders, but that they would like to hold on to retain the existing gender order with a corresponding division of labor and a hegemonic position for men.²²⁸

Connell designates as subordinate masculinities societally denigrated forms of masculinity that have lower prestige and /or lower authority. In this context Connell demonstrates that homosexuality, like no other form of masculinity, is

222 Connell 1995, p. 28 et seq.

223 Cf. Connell 1998, p. 93, Meuser/Behnke 1998 and Döge 2001b, p. 51.

224 Connell 1998, p. 100. Cf. on this also chapter 4.3.3. Globalized neoliberal masculinity.

225 Cf. also the explanations on Budde 2005 in chapter 5.1. Traditional masculinity.

226 Hegemonic masculinity patterns are increasingly also reproduced by girls and women and thus handed down. This is inevitable when girls and women’s participation in political and economic power is a gender-political aim (cf. Voigt-Kehlenbeck 2005, p. 116). Thus, the press department of the German navy announced, for instance, that girls who were able to take part in more than 150 different armed forces events at Girls’ Day—Future Prospects for Girls in 2009 could not get over their sense of wonder when they could sit in the pilot seat of a navy helicopter (Press and Information Center of the German Navy [http://www.blogspan.net/presse/deutsche-marine-bilder-der-woche-girls-day-marine-zum-anfassen-300-kinder-und-jugendliche-waren-dabei/mitteilung/63669] 18 Apr. 2011). At least at this juncture it is debatable whether gender equality is synonymous with the adaptation of women / girls to hegemonic masculinities, or whether a dismantling of the societal orientation towards traditionally masculine connoted values, standards and practices would be necessary (cf. on this also chapter 11. Prospects—a transformation is needed).

227 Cf. on this the explanations about Voigt-Kehlenbeck in chapter 3.1.1. Gender-related opportunities at school.

228 Cf. on this also chapter 5. New paths for boys and men.

Figure 12: What men like in men

“Which of the following skills and characteristics do you personally like *in a man*?
(multiple answers possible)”

Basis: Men above 18 years of age in Germany; N = 1,435 cases

What men like in men	Percent
1. Providing well for the family	76%
2. Sexual fidelity	63%
3. Professional competence; being an expert	60%
4. Loving nurturing of children	57%
5. Performance orientation, ambition	57%
6. Organisation skills	53%
7. Able to deal with technical devices	52%
8. Self-control, discipline	51%
9. Assertiveness, not letting yourself get discouraged	49%
10. Settling conflicts, mediating	46%
11. Not avoiding conflicts	44%
12. Being flexible, able to adjust	44%
13. Affectionateness	44%
14. Helpfulness, taking care of others	43%
15. Showing feelings	42%
16. Looking out for compensation/ balance between personal life and the job	41%
17. Understanding others' feelings	40%
18. Self-criticism	39%
19. Feeling of how to get along with the people one deals with	39%
20. Consistency; stubbornness	39%
21. Taking time for one's hobbies	39%
22. Being creative	37%
23. Willingness to take risks	35%
24. Taking care of household chores	34%
25. Pursuing a career	32%
26. Self-actualization	32%

What men like in men	Percent
27. Toughness	28%
28. Managing/leading employees	28%
29. Being romantic	27%
30. Creating a pleasant atmosphere	27%
31. Superiority	24%
32. Adaptability, fitting in	24%
33. Being independent, going your own way	23%
34. Competing with others	21%
35. Wearing deliberately masculine clothing	20%
36. Subordinating oneself	8%

Source: Wippermann et al. 2009, p. 58

perceived as an attack on hegemonic masculinity.²²⁹ “Gayness, in patriarchal ideology, is the repository of whatever is symbolically expelled from hegemonic masculinity, the items ranging from fastidious taste in home decoration to receptive anal pleasure. Hence, from the point of view of hegemonic masculinity, gayness is easily assimilated to femininity.”²³⁰

But other forms of masculinity that do not correspond to the hegemonic pattern, such as for instance the “softie”, “house-husband,” the “conscientious objector”²³¹ and those performing civilian service²³² are denigrated. Precisely these “anti-types” serve as a negative foil to hegemonic masculinity, defining what is unmanly. The repertoire of terms of abuse used by boys’ groups underscores how much boys’ socialization implies a cultural stigmatization of subordinate masculinities and how masculinity is associated with strength and toughness: weakling, victim, limp-dick, wimp, mama’s boy, coward, sissy, scaredy pants, four-eyes, wuss, milksop, crybaby, you girl, etc. These terms also reveal the symbolic closeness between subordinate masculinities and denigrated femininity. As a result many boys are under pressure not to be considered by others as gay, feminine/effeminate or child-like/childish, particularly in public and in their peer groups.²³³

With the concept of marginalized masculinity, Connell includes additional categories of social inequality and thus takes into account the interconnection (intersectionality) between gender and other structural characteristics such as class

(status/social origin), ethnicity (majority/minority culture), nationality, residence (region/country). For Connell it is important to stress that there is no one working class masculinity nor one black masculinity: “There are, after all, gay black men and effeminate factory hands, not to mention middle-class rapists and cross-dressing bourgeois.”²³⁴

In this way dark-skinned men or “other Germans”²³⁵ can definitely serve as a role model in sub-areas of society like culture or sports and act as representatives of hegemonic masculinity. Nonetheless, the fame and wealth of individual stars, for instance in France (football), in the USA (basketball and track and field) or in Germany (football and boxing), does not generally give other marginalized men a higher degree of authority or a higher position in the social order. The same is true for a female chancellor or for individual women in management positions who do not generally bring other women into a better position in the gender order.

Connell’s concept of the patriarchal dividend names the material and immaterial advantages with which men benefit from the prevailing hierarchical gender order. Despite the existing power and domination relationships between men, Connell stresses that what these masculinities have in common is a structural oppression of women in which subordinate, i.e. non-hegemonic, masculinities also participate. Lothar Böhnisch (2001) describes the patriarchal dividend in drastic words:

229 On the historical creation of homosexuality cf. Connell 1998, p. 98 and Carrigan et al. 1985/1996, p. 56 et seq. On the significance of homosexuality, homophobia and defending against femininity among masculine youths cf. also Pohl 2005.

230 Connell 1995c, p. 78.

231 I am using “conscientious objector” here to designate men who, due to complete refusal or so-called desertion, can be punished with imprisonment.

232 Despite how established and frequent it was, until being abolished in 2011, alternative service legally acted as a surrogate service and thus as “surrogate masculinity”.

233 Cf. on this also the explanations on relationships of tension within boys’ groups in chapter 3.1.1. Gender-related opportunities at school and chapter 5.1. Traditional masculinity.

234 Connell 1995c, p. 76.

235 The term “other Germans” denotes people who have completed most of their socialization in Germany and are still exposed to the experience of not corresponding to the ideal-typical fiction of a “standard German” due to the fact of their ethnic and/or cultural characteristics (cf. Mecheril 2000).

“Even if you are the last underdog, excluded and suppressed, you’re still a man, and thus in principle worth more than any chick.”²³⁶

Connell considers complicit masculinity to be

“masculinities constructed in ways that realize the patriarchal dividend, without the tensions or risks of being the frontline troops of patriarchy.”²³⁷

This means that men who, for example, live egalitarian relationship patterns in their personal life nonetheless profit from the prevailing relationship between the sexes because, despite having poorer educational qualifications, as a man they get higher wages or have better career opportunities, work more frequently in management positions and less often part time, and society and people around them suggest less often that they take on housework, family work and relationship work and they then in actual fact assume less of it.²³⁸

236 Böhnisch 2001, p. 43.

237 Connell 1995c, p. 79.

238 Cf. BMFSFJ 2011.

239 Cf. Döge 2001a, p. 44.

240 Cf. BMFSFJ 2011.

241 Many women, particular from traditional social environments, consider housework done by men meddling in their domain, which is refused with the argument of the standard of cleanliness (cf. Koppetsch/Burkart 1999, p. 216 et seq.). Cornelißen et al. (2002) point out that young women from less traditional environments also speak out in favor of a traditional division of labor much more frequently than commonly assumed.

242 Cf. BMFSFJ 2011; Gärtner 2011.

243 Ibid.

4.3.2 Obstacles to an egalitarian gender order

Essentially there are two hegemonic images of men that continue to impede an egalitarian gender order: the “man of power” and the “breadwinner.”²³⁹

These two images of masculinity, which 30 years of the women’s movement and feminist theory have not been able to weaken, have been deeply inscribed into society’s institutions, such as the legal system, the employment market and the family, and they still determine everyday life and use of time by men, women, boys and girls.²⁴⁰

This entails a societal reality that also leads to a lack of men as caregivers in the education sector—be it in personal life or professionally—and to the few existing househusbands being exposed to tremendous prejudice from both men and women.²⁴¹

In this way, men’s increasing desire for active fatherhood and part-time work for family reasons still runs into resistance and a lack of understanding among (usually male) bosses.²⁴² It is thus hardly surprising that the so-called problem of the compatibility of work and family is seen as a “woman’s problem,” and that the relevant offerings in companies are targeted to women. In most companies, men have to reckon with massive problems within the company if they express a desire for part-time work or paternity leave, as both do not have a male connotation.²⁴³ The new arrangements for parental leave that went into effect in January 2007 and are oriented towards

Scandinavian models are leading to shifts, but they still do not challenge strongly enough the entrenched structures of the gender-stereotypical division of labor. In addition, given global pressure, in highly qualified occupations in business there can be no question of parental leave or reducing working hours.

“The pressure of the market (also in competition within the company) is so intense that you would soon be ‘out of the game.’”²⁴⁴

The societal expectations that are attached to the breadwinner and the man of power are internalized by gender-typical socialization and reproduced in daily interactions.²⁴⁵

Both in pedagogical practice and in empirical social research, a great deal of evidence shows boys orienting themselves towards the hegemonic figure of the breadwinner,²⁴⁶ and in so doing falling back on traditional images of masculine standard biographies.²⁴⁷ Thus, for example, starting a family is by all means an important point in the life planning of boys and young men. If you ask boys, however, about the effects on their lives of their desire for children, it turns out that many of them—in contrast to adult men—equate paternity above all with the financial obligation to provide for a family and not with care, nurturing and parental leave with the children. Integrating family work into one’s own biography, be it as househusband or as a father primarily looking after children, is an alternative that is difficult to envision due to traditional ideas of masculinity.²⁴⁸ It necessitates a high level of reflection and a great deal of self-confidence to break with hegemonic mas-

culinity constructions and resort to open resistance to or contradiction of the societal norm. Providing that there is financial security, the paths of shared parenthood, sharing housework, job-sharing and a jointly planned parental leave could be a promising concept for young men and women. For these changed life designs, however, there are neither adequate structural possibilities nor enough male role models.²⁴⁹ In addition, these traditional ideas are not found only among young men. Many young women apply the criteria “success orientation” and “achievement commitment” when selecting their partner, and these are to find expression in one’s partner’s financially well remunerated or at least reliable professional life. With a corresponding work practice and work orientation, young men can by implication enhance their attractiveness for the other sex.²⁵⁰

4.3.3 Globalized neoliberal masculinity

Through socioeconomic changes that can be described with the catch phrases economization, neoliberalism, globalization, deregulation, mobility and flexibilization, the images of masculinity of the man of power and the breadwinner are being enhanced. They serve as a reference foil to current hegemonic masculinity.²⁵¹

“Company restructurings, split-ups and mergers imply cracks in what used to be predetermined occupational and career paths, and thus a loss of the future that might have been expected. Men over forty in particular feel compelled

244 Cf. Wippermann et al. 2009, p. 50. Cf. on this also chapter 4.3.3. Globalized neoliberal masculinity.

245 Cf. the explanations on “doing gender” in chapter 4.3. Multiple masculinities.

246 About orienting oneself towards the “man of power” cf. chapter 3.1.1. Gender-related opportunities at school and chapter 5.1. Traditional masculinity.

247 For pedagogical practice cf. Drogand-Strud/Cremers 2006. For empirical social research cf. Cornelißen et al. 2002.

248 Cf. Wippermann et al. 2009, p. 38.

249 Cf. Dressel et al. 2005, p. 267 et seq. Wippermann et al. 2009, p. 38 and p. 54. In the brochure *Neue Wege—Porträts von Männern im Aufbruch* the BMFSFJ attempts to depict several good examples.

250 Cf. Jösting 2005, p. 244.

251 Cf. Connell 1998, 1999; Kreisky/Sauer 1997; cf. on this also chapter 4.3.1. The concept of hegemonic masculinity.

to show a strong career advancement orientation since they have in mind the danger that they would otherwise have to leave the company.”²⁵²

The increasingly tough basic conditions of an internationally operating economy do not lead, however, to limited commitment, but rather to an increased work effort being demanded and expected from all participants.²⁵³ Instead of resisting or showing solidarity, the overwhelming majority of men react to the increasing pressure to perform with even more competitive behavior.²⁵⁴

“The ‘tiger type’ is successful ... always on the go, high-powered, flexible, untrammelled. Popular examples of this species include financial advisors, stock market experts and high-tech innovators. There will also be some female tigers in this group of winners—excellent educational qualifications, young, dynamic, single. The prototype is male. Ready for action, career-minded and competitive, he stays late in the office or at the computer, and if he does have a family, he comes home only after his wife has put the children to bed.”²⁵⁵

The globalized neoliberal masculinity is characterized by “an enhanced egocentrism (...) and a drop in the feeling of responsibility for others (except for the purposes of cultivating one’s image).”²⁵⁶ The globalized form of the man of power and the breadwinner can particularly be found in transnational companies and supranational organizations—like the IWF or the World Bank—in which women hardly occupy management

positions and core masculine attributes like independence of location and reproduction, absence of emotional bonds, risk-taking propensity, commitment and willingness to dominate are assumed.²⁵⁷

At the national level, one can find the image of hegemonic masculinity as an “entrepreneur/speculator” in the deregulated, “lean” state, in which the economic has become the key factor and social services are considered a liability for a business location.²⁵⁸ This development is accompanied by a further devaluing of care and provision activities with a female connotation, relegated to a service industry characterized by low wages.²⁵⁹

252 Behnke/Liebold 2001, p. 143.

253 Cf. Döge 2001a; Böhnisch 2003; Wippermann et al. 2009; BMFSFJ 2011; Gärtner 2011.

254 Cf. Behnke/Liebold 2001, p. 143.

255 Wichterich 1998, p. 71; cited according to Döge 2001a, p. 98. Cf. also the explanations on ‘blurring the boundaries of work’ (e.g. Böhnisch 2003) and on the new culture of ‘being at your employer’s disposal’ Wippermann et al. 2009; BMFSFJ 2011; Gärtner 2011.

256 Connell 1998, p. 100.

257 Cf. Döge 2001a, p.97 et seq.

258 Cf. Hirsch 1995; Jessop 1997; Döge 2001a, p. 97 et seq.

259 Cf. BMFSFJ 2011.





5. New paths for boys and men

“Woman, as it is, bears the greater labor of carrying and nursing the children, and so, it would seem, it is natural that all the other cares ought to be taken over by man as much as it is possible without interfering with his work, which is also necessary for the family. And so it would be by all means, if the barbarous habit of throwing the whole burden of work on the weaker, and, therefore, on the oppressed, had not taken such firm root in our society. This has so permeated our habits that, in spite of the equality of woman as recognized by men, the most liberal man, as well as the most chivalrous, will warmly defend a woman's right to be a professor, a preacher, or will at the risk of his life rush to lift up a handkerchief which a woman has dropped, and so forth, but will never fall upon the idea of washing the diapers which their common child has soiled, or of making a pair of trousers for his son, when his wife is pregnant, or is nursing, or simply tired, or simply wants to read or think awhile to make up for the time lost in carrying and nursing.” (Leo Tolstoy 1901)

“It’s time we rethink the merits of our old-fashioned male archetypes—the distant ‘warrior,’ the ‘lone adventurer,’ the ‘fearless hero’ (...).” (Pollack 1998, p. 97)

.....
260 Cf. Lorber 1999.

261 Cf. Hurrelman et al. 2006.

262 Cf. Neumann/Süfke 2004, p. 27.

The name and the content orientation of *Boys’ Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys* implicitly allude to old, traditional ways of being a boy and becoming a man in our society. These paths are often oriented along individual aspects of hegemonic masculinity and have increasingly been subject to criticism, but boys continue to be addressed by, among other things, institutional structures like the media, the public and personal division of labor, and through peer groups, and reproduced by them in daily “doing gender” processes.²⁶⁰ This ambivalent situation demands too much from many boys and young men,²⁶¹ particularly because new, alternative concepts of masculinity are often denigrated. Househusbands or young men with career aspirations atypical for their gender, as well as male youths who criticize offensive sexual innuendoes their classmates make towards girls, boys who come out about their homosexuality, and boys who prefer playing double Dutch or reading books to playing football are often punished for their offence against gender norms by being treated with contempt or even—depending on the nature of the offence—with violence.²⁶²

5.1 Traditional masculinity

What a traditional image of being a boy and becoming a man looks like can be examined in a series of research papers and studies, several of which will be described below.²⁶³ By this time, masculinity has become a subject of investigation in social science research areas such as youth sociology, occupational sociology and migration research. Though one cannot regard it as so firmly positioned that the “masculinity” category is in the mainstream of social sciences research,²⁶⁴ one can at least speak of a process of it becoming established.²⁶⁵

In the largest quantitative study thus far on men’s everyday reality in unified Germany, the authors Zulehner und Volz assign the following attitudes to the type of traditional masculinity:

“The man is responsible for job and providing financially. The man experiences his personal sense of meaning in his work. The wife is intended to be there for the household and the children. Men can give women the feeling that

they are deciding, but in the end what happens is what he wants. When a man and a woman meet, the man should take the first step.”²⁶⁶

As shown in Figure 13, in 1999/2009 only (or still) 30%/27% of the men surveyed believed in a traditional/partly traditional masculinity.

In addition it is striking: the older the men are, the more frequently you find traditional/partly traditional attitudes.²⁶⁷ The traditional/partly traditional values mentioned can be found, however, not only among men but are also reflected in the attitudes of boys (and girls), as shown in representative surveys by the DJI (German Youth Institute).²⁶⁸ Figure 14 shows that the generation of 12-15-year-olds still strongly believes in a family model with a male breadwinner and a wife who primarily takes care of the children.

More than half of the boys and a good third of the girls take this view.²⁶⁹ However, the great majority of girls and boys are also of the opinion that once there are children men should

263 There is of course no clearly defined picture of traditional masculinity, which is why the specifics refer to the authors’ individual definitions. At this juncture as well, it is not intended to provide an overview of all research results; instead, the intention is to outline what is usually understood by traditional masculinity. Some aspects of hegemonic masculinity like heterosexuality, physical integrity, risk-taking propensity, willingness to dominate and career orientation are also components of traditional masculinity. What is also important is the empirical fact “that the —sometimes popular—dichotomy between traditional man and modern man does not go far enough and does not do justice to men’s complex reality and their development” (Wippermann et al. 2009, p. 74).

264 Cf. Döge/Meuser 2001, p. 8 and Tunç 2006.

265 Zulehner/Volz 2009, p. 22.

266 Zulehner/Volz 1999, p. 35; Zulehner/Volz 2009, p. 25. Using a cluster analysis, the authors have generated four different types (traditional/pragmatic/uncertain/new). The two studies were compared in 2009 in order to render the developments of the past ten years visible. To this end, the authors decided to give the different types new names (cf. *ibid.* 2009, p. 30 et seq.) (partly traditional/balancing/searching/modern). The traditional became partly traditional because a comparison of the studies from 1999 and 2009 showed that for three of the four types there were only negligible shifts in the attitudes of the men surveyed, and that a more pronounced shift to more moderate positions could only be substantiated in the attitudes of the traditional type (cf. *ibid.* p. 30 et seq.). By changing the other type names as well, “it is intended to achieve that, on the basis of a different universe than in 1999, they nonetheless remain in one’s memory when reading. Specifically, the rather awkward term ‘partly traditional’ will be a good ‘reminder’” (*ibid.* p. 29). Since there was only a proven pronounced shift in attitudes with the type traditional / partly traditional, in the following I will retain my explanations from 2006, since the explanations on traditional masculinity serve at this juncture only to delineate new paths for boys, men and masculinity.

267 Zulehner/Volz 2009, p. 37.

268 Cf. Cornelissen/Gille 2005.

269 See also the more positive attitudes on such issues of boys who took part in a project in the scope of *New Paths for Boys* (cf. chapter 7. Evaluation during the first funding phase of the project (2005–2007)).

Figure 13: Typification of men 1999/2009

	Partly traditional	Balancing	Searching	Modern
Men 1999	30%	23%	29%	17%
Men 2009	27%	24%	30%	19%

Source: Zulehner/Volz 2009, p. 35

Figure 14: Age-specific views of boys and girls on the role of women and men in society (in %)*

12-15-year-olds	West		East	
	female	male	female	male
A. When there are children, the man should work and the woman should stay home and take care of the children.	36%	52%	29%	40%
B. A man who stays home and manages the household is not a "real man".	15%	20%	16%	20%
C. Men are just as suited to bringing up children as women are.	86%	81%	91%	85%
D. When there are children, the man should work less and spend more time with his family.	80%	75%	81%	77%
N	770	737	313	334
16-23-year-olds				
A. When there are children, the man should work and the woman should stay home and take care of the children.	29%	39%	22%	37%
B. A man who stays home and manages the household is not a "real man".	10%	15%	9%	14%
C. Men are just as suited to bringing up children as women are.	88%	83%	93%	87%
D. When there are children, the man should work less and spend more time with his family.	79%	75%	75%	70%
N	1.313	1.393	624	704

*Agreement = Scale points 4 to 6 on a scale of 1 (don't agree at all) to 6 (completely agree). The question was: "In your opinion, how should women and men live together? To what extent do you agree with the following statements?"

Source: DJI (German Youth Institute) Youth Survey 2003, in: Cornelißen/Gille 2005, p. 17

work less and be there more for their family. Presumably this reveals a wish for more shared time with their own fathers, as many children, due to the division of labor within the family, experience their fathers as being away from home a lot and spending too little time with them.²⁷⁰

Among older youths, the traditional image of the male breadwinner is clearly less supported. Nonetheless, 38% of the 16-23-year-old young men still agree with the statement: “When there are children, the man should work less and spend more time with his family.”

Concerning men and gender equity, Zulehner/Volz conclude that a change in men as relates to their ideas and practices of masculinity is a necessary prerequisite to achieving the objective of men and women being together in a cooperative partnership, since laws, bans on discrimination and the promotion of women are not sufficient to bring about equal opportunity in everyday life.²⁷¹ The study shows that changes in attitude among men can be determined particularly at the rhetorical level, and that men, measured against the aims of gender equity, tend to assess themselves as more progressive than women see them. On this basis, the authors conclude that it is easier to change attitudes than actions.

In their study, Wippermann et al. also identify a gap between attitudes and actual behavior²⁷² and assert “that intention and reality sometimes diverge widely.”²⁷³ This difference crops up particularly among couples with children. For women, the birth of children usually means taking over housework completely, “not only in the first months or in the first 1 to 3 years,

but often permanently.”²⁷⁴ A possible return to working life usually takes place on a part-time basis, where the pressure, if anything, tends to intensify, since household, parenting and organizing everyday life are usually up to women.

“Many women say that it’s not working that is stressful (on the contrary: working is where they recharge their self-confidence and self-esteem), but rather a) organizing disparate areas, between which they are always switching in a rush and without being able to take a break; b) due to this disjointedness, the feeling of being able to do justice neither to their job nor to their children. Specifically for women with a high level of professional qualifications, this diagnosis of a deficit that they observe in themselves is a social scandal.”²⁷⁵

For men, in contrast, relatively little changes: “After children are born, the ‘big loser’ is equal rights in practice.”²⁷⁶

Cornelia Koppetsch and Maja S. Maier come to a similar conclusion. A study they conducted in 2001 revealed interestingly that even for couples who, by their own account, practice an equitable division of labor in the household, there is a discrepancy between attitude and actual actions. The authors state that there is a gap between self-evaluation and reality that can be attributed to a discrepancy between discursive and practical norms.

“While on the discursive level both partners believe they are defining the rules of living together themselves and carrying out an equal distribution of the housework, in

270 Cf. Cornelißen/Gille 2005, p. 17.

271 Cf. Zulehner/Volz 1999, p. 11 et seq.

272 Cf. Wippermann et al. 2009, p. 28.

273 Cf. *ibid.* p. 24.

274 Cf. *ibid.* p. 65.

275 *Ibid.*

276 *Ibid.* Cf. on this also Blossfeld/Schulz 2006, p. 44 and BMFSFJ 2011, p. 146f.

practice the division of labor within the couple relationship operates in the established gender[-typical] paths: an equal distribution of domestic responsibilities is not achieved on even a rudimentary basis.”²⁷⁷

One reason for this is the seminal influence of automated daily routines:

“The sustainability with which traditional patterns reproduce themselves is based on the latent potency of gender norms and gender[-typical] habits which have developed within a partnership independently of verbal forms of negotiation, and which can hardly be influenced by rational decisions. Daily routines of housework become established in pre-reflective situational contexts, such as in the perception of dirt or untidiness. They are part of those ‘ingrained’ practical routines that are vital to deal with everyday life precisely because they release one from mental knowledge. Because the individual activities are largely automated, the result if a couple renegotiates about the distribution of household tasks is not a highly precise investigation and offsetting of activities.”²⁷⁸

Data from the Federal Office of Statistics that was gathered in 2001–2002 and published with comments in 2004 also verifies such a finding for boys’ and girls’ patterns of time use.²⁷⁹ Even 10-14-year olds spend 20 minutes more a day on family

and housework than their male counterparts. Among 14-18-year-olds the difference is 36 minutes. Among boys and girls completing vocational training, the difference increases once again. While boys in this phase of life spend about one hour a day on family and housework, girls spend two hours of their time on it daily.²⁸⁰ Compared to the 1991–1992 time use study, the gender difference in the area of housework and family work has increased, which is why the authors speak of a reactionary trend.

Other descriptions and analyses of traditional masculinity can be found in Böhnisch and Winter. With their concept of externalization (outward orientation in perception and action),²⁸¹ the authors draft a concept of traditional masculinity which, when compared to Connell’s power analysis, is more social-psychological.²⁸² The authors speak of a consistent “basic pattern of masculine socialization and coping with life.”²⁸³ According to Böhnisch and Winter, externalization means giving up an inwardly focused view of one’s one impulses in favor of an excessive pre-occupation with the external world (“action, experiencing, doing”).²⁸⁴

Thus in discussions and role plays with boys, for example, it can be seen that boys are indeed able to deal with creatively and continuously with the material resources and spectrum of active behavior of their heroes, but that they cannot think of anything or only little about the internal life of real hero figures or fantasy heroes.²⁸⁵

277 Koppetsch/Maier 2001, p. 40.

278 *Ibid.*

279 With the time budget studies, the Federal Statistical Office gathers data every ten years—the last time was 2001-2—on what and how Germany’s citizens spend their time. In 5,400 households more than 12,600 people above the age of 10 were asked to meticulously note their activities on three days of the week. In this way, 37,700 logs were gathered.

280 Cf. Corneljßen/Blanke 2004, p. 165.

281 Cf. also chapter 3.1.1 Gender-related opportunities at school.

282 Cf. Böhnisch/Winter 1997.

283 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 127.

284 When we speak here of one’s own impulses it is not intended to express that boys or people in general inherently have something actual and essentialist. Instead, the authors speak of an emotional state of integration “in which a person is in complete harmony with his own feelings and needs” (Böhnisch/Winter 1997, p. 23).

285 Cf. Neumann/Süfke 2004.

Externalization is expressed spatially in the fact that boys are often offered or enjoined to take part in public activities outside of the house early on. As relates to emotional and psychological matters, this means that boys and men are often lacking self-reflection. The perception of internal mental states entails the risk of being exposed to feelings like fear, grief or helplessness. These feelings, however, are considered effeminate and weak, which is why they have to be fended off internally and externally.

In personal talks with 13-17-year-old boys, Henning Röper collected impressive examples of this drastic defense and detachment.²⁸⁶

(Not) talking about sadness.

Emanuel: “Because it’s embarrassing, well maybe not embarrassing, but I don’t want anything like that. I don’t want everyone knowing so many things about me. It’s not embarrassing, but unpleasant. I don’t want it because it would get around and then some time you get razzed about it and I don’t like that.”

Jeffrey: “The experience that when you say something, for instance to the wrong guy, and he passes it on, I’ve had that experience. It really wears you out, emotionally it wears you down.”

Lucas: “It just hurts, I can’t say how, I don’t know.”

Marco: “For me it’s something different if I talk about my feelings with a girl or with my cousin or with my aunt—or with a man. For me there are differences because, I don’t know, girls, they know ... they can express themselves differently. I don’t want to say that all men or all boys are like that but most of them ... many. They can’t express themselves, there are some things you can’t talk about with them.”

What boys (don’t) do when they’re sad.

Ahmet: “I don’t do anything, like I said, I don’t show that I’m sad. Like a plainclothes cop under cover.”

Emanuel: “For instance, I can’t say: ‘Mommy, I don’t feel so good, comfort me.’ So that’s when I hide of course. Once she almost caught me crying, (...) that’s when I turned away so she wouldn’t see me.”

Jan-Nick: “I show that I’m sad by cutting myself off. I mean I turn inwards. And by ignoring others. People who know me know that. Those who don’t, don’t even notice it. I listen to music, draw something, mull things over, sometimes for a long time.”

Jeffrey: “I play Play-Station II to take my mind off things.”

Marco: “I couldn’t stand it any more in the apartment, it was all too cramped. I felt cornered. I wanted to be alone for a while so I just went out and walked around. It didn’t matter where, I wasn’t going anywhere, just straight ahead. Left, right, I didn’t give a damn.”

Perry: “I just go in my room and ... [pause] try not to think about it any more.”

Crying and masculinity.

Ahmet: “Boys don’t cry because then you’re not a man. You’re a wimp if you cry. I’ve never cried, except when I was young. Like until I was five years old or something. (...) My parents, when I was young, they said to me: ‘Stop crying.’ Most men don’t cry, so boys don’t cry.”

Daniel: “My brother said to me often: ‘Stop crying, you’re a sis-sy.’ Or at nursery school: ‘crybaby.’”

Jeffrey: “I’ve cried a lot. Everybody has feelings. But you shouldn’t show them if you’re a boy.”

Lukas: “I think I stopped crying when I was nine. Before that,

²⁸⁶ In the following we will refer to the explanations of Andreas Krebs 2008, p. 382 et seq., who at this juncture quotes Henning Röper 2004, p. 122 et seq.

actually, I cried pretty quickly. (...) I would do it in front of my mother, but not my brother or whatever. You're a little scared that he'll take advantage of it to annoy you or whatever, and call me a crybaby or something. Or that other guys would say I'm a mama's boy, always crying. That he would find me inferior."

Expressing your feelings by crying apparently continues to be considered unmanly. Nonetheless, as far as masculinity and crying are concerned, something seems to be changing: in the Dortmund boys' survey, less than one third (or still about one third) of a total of 1,635 boys aged between 12 and 19 years of age agreed that a "real boy" shouldn't cry. More than half of the boys deny this statement, however. Also, the claim that a crying boy should be ashamed is only (or still) affirmed by 2% of boys.²⁸⁷ The authors of this study thus conclude that "boys think crying is fine, but not in public."²⁸⁸ In addition, the comparison between the Dortmund boys' surveys from 1995 and 2005 reveals that the number of fathers who cry on their sons' shoulders has increased from 3% to 12%. Similarly, boys were able to more frequently observe their fathers crying in secret (5% as opposed to 21%).

Due to the circumstance of having to fend off and dissociate certain feelings, there also arises, according to Böhnisch and Winter, the danger of a lack of capacity for empathy in contact with others. In addition, according to Böhnisch and Winter, other principles of masculine coping strategies are linked to the external orientation: silence, being alone, rationality, control, distance from one's body, use and violence.²⁸⁹

287 Cf. Koch-Priewe et al. 2009, p. 78.

288 Ibid.

289 Cf. Böhnisch/Winter 1997 and Neumann/Süfke 2004.

290 Cf. Böhnisch/Winter 1997, p. 128.

291 Cf. *ibid.* p. 129 f.

292 Cf. also Neumann/Süfke 2004, p. 36.

Masculine silence is characterized primarily by speechlessness and the difficulty to express feelings. This term describes the phenomenon that men certainly do talk (about philosophy, politics, the world economy, sports, work, cars, etc.), but often suffer from speechlessness if the matter concerns themselves and their personal relationships to other people.²⁹⁰

Being alone, loneliness and emotional isolation are logical consequences of the difficulty in opening up and communicating; they are accompanied by a compulsion to independence. Boys and men are supposed to know how to look after themselves—a necessary prerequisite in daily competition—which is why they only rarely fall back on support and cooperation. The fear of being dependent on help or possibly placing oneself in a situation of emotional dependence is ultimately positively expressed in the ideal of the "lonesome cowboy."

Rationality in turn means defending against and denigrating feelings using an overemphasis on understanding and logic. The process of industrialization and the accompanying gender-typical division of labor led, according to Böhnisch and Winter, to defense against and disassociation of certain emotional areas in men, as these were shifted to the domestic, i.e., the feminine sphere. This tendency is enhanced by society's current appreciation of understanding, logic and science and its devaluation of the emotional.²⁹¹

The principle of control is fundamentally a need for control relating to one's own feelings and one's relationships with others. For many heterosexual men you can allow yourself to let go, to cry and to give oneself over to your feelings only with your partner, at the movies or on the football field.²⁹²

The term “use” signifies that many boys and men have a functional, utilitarian relationship to people and things.

“A towel is used and thrown into the corner—Mother will pick it up.”²⁹³

Women and girls are used sexually and emotionally; other boys and men are used to enhance one’s status in competition. The consequence is that many boys and men are also familiar with the other side, namely being used.

The principle of distance to one’s body describes the functional dealings with bodies (one’s own and others) closely intertwined with the principle of use. The female body is instrumentalized primarily for one’s own sexual satisfaction.²⁹⁴

One’s own body is intended to perform, to function and is often systematically disregarded (in hygienic, medical or other regards). In this way boys would often know only a little about their own body and other male bodies, the latter particularly due to a fear of homoerotic encounters or else a fear of being considered homosexual. Here too, football and other team sports function as oases:

“In football, for instance, any man (even pros in front of millions of TV viewers) can hug, kiss and pat the ass of his teammates without restraint.”²⁹⁵

Violence is also described as a consequence of externalization. It is directed towards women and girls on the one hand, towards other boys and men on the other, and takes place at

both the individual level (insults, fights, sexual innuendoes, rapes) as well as on the collective level (war, genocide, displacement, colonialism, destruction of the environment). Violence is also expressed in compulsive competitive behavior and the accompanying denigration of other boys and men. Violence can also be directed towards one’s own person (suppressed feelings, pressure to perform, drugs, auto-aggressive actions, ignoring physical ailments).

What is problematic, however, in Böhnisch and Winter’s concept is the one-sided negative estimation of externalization processes:

“It is not reflected whether and to what extent masculine externalizations, rationality and control also have good sides and can be part of an individually satisfying and socially acceptable identity.”²⁹⁶

The focus of the German-language theoretical and empirical accounts of masculinity, boys and male youths has until now been on “deviant behavior” and “violence.”²⁹⁷ Thus, for instance, the results of the studies on “hegemony in boys’ groups” suggest that there are commonalities across culture in masculine socialization in which physical strength and contests are highly prized.²⁹⁸ One can also interpret physically violent behavior among young men in this context; at least statistically, it is usually directed towards other young men.²⁹⁹ This is because violence can be understood, as per Michael Meuser (2005), as a masculine strategy of taking a physical chance.³⁰⁰ That is why it is wrong to locate and dramatize adolescent

293 Böhnisch/Winter 1997, p. 128.

294 In Böhnisch/Winter there are no assertions about the relationship of use in homosexual relationships.

295 Neumann/Süfke 2004, p. 37.

296 Schultheis et al. 2006, p. 30. Cf. also the explanations on the concept of anomy in chapter 3.1.1 Gender-related opportunities at school.

297 Cf. Jösting 2005, p. 10 and Koch-Priewe 2009, p. 24. In contrast, friendly and loving relationships are hardly addressed in public and academic discussion. With her study on “boys’ friendships” Sabine Jösting fills one of the many existing research gaps on the topic of “boys, men and masculinities”.

298 Cf. Herwartz-Emden 2008, p. 38.

299 Cf. on this also chapter 3.1.1. Gender-related opportunities at school.

300 Cf. Meuser 2005, p. 281.

violent behavior “solely in the ethnic-cultural context of origin”³⁰¹ as is constantly done in media reports and at expert conferences on boys and boys’ work.³⁰² It is just as fatal if at the same expert conferences and in the public media debates peaceable boys—and they are the majority—are completely forgotten or else obscured by sensationalist reporting. Peaceableness (and not only that of boys and men) is apparently difficult to market in the media, which is why peaceableness is so rarely addressed in discourses on violence. And yet the question of how one can become peace-loving despite the many violent structures and violent male role models very frequently presented in the media is at least as interesting as the question of how one becomes violent.³⁰³

In the empirical studies until now that deal exclusively with boys and masculinity, and not explicitly with the topics “youth deviance” and “violence”, there can be found further statements about traditional masculinities that underscore the theoretical explanations of hegemonic masculinity and the principle of externalization. This applies in particular to English-language research on boys:³⁰⁴

Thus Pattman et al., for instance, try to answer in their narration analysis entitled “Positioned by ‘Hegemonic’ Masculini-

ties: A Study of London Boys, Narratives of Identity”³⁰⁵ whether the theoretical concept of hegemonic masculinity is applicable to boys’ empirical reality. They come to the conclusion that the popularity of boys (in terms of being recognized as masculine) at London schools is linked to “white” skin color, heterosexuality, physical strength, toughness, power, authority, a competitive orientation and the subordination of homosexual men, and that these qualities are considered an unattainable ideal by boys.³⁰⁶ What is interesting, however, is that popularity is difficult to reconcile with an extreme exaggeration of one of these characteristics. Other preconditions for popularity and thus hegemonic are attributes like street smarts, nonchalance, wearing brand-name clothing, physical size and attractiveness, and also the ability “to talk to girls.”³⁰⁷ Those who are particularly “in” are those with the right sexual orientation, those who look right, dress right and move in the right way.³⁰⁸

“Boys’ desire to belong to the leading group and to be accepted or admired by the group strengthens and at the same time legitimizes the standards set by the group.”³⁰⁹

What is also interesting for the discussion about disadvantaged boys in school³¹⁰ is that good grades at school are not considered “an element of hegemonic masculinity.”³¹¹ Most

301 Herwartz-Emden 2008, p. 38.

302 Not to mention a structure that tends to be racist that ensures that not only in the USA but also in Germany (cf. Mansel/Albrecht 2003) prisons are full of young men who are not part of the white, better educated middle and upper classes.

303 Prevention research, on the other hand, increasingly focuses on the issue of the preconditions of peaceableness. Thus, for example, in an EU Daphne project, youth resilience behavior is studied by means of intersectional analysis and put to use for prevention work. Cf. www.stamina-project.eu. See on this also Busche/Creemers 2009/2010.

304 An overview of this research can be found in Michalek/Fuhr 2009.

305 The study, for which a total of 78 boys were interviewed, was conducted in 1998 and 1999 at twelve London schools. In addition, 45 group discussions were conducted.

306 Cf. on this also Jösting 2005.

307 Cf. Phoenix/Frosh 2005, p. 20 et seq.

308 Cf. Michalek/Fuhr 2009, p. 209.

309 Cf. Michalek/Fuhr 2009, p. 212. Here it is a form of complicit masculinity which will be described more exactly below in the explanations of the studies conducted by Jürgen Budde. Cf. on this also the explanations of the relationships of tension among boys and the “serious games of competition” in chapter 3.1.1. Gender-related opportunities at school.

310 Cf. chapter 3.1.1. Gender-related opportunities at school.

311 Phoenix/Frosh 2005, p. 24.

boys report that conforming behavior is evaluated in school as “effeminate” and that “the attributes clever or geek make a respected position impossible.”³¹²

“The negotiation of masculinity takes place (...) via self-attribution and the attribution of others of ‘natural intelligence’ and a casual, almost disdainful attitude towards school requirements. Furthermore, it is constituted by distancing oneself towards students who work hard to succeed. They are considered less masculine by the other students and, together with the girls, they form an opposite that has a feminine connotation in the process of negotiating gender roles. It’s not academic performance per se that’s considered unmanly, but rather the willingness to discipline oneself and work hard for these accomplishments. Academic brilliance and masculinity are not mutually exclusive as long as the performance is achieved in a seemingly effortless way. Hard-working students, however, are considered less intelligent; as ‘geeks’ they are also devalued in their masculinity. In contrast, among girls it’s considered ‘cool’ to do something for school.”³¹³

Masculine students who give the impression in school of not making any effort and then secretly study at home are in a “win-win-position”³¹⁴ because on the one hand they look cool and their “failure” is not read by their peer group as inability, but rather as the effect of a lack of diligence. On the other, if you do well you can be celebrated as a “successful guy who doesn’t need to make an effort.”³¹⁵

But not only in England can one find corresponding studies and research. Thus Jürgen Budde (2005) in his study

Männlichkeit und gymnasialer Alltag (Masculinity and everyday life at the *Gymnasium*) also deals with hegemonic masculinity and its effects on boys in school. He considers the practical arrangements “of the internal relation of masculinity in everyday school life” and investigates to what extent hegemonic masculinity images are effective for boys. Budde observes hegemonic masculinity as a superior pattern of action for a few boys, characterized by considerable social capital to assert their own intentions.

“One’s own intentions are realized by means of the strategies of debasement, supremacy and self-assurance.”³¹⁶

According to Budde, the complicit masculinity of the “completely ordinary boy” has outstanding significance as a “pillar of the system of hegemonic masculinity”. With complicit masculinity, the boys try to curry favor with hegemonic students to develop their own social capital. Complicit masculinity is produced through a shared demarcation towards deviant students and is usually accompanied by constructing a “we group.” Budde observes that these processes function in same-sex groups and thus exclude girls.

“Competition within the boys’ group and towards girls leads in turn to stagings that reinforce masculinity. (...) The strategies fall back on to bring about shared intentions differ; sexualizations are used most frequently against girls, charges of homosexuality against boys. Irony also plays a decisive role since it navigates between communication, debasement and the possibility to make everything seem ‘just for fun’. Successful jokes are thus a way to acquire social capital without reverting to offensive masculinist

312 *Ibid.* p. 31.

313 Quenzel/Hurrelman 2010, p. 74, based on Cohen 1998, p. 29.

314 Jackson 2003, p. 598 according to Michalek/Fuhr 2009, p. 215.

315 Cf. Michalek/Fuhr 2009, p. 215.

316 Budde 2005, p. 237.

strategies. The shared laugh that frequently follows irony in turn frequently produces complicit masculinity.”³¹⁷

The strategy of ingratiation does not lead, however, to success on an ongoing basis, since currying favor is considered unmanly, which is why the difference in status from hegemonic students remains. Because hegemonic students do not need to prove their claims constantly, the most visible aggressions in everyday school life, directed against girls and subordinate male students, originate with boys to whom complicit masculinity can be attributed.

Boys who represent subordinate masculinities, in contrast, get attention and recognition only “if, by using handed down elements of masculinity, they act aggressively and leave their subordinate position.”³¹⁸

Budde shows in his explanations that physical violence is hardly part of everyday school life at the *Gymnasium*, but that sexualized violence by boys against female students and other boys certainly is. Sexualizations against other boys usually occur by ascribing homosexuality to them. Real homosexuality is not necessarily insinuated; instead, a marking as unmanly is intended. The repertoire of these markings is very variable and is the subject of negotiations among students: a wrong expression, a voice that’s too high, the wrong clothing, a wrong way of sitting, a lack of activity towards female students, deviant or overly long hair, a bicycle that is assessed as uncool, listening to the wrong music, etc.

The sexualizations take place not only in direct interaction, but also through symbols in public and semi-public rooms of the

school, such as through writing on the walls and toilet stalls:

“The toilets in the hallway once again have a new designation: instead of ‘boys’, ‘manager room’ is now written in black magic marker; under that a hand points to the next door with the word ‘amusement center’. And on the girls’ bathroom it now says ‘amusement center’.”³¹⁹

What is interesting in this context is that sexualizations cannot be determined to the same extent in all classes observed. They are only actively deployed by some students, whereby they are reinforced through a certain culture within the classroom (male solidarity behavior).

Budde’s study shows that hegemonic and complicit masculinities make up the quantitative minority among the student body. This analysis leads to a conclusion that is of utmost importance for boys’ work: in school most boys take a subordinate role and do not subordinate others.

5.2 Transformations

In the discussion about men and the research on men, we’ve been hearing for several years about “new men” who no longer want to be just breadwinners for the family but to nurture their feminine sides, and who see women’s emancipation as a necessary, good development.³²⁰

Whether the empirical findings are an indication that patriarchal structures are changing towards more gender democracy, or whether there is even “reason to speculate that masculinity is facing epochal changes”³²¹ remains open. They are, however,

317 *Ibid.*, p. 237 f. Cf. on this also the explanations of the relationships of tension among boys and the “serious games of competition” in chapter 3.1.1. Gender-related opportunities at school.

318 *Ibid.*, p. 239.

319 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

320 Cf. Zulehner/Volz 1999; Zulehner 2003; Döge/Volz 2004; Döge 2005; Zulehner/Volz 2009; Wippermann et al. 2009.

321 Wippermann et al. 2009, p. 8.

proof that a great portion of the men are ready for changes or are at least uncertain in their development.³²²

Below is a more extensive characterization of the new men, since they provide points of reference for designing the content aims of *Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys/New Paths for Boys*. Particularly dealing with the transformation in gender images illustrates that extended masculinity constructions are not only possible but can also serve as a frame of reference for pedagogic aims.

The new/modern man³²³ is characterized in Zulehner/Volz's study by the following attributes:

“For a man, it is an enrichment to take parental leave to take care of his small child. The best is when both husband and wife work half-days and both take care of the household and children to the same extent. Both husband and wife should contribute to the household income. Women's emancipation is a very necessary, good development.”³²⁴

While “traditional/partly traditional men” are in favor of the woman organizing the household and the man being responsible for working, since that is where they usually see the personal meaning of their lives,³²⁵ new/modern men are expanding their activities in the household and in everyday family day-to-day life. The new/modern man considers himself an

active father and would like to have more time for his children. 60% of new/modern men, as opposed to 10% of the traditional/partly traditional, consider it an enrichment to take parental leave to take care of their small child.³²⁶ Close to half of the new/modern men indicate that they regularly attend parent conference days or school functions. Their presence is also increasing in child care (feeding, bathing, dressing, tending in case of illness, etc.).³²⁷

The study did show, however, that all men surveyed (both the traditional/partly traditional and the new/modern men) take part to only some extent in the housework and that they mostly take over housework with a masculine connotation.³²⁸ This includes (in order from the rarest to the most frequent): gardening, filling out tax returns, taking out the garbage, buying furniture, negotiating with authorities, hanging up new pictures, fixing things around the house, washing the car. In exchange, their partners take on the following tasks: ironing, doing the laundry, hanging up the laundry, cooking, cleaning, washing the dishes, caring for flowers, tidying up, vacuuming, shopping.³²⁹ New/modern men on average take care of more housework than traditional/partly traditional, and their housework consists more rarely of tasks with an exclusively male connotation.³³⁰ But even among them one hardly finds men who are willing to work exclusively as househusbands.³³¹ The new/modern man is also more political than the traditional/partly traditional man.³³² He worries more about war, the

322 Cf. Forster 2005, p. 207. Cf. also chapter 4.3.2. *Obstacles to an egalitarian gender order.*

323 At this juncture I would like to point out once again that in the study from 2009 the type “new man” was replaced by the type “modern man” and that only for the type of “traditional/partly traditional men” was there a proven shift in attitudes, which is why in the following I stick to my explanations from 2006.

324 Zulehner/Volz 1999, p. 35.

325 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 86.

326 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 143.

327 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 133.

328 The study leaves open how men who do not live in a household with a woman behave as relates to housework.

329 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 150. Cf. on this also the explanations in Wippermann et al. 2009, p. 62 et seq.

330 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 151.

331 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 144.

332 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 99.

environment, social tensions and his job. New/modern men tend less to behave subserviently, are less self-centered and thus show more solidarity.³³³ Since gender relationships are also always a question of power, the authors consider the personality trait “solidarity” an essential moment in changing the gender order.

The new/modern man can be characterized as anti-authoritarian since he is against violence as a means to resolve conflict. Ca. 90% of new/modern men evaluate themselves as non-violent,³³⁴ while only about 35% of traditional/partly traditional men claim this about themselves.³³⁵ The personality trait “authoritarianism” is for the authors of the study a crucial obstacle to male change.³³⁶

“Authoritarian people tend to have an attitude that ‘whoever’s at the top is right’. They are willing to obey. From their basic psychological attitude they are in need of protection. Changes are threatening, while stability provides safety. Given these theoretical insights, the change in gender roles means a high degree of destabilization for those who are authoritarian. This is fended off pre-emptively.”³³⁷

New/modern men have better access to their inner life and are considerably more sensitive.³³⁸ They no longer consider the characteristic “emotional” a purely feminine one. In addition, the new/modern man is more tolerant of other men’s sexual

orientation. His attitude towards homosexuality is noticeably less hostile/negative than among the average of the male population.³³⁹ Two thirds of the new/modern men consider homosexuality “another form” of sexual orientation that “you can show openly.”³⁴⁰ A total of 90% of the men surveyed identified themselves as heterosexual. This proportion varies only slightly between traditional men (93%) and new men (88%). What remains empirically unexplained in this study is whether, for instance, there is also dissatisfaction among boys with the normal male breadwinner biography. The study by Zulehner and Volz showed in both surveys that new/modern men are most likely to be found in the 20-45-year-old age group. Among 18-20-year-olds, in contrast, the new men were only very poorly represented at 13% in 1999.³⁴¹ Their share increased, however, in the second survey in 2009 by 6 percentage points to 19%.³⁴²

The focus of the study “Men on the Verge” was an exploration of the male self-image; however, a female control group was also surveyed in order to explore not only men’s self-perception but also how women perceived them.³⁴³

From women’s perspective, work and politics have a higher priority in men’s lives than from the men’s perspective. The reverse is true with the family.³⁴⁴ Women generally assess men’s involvement in the household and bringing up the children as lower than they themselves believe. Particularly

333 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 24.

334 *The men were interviewed about their propensity for violence towards women and children and other men, as well as the propensity for racially motivated violence.*

335 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 199 f.

336 *Promoting solidarity and dismantling obedience to authority are thus intended to be one aim of pedagogic work with boys.*

337 *Ibid.*, p. 63.

338 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 224.

339 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 23.

340 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 189.

341 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 53. Cf. also the explanations about the time budget study in chapter 5.1. *Traditional masculinity.*

342 Zulehner/Volz 2009, p. 36.

343 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 249.

344 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 250.

among new/modern men, a clear discrepancy can be determined between men's self-perception and how women perceive them.³⁴⁵

About 60% of men believe they act as partners, while only 30% of the women share this opinion. There is a major gap between how they see themselves and how others see them as relates to birth control in particular. While only about 20% indicate that their partners are solely responsible for contraception, 54% of the women assume that they have sole responsibility.³⁴⁶ It is also a concern that men are lagging behind women in modernizing gender roles. A comparison of the age group up to the age of 19 shows that in 2009 41% of women can be classed as the type "modern woman", while among men only 13% correspond to the type "modern man". The authors fear in this context that the prospects are not good and that in the future either the pressure on men will increase or women's development will slow down.³⁴⁷

Even though the women's statements qualify the results from the men's survey, and a comparison between women and men is quite worrying, I would like at this juncture to emphasize once again that this is first and foremost an outlook, a frame of reference for the masculine potential of expanding and complementing in the scope of a desired gender transformation and the project [Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys](#).

345 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 261 et seq.

346 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 264.

347 Cf. *ibid.* 2009, p. 36.

348 Cf. Kreutzer 1998.

349 *Ibid.*, p. 246.

5.3 Metrosexual icons and other new gender images and role models

But not only in empirical masculinity research is there an image of the new or modern man. In advertising too, particularly in advertising for personal care products, there have been, for instance, androgynous masculinities since the 1990's and, since the beginning of the 21st century, stagings of so-called metrosexual masculinities.³⁴⁸ The term "metrosexuality" denotes a fashion-oriented and style-oriented image of men that combines common masculine heterosexual bodily practices with practices with homosexual and/or feminine connotations.

Metrosexuality is thus a new/modern masculinity culture that has expanded traditional heterosexual masculinities to include aspects commonly ascribed to gay men, such as empathy, communication skills and caring for oneself.

What is striking is the clear differentiation on the part of players from actually being gay. "Neat but not gay" could be the title of the marketing strategy that "is sounding the call towards that target group of heterosexual men which is difficult to reach, that is still for the most part resistant to body care, hair styling and fashion."³⁴⁹ The marketing strategy is resulting in initial successes, as statistics on expenditures on clothing and cosmetics suggest. Men have never before spent so much money for their appearance as in recent years. Shopping, formerly a "gay" niche which was considered an unmanly activity, is increasingly appealing to metrosexual men.

Metrosexual icons like the football star David Beckham were/are successful and popular representatives of this global

marketing strategy. While fighting at the time for the nuclear family, Beckham, as the prototype of the metrosexual, confirms with publicly negotiated affairs with women³⁵⁰ “his heterosexual virility, thus shaking off any suspicion of homosexuality which could adhere to the metrosexual style.”³⁵¹ He plays off the patriarchal dividend “in a new way and in a different arrangement, in a way that traditional men are no longer able to do because they would otherwise seem ridiculous.”³⁵² Beckham was, at least according to a study by the women’s magazine “Elle” published in March 2003, the “new masculinity type” that many heterosexual women desire.

With that, among heterosexual male youths he also takes on the function of a credible role model and trendsetter. Metrosexual role models for youths can be found not only on the football field but also in pop music. The prevailing style elements are, in the process, visible underwear, clean-shaven bodies, wearing jewelry and self-marketing as heterosexual sex symbols.

“Young people today are dissolving traditional differences between femininity and masculinity. Men have tattoos, women do too, men are pierced, women too. They wear the same shoes and the same hats (...), men even wear make-up. Beckham embodies this confusion.”³⁵³

Though the femininity demonstrated is usually restricted to the level of accessories, diamond studs in both ears, new hairstyles every week with styling gel and highlights, nail polish and clothing with a female connotation expanded the repertoire for presenting oneself and shifted gender borders. The

new repertoire blended with the clear emphasis on traditional body images. In this way, muscular arms and upper bodies and flat, muscular stomachs were emphasized with tight-fitting clothing. Men’s magazines like “Men’s Health,” “Gentlemen’s Quarterly,” “For Him Magazine” and “Maxim” publicize the youthful, well-trained “body with washboard abs” as the current benchmark of attractiveness.³⁵⁴ The connection between appearance and success resonates with many men. Countless joggers, skaters, mountain bikers, bodybuilders and members of fitness centers endeavor to correspond to the ideal.

“Success comes to the man who is slim, well-trained and dressed in a cool way. Those days are over when a representative of the stronger sex had to smell like tobacco, sweat and whisky.”³⁵⁵

The metrosexual postulate—be chic, smell good, wear expensive, “cool” accessories with a feminine connotation, maintain your body and stay fit—without the risk of being considered unmanly or gay: that’s the shape of the transformation of gender relationships that is compatible with the market.

“In this respect Beckham caters to the type of man demanded by the neo-capitalist business and consumer society: adaptable, modular and flexible in terms of commodity aesthetics (...). In the past Beckham would not have been the androgynous event; for that to come about, the media and consumer society in which androgynous chic and tough masculinity can simply exist side by side needs to be in place.”³⁵⁶

350 Cf. the magazine “Gala” 2006. In several issues there are articles about the love life of the football star of Real Madrid and his wife, who is no less famous.

351 Richard 2005, p. 247.

352 Böhnisch 2003, p. 227.

353 Cashmore 2002, in: *ibid.*, p. 226.

354 Cf. Meuser 2001, p. 223 et seq.

355 Krumm 2000, p. 11.

356 Böhnisch 2003, p. 227 et seq.

Male “average youths” take over and vary the metrosexual style by emulating the bodily practices of their idols from pop culture and sports, though metrosexual practices run counter to other classic youth culture styles like skaters, heavy metal fans, gothics or punks.³⁵⁷

As one could read in the *Zeit Magazin* of February 17, 2011, the androgynous looks from the 1990’s and metrosexual icons like Beckham are now paving the way for the next sexual revolution in fashion:

“Women take on men’s roles, men become women. Sometimes you can’t even tell who’s a woman and who’s a man. And it doesn’t even matter (...). People who move between the genders are the new stars of fashion.”³⁵⁸

The model Andrej Pejic was profiled in an article in the *Zeit Magazin*: in his agency he is managed as a male model but on the catwalks of the world he presents both men’s and women’s fashion. And while the empirical results of the comparison between women and men from the men’s study from 2009 and the results of the study by Wippermann et al. in 2009—*Männer: Rolle vorwärts, Rolle rückwärts*—are a cause for concern, the outlook of Tillmann Prüfer, the *Zeit Magazin* reporter, in contrast, is encouraging:

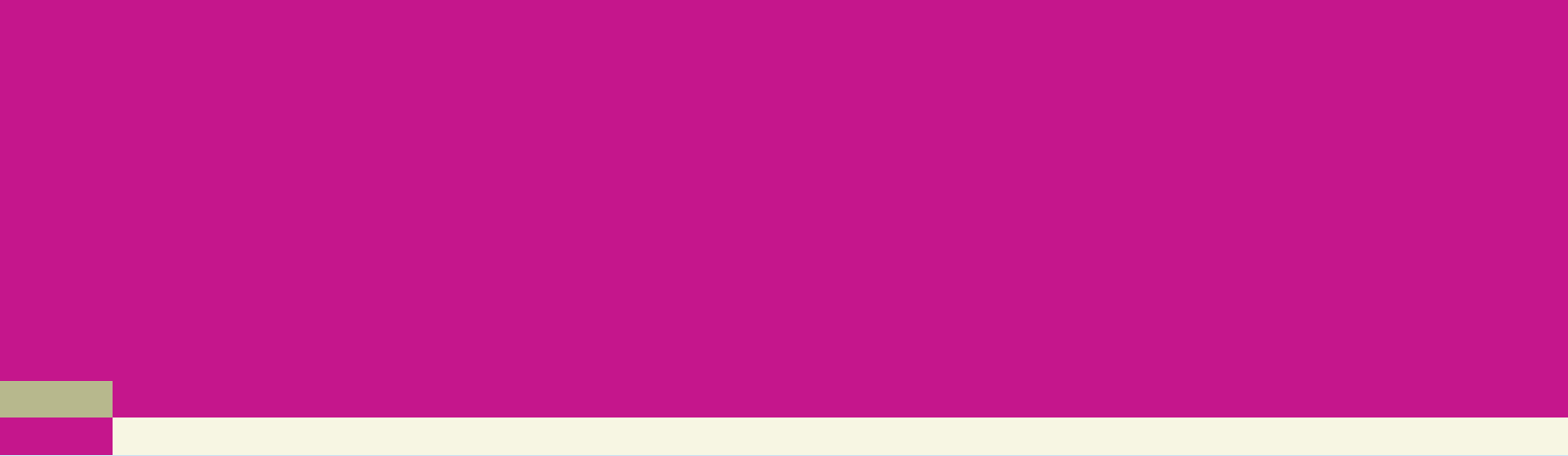
“Andrej Pejic is an icon like Twiggy and Uschi Obermaier were icons. All three of them stand for currents of their time—as fashion does not bring forth anything on its own, but rather reflects society. When roles change, when the discussion is about the equality of men and women, about quotas and fathers on parental leave, when Elton John and his life partner are having a child with the help of a surrogate mother—then new role models are developing.”³⁵⁹

.....
357 Cf. Richard 2004, p. 256 et seq.

358 Prüfer 2011, p. 21.

359 Ibid.





6. A gender-related approach to pedagogy

“Some people claim that gender-sensitive pedagogy limits ‘free’ gender development. Yet gender-sensitive pedagogy seeks to do precisely the opposite: enable free development which provides children with more than one predetermined role. Its purpose is to broaden opportunities for development and open up various options for action rather than limiting them.” (Ebenfeld 2011, p. 33)

After presenting gender-relevant data on educational and vocational training opportunities, the scholarly theories on masculinities and gender, and observations on traditional and new paths for boys and men, this section will describe the concept of boys’ work as a building block of gender-related pedagogy, present the most important results of the evaluation of the first and second funding phases of [Boys’ Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys](#), and outline appropriate support for boys within the context of [Boys’ Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys](#).

To provide boys and girls with appropriate pedagogical support at the crossroads between leaving school and starting work, and to ensure more gender-equitable distribution of educational opportunities and access to the labor market,

traditional vocational orientation must be complemented by planning for life and the future that reflects on gender. After all, the task of vocational orientation is to act as accompanying and integrative support to ensure social and occupational participation on the part of young people.³⁶⁰

Such planning is intended to provide impulses to reflect on masculinity and gender relationships, counteract the one-sided concentration on gainful employment, and open up life alternatives to boys and young men. In this way, self-care, active fatherhood, and responsibility for care and household activities become “topics for men.” The concept of [Boys’ Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys](#) is based on this modified approach. Reflecting on gender and masculinity thus becomes a political and pedagogical focal point in career and life planning. If gender-based segregation on the vocational training and labor markets is to be counteracted, training and continuing education of all teaching and pedagogical staff is necessary to raise their awareness of gender issues.³⁶¹

The approach of gender-related or gender-reflecting pedagogy which has become established in the German-speaking countries is particularly appropriate for this task. The approach is

³⁶⁰ Cf. Drogand-Strud/Cremers 2006.

³⁶¹ Cf. on this chapter 3.1.1 Gender-related opportunities at school.

considered a pedagogical specialization on the topic of gender. What differentiates this approach from other pedagogical goals and activities is its central aim of taking up the constraints and opportunities linked to the societal demands of being or becoming a man or a woman. Pedagogy that reflects on gender seeks to support boys and girls in reflecting on the models of masculinity and femininity offered by society.³⁶² Strengthening self-esteem in terms of genderedness, especially in the context of other social factors, is the main objective of gender-related pedagogy with boys and girls. Acquisition of theoretical knowledge about the situations and interdependencies of boys and girls is therefore an important prerequisite for reflected and professional implementation of gender-related pedagogy. The assessment that new gender theories or the discussion about queer ways of life³⁶³ and Trans*³⁶⁴ may well be stimulating, but that approaches for pedagogy for boys can hardly be derived from them, is frequently stated, for example at conferences on boys' work. At this point, I would like to take up Sabine Jösting's argument to contradict that idea.³⁶⁵ She argues that discussions about different theoretical concepts belong in the working groups and networks of people studying gender-related pedagogy. Jösting calls for a stronger link between theory and practice instead of generally distancing

oneself, which "creates the impression that one could throw oneself into gender-related work without a definition of gender."³⁶⁶ This insistence is all the more important because, on the one hand, men and boys are accorded increasing attention in both pedagogy and the scholarly and political discussion, and on the other, the evaluation of New Paths for Boys demonstrates that it is precisely the lack of gender-political reflection that sometimes leads to results contradictory to the aims of the project.³⁶⁷

6.1 Boys' work as a building block of gender-related pedagogy

As a rule, boys' work is considered to be pedagogical/social work by men with boys and young men.³⁶⁸ This definition is not intended to devalue social work by women with boys. In social work, boys need female as well as male caregivers who provide them with appreciation, caring, and support, and act as counterparts for conflicts.³⁶⁹

In other words, it is not the pedagogues' gender that is central to boys' work, but rather their contextual knowledge from

362 Cf. Drogand-Strud/Rauw 2005.

363 *Queer*: "Cannot be defined, but rather deconstructs at the theoretical, practical, and political levels terms like homo/heterosexuality, male/female, black/white, ... and aims to break up causal links between gender, sex, and desire; criticizes existing relationships of dominance and power in relation to categories such as gender, class, ethnicity ..." (Ebenfeld/Köhnen 2011, p. 61).

364 *Trans*": "transgender, transsexual, trans-identified individuals who do not 'fit' into the system based on two genders; people who—at least part of the time—cannot or prefer not to assign themselves to a particular gender or sex (...)" (Ebenfeld/Köhnen 2011, p. 61).

365 Cf. also Busche/Cremers 2009 and 2010; Busche et al. 2010; Tunç 2010.

366 Jösting 2005, p. 319.

367 Cf. chapters 7 and 8: Evaluation during the first and second funding phases of the project.

368 Cf. Bentheim et al. 2004.

369 This statement holds not only for women in boys' work, but also for biological or social mothers and their relationships to boys. "Contrary to society's traditional misgivings about a close relationship between mother and son, I find that, in reality, boys benefit tremendously from the love of their mothers, especially the kind of unshaming parenting we've been discussing as the way to bring out the best in boys. ... Far from making boys weaker, the love of a mother can and does actually make boys stronger, emotionally and psychologically. Far from making boys dependent, the base of safety a loving mother can create—a connection that her son can rely on all his life—provides a boy with the courage to explore the outside world. ... I don't think a boy's separation from mother at a very early age and again at adolescence should ever be sanctioned. Instead ... I'm in favor of more mother, not less." (Pollack 1998, pp. 81-2).

boys' and gender studies and their self-reflexivity in terms of gender.³⁷⁰ That includes, for example, knowledge about gender-related processes of conflict, communication, and interaction, as well as avoiding gender-stereotyped attributions and expectations. Depending on the educational activity, relevant thematic, methodological, and didactic competencies as well as institutional, organization-related knowledge may be relevant.³⁷¹ Gender equity should be a central concern of gender-related pedagogy and thus also of boys' work, differentiating it from other pedagogical goals and activities of children's and youth work. Given relational gender relationships, acquiring theoretical knowledge about boys' multiple situations and heterogeneous gender constructs is essential for reflected and professional implementation of boys' work, as is content-related engagement with girls' multiple realities of life and heterogeneous gender constructions: it would be wrong to speak of "girls" as meaning "all girls" and "boys" as meaning "all boys."

This heterogeneity is based, among other things, on linkages between the category of gender and other categories such as age, class, and ethnicity, whose complexity and particularly inconsistency is one of the greater challenges for implementing boys' work and gender-related pedagogy at all.³⁷²

For this reason, boys' work should not be understood as a countermodel to reflexive coeducation, but rather as a complement to it.³⁷³ "The expansion of boys' work is [surely] particularly significant against the backdrop of what is in fact men's

slight presence in boys' lifeworlds—and thus the delegation of the work and responsibility of raising children to women."³⁷⁴

However, pedagogues should not serve as "substitute fathers" in boys' work. Nor do boys need a grown-up male "pal" who assumes an air of being particularly cool and youthful. What matters most of all in gender-oriented relationship work is that the boys can comprehend the pedagogues as grown-up counterparts and that they provide orientation through their own behavior. In contrast, in gender-reflecting political education, it is particularly important that pedagogues challenge boys to deal with issues, taking if necessary clear positions—especially concerning gender relationships: for example, by encouraging discussions about the development of the gender-stereotyped division of labor, unequal distribution of paid and unpaid work, impacts of the pressure to be masculine, consequences of male violence, or discrimination against homosexual ways of life. These opportunities for discussion and conflict also initiate processes of relationships and of learning.

Feminist movements can be described as the main drivers for the global emergence of boys' work. In the mid-1980s, feminists in Germany developed girls' work that took sides for them, and also initial concepts for boys' work.³⁷⁵ They also called for boys' work that was to be implemented in practice by men.³⁷⁶ Criticism of hierarchical gender relationships played a major role in the development of girls' and boys' work, whereby the most important starting points in the

370 Cf. on this the results of the evaluation in chapters 7 and 8 as well.

371 Cf. Kachuba 2001, p. 21.

372 Cf. Busche/Cremers 2009; cf. also chapter 4.3. Multiple masculinities.

373 Cf. Grote/Jantz 2003.

374 Neubauer/Winter 2001a, p. 36. Of course, what is in fact a minor presence of men applies to girls to the same degree, or even more, as boys encounter male coaches in their sports activities more often than girls do.

375 Cf. Kaiser 1999; Prengel 1994.

376 Cf. Heimvolksschule "Alte Molkerei Frille" 1989.

beginnings of boys' work were an analysis of the practices of male alliances, gender-reflexive responsibility on the part of men for child-rearing, (self-)critical grappling with (patriarchal) masculinity, and its negative consequences for boys and men.³⁷⁷ In the 1970's, many men were at odds with traditional patterns of masculinity:

“The guiding idea of communal emancipation was revived again among people sharing apartments and in parent-child groups. Young men and fathers exercised affection and empathy based on partnership, tending, caring, and house-husbandly virtues. Yet as early as the late 70's, this movement began to fade away. Softies and do-gooders became objects of ridicule. The fear of demasculinization came from the men themselves.”³⁷⁸

In German-speaking countries, a new perspective on boys emerged from the 1990 book *Kleine Helden in Not* by Dieter Schnack and Rainer Neutzling, and boys' work increasingly broke away from the tradition of feminism. Since then, the difficult relationship to feminist theories and practices has been perceived as a constant source of unease.³⁷⁹ Forster, for example, criticizes the development of a kind of boys' work

“that seeks to maintain or gain autonomy with respect to feminist demands,”³⁸⁰

an autonomy which occasionally drifts off towards male alliances.

377 Cf. Brzoska 1996; Busche/Cremers 2009.

378 Richter 2006, p. 52.

379 Cf. Forster 2004, p. 478.

380 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

381 *Ibid.* “When they criticize political correctness, men are taking a position against women. What unites them is vehemently rejecting permitting women to dictate the details of boys' work to them. That is what constitutes male alliances. (...) If men, however, are serious about gender democracy, then we men must confront ourselves with the question of why we respond with such aversion to women's all-too-justified demands for equality” (Forster 2002, p. 7).

382 Cf. Busche/Cremers 2009; cf. also chapter 3.1.1 Gender-related opportunities at school.

383 Cf. Forster 2004, p. 477.

384 Cf. for example Sturzenhecker 1996.

“We men, it is stated, decide for ourselves whether, when, and in what form we support feminist concerns.”³⁸¹

The fact that feminism still functions as a polarizing element is to be seen not only in many similar statements on boys' work, but also in discussions in the media, for example the debate about educational discrimination against boys because of the so-called feminization of school.³⁸²

However, Forster sees the common starting point of the various approaches to boys' work in the experience

“that the gap between male realities of life and traditional images of masculinity is becoming larger, and there is a lack of male role models or no models of masculinity that seem livable exist.”³⁸³

Concepts for boys' work take this up, employing various goals, methods, topics, and theoretical approaches.³⁸⁴

6.2 Advantages and disadvantages of boys' work in boys-only groups

In the debate about boys' work, the advantage of gender-related pedagogy with boys in boys-only groups is considered to be that such a context makes it easier for most boys to speak about topics such as sexuality, anxieties, or insecurities. It is difficult for many boys to admit to being anxious as they are afraid of not conforming to the hegemonic image of masculinity. For this reason, many boys attempt to sidestep topics that make them fearful and uneasy in order to avoid being made to look foolish and suffer the resulting sanctions.³⁸⁵ That is why boys' work has taken on the goal of creating spaces where boys can feel secure and make their fears known without being considered unmanly.³⁸⁶

As a rule, such spaces are boys-only. If girls are present, many boys are subject to more value judgments and to more pressure to project a particular image of themselves. For example, boys often report that they can behave more openly in certain situations and be less fearful of humiliation if no girls are present.³⁸⁷

In addition, pedagogical work in boys-only groups enables boys to take on tasks with a feminine connotation (e.g. cooking, cleaning up, decorating a room) and to try out caring and social behavior without being subject to value judgments on the part of girls or women. In this way, boys can practice patterns of behavior that support their independence in terms of

emotions, social life, health, and household tasks (ability to take care of oneself) without depending on girls and women, exploiting their resources, or having to create their own identities by means of negative differentiation from girls/women. On the other hand, in many areas of social work it makes sense to work with boys as a first step in a subject-oriented individual setting, for example in order to empower them to withstand the pressure to be masculine in mixed and boys-only groups without having to revert to traditional and hegemonic aspects of masculinity.

“With regard to individual cases, it is enlightening to examine where resources for masculine ways of shaping and coping with adolescence come from or where they are lacking and would need to be made available. It seems an important factor particularly for male adolescents that it is not enough to dismantle the traditional without offering and conveying a robust modern alternative.”³⁸⁸

Yet gender and men's studies increasingly criticize boys' work in boys-only groups, as the setting also entails disadvantages. For example, Sabine Jösting points to the different functions of girls-only and boys-only groups.

“I consider the emphasis on male-only groups in pedagogical work with boys and men to be a misunderstood parallel to girls' work, for boys-only groups have a very different socializing function for boys than girls-only groups do for girls. Gender homogeneity is significant even when it comes to constructing masculinity; for this reason, it has a

385 Cf. chapter 3.1.1 Gender-related opportunities at school and chapter 5.1 Traditional masculinity.

386 Cf. Grote/Jantz 2003. This does not mean, however, that the pedagogical setting is intended to create situations in which boys develop anxieties so that those anxieties can then be made a topic of discussion with the boys. Activities where the boys spend a night or several hours in a forest, for example, to come up against their limits should therefore be scrutinized critically. The same holds for activities pursuing the goal of rediscovering “men's primal energy” or returning to the roots of archaic masculinity.

387 Boys also mentioned this in the group interviews conducted for the evaluation of the first funding phase of New Paths for Boys (cf. Cremers et al. 2008).

388 Cf. Winter/Neubauer 2005, p. 223.

fundamentally different meaning for boys than for girls, whose gender identity constitutes itself more strongly via heterosexual relationships and mixed-gender contexts.”³⁸⁹

The disadvantages of dividing into girls-only and boys-only groups can also be found in the risk of “dramatizing”³⁹⁰ the “culture of a binary gender order” by implicitly highlighting and thereby enshrining the difference between the genders.³⁹¹

In addition, boys who do not feel comfortable in groups of boys and in recognized places where masculinity is constructed, and tend to avoid them, do not always agree with compulsory participation in boys-only groups, which from their perspective can even amount to a form of violence. For example, in a boys-only group, they may be vulnerable to other boys’ taunts and cannot fall back on their female best friends protecting them. For this reason, hotheaded contributions to the discussion calling for special activities for boys, for example at school, and oriented to the motto “the poor boys need more physical exercise and more sports” should be treated with caution. Many boys may well desire more exercise and more age-appropriate opportunities for activities, for example in elementary school³⁹² (just as many girls do), but for many other boys, sports is the number-one occasion for exclusion and subordination because of the demands for masculinity associated with it. The fundamental rule should be: activities for boys

that take place in a boys-only setting should be voluntary if at all possible.³⁹³

Experiences with gender-related pedagogy in practice outside of school show that it is precisely the combination of subject-oriented pedagogical work and the building blocks of girls’ work, boys’ work, and reflexive coeducation that best do justice to the children’s and youths’ situations, their various conditions of socialization, and their needs.³⁹⁴ Beyond this, the thematic focus areas should usually be formulated by the boys themselves. It is very difficult to handle topics well that have been forced on the boys. Reflecting on and trying out one’s own personality can only occur if the topic is relevant for the boys. That is why gender-related pedagogy should not employ rigid procedures but rather a process-oriented approach, so that there is room to respond to the topics raised by the boys. In the process, pedagogues can also formulate questions that the boys would not touch upon by themselves.

389 Jösting 2005, p. 317. Cf. on this Meuser 1998, Breitenbach 2000, Cornelijßen et al. 2002, Meuser 2005, Möller 2005. Cf. also chapter 3.1.1 Gender-related opportunities at school and chapter 5.1. Traditional masculinity.

390 “In the literature, dramatization is considered to be the explicit emphasis on and reference to gender, for example by explicating belonging to a gender or by making gender the basis of division into (single-gender) groups. ‘De-dramatization’ (cf. Budde 2006), in contrast, aims for individualization, differentiation, and consideration for the differences among boys (and among girls), as well as other categories of social inequality, and conceives of gender competence more in the form of in-depth understanding” (Budde et al. 2011).

391 Cf. on this chapter 9: Practical tips for Boys’ Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys.

392 For boys at elementary school, cf. as an example Strobel-Eisele/Noack 2006.

393 On the risks when participation is voluntary, especially for short-term pedagogical activities, cf. also chapter 8. Evaluation during the second funding phase of the project (2008-2010).

394 When school and youth welfare services cooperate, boys’ work outside of school increasingly also takes place on school premises; in many cases, the teaching staff would like the boys’ psycho-social deficits to be dealt with. Cf. Kreienbaum/Urbanik 2006, summarizing the situation for boys and girls at school; Budde 2005 for boys at school; and Boldt 2006 for career and life orientation.

6.3 Contents of gender-related pedagogy with boys

The range of content-related activities in gender-related pedagogy is very broad. Individual activities depend on the goals of the pedagogical work, the mission of the institution, and the self-understanding and methodological repertoire of the pedagogue in question. Practical experience shows that pedagogical work with boys is popular if topics are addressed in concrete terms and boys are taken seriously in their insecurities and their quests.³⁹⁵

The following content and topics oriented to boys' interests and to the goal of developing sensitivity about constructs of masculinity are at the center of pedagogical work with boys:

- School, failing at school, vocational training, work and occupation, unemployment
- Active fatherhood, compatibility of family and work
- Love and partnership
- Friendship, problems in one's peer group
- Social competences, self-perception, responsibility, cooperation
- Ability to take care of oneself, caring
- Conflicts, anxiety, aggression, violence
- Grappling with images of men and women, both those pre-defined by society and one's own
- Sexuality, sexual orientation, relationship to one's own body, sexualized violence
- Enjoyment of one's own body beyond fitness and competitive sports, massages, relaxation exercises, fair fighting
- Intoxication, music, alcohol, drugs
- Computer games, use of media

395 Cf. Bentheim et al. 2004, p. 65.

In pedagogical work with these topics, the task is first and foremost to make the various aspects visible, to come to grips with them, and to practice them. According to the balance model, the following terms relevant for pedagogical work are arranged in pairs:

Concentration Integration	<i>self-reflection, critical distancing integration, belonging, responsibility for the group</i>
Conflict Protection	<i>capability for argument and confrontation caring for oneself and others</i>
Strength Boundaries	<i>self-confidence and awareness of social and physical strength and dealing with it productively; perceiving and respecting one's own and other people's boundaries</i>
Presentation Self-reference	<i>self-staging self-sufficiency, awareness of one's own strengths and weaknesses</i>
Homosocial relationship Heterosocial relationship	<i>interpersonal skills relating to one's own gender and to the other gender</i>
Breaking loose from cultural ties Cultural ties	<i>breaking loose from traditions and predetermined behaviors recognizing social agreements and cultural structures</i>
Achievement Relaxation	<i>productive use of resources mental and physical recreation</i>
Activity Reflexivity	<i>action, initiative reflecting and putting experiences into context</i>

The balance model developed by Winter and Neubauer (2001) provides a useful framework for orientation for putting a professional pedagogical setting into practice. This concept for pedagogical practice focuses on each boy's individually different situation and practices of presentation. The balance model uses the boys' existing potential as a starting point so that attention is mostly focused on the boys' diverse competences. This makes it possible to communicate about concepts of masculinity without recurring to denigrating wording.

The balance model can also be used to analyze the institution and the pedagogues involved³⁹⁶ and is oriented to the following questions:

- Boy: What does he have available to him? What are his skills? Where should he develop further?
- Boys' clique/group: Which aspects appear to be well-developed in a clique? What does the group need to be able to develop (further)?
- People working with boys: What do I have available to me? What are my skills? Where should I develop further? What do I have to offer to boys? What do I like about boys/about this particular boy? What aspects are easy/difficult for me to deal with?
- Institution: What can boys show in our institution, what can they not show? What areas of development can we offer them? What aspects are well/poorly developed in the institution itself?

6.4 Principles of gender-related pedagogy with boys

In his essay *Konzeptionelle Ansätze der Jungenarbeit auf dem Prüfstand* (Conceptual approaches to boys' work put to the test) (1999), Tiemann states that at first glance, boys' work presents itself as a debate about the proper adjective with which to describe more specifically the term "boys' work". However, he was also able to ascertain a trend away from mere labeling and more towards dealing with substantive issues.³⁹⁷ In the meantime, a number of articles have been published that have triggered these necessary processes and resulted in distinctly enhancing the profile of gender-related pedagogy with boys,³⁹⁸ even if the discourse about boys' and men's work continues to be diverse.³⁹⁹

Like every pedagogical concept for action, gender-related work with boys is characterized by a tension between empathy and drawing boundaries. For one thing, pedagogues doing gender-related work perceive boys in their diversity and may regard them as victims of society, family, school, peer group, and other entities of socialization, for example by granting them appropriate attention or protecting them preventively from violence and abuse or by granting them help and support if they have suffered sexualized violence. For another, they take a stand when it comes to transgressions of boundaries and assaults by boys and confront them with their behavior so that acts of violence, verbal and physical aggression and subordination as well as sexist or racist attacks do not remain without consequences. At the same time, this approach makes social problems such as violence and crime a topic of discussion as phenomena of masculinity.

396 The model was developed for boys' work by Neubauer and Winter (2001a/b), and accordingly is targeted towards male pedagogues. It can definitely be used by female pedagogues as well.

397 Cf. Tiemann 1999.

398 Cf. as an example Bentheim et al. 2004.

399 Cf. Forster 2004 and 2005; Busche/Cremers 2009; Cremers 2011.

Of course, discussions in pedagogical boys' work should not be centered on boys' failings; the boys should be perceived as differentiated personalities with strengths and weaknesses who differ on the basis of their individual development and structural criteria such as age, class, ethnicity, nationality, region (town/country), education, appearance, social competences, disabilities, sexual orientation, etc. On the other hand, we must not forget that attention must also be paid to children's and youths' problems and deficits "to try to understand the so-called 'good reasons,' for example the subjective purpose of a problematic pattern of behavior, as a protective and defensive strategy, in their very difficult situation. A one-sided perspective oriented toward resources or strengths can get in its own way when it comes to the necessary processes of understanding [...]."⁴⁰⁰

In other words, an approach centered on the individual's strengths and resources definitely needs to be accompanied in a manner critical of society exposing the current hegemonic pedagogical jargon, a jargon in which

"children are not uncared for, neglected, overwhelmed, injured, or disoriented, but are the true 'experts' when it comes to their desires and interests, their worldview and situation; in this vein, their parents, too, are not unemployed or underpaid, frightened, at a loss, separated, abused, discriminated against, helpless, or overwhelmed, but 'specialists' for their children—and of course also competent partners in child-raising for the professionals in public educational institutions. In light of all this romanticizing, one is tempted to forget—and that may be the intention—what kind of world most children have to grow up in: a violent, hypocritical, loveless world inimical to children, a society with chronic mass unemployment and obscene accumulation of private wealth."⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰⁰ Weiß 2011, p. 330; cf. on this also Freyberg 2011, p. 221 et seq.

⁴⁰¹ Freyberg 2011, p. 232.

⁴⁰² Cf. chapter 8. Evaluation during the second funding phase of the project (2008–2010).

Most authors currently writing about concepts of boys' work agree that pedagogical "highlights" (pedagogy focusing on adventures or experiences, coolness training, media projects, etc.) are less important than a gender-sensitive perspective. Pedagogical work based solely on the "technical" application of methods is counterproductive in two respects:

For one thing, the pedagogue fails to acknowledge both the gender-typical aspects of boys' lives and their individual and social diversity. For another, he or she does not reflect on his or her own genderedness and attitudes toward gender relations, though this is considered indispensable for gender-sensitive pedagogical work with boys.

In other words, there is agreement about the fact that it is not the method applied that makes the difference, but an understanding of boys' work as relationship work as well as a perspective schooled in gender issues. Pedagogical work need not necessarily take place in groups, and should also be oriented towards exercise and experience. Describing specific methods for boys' work is difficult if only for the reason that it is carried out with almost all age groups and in all fields of pedagogical work. Therefore, a specific repertoire of methods must be developed for each area and each age.

Above all—and not only in pedagogical work with socially and educationally underprivileged boys—methods are required that are characterized by diversity. For example, a good way to initiate conversations with boys about themselves is to use media such as photos or videos. Further examples of successful activities for boys in the context of *Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys* are to be found in chapters 7, 8, and 9.

The pedagogue's individual personality also provides an important foundation for successful gender-related pedagogy

with boys. Dealing with one's own "gendered" development as a person is helpful, perhaps even indispensable. After all, the pedagogue, whether male or female, inevitably provides the boys with opportunities for identification and delineation, even if this process is subconscious. The evaluation and observation of the activities offered in the context of *New Paths for Boys* have shown that an awareness of one's own boundaries and opportunities is just as important in working with boys as is knowledge about the fact that one's own gender is relevant when interacting with boys, and in what ways to avoid involuntarily reproducing gender-typical behavior or provoking it in the first place.⁴⁰²

"Individual gender-typifying acts range (...) from the well-known phrase 'boys don't cry!' to tasks posed in school that, by making things seem unambiguous, get students accustomed to stereotypes, for example: 'write down three occupations that you think are women's occupations and three that you think are men's occupations. Give reasons for your answer.'"⁴⁰³

Against the backdrop of gender hierarchy and the—in fact—minor presence of men in the educational lifeworld of children and youths, a number of differences between female and male pedagogues emerge in pedagogical work with boys.⁴⁰⁴ Because male pedagogues, kindergarten teachers, participants in a voluntary year of social service, or interns are so rare in places where children's and youths' education take place, they enjoy a popularity bonus, at least when they begin working there, and are welcomed with open arms, especially by boys.

Contact between women and boys can also be characterized by "crossed hierarchies." On the one hand, the hierarchical po-

sition of women working with children or youths in an institutional setting is above that of the boys; on the other, some boys, as soon-to-be men, attempt to claim their dominance vis-à-vis female pedagogues. Verbal sexualized assaults on female educators and pedagogues can be expressions of this battle for position in youth institutions, as can the refusal to put away toys at daycare centers. However, perceiving "crossed hierarchies" in these terms may also lead to other motivations for the boys' behavior not being perceived, or their behavior being interpreted incorrectly.

For example, white female German teachers often say during professional development courses that they feel that boys with certain family backgrounds of migration (tacitly implying a Muslim background) do not recognize their authority. However, this does not necessarily have anything to do with the gender hierarchy, as the example of a female teacher with a Turkish background shows. She explicitly pointed out in a professional development course that she usually had a good rapport with boys, "especially with boys with a family background of migration."⁴⁰⁵

"The hierarchization between the genders, which often has negative effects on women, seems to be more than canceled out here: as the teacher is Turkish, her gender is made dynamic and has a beneficial effect on the relationship between the boy and the teacher."⁴⁰⁶

403 Rendtorff 2006, p. 11.

404 On the different meaning of gender in pedagogical work with boys and girls cf. Glücks/Ottemeier-Glücks 2001; Jantz/Meister 2006; Busche 2010.

405 Busche 2010, p. 217.

406 *Ibid.*

6.5 Boys' work as a protected space—protecting boys from having to be boys

It is important in general to demonstrate to boys that self-reflection and dealing with masculinity benefits them, and not (just) others, as that significantly increases their motivation. For example, when boys become aware of the fact that they can transform their experiences of subordination and their feelings of powerlessness into experiences of power, they experience this insight as liberation from the pressures of masculinity. When the cycle of violence is made a topic of discussion, they discover that they (have to) dissociate feelings of sadness and anxiety that they experience between instances of escalation because such emotions are considered non-masculine. Only in an atmosphere that the boys perceive as a protected space are they prepared to talk about their fears and their experiences of powerlessness, and they are grateful for experiencing that they are not alone with their fears.⁴⁰⁷

However, it should be emphasized once again here that a protected space and addressing issues of grief, anxiety, and vulnerability need not necessarily be a component and goal of gender-related pedagogy with boys; relationship work is also an important but not necessary precondition for successful gender-related pedagogy. Especially when the focus is on relationship work between boys and men, there is the risk that an essentialist perspective of gender will creep into the picture because the notion that only male pedagogues are capable of offering high-quality pedagogy for boys gains currency. Teaching facts about gender and a mixed setting, as are often the case in the *Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys* activities, are just as important. They enable an exchange between boys and girls or men and women about their

differing experiences and perspectives. The decision about the appropriate setting or mixing different settings should be made depending on the context, goals, and institutional framework, which can be ascertained by a preceding gender analysis.

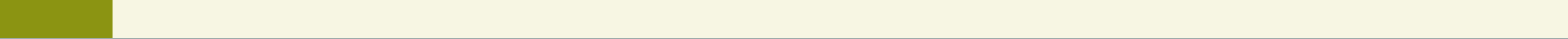
To summarize: while in public debates boys are viewed mostly in a simplified and homogenizing manner as losers in the school system, perpetrators of violence, and gunmen on a rampage,⁴⁰⁸ the state of research on boys and boys' work has become very differentiated.⁴⁰⁹ People have come to appreciate the problems caused when boys' needs, interests, and actions are assumed to be uniform ("*the boys ...*" or "*all boys ...*"). A subject- and resource-oriented perspective is becoming prevalent in gender-oriented pedagogy with boys, according to which boys are or should be perceived in their complexity and accompanied reflexively in their self-determined development. In the process, actors in social work must focus on questions about coping with life. What paths can boys choose, which are they permitted to choose, and which are blocked? What kind of support is necessary, what do those affected need in each individual case? This raises questions not only about individual potential, but also about power and access to resources.⁴¹⁰ A gender-emancipatory and intersectional perspective that observes not only the relationships between the genders but also within the gender groups must focus more strongly on boys' differing opportunities to participate in society and their differing situations in order to be able to develop appropriate activities for all boys and young men.

407 Cf. Jantz 2006, p. 53.

408 Cf. chapter 4. *Masculinity in crisis?*

409 Cf. for example Pech 2009; Budde/Mammes 2009.

410 Cf. Voigt-Kehlenbeck 2009c, p. 253.



7. Evaluation during the first funding phase of the project (2005–2007)

Commissioned by the Competence Center Technology—Diversity—Equal Opportunities, Dissens e.V. Berlin, an institute for consulting, education, and research, conducted an evaluation of New Paths for Boys between October 2005 and October 2007. The main goal was to identify appropriate and necessary underlying overall conditions for developing support for boys at the crossroads between school and work. A multistage research design was implemented in order to reach this goal.⁴¹¹

The following groups were surveyed in both years of the two-year pilot phase:

- Boys who participated in workshops/projects and internships
- teachers and principals of schools who coordinated or conducted such workshops/projects and internships
- Individuals from organizations, businesses, and institutions offering internships and projects/workshops
- Network partners of the pilot project

Figure 15:
Number of questionnaires sent out and number of responses

Groups surveyed	Number of questionnaires sent		Number of responses	
	Questionnaires			
	2006	2007	2006	2007
Boys	N=6.701	N=9.710	N=2.100	N=1.876
Schools	N=216	N=194	N=59	N=80
Businesses/ organizations	N=634	N=2.835	N=188	N=141
Individuals offering internships and projects/ workshops	N=183	N=321	N=51	N=21

The questionnaires were sent to schools and organizations of whose activities for boys the Service Office was aware. It drew on the network partners of *New Paths for Boys* and in particular the diverse activities for boys in the context of Girls' Day.

⁴¹¹ Cf. Cremers et al. 2008.

As the actors were sure in advance neither of whether the activities would actually take place nor of how many boys would participate, larger numbers of questionnaires were sent out to ensure that enough questionnaires would be available at each site offering activities. In this regard, the response rate for the questionnaires has only limited significance. It is not the actual response rate but only the number of filled-in questionnaires that were sent back.

At the beginning of *New Paths for Boys*, people were just beginning to make boys' planning for a career and the future a topic of discussion in education at and outside school as well as in scientific research. For this reason, questions about attitudes relating to gender equality at work and at home were at the center of the 2006 survey. The 2007 survey, in contrast, focused mostly on specific activities (projects/workshops/mini-internships) that were carried out and the satisfaction with them. In addition to the descriptive analysis via frequency distributions of the various groups surveyed in 2006 and 2007, the frequency distributions for relevant subgroups were calculated via cross-tabulation in each group surveyed. The participating boys were divided into the following subgroups: age groups (up to 11 years, 12 to 14 years, more than 14 years of age); educational level (*Hauptschule*, *Realschule*, *Gesamtschule*, *Gymnasium*); family background of migration (at least one parent born outside of Germany); career aspirations (tending towards a feminine connotation, tending towards a masculine connotation, tending towards neutrality); voluntariness (voluntary or involuntary participation), and location of the projects/workshops (at school, outside of school). Special subgroups—type of organization/type of school and gender—were created for the actors in businesses/organizations and schools as well as the individuals offering workshops for boys. The Service Office selected projects in seven cities across Germany and also carried out guided interviews for the survey year 2006. The purpose was to complement the quantitative

survey with explorative studies and to elaborate aspects that might be of interest for evaluating the quantitative data beyond the presuppositions of the survey.

7.1 Important findings and consequences for practical application—*New Paths for Boys* is well-received⁴¹²

More than 65% of the participating boys were between 12 and 14 years old. The trend became evident that the younger the boys were, the more positive their evaluation. Voluntary activities were also considered better than compulsory ones. This indicates that boys of this age group definitely do display interest in helping and social occupations. At the time of the surveys, most of the participants attended a *Realschule* (2006: 24%; 2007: 35% of all participants) or a *Hauptschule* (2006: 33%; 2007: 25% of all participants); *Gymnasium* students made up only a small part of the participants: 18% in 2006 and just 10% in 2007. Participation also varied strongly among Germany's federal states: 40% of all participants in 2006 were from North Rhine-Westphalia, 16% from Lower Saxony; participation in all the eastern federal states was low.

The evaluation provides evidence for the fact that reporting in the media on *New Paths for Boys* increased during the period 2005–2007, and that the number of network partners who supported the effort by means of project days, workshops, and cooperation with schools increased on a continuous basis.

Diverse forms of pedagogical support were made available to the participating boys at numerous activity sites. The range of activities evaluated included mini-internships in “gender-atypical” occupations, workshops for expanding social competences and/or making constructs of masculinity more flexible, and activities strengthening boys in their household and

⁴¹² The quotations here and below are to be found in Cremers et al. 2008.

family competences (household pass and household-themed scavenger hunt, babysitting course, and many others). The diversity of the activities offered reflects both a positive development in this area and the thematic independence of support for girls.⁴¹³ The projects and workshops were carried out by homeroom teachers, “other teachers” at the school, social education workers employed at the school, and workshop leaders who do not otherwise work at the schools in question. Almost 90% of the boys said they were “very satisfied” (36%) or “satisfied” (50.8%) with the leaders of their projects and workshops. It is interesting and surprising that the boys consistently evaluated the activities offered by women better than those offered by men. That means that female homeroom teachers received better evaluations than male homeroom teachers; “other female teachers” at the school better ones than “other male teachers” at the school; and non-school female project leaders better ones than non-school male project leaders.

“... Getting to know new opportunities, cool, fun, really great, very good, a good variety, interesting, lots of new experiences ...”⁴¹⁴

The activities in the form of internships, projects, and workshops were very well-received by a distinct majority of the roughly 4,000 boys who took part in the evaluation surveys. 85% of the boys who took part in a project/a workshop and 92% of those who performed a mini-internship considered their participation “very good” or “good.”

7.2 Important findings and consequences for practical application—Participating boys show increased interest in areas of work with a feminine connotation

In the 2007 survey, 70% of the boys stated that they thought it was a “good” idea to get acquainted with occupations still atypical for men in a mini-internship. 57.1% of the boys who performed a mini-internship said that their interest in that work/occupation had increased. In addition, boys who had performed a mini-internship stated that they could much better imagine later taking part in vocational training and working in an occupation with a feminine connotation.

It also became clear that it makes sense to prepare the students for their mini-internships and conduct follow-up sessions afterwards. The purpose of these efforts is to convey information (on the occupations) and work in particular with the students’ topic-specific experience. The adults involved also consider the boys’ interest to be “strong” or “very strong.” 74.5% made a very motivated and interested impression on the staff members of projects/workshops in 2006, and no less than 80.1% in 2007.

The adult actors involved were also “very satisfied” with implementation. In 2006, only about 3.2% of the adults surveyed considered the experiences with the boys negative, and in 2007, not one gave this response.

In both surveys, the groups of adults surveyed demonstrated very widespread agreement with the project content. All three focal areas were considered important or very important by the various groups surveyed, with only a few exceptions.

⁴¹³ Cf. Diaz 2011.

⁴¹⁴ In the group interviews, the boys were asked what spontaneously came to mind about their projects or mini-internships; they used these words in their responses (cf. Cremers et al. 2008).

7.3 Important findings and consequences for practical application—Positive results concerning attitudes towards gender-based division of labor

The evaluation also provides evidence of encouraging results in the area of boys' attitudes towards sharing housework as partners. The attitudes of the boys who were surveyed immediately after their projects or mini-internships were significantly more strongly oriented towards partnership than has been observed in other studies.⁴¹⁵ For example, on February 1, 2008, the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs described on its website a difficult 40/80 situation concerning gender-stereotyped distribution of the duties and tasks that arise.⁴¹⁶

“80 percent of young women would like to combine work and family, but at best 40 percent of young men can imagine a partnership in which responsibilities and tasks are distributed equally. Accordingly, only half the young women can expect to find an open-minded partner. The other half will encounter men who expect their wives to take responsibilities and tasks off their hands.”⁴¹⁷

At least on this day, the boys seem to have understood the idea of men reconciling family and work, which is normatively demanded in the context of [New Paths for Boys](#). In the 2006 survey, about 20% of the boys stated that they could “very well” imagine sharing household responsibilities as partners in the future, and an additional 52% said they could “well” imagine this. Roughly 29% of the boys stated that it was “very important” to them to have an occupation later on that enabled them to take care of housework and/or their children; for an additional 42% of the boys, this issue is at least “important.”

11.5% of the boys even stated that they could “very well” imagine taking a break from work for a few years to tend to housework and their children, and an additional 35.5% could “well” imagine this. On the other hand, this data can also be interpreted more pessimistically; after all, 30% of the boys “cannot” or can “hardly” imagine sharing child-raising and housework as partners. 16% of the boys considered the statement “I can imagine that I will need my time mostly for my occupation and will occasionally help with household tasks and/or the family” “very good” and another 44% “good.” Also: the older the boys are, the less often they state that they want to share housework and child-raising as partners, and the more important their occupation is to them.

“(...) we got here and then they simply assigned us someplace, we had no choice at all (...)”

Especially the group interviews with boys showed that as a rule, the participating boys were dissatisfied when they could not select their own internships, in other words, if they were assigned to a retirement home, a kindergarten, or a workshop for the disabled without having a say in the matter. The same was the case for boys who were only permitted to watch and not allowed to do anything themselves. Particularly seminars and projects were often not voluntary, but obligatory school events. About one-third of the boys responded to the question “How did you get the idea to participate in a project for boys?” by saying “All the boys in my class had to participate.” This fraction was significantly lower in the case of mini-internships, only about 18%. As boys who participated voluntarily in activities gave them significantly better evaluations, an attitude on the part of the teachers and pedagogues that is as participatory as possible is important. If possible, the planned activities should

415 Cf. on this also chapter 5.1 Traditional masculinity.

416 The BMFSFJ is referring here to findings of the *Shell-Jugendstudie* of 2006.

417 BMFSFJ 2008.

be presented in detail in advance so that the boys know what they are getting into, and can ask questions or indicate their preferences.⁴¹⁸

“(...) then my classroom is half empty (...)”

The fact that the public was generally aware of Girls’Day—Future Prospects for Girls as well as its organizational resources benefited events for boys even in the years before New Paths for Boys was initiated. For example, gender-segregated classes on occupational orientation and life planning were offered for boys at various schools across the country, and internship opportunities for boys in occupations dominated quantitatively by women were organized.

The interviews for the evaluation with actors who coordinated or carried out boys’ projects provide evidence of the fact that activities for boys in the context of Girls’Day also developed due to purely practical issues. The following example demonstrates this very vividly:

A social education worker responsible for several schools in her region has been conducting activities for girls on Girls’Day—Future Prospects for Girls in cooperation with the municipality’s equal opportunity officer for several years. In 2006, activities for boys were offered for the first time at the school being evaluated. The two women increasingly had the impression before Girls’Day that teachers resisted it, uttering statements like: “(...) then my classroom is half empty (...)” As in many other schools, the pragmatic question arose what to do with the boys while the girls were participating in Girls’Day. For the social education worker, a male student complaining that there were no activities for boys on that day made the difference. When she responded, “(...) you’ll simply have to bear

the situation, because there simply isn’t anything for boys this year, it’s specifically only for girls, (...) they’re supposed to get to know men’s occupations, technical occupations, and simply broaden their opportunities,” the young man responded, “but we never have the opportunity to get to know women’s occupations.” When the social education worker pointed out that the boy certainly did have the opportunity to do an internship in a “women’s occupation” during his year in a pre-vocational training program, he responded, “No, that isn’t true. If I wanted to do an internship at a hair salon, for example, my father would say (...) you’re gay.” This example points to two important aspects well-known from studies on masculinity as well as pedagogical practice with boys: norms of masculinity and homophobia.⁴¹⁹

Working with parents

Youths’ attitudes concerning the topics “occupation,” “division of labor,” and “life planning” are decisively influenced by their parents. Accordingly, the actors in businesses and institutions surveyed considered awareness-raising among parents to be a very important prerequisite for young men to broaden their career and life planning. Schools as well as those offering gender-related activities consider this aspect even more important. This situation results in the recommendation to those offering activities for boys that they include the parents and enter into dialogue and exchange with them, as mothers and fathers are usually not even aware that their influence is substantial. The aim is for parents to experience a benefit.⁴²⁰ “Only if the parents distinctly feel this benefit will they be interested in cooperating with the school long-term, which would in turn benefit their sons and daughters.”⁴²¹

418 Cf. on this the sections below on working with parents and the tips for conducting activities on Boys’Day—Future Prospects for Boys.

419 Cf. chapter 4.3.1 The concept of hegemonic masculinity and chapter 6 A gender-related approach to pedagogy.

420 Cf. Boldt 2008, p. 2.

421 Boldt 2008, p. 13. The website www.neue-wege-fuer-jungs.de provides introductory information for parents in several languages.



8. Evaluation during the second funding phase of the project (2008–2010)

by Katharina Debus

The evaluation of the second funding phase was carried out in cooperation by Dissens e.V. in Berlin and the Center for School and Education Research of Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg by Dr. Jürgen Budde, Katharina Debus, Stefanie Krüger, and Olaf Stuve. Building upon the evaluation of the first funding phase, the new evaluation posed the question as to which conditions in the context of New Paths for Boys supported boys' work and which proved obstacles. Two significant aspects emerged.

Firstly, it became apparent that embedding projects in school played an important role for a large portion of those projects carried out in the framework of [New Paths for Boys](#). This suggests that the principal's attitude is very significant when it comes to implementing such activities. However, there is hardly any systematic data on how many principals are familiar with New Paths for Boys, on their perspectives on such activities, about how many activities are offered for boys and for girls at schools, and about the relationship between activities for boys and for girls at schools. For this reason, knowledge in this area was deepened by means of a quantitative survey of principals in four model regions intended to be able to provide more targeted support for implementing activities in the framework of New Paths for Boys. To this end, we held telephone interviews with 81 principals in four model regions using a partly standardized questionnaire. The model regions

were selected to include contrasts in terms of the criteria "eastern Germany/western Germany," "economic situation," "concentration of activities offered for boys," and "political support" of pedagogy for boys. Each model region had 30 or 31 schools with whose principals we conducted telephone interviews; the aim was also to include schools that would not respond to a survey in writing due to a lack of interest. We attained this goal with a response rate of 70-80%, or a total of 81 data sets.

In addition to the conditions for implementation at schools, the main issues studied were what actually happened in the activities that took place, whether new paths for boys were actually being taken, or whether *old* paths were simply being trodden again. For this reason, as a second level of evaluation we examined activities for boys from several perspectives on the occasion of Girls' Day—Future Prospects for Girls. We selected three activities in which the participating boys performed an internship in a social-sector occupation (a mandatory one-day internship for a seventh grade class at a *Gymnasium*; a voluntary one-day activity spanning different age groups and types of schools; and a one-year activity with an average of one internship afternoon per week), two seminars for career and life planning (one one-week mandatory seminar for a ninth-grade class at a *Gesamtschule*, alternating coeducational and boys-only/girls-only activities; a one-day

voluntary seminar with seventh- and eighth-grade boys of different school types) and two one-day scavenger hunt activities (the [New Paths for Boys](#) household-themed scavenger hunt for all eighth-grade boys at a *Realschule*, and a scavenger hunt with various topics for all ninth-grade boys at a *Gymnasium*). With the exception of the one-week seminar alternating coeducational and boys-only/girls-only activities, all activities took place on the occasion of Girls' Day—Future Prospects for Girls in 2009 and 2010.

We examined each of these activities by means of participant observation. In addition, we carried out fourteen group discussions with a total of 48 boys who had participated in activities as well as one group discussion with five boys who had not participated. The topics of the discussions included their perceptions of the activity in question, their ideas for the future, and their career aspirations. We also conducted seventeen expert interviews with participating teachers, non-school pedagogues, regional experts in boys' work, project coordinators, and employees of businesses that offered internships. We evaluated our own observations and the results of the interviews and group discussions employing the grounded theory method.

8.1 Structurally embedding boys' work

In the interviews with non-school boys' work practitioners, structurally embedding the activities in schools proved a critical supporting factor or obstacle. Besides persistent underfunding and the precariousness of education outside of school, the main problem mentioned was the fact that the activities could not easily be embedded in the logic of school. This is reflected both in the lack of availability of rooms and in the fact that the time available for pedagogical work with boys is always limited by the pressure of the curriculum or the fact that classes must be canceled.

As a rule, the teachers who conducted boys' work activities themselves, who organized them with non-school pedagogues, or who motivated the boys to participate in regional activities were not exempted from their normal teaching duties to do so, or to only a marginal extent. In the activities conducted by the teachers themselves, this was manifested in inadequate staffing and at times a lack of direction: in one case, the responsible teacher explicitly said that the purpose was mainly to do something with the boys in the absence of the girls, something that was possible with the little teacher time available and did not cost the school much money. It seems safe to assume that this could apply to many activities (cf. chapter 7. Evaluation during the first funding phase of the project 2005–2007).

Familiarizing oneself with the aims of boys' work that reflects on gender necessitates time and, if possible, networking. The latter was mentioned by one teacher and several boys' work practitioners as one of the most important conducive conditions, especially knowing whom to approach if questions arose and where to find good materials. In the expert interviews, many experts mentioned the Germany-wide network and information platform [New Paths for Boys](#) with its three elements networking/networking meetings, advice, and provision of well-written and easily accessible pedagogical materials that can be used free of charge and without prior special knowledge as particularly helpful. Against this background, it is sobering that just 18% of the principals were aware of [New Paths for Boys](#).

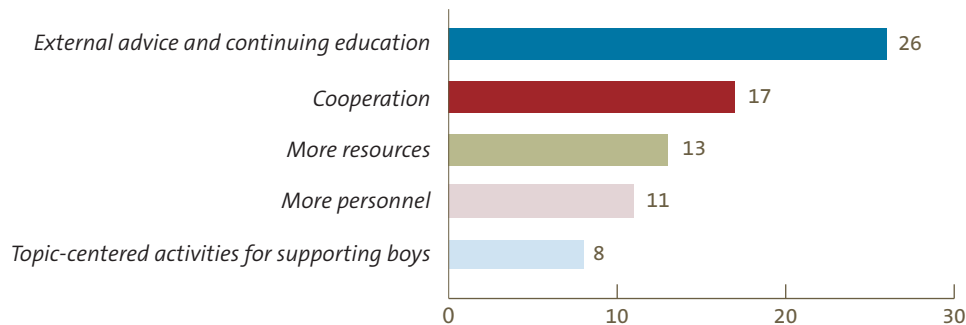
Implementing the topic via the principals is necessary, especially in the sense of a top-down approach, so that activities at school that reflect on gender do not rely only on voluntary extra work on the part of a few lone teachers. In our quantitative survey of principals, their two most urgent wishes were "training and advice" and "cooperation opportunities," mentioned even more frequently than "more resources" and "more personnel."

Beyond the question of the resource of time, one may assume that on average, principals should be relatively open for such networking as they agreed broadly with the basic assumptions of boys' work as well as expressing their desires for advice, continuing education, and cooperation. For example, on a scale of 1 (I do not agree at all) to 4 (I agree fully), respondents agreed most with the statement "It makes sense to work separately with boys and girls on certain topics" (average: 3.51). The statements "Boys suffer from the societal pressure that they are supposed to act in a masculine way" (average: 2.84) and "The differences between girls and boys at school stem most of all from different conditions of socialization" (average: 2.73) also scored high.

8.2 How boys perceive themselves, how others perceive boys

Pedagogues' images of boys stood out as a relevant factor in our study regarding the question of whether activities derived from pedagogues' images of boys matched the boys' interests. Five stereotypes about boys and boys' work emerged in our evaluation, partly in pure form, partly in combination with other factors. I shall present them briefly below and contrast them with our observations and the statements the boys interviewed made about themselves. In so doing, I shall also include results of the questions about attitudes from the survey of principals; these were multiple-choice questions on a scale of 1 (I do not agree at all) to 4 (I agree fully). Because of the room for interpretation offered by multiple-choice questions, unequivocal conclusions cannot be drawn. Nonetheless, I do believe that they provide evidence for the prevalence of certain attitudes if reference is made to the results of the qualitative study.

Figure 16—Survey of 81 principals (2009)



Absolute values of the clustered mentions responding to the open question: "Do you want support relating to promoting boys? If so, what type?" Multiple answers were possible. N = 81.

“Boys with a family background of migration or from educationally disadvantaged population groups have particularly strong gender stereotypes”⁴²²

In the survey of principals, agreement with the item “Regarding problems with male behavior, cultural background plays the crucial role” ranked second-highest with an average of 2.94. This result can be interpreted in different ways. “Culture” as a contentious term can mean ethnic-national-religious⁴²³ culture just as well as family, youth, peer-group, or school culture. Due to currently popular discourses that consider ethnic-national-religious cultures primary cultures while other cultures are assigned prefixes such as subculture and the like, and that often project gender-stereotyped behavior onto “Mediterranean” cultures or ones characterized by Islam, it is safe to assume that such an everyday understanding of culture prevailed when respondents answered this question. Another indication for this can be found in the interview records where comments on the questions were also noted. Several comments are to be found here confirming that culture was interpreted as ethnic-national-religious culture, and none that suggest a different understanding of culture.

This understanding, according to which stereotyped concepts of gender are ascribed particularly to students (male and female) with a family background of migration and/or from educationally disadvantaged population groups, was also found in our participant observation and expert interviews, especially (but not only) in teachers. As an example we present a statement from a highly dedicated teacher who teaches at a West German urban *Gesamtschule* with a high proportion of students from low-income families with a background of migration:

“No, because looking at the children I teach, I don’t think that the girls would pursue a typical boys’ occupation, or the boys a typical girls’ occupation. Never! I’m absolutely sure! Even though the children really liked it a lot in those daycare centers [...]. Last year, one of the boys, a Brazilian, he liked it so much, he felt so comfortable there and the childcare workers all said, my god, he’s so good at it. He’ll never pursue an occupation like that.”

When asked about this, the teacher could not confirm this attribution, neither with the story of another boy who had in the meantime left school, nor with the boy’s parents’ attitude, much less with statements he had made himself. Several times, we encountered similar statements about boys or girls with a family background of migration or from so-called “educationally disadvantaged population groups” that contradicted the explicit and, we believe, credible statements by students about their housework activities, statements supported by pertinent knowledge.

According to our observations and interviews, this image corresponded to the teachers’ active attempts to support precisely these boys and girls. In our view, this was based on the desire to do justice particularly to the teachers’ own clientele and to understand them in their “otherness.” Nonetheless, this image of boys (and people in general) is problematic in several ways: it overlooks stereotypical behaviors in middle-class families and families of the German majority culture, and it delegates problematic behaviors to the “others.” For one thing, this is at odds with reality; for another, this perspective relieves the teacher and the institution of school of responsibility—they are, after all, the entities conveying stereotyping attitudes—thereby losing sight of the specific boys of all backgrounds who should be the starting point for subject-oriented support (cf. chapter 6. A gender-related approach to pedagogy).

422 The headings do not reflect the author’s opinion, but rather comprise a condensed summary of the image of boys held by some pedagogues as described below.

423 This term draws upon Paul Mecheril’s (2000) concept of ethnic-national-cultural belonging.

In the interviews with the boys, differences according to socioeconomic status or ethnic-national-religious cultural background could be found only inasmuch as *Hauptschule* and *Gesamtschule* students showed greater interest in vocational training and courses of study in social-sector occupations than *Gymnasium* students, whereby the proportion of boys from financially less well-off families with less formal education as well as boys with a family background of migration is larger at *Hauptschulen* and *Gesamtschulen* (cf. chapter 3.1.1 Gender-related opportunities at school). Beyond that, the boys' statements about themselves revealed no other differences based on socioeconomic status, parents' educational backgrounds, and family backgrounds of migration.

“Boys are immature—boys have fundamentally different needs than girls”

Similarly, the image of boys held by the *Gymnasium* teacher quoted as follows runs counter to a subject-oriented pedagogy for boys:

“You can't do mini-internships in women's occupations with most ninth-grade boys; there's too much resistance, they aren't far enough along yet. Everybody was given the option, and four are doing such mini-internships right now, but it takes courage: they're being called gay and the like.”

For one thing, this image makes boys into a homogeneous group. For another, it gives their being (“They aren't mature enough yet”) as the reason for their behavior (selecting the scavenger hunt when faced with the choice of a voluntary internship in a so-called “women's occupation” or the alternative: obligatory participation in a scavenger hunt at school) and disregards alternative approaches for explaining it. This applies similarly to the statement “boys have fundamentally different needs than girls,” which scored an average of 2.65 on a scale of 1 to 4 in the survey of principals. Even if we exercise requisite caution when interpreting multiple choice questions,

it can also be presumed here that boys who do not conform to traditional notions of masculinity are not taken into account in the response, as is the case for girls who deviate from the usual images of femininity.

Both of these perspectives bring about problems for pedagogical action: as this perspective views all boys as part of a single homogeneous group, boys who do not act according to this pattern are ignored as boys. But the different reasons for which various boys conform to the stereotype are neglected as well. Peer-group pressure, described in the previous chapters, is one of these reasons. The essence of boys' being is derived, namely as being fundamentally different from girls, beginning with a kind of behavior that some boys do not display at all and that other boys may feel is a result of force or blackmail (if you want to be popular, then you must not .../must ...). This—mistaken—deduction is then taken in turn as the basis for a pedagogy supposedly oriented towards boys' specific interests.

In the example of the teacher quoted above, this specific pedagogy meant that the girls had to perform a compulsory mini-internship on Girls' Day—Future Prospects for Girls because the few who would have gone to school would have been in the way. In contrast to the boys, the girls (at least as perceived by the teacher responsible) could be made to perform an internship by applying pressure and alleging that they were simply interested in having more free time without this resulting in noisy protest.

The year before, only very few boys had performed an internship. The consequence was that a mini-internship was voluntary for boys on Girls' Day. All boys not interested in an internship had to participate in a scavenger hunt on the topics of “future” and “friendship;” to save resources, it was run by one teacher and some upper-grade students who had been given brief instruction—and this with more than 60 boys participating. In the eyes of the teacher, the fact that in this year, too, only four boys took advantage of the opportunity to take part in an internship confirmed his perception of immaturity.

In an interview with the boys who participated in the scavenger hunt, it became clear that they had only a very limited idea of what a “woman’s occupation” actually is. They had simply associated occupations they found undesirable, such as secretary or cleaner (“slave jobs,” as one boy said), or occupations where realistically speaking, no interesting activities were possible during a one-day internship (“sweeping up hair at a hair salon”). As a result, they had decided against an internship. After the female interviewer had informed them about occupations such as elementary school teacher and preschool teacher, some of the boys regretted not having taking advantage of this opportunity. One boy even wanted to become a pre-school teacher.

At this point, it becomes clear that referring to the essence of boys (be it their lack of maturity or their being male) obscures the responsibility of the institution of school and of pedagogues. After all, it would be the task of the teaching staff to develop or implement appropriate pedagogical concepts and strategies for conveying these messages and thus create conditions under which boys could become interested in topics and activities that run counter to gender stereotypes. The designation as “women’s occupations” proves to be problematic in two respects here: for one thing, it is less informative than, for instance, terms such as “social sector occupations” or “service sector occupations,” as the boys’ associations demonstrated; for another, it assigns people to particular roles: “real” boys and men do not consider such occupations desirable since they are, after all, “women’s occupations.” Boys who perform such an internship voluntarily are thus labeled as special, and boys who are not highly interested in such internships are prevented from developing such an interest, provided they feel it important to be “real” boys. Using the term “women’s occupations” dramatizes the issue; this may make sense if the purpose is to problematize gender segregation on the labor market. However, concepts and time must be available if such dramatization is to be followed by successful “de-dramatization.” In the absence of concepts and time, it is an obvious

choice not to use such terminology, in other pedagogical activities as well.

In our interviews, we found gender-stereotyped statements by the boys in terms of majority opinions only concerning questions involving planning for the more distant future. When asked about their lives in twenty years, all boys wanted a heterosexual marriage and at least one child—with the exception of just a few who had no ideas about the subject, and one boy who was of the opinion that he could not take on responsibility for a wife and child as he wanted to become a military diver. The overwhelming majority of the boys felt that a well-paid and secure job with which they could feed a family was a basic prerequisite for making this desire a reality. Some boys explicitly wanted their female partner to have a job, but not at the expense of their own careers following the birth of a child. Many boys said they wanted their female partners to stay at home and take care of the children, but most of them made clear that that should not be against their will. Only three of the 53 boys could imagine staying at home themselves to take care of the children while their female partners earned the family income. However, the overwhelming majority of the boys wanted to have time for their children (cf. on this chapter 4.3.2 Obstacles to an egalitarian gender order). When asked again, more than a few boys said they were interested in discussing in a group setting whether these various wishes could be fulfilled and reconciled as well as different ways of dealing with the possible situation that they could not be fulfilled—but opportunities for such an exchange of views were lacking. The boys’ career aspirations, on the other hand, were more diverse than their ideas about family life. Almost half of the boys want to enter an occupation with a masculine connotation. The occupations of lawyer and police officer were particularly popular, a dream probably beyond the reach of all the boys. Roughly one-eighth of the boys explicitly wanted to train in an occupation with a feminine connotation. The other boys were either still undecided or interested in occupations that were not gender-coded or had both a masculine and a feminine

connotation. In other words, there is much more diversity in this regard than with family planning.

When it comes to experiences in the present, the situation presents itself as being quite different from gender-stereotyped assumptions: all the boys who participated either in a mini-internship in an occupation with a feminine connotation or in a household-themed scavenger hunt were enthusiastic about this experience, regardless of whether the activity was voluntary or compulsory. When asked specifically, boys who took part in other activities were also interested in such experiences or were open to them. No one explicitly rejected such options in our presence.

Our conclusion from these findings is that the boys who were interviewed were generally very open towards new experiences and that their attitudes towards future-oriented questions were more stereotypical the more distant the issue was in the future. The decision about an occupation was to be made relatively soon, which is why on an individual basis it was possible to discern very different interests. The issue of family, however, was so distant that gender-stereotypical responses probably seemed to provide the safest model. In other words, our study disproved or differentiated the image of boys held by some of the pedagogues and principals surveyed, who tended to regard boys as a homogeneous group. Thus, when boys act according to the gender stereotype, pedagogues' first impulse should be to ask about the conditions under which such stereotypical behavior is generated: both in the dynamics among the boys and in pedagogical communication.

As a next step, a type of pedagogy should be developed from this situation, as described in chapter 6. A gender-related approach to pedagogy, one which does not accept these limitations on behavior as given and reinforce them, but rather cre-

ates conditions under which boys can experiment with other experiences and behaviors so that each and every boy has more individual latitude.

“There is a lack of role models for boys”

This image of boys includes important and simultaneously highly problematic notions as are commonly found in the debates around boys' work. For one thing, it states that what society requires of boys/men is becoming more and more contradictory. One interview partner summed this up as follows:

“Today, if I decide to be tough, then people will say I'm not soft enough; if I decide to be empathic and take sides for children, then I'll be considered a softie and a wimp.”

According to the image of some teachers and boys' work practitioners, boys respond to this by becoming more traditional. The reason for this reaction, they say, is a lack of diverse male role models, which is intended to be compensated by activities of boys' pedagogy.⁴²⁴ This is also the case in the survey of principals, with relatively high agreement (average = 2.79) with the statement “We lack men who will work with the boys.” It became clear in the expert interviews that some boys' work practitioners considered this statement to mean “man-to-man contact.” Boys are supposed to experience role models through such a man; contact with grown-up men becomes the most important starting point for pedagogical work with boys. This implies a significant shift from the boys' interests and experiences to the pedagogue's personality. The boys' work practitioner himself becomes the focus of boys' work.

This perspective cannot be reconciled with the boys' statements about themselves. Various aspects of this image of boys held by pedagogues also prove to be problematic. We did not observe in our surveys that the boys had become more

.....
424 Cf. on this chapter 3.1.1 Gender-related opportunities at school.

traditional in terms of activities focused on the present, as had been assumed. Instead, it seemed to us that in some cases, it was precisely pedagogical interventions that induced boys to develop more traditional ideas. This was usually associated with the fact that the interests and experiences of the boys were upstaged and the personality of the boys' work practitioner and the topics he was interested in became the focus of attention. This shift also runs counter to the current discussion within the boys' work community that calls for subject orientation.⁴²⁶

It is striking in the boys' responses that they considered internships and the experience-oriented household-themed scavenger hunt significantly better than the seminars and the scavenger hunt with mixed themes. This does not argue against offering seminars per se, but rather for the necessity to further develop concepts and to focus attention more on the boys than on the pedagogues. It was our impression that the boys were less interested in role models than in partners with whom they could engage. This was expressed, for example, in the sometimes very good feedback about the group discussions, because the interviewer's critical questions triggered conversations that the boys were very interested in—regardless of the interviewer's gender.

This observation or assumption is supported by the finding of the first evaluation described above, according to which boys surprisingly rated the Girls' Day—Future Prospects for Girls activities carried out by women better than those carried out by men. This is not to say that boys did not also wish to engage with men about serious questions about life. Male partners for this purpose can be valuable for many boys. But this does not mean that male pedagogues are welcomed per se by boys as role models, nor does it mean that boys would not feel that

substantive engagement with women or people of other genders would not be very fruitful, either.⁴²⁷

“Boys compete”

The starting point for the fourth perception is behaviors restricting boys' scope; the reason for such behaviors is seen in the dynamics among boys.⁴²⁷ As the following statement by a boys' work practitioner describes, he believes that boys make it impossible for each other to have certain experiences because, for example, they do not dare to ask questions:

“[The boys] individually are great individual personalities, but in group settings, they act against each other. And just that plays a role, too: they're afraid that they might not understand something, because that in turn will be taken up and used against them.”

This image of competitiveness leads to the pedagogical consequence of creating protected spaces and/or spaces for experimentation.

This perception, too, does not correspond unequivocally to the boys' statements about themselves. However, group dynamics do in fact prove to be one of several relevant factors regarding participation or non-participation in voluntary activities. In the case of a voluntary seminar, the students who did not participate emphasized that they wanted to concentrate on succeeding at school. Only the less successful students, those who were less oriented towards high performance, they said, had participated in the seminar. In another place where boys had the opportunity to perform a voluntary internship in a social sector occupation, the dynamics were exactly the reverse: participating in it was the mark of a committed student;

425 Cf. Pech 2009, p. 245 f.; cf. chapter 6. A gender-related approach to pedagogy.

426 Cf. chapter 6. A gender-related approach to pedagogy.

427 Cf. on this chapter 3.1.1 Gender-related opportunities at school and chapter 5.1 Traditional masculinity.

students who did not arrange an internship were looked down upon as lazy or disorganized. The analysis that competitive comparisons and differentiations from others play a major role, in particular in a school context, and that this also affects activities for boys on Girls' Day—Future Prospects for Girls, is confirmed by the findings of this study.⁴²⁸

In the activities we studied, efforts to create spaces for experimentation where these dynamics were suspended were only in part successful. One reason for this is not surprising: due to the short-term pedagogical format, all the seminars observed had only a limited opportunity to create new spaces together with the students. Another reason lies in problematic behaviors on the part of some pedagogues, which I will go into in more detail in chapter 8.3 [New Paths for Boys?](#)

“Boys gain too little experience in some areas”

According to some teachers and boys' work practitioners, boys do not necessarily come up with the idea that activities in the social sector could be interesting to them, because the sector “has more of a feminine connotation anyway.” To them, this results in the pedagogical conclusion that they should enable boys to gain such experiences. After all, “if they go to social sector institutions regularly, their social competencies will increase as well.” The stated goal is “to offer a world to male students specifically that is in part new to them.”

At times, the reasons given for this statement include the pedagogue's own experiences and the retrospective assessment that it would have been advantageous to have had the opportunity to participate in such activities as a youth:

“When I was that age myself, I had no idea at all about those things (ironing, preparing meal plans, wrapping

presents ...). And when I moved out, I was really thrown in at the deep end—and the water doesn't have to be all that deep.” (a teacher at a *Realschule*)

This image of boys on the part of pedagogues corresponds to the boys' self-descriptions, whereby the degree of real lack of experience regarding, for example, household activities or dealing with small children, differs from one boy to the next. The boys formulate an interest in areas of activity that are new to them, regardless of whether they can imagine their careers in this area, and they criticize that there is hardly room at all for such experiences in day-to-day school life.

.....
⁴²⁸ Cf. chapter 3.1.1 *Gender-related opportunities at school* and chapter 5.1 *Traditional masculinity*.

8.3 New Paths for Boys?

Activities specifically for boys were relatively widespread at the schools where we conducted the quantitative survey: almost two-thirds of the schools offered activities for boys on the occasion of Girls' Day—Future Prospects for Girls, and roughly the same proportion—to some extent in other regions—offered activities at other times. On average, *Gymnasium* schools offered fewer boys' work activities than *Förderschulen*, *Hauptschulen*, and *Realschulen*. However, boy-related activities are not necessarily the same as gender-reflecting activities or ones broadening gender images.

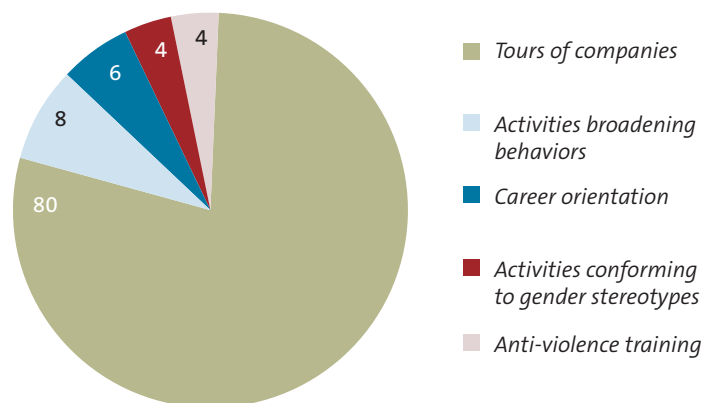
Company tours, which were mentioned forty times in our study, were the most common activity on the occasion of Girls' Day—Future Prospects for Girls, followed by activities with the tendency to broaden behaviors on topics such as social competencies or the household (in the form of the

household-themed scavenger hunt). Career orientation was in third place. More gender-stereotypical activities such as “fixing motorbikes” were just as uncommon as non-violence training.

Activities for boys at other times followed a different pattern: activities that might lead one to assume they were oriented along stereotypical gender roles, such as project groups for building, sports, etc., made up almost 50%; socio-pedagogical topics such as sex education that may be broadening, stereotyping, or ambivalent accounted for another quarter, and activities that might lead one to at least assume intentions to expand gender roles, such as boys' conferences or a cheerleader project group for boys, amounted to 18%.

This list is not intended to fundamentally devalue activities that conform to gender role stereotypes in the context of [New Paths for Boys](#). However, it makes sense to differentiate between activities that serve interests that society already

Figure 17: Activities for boys on the occasion of Girls' Day—Future Prospects for Girls in % (2009)



Clustered responses to the open-ended question “Did the students at your school have the opportunity to participate in activities for boys on the occasion of Girls' Day—Future Prospects for Girls? If so: Which projects etc. were available to the boys?” in percent of the 51 schools offering activities. Multiple answers were permitted. N = 51.

suggests to boys and those with the goal of enabling boys to have communicative or action-oriented experiences available to them more rarely than to girls.

Activities of boys' work and gender-reflecting pedagogy have the latter as their goal. Yet this does not mean that the goal is always attained. One focus of our study was on the actual order of events of such activities and how boys and pedagogues perceive them, as well as our participant observation. In the evaluation, we elaborated factors that tend to hinder new paths for boys more than to particularly promote them.

Factors functioning as obstacles

The perception described above that boys were not yet mature enough for the topic, that they were not interested or unable to concentrate, proved an obstacle. The conclusion drawn by pedagogues resulted in an attitude of being easy on the boys: pedagogues took, or accepted, the boys' lack of interest in serious experiences or engagement as given, and tried to generate interest by using a fun approach, in other words, by outsmarting the boys.

They implemented this fun approach by, for example, making the activities competitive. Competitive situations were intended to pique the boys' interest. On the one hand, the boys criticized concepts in which, for instance, points were awarded unjustly or arbitrarily at the various stops of the scavenger hunt. On the other hand, these activities were carried out in such rapid succession that there was not enough time to convey knowledge or to engage seriously with the issue at hand. The boys also wondered what some of the activities or parts of activities had to do with the topic. Trying to understand what was to be specific to boys about such activities resulted in more or less helpless attempts to reconstruct a gender-oriented intention, which at worst may lead to strengthening gender

stereotypes; at best they ended with the assessment that while the activity had been fun, it had not been particularly interesting in terms of its content.

On the one hand, the boys enjoyed warm-up games, but they sometimes took up more time than, for example, the evaluation of their concrete experiences in their internships. Yet the boys were very interested precisely in these evaluations. In addition, all the fun-oriented activities followed a masculine-coded concept of fun that could be described with the buzzwords competitiveness, quick-wittedness, and sexualization. It should be presumed that the same boys who find themselves at a disadvantage in their peer group at other times also lost out here. In any case, one cannot speak of new paths for boys if concepts of fun that follow traditionally masculine patterns are not at least complemented by alternative understandings of fun that do without winners and losers, competition and sexualization.

In addition, in particular regarding sexualization, boys' work practitioners occasionally considered the fun part more fun than the boys did, as the conversation excerpt below documents:

[Prior to the situation described here, gender preferences regarding occupations requiring vocational training were discussed in boys' work preparing the boys for a mini-internship.] "The same question is asked about studying [at a university]. Mike Turner⁴²⁹ asks where the fewest men are to be found. Morus Stadl [...] tries to illustrate the question with the following words: 'You want to meet a woman at the university, where will you face the least competition?' [In the preparatory group session, he had used this example as well; it had at least met with a few giggles then; in this session, however, there was no reaction at all. Instead, it seemed to have increased the boys' boredom, particularly since the boys had difficulty guessing courses of study.]

429 Mike Turner and Morus Stadl are the individuals providing instruction for this boys' work activity. Both names have been anonymized.

The next example to illustrate this point: ‘Where do you see a lot of women and just a few men? When you go to the vet, most of them are women.’ Then the pedagogue mentions the proportions of men and women in the field. Again complemented by: ‘The perfect place to meet the woman of your life.’ The boys do not respond at all.”

Here, Morus Stadl is trying to pique the boys’ interest in courses of study that statistically speaking have a feminine connotation by promising them especially good odds on the heterosexual marriage market. Rather than providing information about the occupations and describing them as interesting, he tries to arouse extrinsic interest by sexualizing the contacts with other people that can be expected at the university, thereby implicitly conveying the message that the boys are unlikely to be intrinsically interested in the occupation in question. It is too late to determine whether the boys’ reactions—none at all in seventh grade, and only meager reactions in the eighth grade—were due to the fact that the train of thought was too complicated for them, and that they had trouble even guessing the gendered connotations of the various courses of study, or whether they didn’t understand the boys’ work practitioner’s sexualization. It is safe to assume a combination of both.

At least in terms of allocating the scarce resource of time, all of these strategies to outsmart the boys failed to meet the boys’ interests. For one thing, according to the boys’ statements in the group discussions and also our own observations, no such strategies were necessary in the first place: most of them were highly interested in engaging with the topics of occupation, the future, and life planning. Their interest in exchanging with each other about their experiences and their families’ ways of life was even stronger. Wherever such exchange took place, it received very positive evaluations, and overall, the boys called for more time for such discussions as well as practical experiences. For another thing, in many cases the boys did not understand the purpose of precisely these methods.

Beyond the problem of masculine-coded fun as a strategy for outsmarting the boys, there were two more factors that tended to be unfavorable. Some follow-up sessions to the internships did not offer enough time to evaluate the boys’ experiences. Part of the time available was spent on the boys’ work practitioners’ efforts to outsmart the boys, as problematized above, and part of it on the pedagogues’ efforts to present themselves as “real” men, or men belonging to a particular subculture, for example in conversations or comments not connected to the topics at hand about clothing styles or sexual practices. This ties in with the stereotype described above that boys need male role models most of all.

Not least, this time was also spent on dramatizations of gender (cf. also the deliberations on “dramatization and de-dramatization” in chapter 6. A gender-related approach to pedagogy), for instance, by asking the boys to give examples of what is typically masculine or typically feminine, or by having them guess—at times with quite some trouble—what occupations had feminine or masculine connotations. Here, the boys were first asked to reproduce stereotypes with which they were not familiar. Then they were instructed that these stereotypes were incorrect. We observed that the intended de-dramatization had a smaller effect than the dramatization of gender. On the other hand, the boys’ concrete experiences as well as what they reported from their family life offered numerous starting points for a discussion, whereby the boys’ content-related interests and views could have been taken seriously and the pedagogues would not have dramatized anything. This opportunity was seldom taken up, probably due to a lack of time.

Supporting factors

Conversely, the boys often considered exchange with other boys and with adults—on topics relevant in the present and the future—in seminar settings, internships, interviews conducted by the boys themselves as well as in the group discussions we carried out to be very interesting, and they expressed the desire for more opportunities for such conversations. The film *Eigentlich wollte ich Fußballprofi werden* (“Actually I wanted to become a professional soccer player”) from the [New Paths for Boys](#) program, which presents portraits of five young men working in occupations with a feminine connotation, received unequivocally positive evaluations.

Beyond experiences in the present, some boys express strong interest in information and debates on the topic “future” (choice of occupation, compatibility of different areas of life, etc.) and criticized that there are not enough activities on this topic. Others, on the other hand, disengage when the discussion becomes too abstract or turns to topics that confront them with their lack of opportunities due to societal conditions.

After performing mini-internships, the boys responded with great interest to questions about their experiences: this was true in follow-up sessions in the classroom, in a setting with the entire group during a party following a regional activity, and in the interviews. They were interested both in evaluating their own experiences and in talking about other boys’ experiences. It caught our eye, for example, that in the setting with the entire group, when boys reported about the “cute children” they had met when they visited a daycare center, there was no pressure to appear cool.

All the practical experiences were evaluated positively:

Both mini-internships and the household-themed scavenger hunt offered by [New Paths for Boys](#) were welcomed without reservation. Boys especially experienced their own (at times surprising) competence, but also the recognition they received from adults, and in the case of mini-internships in daycare centers, also from the children in a positive way. The boys called such visits informative and providing a good variety; they described the children simply as “cute.” The experience of being competent in the area of care also had an effect on the boys’ attitudes regarding family planning. Some boys who had not performed an internship in day care facilities responded to the question as to the division of labor later on that they did not trust themselves to take on responsibility for small children; women could do so much better. None of the boys who had performed a mini-internship brought forward this kind of arguments.⁴³⁰

430 Cf. *Debus/Stuve* 2011.



9. Practical tips for Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys

by Jürgen Budde, Katharina Debus, and Olaf Stuve

In this chapter, we provide tips for carrying out activities on [Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys](#). If you would like to offer a boys' work project at your institution, you should be mindful of some special features that we will discuss in the following. While [Girls' Day—Future Prospects for Girls](#) is focused on giving girls the opportunity to gain experience by means of a mini-internship in a technical occupation or in the skilled crafts and trades, the activities made available on [Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys](#) are to be broader; this has proven successful in projects in the context of the [New Paths for Boys](#) program. The broader approach taken by [New Paths for Boys and Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys](#) follows from the insight that both the traditional and the modernized “normal biography” of males are still oriented towards occupation and career. This career orientation still entails many obstacles for developing gender relations in a fair way and for boys' productive and fulfilling individual development. For this reason, it is important to provide a broad variety of activities. [New Paths for Boys](#) encompasses three thematic areas:

- career and life planning
- making notions of masculinity more diverse
- expanding social competences

Different emphases are possible within this range. [Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys](#) activities might include mini-intern-

ships, for example in social sector, care, and childcare occupations, as well as social education seminars where boys deal with questions of life planning or expanding their social competences, or critically examine prevailing traditional and modernized images of masculinity and femininity.

9.1 Developing criteria for Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys activities

A pragmatic approach makes sense when developing new activities, but the resulting program should not seem random. From the perspective of evaluating [New Paths for Boys](#), the lack of a clear goal for the activities for boys is a significant obstacle to successful implementation. Criteria and goals for the work are necessary. The following list of questions may help you specify realistic goals for activities on [Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys](#). The first step involves determining the goal in terms of content, the second step is about estimating resources.

Goals of the boys' work activities

The goals of the activities depend on the topic to be addressed, among other things.

Is the activity to be part of career orientation? If so, the following questions arise:

- What should be made a topic of discussion?
- Are the boys to be provided access to social sector, care, and childcare occupations?
- Should the segregation of the world of work along gender stereotype lines be taken up?
- Are the boys to learn competencies in the realm of house-work and care?

Our observations showed that embedding general career orientation in the school context is a positive factor contributing to success and continuity. Your activities may already link up with a school profile that makes it easy to fit in gender-reflecting career orientation and life planning. In the absence of such a profile, you should think about how you can complement any existing career-orientation activities at your school with activities reflecting on gender.

But the topic can also be life planning more generally. In this case, you should ask yourself the following questions:

- What notions do the boys in the group have about possible life trajectories?
- Are these plans for life associated with certain notions of masculinity?
- Do these notions of masculinity result in limitations for boys?
- What is lacking if you concentrate on career orientation?
- What ideas do the boys have of a “good life,” and what conflicts of interest may emerge in this context?

Our observations showed that boys are certainly interested in asking such life questions. However, these questions should not be projected into the future in an abstract way, but instead should use the boys’ current ideas as a very concrete starting point. The more concrete such issues are and the closer they are to the boys’ own current lives, the less inclined they will be to use stereotypes in thinking about questions concerning

notions of masculinity or gender. Sketch out your goals for a boys’ work activity. This does not have to be the final version: look at your goals again at a later point in time. Maybe something will change over time, and you may wish to redefine your goals.

Our observations have shown that overloading one-day activities with too much content produces unsatisfactory results. In this case, a thematic focus which may well touch on other issues should be selected. This makes it possible to create activities that satisfy the needs of everyone involved.

The question as to the goals of boys’ work activities is closely connected to the question of our *image* of the boys for whom the activities are designed.

This image may include:

- Boys tend to have few experiences or none at all in some areas due to gender stereotypes. I would like my activity to enable them to have such experiences where they can learn useful competences.
- Some teachers and pedagogues seem to believe that as a matter of principle “their” boys are not mature enough for certain experiences. This makes the boys part of a uniform group, whereby individual differences are ignored. In addition, it leads them to “be easy on the boys,” which makes intensive engagement with the issue more difficult.
- Another variant is the idea that specific boys are selected to participate in the activity, either because they “need it most” or because they “deserve it most.”

Many other notions may exist as well. We have listed a few that we encountered during our observations. Often, the activities are characterized by a combination of images and motives. Pedagogues’ ideas are important for designing the activities. It is worth validating them and reflecting on them to determine which image of the boys to be addressed the pedagogues are using when planning the activity.

Resources, too, determine goals: time—spaces—opportunities for cooperation

You should also consider the time and resources available when planning your activities. A realistic time plan is necessary to design activities that make sense. Our observations revealed that, particularly from the boys' perspective, lack of time proved an obstacle. Approaches that were actually positive received ambivalent or negative evaluations from the boys because the activities were carried out in a rushed and pressured manner due to a lack of time and resources. It appears that teachers tend to underestimate the efforts required for socio-pedagogical activities, and as result, potential goes to waste.

In particular, conversations in which the boys can grapple with gender segregation on the labor market require time in order to de-dramatize gender. We observed that a lack of time for conversation-centered activities often meant that de-dramatization was not successful and/or that there was too little opportunity to discuss the boys' concrete experiences.

To be sure: one cannot foresee everything; the issue here is not perfect planning, but thoughtful planning. So we encourage you to consider what resources in terms of time, money, and personnel you will need. One's own commitment and enthusiasm are certainly important elements, but we also found that the issue of resources is not minor but rather fundamental to success. Embedding the activities within the teaching staff is also important.

- Is the schedule realistic? Which parts can I skip if things take longer than planned? What are my alternatives, for example if the boys do not engage with a topic?
- Do I need funding? Where can I apply for such funding?
- Are good facilities available, for example, are rooms available at school for the activities taking place there?
- Does the schedule include preparatory and follow-up

sessions (for example for mini-internships)? Will they be embedded in classroom teaching or carried out by external cooperation partners?

- Is there (effective) support on the part of the principal?
- What should that support be: Is time set aside for teachers to plan and carry out the activities, or do they have to do so “on the side”?

Consider with whom you could plan and carry out the activities as a team. Cooperation can both lighten your load and result in interesting experiences for the boys. Possible cooperation partners include, for example, actors in non-school education, in this case especially those who pursue a gender-oriented or gender-reflecting approach. The following questions arise in this context:

- Has the school already developed such cooperation arrangements, or how should they be developed? With which colleagues at your school would you like to and are you able to cooperate?
- Does it make sense to cooperate with a provider of non-school education? Would that be possible? Are you in a position to assess such approaches in terms of content?
- Do cooperation arrangements with businesses exist?

[Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys](#) and [New Paths for Boys](#) offer support and infrastructure, for example in the form of a database with examples of good practice and good projects as well as an action map which can help you gain an initial overview of possible cooperation partners. Enter your activities into the action map as well: it's a good way to advertise your school.

9.2 Which activity: mini-internship, scavenger hunt, or seminar?

Activities for boys can be divided into three main groups according to their goals and the ways in which they are carried out: internships, theme-centered scavenger hunts, and theme-centered seminars.

Mini-internships

According to the evaluation, mini-internships have proven to be a very fruitful activity. It is best if boys are accompanied by a mentor and if preparatory and follow-up sessions take place in which the boys' expectations of and experiences in their mini-internships are taken up. The boys appreciate the opportunity to experience new things. They are often surprised by their own competences, which they can apply in social sector institutions, for example. For instance, experiences in dealing with small children also influence the boys' self-assessment in terms of dealing with potential children of their own. In this way, mini-internships in social sector occupations also generate effects beyond the question of career orientation. Different fields of work should be embedded and prepared for in different ways, ways that make it easier for the boys to get started on the day itself. For example, we observed that it tends to be easier for boys to establish contact with the children in a day-care center than with the old people living in a nursing home. If the boys have difficulty getting started, the people offering the internship should provide support, best of all of a practical nature. The boys should have the opportunity to take on a concrete, clearly defined task.⁴³¹

When evaluating the activities, do not resort to meta-reflection, but rather take up as many of the boys' concrete experiences as possible. This level provides many starting points.

Goals:

Mini-internships can pursue various goals.

If the goal is to try out social sector activities, then mini-internships in social sector occupations are a good idea. To ensure that the boys actually do gain experience, the number of boys at any given internship site should not be too high. The evaluation following the mini-internship should refer to the concrete experiences, and if possible, it should embed them in the boys' lifeworlds (for example, in their families).

If the primary goal is to broaden the spectrum of potential occupations, then concrete information on the occupations in question should be provided. This information should be selected in such a way that the school-leaving qualifications from different school types can lead to the occupations described. For example, *Hauptschule* students should receive information not only about the occupation of childcare worker, but also about assistants in that field. Information can be made available in the form of conversations with practitioners in the field during the internship, in an after-work event, by the boys conducting independent research, or by pedagogues or a career information center.

Resources:

Mini-internships require cooperation arrangements with businesses or regional organizations that are prepared to carry out

⁴³¹ Cf. on this the Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys Praxisleitfaden (best practice guide, currently available in German) which can be ordered via www.boys-day.de.

activities on [Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys](#). If possible, preparatory and follow-up sessions should be offered in addition to the activities themselves; such sessions can take place during class and together with the girls.

Theme-centered scavenger hunt

Activities founded upon the scavenger hunt method can be a good alternative to mini-internships. For example, a household-themed scavenger hunt is an activity during which boys take on practical knowledge on the subject of the “household” that they may have been unaware of before, and can have fun while doing so. Our observations showed that the boys took up this method very positively.

In your evaluation, avoid using comments that—explicitly or implicitly—confirm the “culture of a binary gender order” without question and that consider boys’ and men’s interest in housework as only a “transitory stage,” for example to bridge the time between leaving “Mom’s Hotel” and moving in with their first girlfriend. Housework and care should be considered tasks for everyone as a matter of course.

Goals:

In a playful atmosphere, it is intended that boys gain experiences that are otherwise only rarely open to them. They may change the boys’ perspectives of their own life planning, their way of life in their current familial setting, and gender relations in general, or the boys may simply realize that they enjoy their own competence in certain activities. Conversations about these topics following the activities are possible.

Resources:

If an activity that has already been developed is used, such as the household-themed scavenger hunt by [New Paths for Boys](#),

then the task above all is to ensure enough rooms and sufficient supervision by teachers, parents, or cooperation partners. One should keep in mind that parents in particular must be informed well in advance if they are to make an active contribution. Boys appreciate intensive supervision by adults who can give them tips and feedback.

Theme-centered seminars

Seminars are also worthwhile [Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys](#) activities. However, various aspects should be taken into consideration in this popular format that apply to the other activities as well, but which are especially relevant here, as our observations revealed:

- Do not assume that “your” boys will have to be talked into getting interested in questions of career orientation and life planning. Our interviews and observations showed that this is a misconception. The question tends to be more what the boys’ concrete access point is and in which setting they can show their interest.
- “Outsmarting the boys by applying a male-coded orientation to fun,” which we experienced in some cases, is out of place, and is also an example of gender stereotyping. To be perfectly clear: there is no objection to having fun. But exercises that have nothing to do with the topic and also refer back to traditional patterns of masculinity (quick-wittedness, competition, coolness, hetero-sexualizations), are not only out of place but even counterproductive. If too many exercises are carried out in rapid succession, the boys do not have the opportunity to exchange views about the subject matter. In our conversations, the boys we interviewed often complained that they did not understand the purpose of the exercises though they certainly were interested in the topics.

- The film *Eigentlich wollte ich Fußballprofi werden* (“Actually I wanted to become a professional soccer player”) from the [Boys’Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys](#) program was often shown as an introduction to a socio-pedagogical activity. It was consistently evaluated positively. It evidently gives boys a good impression of possibilities for career orientation that they can connect with concrete individuals and their stories and questions. The film has also proven valuable for embedding the mini-internships and the scavenger hunts.

Goals:

The content focus should be particularly clear in the case of seminars. Possible topics include:

- What is a good life, and what value do occupation and career have in it?
- Gender relations at work and in private life
- Gender segregation on the labor market
- Grappling with career orientation, which includes making norms of masculinity a topic of critical discussion
- Working conditions and future prospects
- Social competences

It is important to deal with a subject without rushing through it, and to incorporate the boys’ concrete experiences. It is better not to attempt to discuss everything all at once. De-dramatizing gender is not easy in such activities—this issue should be thought through carefully in advance. It is counterproductive if the discussion stops after mentioning the differences between men and women. Experiences gained in non-school gender-related pedagogy are often helpful for carrying out such activities

Resources:

If this kind of activity is to be carried out by external pedagogues, it will require funding for remunerations and possibly

for renting rooms. If teachers carry out this activity, sufficient time must be scheduled for preparation and follow-up to reflect on the seminar; this should take place in as great a spirit of cooperation as possible. Small groups support the intensity of the boys’ engagement and require a higher teacher-student ratio.

9.3 Recommendations and tips for boys' work in grades 5 to 10

In the following, we describe some key points that have proven relevant in different boys' work activities. They address important issues that should be taken into account when planning an activity in the school context.

Voluntary or compulsory activity

Competing educational concepts often clashed in the activities of *Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys* that we observed. While school activities are usually compulsory, non-school educational work often makes a case for voluntary participation. This concept involves a fundamentally emancipatory approach that takes the individual participants seriously in their decisions to become interested in an educational activity—or to reject it. In the tradition of school, the aspiration to reach all students equally has priority; it is less important to connect with their individual situations and motivations (cf. on this the critical comments in chapter 3.1.1 Gender-related opportunities at school). There are arguments for both voluntary and compulsory activities in the context of *Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys*.

Without intending to give a categorical answer to the question raised here, we believe that more aspects support obligatory activities for all students, for example all within a given grade. We have observed that boys have no problem with compulsory activities in the context of *New Paths for Boys* if they are presented as normal and their purpose is conveyed well. For example, if boys must perform a mini-internship in a social sector occupation at the same time as the girls' mini-internships, we have usually observed that the boys were interested in taking up the opportunity.

In contrast, a voluntary mini-internship for boys (possibly at the same time as the obligatory one for the girls in the same grade) raises a number of issues which we summarize here as “making them special” (in the sense of “singling them out” and “putting them in the position of the other, thus excluding them”):

- The first way in which the boys are “made special” is expressed in their unequal treatment compared with the girls. The message is conveyed to the boys that something which the girls can be obligated to do cannot be “expected” of them. Such an attitude of “being easy on the boys” conveys the message either that they need not stoop to become interested in such “atypical things” or that they are “not yet mature enough” to get involved in such tasks. Here, the message is transported implicitly that a “real” boy cannot be intrinsically interested in such activities.
- The second way in which the boys are “made special” takes place within the group of boys. In one of our participant observations, those boys who expressed interest in a voluntary mini-internship in an occupation with a feminine connotation were “made special” and called gay by the others in the group who followed a masculine norm and signaled a lack of interest.
- In this context, it is also important how the mini-internship opportunity is communicated to the boys. Are they told only that they have the opportunity to perform a mini-internship in a “women's occupation,” or is there some discussion about the content of the various occupations (social sector, educational, and care occupations)? In the former case, the boys often have no idea what occupations might be involved, and therefore inwardly differentiate between attractive and unattractive occupations, whereby the latter are associated with feminine occupations. In addition, use of the term “women's occupation” involves an ascription that suggests that such an occupation is not for “real” boys

or men. A content-related description such as “social sector occupation,” on the other hand, does limit the scope of possible occupations, but enables boys to get interested and participate. In other words, it is necessary to introduce professions in terms of their content as well as choose words wisely, in accordance with the goal of the activity.

If a **Boys’ Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys** activity is directed from the outset towards a small group of interested boys, then the decision to participate should indeed be voluntary, rather than following a hidden educational agenda for the boys who “need it.” Gender-related pedagogical activities with boys often involve the expectation that they will address particularly difficult boys and induce them to change their behavior. In a school context, ostensible voluntariness which actually targets certain boys results in making the so-called “difficult boys” something special.

When “difficult boys” are “made special,” this often involves cultural attributions or ethnicizations, i.e. deviant behaviors are explained by alleging that the boys behave in a particular way—perceived as disruptive—because of their “culture” or “descent.” Sometimes, it is assumed specifically of these boys or of boys from so-called “educationally disadvantaged population groups” that they are not interested in trying out activities or occupations that lack a traditionally masculine connotation. In our study, this notion proved wrong. Generalizations in terms of a family background of migration or family socioeconomic status are out of place, just as they are in relation to other categories, and result in stereotypical thinking and incorrect conclusions. They block people’s view of the boys’ individual interests and skills.

In summary, the following points are important:

- Avoid treating boys and girls differently at the structural level in terms of the activities available to them. For example, if there are obligatory activities for girls, this should apply for the boys as well.

- Interested boys should not be “made special.” Instead offer them activities that will be evaluated as a group.
- Voluntary activities should really be voluntary, without imputing and assuming a particular (lack of) interest.
- Avoid attributions and assumptions on the basis of culture or ethnicity.

Identical activities on Girls’Day and Boys’Day or reflected differentiations

Beyond the question of whether activities should be voluntary or compulsory, the issue arises of whether girls and boys should have the same or different activity opportunities. As explained above, it certainly makes sense to broaden the activities for boys beyond the question of career choice. Our observations showed that there was no resistance to the activities if the ones for girls and those for boys (for example, a mini-internship for the girls and a household-themed scavenger hunt for the boys) dealt with different issues. Yet the boys did doubt whether such a differentiation could be justified in terms of content. For example, various participants commented on a household-themed scavenger hunt for boys in which they were able to develop competences in different household activities that many girls, too, did not know how to sew on buttons. The boys’ (and girls’) suggestions, wishes, and ideas aiming for participating in the same activities—possibly jointly—should be taken up. In the survey, the boys often expressed interest in exchange about future and life planning in small groups with girls, for example after the discussion in the boys-only group.

This suggests itself especially because many boys see their perspective for the future in a heterosexual partnership, whereby this should not be stated as a norm; instead, alternatives should be pointed out as well.

Dramatizing gender by differentiating activities for girls and boys is not directly plausible to boys (and girls). According to

our observations, the boys often did not understand the reasons for dramatization, so that in the worst case, they ended up with the impression that boys and girls were simply different. Anyone carrying out activities segregated according to gender should be able to provide reasons for why this makes sense. In addition, methods should be developed that can contribute to de-dramatizing gender.

Men or women or: Which gender are the pedagogues?

People often wonder about the role that the pedagogue's gender plays.

This ties into the following questions:

- Should the activities for boys on [Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys](#) be carried out by male teachers?
- Is it true that only men are in a position to offer such activities?
- Can female teachers contribute to boys' work just as meaningfully as male teachers?
- Are there any interested female or male teachers at our school in the first place?

Such questions, and similar ones, are often asked when the topic is gender-related pedagogical activities. The gender of the pedagogue carrying out the activities is surely of major relevance, but it is even more important whether or not the pedagogue—male or female—has reflected on his or her own socialization in terms of gender.⁴³²

The role of the pedagogue's gender is currently being discussed mostly in terms of making a scandal of boys' poorer grades at school.⁴³³ The hypothesis of a "feminization" of school was developed in this context, involving the claim that boys are treated unfairly by female teachers, who also do not perceive their interests.

But when one asks boys whether they would prefer to take part in an activity offered by a man or a woman, most of them respond: it is not important whether the activity is run by a man or a woman.⁴³⁴ Instead, the boys expect a certain attitude on the part of their teachers and other pedagogues, male and female: they should be fair, motivated, and open, and they should have a sense of humor.

The following points should be kept in mind:

- There are no convincing reasons that only men should offer activities for boys. There are, however, many good reasons for men to do pedagogical and gender-reflecting work with boys. It is a positive development if male teachers plan and carry out activities for [Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys](#).
- Men and women alike should work in a reflexive way; that means that they should be able to observe themselves as well as the boys based on reflection on gender. It is often the dynamics between the male pedagogues as men, the female pedagogues as women, and the children or youths as girls and boys which create gender in everyday actions (doing gender).⁴³⁵

432 Cf. chapter 6. A gender-related approach to pedagogy.

433 Cf. chapter 3.1.1 Gender-related opportunities at school.

434 Cf. on this *ibid.* Interestingly, there is even a slight preference for female teachers; cf. on this chapter 7.1 Important findings and consequences for practical application—*New Paths for Boys* is well-received.

435 Cf. in detail chapter 4.3. Multiple masculinities.

- The concept of “gender reflexivity” describes the ability to “distance oneself professionally in everyday action by applying a gender-reflexive attitude.”⁴³⁶ Teachers and social education specialists are called on to acquire appropriate knowledge and reflect on their relationships to students and colleagues, male and female alike, at the level of creating gender. The goal is to overcome constraining patterns of behavior and develop individual perspectives beyond gendered attributions.⁴³⁷
- Focusing on male pedagogues can be considered a kind of overestimation of the function as a role model; it is widespread among both boys’ work practitioners and male teachers. This overestimation can result in an overburdening of male teachers who are testing their own abilities to carry out work with boys, and it can lead to methodological and didactical quality criteria being ignored or undervalued.
- Many boys are interested in *serious* engagement with the topic, but this can be prevented by one-sided orientation of the activities towards action. For this reason, a male pedagogue should critically question both his own images of boys and his own dynamics of masculinity, which may make a game- and competition-oriented activity seem more attractive—perhaps also to him—than serious engagement.

436 Voigt-Kehlenbeck 2008.

437 Cf. chapter 6. A gender-related approach to pedagogy.

9.4 Inside or outside school—concerning location and educators

Should the activities in the context of *Boys’ Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys* be carried out by the school itself or in cooperation with a provider of non-school education? Both options work! Different aspects are to be considered in the two cases.

If you as a teacher are carrying out a social education-type activity on critical engagement with hegemonic images of masculinity yourself, then you should consider that back in everyday school life, you are the teacher giving grades. You should be aware of the conflicts for the boys that this constellation may create. At the same time, difficult situations may arise in which you as a teacher may suddenly be confronted with questions about your private life to which you may not be accustomed. You should have a clear position where you draw boundaries in this regard as well. Yet this form also provides the opportunity to get to know the boys at your school in a different context than in the classroom—this may contribute to better mutual understanding. Teachers also have the advantage that they work with their students on a long-term basis. That is why they can embed the topic in classwork more sustainably.

Cooperation with a non-school education provider can also be helpful. Non-school pedagogues often have the opportunity to work on topics that seem difficult in a limited time period. Here, the students do not have to fear that they will be confronted in the next day of classes with what they have revealed if they confide in a teacher. In addition, pedagogues specializing in non-school gender-related education have at their command a repertoire of methods and competence in

different methods concerning gender issues, which may be a good complement to teachers' work at school. However, such short-term pedagogical activities cannot be embedded long-term in classwork or relationship work. School social workers can take on a linking position here.

As a teacher, you should know which theories and methods form the basis of the cooperation partners' work on the various possible topics, and whether they match your own goals well. There is a broad range of pedagogical and gender-political approaches and positions in non-school pedagogy.⁴³⁸ You should not necessarily fall back on the option with the lowest price, but should also review content and pedagogical approaches and take them seriously. Perhaps activities can be carried out jointly. In this case, there should be a clear allocation of roles. Hardly anything is less productive than diverse teaching principles in the same room.

Non-school educational work is often based on leaving the school as a learning venue in order to escape the structure it involves (e.g. predefined recesses or the rhythm of 45-minute classes). In this case, transitions and responsibilities should be organized well.

9.5 Methods and exercises

The methods used in gender-related pedagogy with boys vary widely.⁴³⁹

Two aspects are of particular concern in this regard when carrying out projects in the context of [Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys](#). For one thing, methods and exercises have proven useful that take up the boys' own questions and topics and offer opportunities for them to shape and participate in the activities. Ready-made exercises that leave little room for the boys' own ideas, that hardly encourage them to engage, or that set normative guidelines have proven problematic. The same holds for exercises that remain superficial due to their orientation towards fun and action. On the other hand, exercises that “are actually about something important,” that is, real competences and life questions, are meaningful.

Secondly, the pedagogues involved should be competent in applying methods and carrying out exercises. Before exercises are used in pedagogical practice, they must be tested so that the pedagogue can get an idea of the potential, but also of possible weaknesses, and can take them into account when conducting the exercises.

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⁴³⁸ Cf. chapter 6. A gender-related approach to pedagogy.

⁴³⁹ Cf. *ibid.*

9.6 Embedding in the culture of the school

Activities in the context of [Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys](#) are especially promising if they are embedded in the school's overarching concept. The following questions make clear that developing the concept for the activities involves more than just pragmatic decisions; it also has impacts in terms of content: will a school decide to carry out mini-internships for boys? How will they be performed? Is the activity voluntary or compulsory? Or will the boys remain at school and take part in a seminar? Will they deal with housework? Are the people conducting the seminar teachers, non-school gender-related pedagogues, or other cooperation partners, and are they male or female? What goals are to be pursued? What will be the topic of the seminar? Beyond all the pragmatic questions, these decisions may open up spaces or waste potential. These decisions send signals that everyone involved should be aware of to prevent undesired effects, such as further devaluation of social occupations, and to strengthen positive effects, if possible.

Implementation steps

Finally, we would like to invite you to establish gender-related pedagogy with boys in the medium term and make it a permanent feature, and to complement it with the building blocks “gender-related pedagogy with girls” and “reflexive co-education.”⁴⁴⁰ The following tips will no doubt prove helpful: Evaluate the experiences gained from your activity.

- Put the experiences you had with the activities for boys in relation to the experiences you had with activities for girls.
- Think about whether it would be possible to evaluate them jointly with boys and girls.

- Look for support in areas in which you (still) feel insecure, or for questions that have remained open.
- Carrying out a “day for the teaching staff” on the topic Girls' Day / Boys' Day is also a good idea.
- Get in touch with the project [Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys / New Paths for Boys](#) to obtain information about available materials as well as opportunities for advice and further education.
- Register your school as a network partner of [New Paths for Boys](#). Becoming embedded in this network and participating in expert discussions contribute to the success of boys' work activities.

We wish you success when experimenting with and carrying out boys' work activities and would like to encourage you to gain your own experience. The motto should be one that is an important maxim for pedagogy with boys in general: tolerance for errors. This means considering mistakes sources for change, not simply failures.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. also chapter 6. A gender-related approach to pedagogy.





10. Conclusion—Planning for a career and the future requires reflection on gender

“As the Shell-Jugendstudie (...) showed, the overwhelming majority of young women would like (...) to combine career, family, and children, thereby striving for much more flexible patterns of life than the generation of women before them—but also more flexible than men of their age. In contrast, young men are clinging to the old gender roles that attribute the role of main breadwinner to the man and release him from other responsibilities.”⁴⁴¹

The orientation towards traditional and hegemonic masculinity also affects men’s and boys’ attitudes towards social sector occupations, with corresponding results: the evaluation of [New Paths for Boys](#) showed that social sector occupations requiring soft skills or caring are uncharted territory to many boys and young men.

Social sector occupations are generally considered to be “women’s occupations”—and most boys and young men do not want to train in an occupation that supposedly is not compatible with their gender. As a consequence, the proportion of men in female-dominated occupations is merely 1.28%.⁴⁴² On the other hand, the debates and scientific surveys of recent years that deal with boys and men and social sector occupa-

tions also point to the fact that more boys and young men than previously thought do not fundamentally reject such occupations—be they in childcare, nursing, or other areas. This is confirmed not only by the high level of satisfaction on the part of the participating boys with the mini-internships in the context of [New Paths for Boys](#), but also, for example, by the fact that in recent years more young men have performed alternative service (in lieu of military service) than basic military service.

Jens Krabel and Olaf Stuve (2006) explicate in their book *Männer in Frauenberufen der Pflege und Erziehung* that, in a “culture of a binary gender order,” gender identity must be viewed as a resource that promises boys and girls as well as men and women advantages for gender-typical actions and disadvantages for gender-atypical ones.

This applies to a person’s choice of occupation as well: a job with a feminine connotation, in which for instance a young man cares for sick old people and changes their diapers, means not only relatively poor pay for hard work accorded little value by society, but at the same time always potentially threatens his own masculinity. If this aspect is ignored, it must be feared

441 Quenzel/Hurrelman 2010, p. 77.

442 Cf. Pimminger 2010, p. 11.

that programs to support stronger participation of girls in so-called men's occupations and boys in so-called women's occupations will come to nothing.⁴⁴³ Reflecting upon gains and losses resulting from fulfilling or failing to fulfill the demands of gender identity is a necessary prerequisite to break the cycle of gender segregation on the labor market.⁴⁴⁴ For this reason, career orientation in schools,⁴⁴⁵ vocational schools, career information centers, youth social work⁴⁴⁶ etc. should be designed and carried out in a gender-related way in order to correspond and do justice to young women's and young men's different starting points and perspectives for the future.⁴⁴⁷

Traditional career orientation, which secures young people's social and occupational participation by providing accompanying, preventive, and integrative support, should be complemented by life planning that provides impulses to reflect upon gender relations. The purpose of this approach is to make boys' life-planning choices more conscious decisions, to counteract a one-sided fixation on gainful employment, to open up life alternatives, and also to make active fatherhood and responsibility for children a topic for boys and young men. *Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys/New Paths for Boys* meets this objective because the activities are not limited to boys' career and life planning; instead, expanding social competences and reflecting on gender and masculinity are just as important.

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 443 Cf. on this especially chapter 9: *Practical tips for Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys/New Paths for Boys*.

444 Cf. Krabel / Stuve 2006, p. 38.

445 Cf. Boldt 2008, pp. 68-85 on a project day for boys at school on the occasion of Girls' Day.

446 Cf. Drogand-Strud/Cremers 2006, pp. 34-59 on exercises, methods, and a "train-the-trainer concept" for career orientation and life planning in youth social work.

447 Cf. chapter 3.2 Vocational training.

11. Prospects—a transformation is needed

“We are striving to achieve a society that offers choices. The employability of men and women is secured by good training. They are thus empowered to provide for their livelihoods themselves and also to establish their own social security by contributing to the various social insurance systems. Men’s and women’s occupational qualifications are valued and remunerated to the same extent. Appropriate infrastructure for childcare, education at school, and nursing, as well as flexible working hours in businesses ensure that the needs of the family and work can be reconciled. Employment biographies are made flexible by means of options for interrupting gainful employment or reversible reduction of working hours. Society supports individuals who choose to take up these options for child-raising, care, and continuing education. Special incentives are in place so that the options are used by both women and men in the areas desired by society. Making use of these options must not result in disadvantages in providing for old age.” (BMFSFJ 2011, p. 310)

Economic, social, and educational policies have important roles to play towards achieving these goals. To this end, hegemonic images of masculinity and femininity must change, as

they are dysfunctional for a fundamental transformation of the gender order, as shown.⁴⁴⁸

Attempts to distribute societal work (gainful employment, housework, family work) in an equitable way still fail most of all because of gender-stereotyped distribution of paid and unpaid work as well as existing traditional educational practices (in societal institutions such as families, daycare centers, and schools), resulting in reproducing gender-stereotyped structures and patterns of everyday life. That is why it is necessary to redesign the prevailing gender order, aiming not only to diminish the quantitative dominance of men in the various societal leadership structures and to change men’s/boys’ (and women’s/girls’) individual attitudes and actions, but especially to reduce society’s orientation towards traditional values, norms, and practices with a masculine connotation.⁴⁴⁹

Gender equality is not to be equated with women/girls (and non-hegemonic men/boys) adapting to hegemonic masculinities that define gainful employment and striving for power as central life goals and suggest a corresponding code of behavior to boys (increasingly also to girls). Against the background that

448 Cf. on this and in the following especially chapter 4.3.2 *Obstacles to an egalitarian gender order*.

449 Cf. “technical papers” by the European Commission for the new programming period 2000 to 2006, which strive to include equal opportunity for women and men in the Structural Fund measures for the purpose of gender mainstreaming (cf. European Commission 2000, p. 15 and Döge 2001b, p. 17).

the dominating gender order is characterized by the fact that norms, values, and practices with a feminine connotation are consistently accorded lesser value, the overarching political goal is to grant competences with a feminine connotation on the part of men and women (e.g. care responsibility) higher value. Secondly, it is urgently required to value more highly most occupations in which women dominate quantitatively by providing better pay, higher social recognition, and better opportunities for education and advancement. Thirdly, if the reproduction of the gender-stereotypical division of paid and unpaid labor is to be stopped, support for active fatherhood and improvements in the underlying conditions for the working population with family care responsibilities as well as efforts towards all-day childcare across the country, be they publicly or privately financed, are necessary. In order to achieve changes in this area, a transformation of the traditional images of women and mothers—especially in Western Germany—is required, alongside improvements in the underlying conditions in daycare for children and support of active fatherhood. For the conjunction of a lack of daycare for children and the construct of the German mother who would neglect and harm her child if she did not take care of him/her herself⁴⁵⁰

“has catapulted Germany to the lowest rank in Europe in terms of women’s careers and income opportunities as well as birth rates.”⁴⁵¹

The German federal government’s first *Gleichstellungsbericht*⁴⁵² and the paradigm shift in German gender equality policy⁴⁵³ bode well. Pro-active policy is necessary to make diverse life plans with the goal of gender justice a reality for women and men as well as for girls and boys.

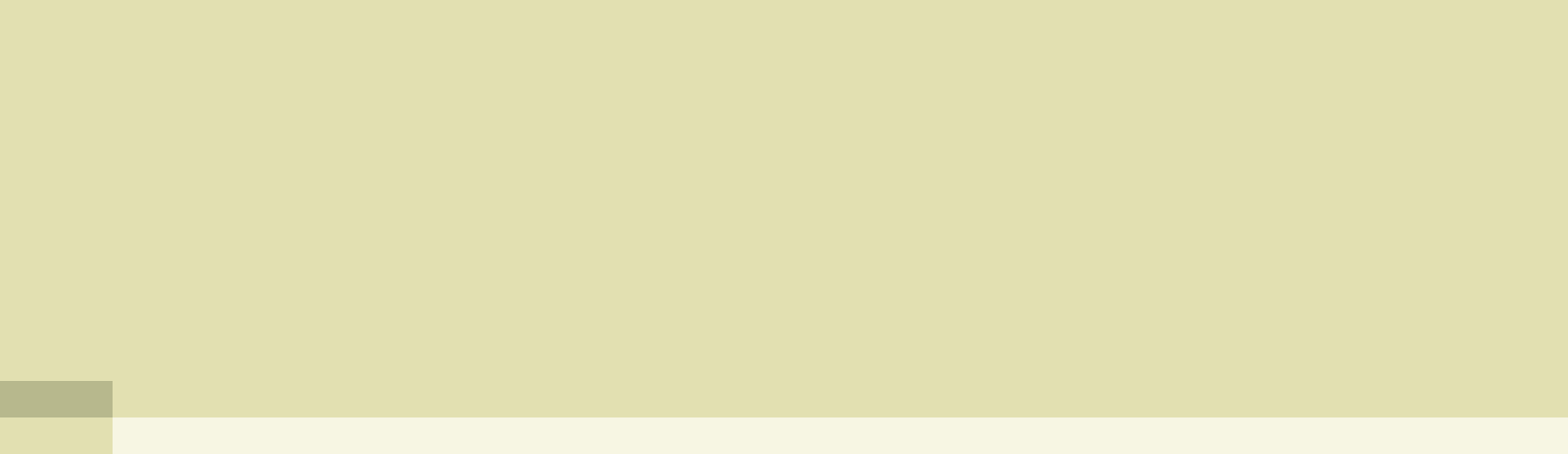
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450 Cf. Ebenfeld, 2011, p. 34.

451 Vinken 2007, p. 36.

452 Erster Gleichstellungsbericht: Neue Wege—Gleiche Chancen—Gleichstellung von Frauen und Männern im Lebensverlauf, BMFSFJ, 2011.

453 Cf. 2.2 Gender equality policy as a policy of fair opportunities





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Author: Michael Cremers

Co-author: Katharina Debus, Dissens e.V.

Co-authors: Dr. Jürgen Budde, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg
Olaf Stuve, Dissens e.V.

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Boys' Day—Future Prospects for Boys | New Paths for Boys
Competence Center Technology—Diversity—Equal Opportunities
Wilhelm-Bertelsmann-Str. 10
33602 Bielefeld

phone +49 521 106-73 60

fax +49 521 106-71 71

info@neue-wege-fuer-jungs.de

info@boys-day.de

www.neue-wege-fuer-jungs.de

www.boys-day.de

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