

*“Every change offers the opportunity to rethink existing systems and traditions”*

Deconstruction of Gender Stereotypes in a Digitised World? The Practice of Career Orientation and Counselling in the Digital Shift.

Summary of Volume 3 of the Research Project “DigiTyps”

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## Contents

<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction: Objectives and questions of the present study</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Literature-based background: Gender stereotypes – Gender-segregated labour market – Digitisation</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>Empirical approach: Exploratory and quantitative approach</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>The practice of career orientation and changes in the digital shift</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Labour market segregation and gender stereotypes – Traditional attributions have an effect</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>Summary: The path into the digital future – digitisation as part of career orientation?</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>Literature</b>	<b>12</b>

# 1 Introduction: Objectives and questions of the present study

The present study is Volume 3 of a research series that was created in the context of the project “DigiTyps - De-Stereotyping of Occupational Profiles and Training Concepts in the Digital Shift”<sup>1</sup>.

At its core, the overall project deals with the question of whether the current upheavals taking place in the world of work in connection with digitisation represent an opportunity to weaken gender-specific occupational attributions.

The Austrian training system and labour market are characterised by a pronounced horizontal (as well as vertical) segregation and thus closely interacting stereotypical ideas of male and female competencies, skills and activities. It is primarily male employees who work in manual and technical fields and training, while it is mainly women who work in social and nursing fields. Respective competence requirements are still more likely to be ascribed to women or men. How are digitisation-induced changes perceived against the background of these gender-specific attribution processes? Can the dichotomising attributions be weakened by current developments? Are at least individual occupations and training opportunities less “unambiguously” seen as “belonging” to one gender?

Three key points of reference form the thematic and conceptual framework for the project: “digitisation”, “gender stereotypes”, and “gender-specific labour market segregation”. Empirically, the present research project focuses primarily on adolescents and young adults and their perception of the digital shift from a gender perspective. The project is being implemented regionally in Vienna and Lower Austria. This ensures that any divergent developments and conditions are also taken into account by the inclusion of urban, industrial and rural areas.

In Volume 1, the perspectives of adolescents and young adults were surveyed; in Volume 2, those of company representatives; and the focus of the present Volume 3 is on career and educational advisers:

How do these groups – at the interface between young people and the world of work, so to speak – experience the digital shift in the world of work, and how does this play into educational and career counselling/orientation?

The importance of educational and career counselling in this context should be regarded as high: On one hand, this is confronted with providing advice and information about constantly changing training pathways and job requirements or completely new job profiles, while on the other hand, the “tools” of educational and career counselling are subject to change and are at least partially shifting from analogue into digital space. The adolescents or young adults receiving counselling may also come to educational and careers counselling with possibly new wishes and altered competence and interest profiles.

Against this background, in the context of this third volume, we were particularly interested in the question of how educational and career counsellors perceive the digital shift in the world of work and training, and to what extent gender stereotypes are reproduced or weakened from their point of view against the background of the pronounced segregation of the job market by gender. What role do or can they themselves play? Which (new) starting points can be identified in order to promote more gender-sensitive career orientation against the background of the digital shift?

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<sup>1</sup> See <https://digityps.ihs.ac.at/>

The “DigiTyps” project is being implemented by L&R Sozialforschung in cooperation with the social and economic research institute IHS, bab Unternehmensberatung GmbH and the network of Austrian counselling centres for women and girls. The team is supported by strategic project partners from the Office of the Lower Austrian Provincial Government, the Vienna Employee Promotion Fund, the Women's Service of the City of Vienna, the Chamber of Labour for Vienna, the Chamber of Labour for Lower Austria and the Austrian Labour Market Service.

The abstract of Volume 1 is part of a three-part series that explores the issue of de-stereotyping digital training and professional fields. Volume 2 deals with the perspective of companies on the topic, and Volume 3 with that of career and educational advisers.

The results of the empirical surveys also form the basis for development work that is also part of this project, specifically the development of de-stereotyping instruments and tools for career information and orientation, as well as in the context of company recruiting.

## 2 Literature-based background: Gender stereotypes – Gender-segregated labour market – Digitisation

The labour market is characterised by relatively stable occupational gender segregation<sup>2</sup> (Ohlert & Boos 2020, Fritsch et al. 2020, EIGE 2018, Leitner & Dibiasi 2015). Women are over-represented in education and care professions (EHW<sup>3</sup> sector), while men are over-represented in STEM<sup>4</sup> and ICT<sup>5</sup> professions, as well as in manual and technical professions (Fritsch 2018, Leitner & Lassnig 2018, Binder et al. 2021).

This unequal distribution of women and men in the labour market has an impact on the financial disadvantages of female employees (“gender pay gap”; Busch 2013, among others), but also on socio-cultural evaluation processes. In addition to financial “devaluation” (ibid.), traditional “women's jobs” are “often associated with assistance and support functions, and thus with little authority and opportunities for advancement” (Fritsch 2018, p.15).

Various models and theoretical arguments offer explanations for horizontal gender segregation (for an overview, see Blau et al.; Bettio & Verashchagina 2009; with a focus on Thébaud & Charles 2018). Here, we focus primarily on approaches that link labour market inequality to gender stereotypes and role expectations.

From a micro-sociological perspective, we emphasise the construction of gender as a social difference category in everyday practice (“doing gender”, West & Zimmermann 1987). According to this, gender and associated attributions are not stable “personal characteristics” but social constructions that are reproduced in all everyday situations as gender-connoted codes of behaviour, interests and competences as well as ideal images conveyed by history and the media (West & Zimmermann 1987; Hirschauer 1994).

Ridgeway (2009) attempts to relate these micro-sociological explanations to macro-phenomena. and thus addresses the interaction between structural inequalities and stereotypes. She understands gender as a “primary category” that we mostly fall back on

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<sup>2</sup> Segregation refers to a distribution pattern: The more unequally groups are distributed in a unit (in the working context here: occupations), the more the units are segregated (Achatz 2018).

<sup>3</sup> EHW stands for Education, Health and Welfare; no common German-language term has (yet) been established for this categorisation

<sup>4</sup> MINT: mathematics, IT, natural sciences and technology; English: STEM: Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics.

<sup>5</sup> ICT stands for information and communication technologies

unconsciously in interactions; consequently, gender stereotypes are culturally shared assumptions about how people of one gender are expected to behave. “Expectation states theory” (Correl & Ridgeway 2006) assumes that a group's expectations of competence are based on precisely these culturally shared and usually unconscious assumptions. By institutionalising gender differences in laws, the media, and professional and private structures, they become powerful tools. The more relevant gender is in a context, the stronger the stereotypical ideas (Ridgeway 2001; 2009).

In practical career orientation and counselling, **psychological concepts**, among other things, find a wide range of applications. These include, for example, the following<sup>6</sup>:

- Theory of Circumscription, Compromise, and Self-Creation (Gottfredson 1981; 1966; in expanded form 2002).
- Career Development Theory (Super 1953; 1962; 1980)
- Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT; Lent et al. 1994; 2000; Lent 2013)
- Theory of occupational interest and personality types (Holland 1959; 1997)

What the models have in common is that gender is more or less addressed as an influencing factor. However, the **effect of stereotypes** on career choices is less specifically examined. Gender attribution is particularly relevant in relation to (digital) technologies. The culturally shared, implicit gender stereotypes in relation to (digital) technology influence the self-assessment of skills, with (young) women being less confident, especially in the STEM field. There is also a “gender gap” when it comes to digital skills: young men assess themselves more highly than young women when it comes to dealing with digital technologies (Initiative D21, 2020).

In addition, one study (Favera 2012) shows that gender stereotypes affect young women and young men differently: young men find it easier to choose a gender-atypical pathway. Studies indicate that (young) women limit their career choices even more than young men because they perceive more professions as “unsuitable” for their gender (Hartung et al., 2005). But young men also make one-sided career choices, since certain occupations have one-sided connotations, such as social occupations (Bergmann, Lachmayr et al. 2021).

The considerations and recommendations for **gender-sensitive career orientation** and counselling are based on psychological and pedagogical concepts for choosing a career on the one hand, and on feminist approaches on the other. They emphasise that self-concepts and occupational profiles of young people and young adults are often shaped by gender stereotypes that are based on mechanisms of gender-specific socialisation and social practices (discussion of the empirical findings in Wieland & Scholand 2017b, p.27 et seq.). The objective of gender-sensitive career orientation is to make choice of training and career as self-determined as possible, within the framework of free personal development and as independent as possible of social gender patterns and stereotypes (Franzke & Rohman 2015; Iseler 2013).

In terms of a procedural approach, according to Debus (2012; 2017), gender-sensitive career orientation should use non-dramatising instruments in a first step. Central to this is the “expansion of individual interests and skills as well as the diversity of lifestyles” (Debus 2017, p.27). Experiences should be made possible and skills encouraged, “without making the categories of gender and sexual orientation big” (ibid.), because otherwise, there is a risk that gender stereotypes and differentiations will be reproduced ex ante. “Dramatising” or “de-dramatising” instruments, on the other hand, pursue the goal of addressing “gender relations, gender images or discrimination and structural inequalities” (Debus 2017, p.27).

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<sup>6</sup> A more detailed discussion of the concepts can be found in the comprehensive Volume 3

Increasing **digitisation** is potentially accompanied by a number of challenges in terms of career orientation, but also opportunities. Overall, it can be assumed that digitisation changes the conditions of career orientation along several dimensions.

- *Firstly*, digitisation is changing professional requirements in terms of interests, knowledge and skills, or is expected or likely to do so in the future.
- *Secondly*, digitisation potentially changes the conditions of production and reproduction of gender-specific role models. These processes should be addressed within the framework of gender-sensitive career orientation.
- *Thirdly*, digitisation is apparently associated with the “problem” that this process is mentally associated with questions of technical advancement and related interests, knowledge and skills, whereby the latter are attributed to men to a far greater extent than women (e.g., Solga & Pfahl 2009).
- *Fourthly*, digitisation is accompanied by ongoing further development and increasing use of digital media and tools for career orientation. The internet plays an important role in providing information about occupations (KOFA 2021, Gehrau 2020).

Digital offers for career orientation also include various online tools, which can be (roughly) categorised as follows:

- Interest and ability tests
- Various formats that provide information or “Digital learning workshops”
- Presentation of the changes in the labour market in the course of the digital shift (partly also related to individual professions).

On the one hand, such instruments offer the possibility of easily accessible and rapid orientation. However, if their use is not accompanied by other measures, there is a risk that the response behaviour and thus the results can be traced back to a substantial extent to a self-image shaped by stereotypes, social conditions and traditional gender roles, which is not further reflected on or questioned, and thus under certain circumstances, the individual development opportunities are restricted, regardless of other interests and potentials that actually exist. The isolated use of such instruments thus contradicts the process orientation repeatedly called for with regard to gender-sensitive career orientation, which, among other things, underlines the need for informed reflection.

### 3 Empirical approach: Exploratory and quantitative approach

For the empirical survey among educational and career counsellors, we combined various social science methods. On the one hand, we created a **quantitative online questionnaire** (February to April) based on the literature analysis (Chapter 2) and on the knowledge gained from the survey among adolescents and young adults (Volume 1, Bergmann et al. 2022).

When distributing the questionnaire, thanks to the support of the project partners, we were able to reach a total of 263 educational and career counsellors who completed the questionnaire in full. In terms of content, the survey covers the topics relating to the digital shift in the labour market and the associated changes in career orientation/counselling. In addition, we want to know how influences of gender are assessed in career orientation and choice, and whether possible changes in (professional) gender segregation in the labour market are perceived in the digital shift.

In addition to these substantive questions, socio-demographic characteristics were surveyed. The sample can be described as follows: almost 80% state that they are female, the remaining

20% male. About a quarter are aged up to and including 35, more than half are between 36 and 50 years old and just under a quarter are over 50 years old. The average age in the sample is around 43 years. Almost 60% are involved in a project within the framework of “Education until 18”; around 12% work in a job information centre (BIZ) and around 6% in a school (24% “other”). Around 54% say they work in Vienna and around 46% in Lower Austria; of these, around 40% would describe their place of work as more urban and around 60% as more rural. The data collected was prepared for statistical analysis and evaluated using the SPSS statistical program. Descriptive evaluations (frequency) were primarily carried out; in addition, we calculated group comparisons (significance test: Chi<sup>2</sup>) based on socio-demographic characteristics. However, since the number of respondents is relatively small and there is an observable lack of balance in the sample, only a few statements can be made in this regard.

In addition, **exploratory observations** were carried out at a trade fair for education and work (BeSt Messe<sup>7</sup> and at the job information centre (BIZ) in Vienna. The research team from L&R visited the fair on the 3rd of March 2022 from 1:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. and carried out a covert observation there. On the one hand, the focus was on addressing the digital shift and/or the use of digital tools and, on the other hand, on the presentation of professions in a gender (un)stereotypical and/or gender-sensitive manner. In order to find out more about how the visitors to such a fair are advised, we pretended to be interested in a job or study for ourselves or our children.

In addition, an open participatory observation was carried out in a job information centre in Vienna in May 2022. We also conducted online interest tests to collect subjective impressions of digital tools.

In cooperation with and with the support of the network of women and girls counselling centres, the **views of women experts** were also collected. An oral interview was conducted and short questions were sent out to be answered openly and in writing. Thanks are due to the girls' counselling centres Equaliz (Klagenfurt), Mafalda (Graz) and Amazone (Bregenz).

The focus was on assessing digitisation and dealing with the digital shift in the transformation. How do institutions for girls, such as the girls' counselling centres, girls' centres and the vocational centres for girls and young women, which are organised in the network of Austrian women's and girls' counselling centres and see themselves as feminist, organise their career orientation in practice? What role does digitisation play, and what opportunities do counsellors see in digitisation for gender equality? The answers were collected and processed by the women's and girls' counselling centre network. In the following report, they are presented in the results in addition to the questionnaire survey.

## 4 The practice of career orientation and changes in the digital shift

The questionnaire survey was also intended to provide insights into how the practice of career orientation has changed as a result of the digital shift, how career counsellors assess their own skills and what needs for further training are seen.

In addition, the question was asked how different aspects of the digital shift are addressed in the practice of career orientation and counselling. When answering this question, addressing the need for soft skills in all occupations received the highest level of agreement (three quarters find this very important). Addressing the changes in the world of work due to the digital shift is classified as very important by half of those surveyed. “Only” 44% of the counsellors find the

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<sup>7</sup> Home - BeSt<sup>3</sup> (bestinfo.at), last access 17/05/2022



need for digital skills in all professions very important. Addressing emerging digital professions gets the lowest level of approval, with 38% rating this topic as very important.

When asked which aspects of career orientation/counselling are particularly relevant for young people, it becomes clear that making young people's skills visible has the highest priority: 90% of the counsellors consider this to be very important. In second place is addressing the interest of young people, which is classified as very important by 88% of respondents. Showing young people the different facets of occupations is very important for 66%. The fact that the young people are introduced to a wide range of professions and training is of great importance to almost half of them. On the other hand, the aspect of informing young people about occupations with a shortage of skilled workers plays a rather subordinate role.

With regard to the career counsellors' own skills and how well informed they are about the changes in the labour market in connection with digitisation and social media, it becomes apparent that there is a need for information and training on current developments relating to digitisation in the labour market.

Only 13% of the career counsellors surveyed feel very well informed, 69% rather well informed and at least 17% rather not well informed. Typical gender-specific differences in response behaviour can be seen here, since the men surveyed consider themselves to be considerably better informed than the women surveyed.

The question of the need for further training for career counsellors in connection with the digital shift in the labour market is also consistent with this: For 46%, further training in this field is very important and for 43% it is rather important. There is also high demand for further training with regard to the use of digital tools, which have now become widespread in career orientation: 45% consider further training in the use of digital tools to be very important, and 43% consider it rather important.

In this regard, the desire for further training in new developments on the labour market and newly emerging digital job profiles (e.g., including jobs such as influencers, bloggers or youtubers) was often mentioned. Above all, there is a desire for practical teaching of new digital technologies and requirements in various professional fields (manual professions, commercial professions, etc.). The question of how young people who cannot keep up with the digital shift can be advised was also raised here.

In the meantime, digital tools have become widespread in career orientation and counselling. When asked about the tools used, general social media and messenger services such as Tik-Tok, Instagram, WhatsApp, Youtube, Snapchat or Instagram were mentioned. Specific digital tools for career orientation were also mentioned, such as kahoot.com, berufsflexikon.at, berufsinteressentest.at, bic.at, playmit.com or whatchado.com. The desire for further training was also mentioned in relation to the use of digital tools for career orientation or digital application tools, on the one hand to get an overview of the tools, and on the other hand to find out which of these tools have proven themselves in which respect.

28% of those surveyed rate digital tools as very useful for career orientation/counselling, 58% consider them rather useful and 11% consider them rather not useful. 23% are of the opinion that these tools are very well received by young people, for 61% these tools are rather well received by young people and for 14% rather not well. Gender differences in the use of digital tools are rated as relatively small by the educational and career counsellors surveyed. Almost 5% believe that young men use these tools more often than young women, and 3% believe that young women use the tools more frequently. Almost half see no gender-specific differences in usage, and 45% cannot give an assessment.

In addition, it was noted with regard to the tools that the access threshold for some young people was too high due to the often-necessary registration. In general, interactive quizzes,

videos or similar formats were rated positively, whereby a joint reflection on the results in a common framework would make sense.

The potential for further development of digital tools is expressed in response to the question about the usefulness of digital tools in career orientation and counselling. For example, it was suggested that the applicability for different age groups should be tested by the respective target group. On the other hand, there is the assessment that digital tools alone are not sufficient for successful educational and career orientation, as they can only represent a supplement to the individual counselling setting.

## 5 Labour market segregation and gender stereotypes – Traditional attributions have an effect

Over 90% of the educational and career counsellors in the survey believe that traditional gender roles influence young people very much or somewhat in their career choices; this applies to both young women and young men.

The survey also shows that the response behaviour to the question about equal opportunities in the case of a “gender-atypical” education or career choice is different. According to the education and career counsellors, young women more often do not have the same opportunities or not at all (almost 40%) as young men who are interested in healthcare and nursing (approx. 10%). With such an “atypical” choice, young women are confronted with stereotypical ideas, traditional role models and attributions with regard to their (lack of) skills. This in turn affects their personal assessment. It was also mentioned that (young) women have to perform better than (young) men in a job that is not typical for them. Conversely, some respondents justify the unequal opportunities for young men interested in health and nursing by saying that they have better opportunities in this field than (young) women.

The surveyed measures for greater equal opportunities are very popular. The educational and career counsellors surveyed rated gender-sensitive presentation and mediation of occupations as the most useful. The majority of those surveyed also rated an early start with career orientation measures (primary school) to consciously break with traditional role models, training courses for counsellors on gender stereotypes and the use of digital tools / serious games to raise awareness of traditional job profiles as very or rather helpful.

The open answers on necessary measures show that structural changes are of great importance. For example, it would be important for professions in which more women are traditionally employed to be upgraded in monetary and social terms and for working conditions in male-dominated fields to pose fewer obstacles for (young) women (more part-time opportunities, better compatibility, etc.). The (lack of) visibility is also a key factor. People in “gender-atypical” jobs act as role models; as such, they can motivate young people to become interested about jobs and training regardless of their gender and the social expectations that go with it. Practical career orientation can also help to tie career choices more closely to individual interests. Schools, families and companies are relevant interfaces where more awareness and education would be necessary. Here, stereotypical ideas are often conveyed unquestioningly or have a discriminatory effect.

The educational and career counsellors who took part in the survey assessed the existence of digital skills among young people, which are necessary in the world of work, as relatively low: just over a quarter rather or very much agree with this. The open answers show that young people are competent in using smartphones or social media, but have less knowledge of relevant programs (Word, Excel, etc.), which must be mastered in many professions. In conversations with counsellors, however, it is also pointed out that many of the skills already

available in dealing with social media can also be relevant for the professional world, especially in online marketing. Young people are often unaware of the skills they already have. In the online survey, too, the question of whether it is necessary to boost young people's self-confidence in dealing with digital technologies was very popular.

With regard to the selected competences, it is shown that the educational and career counsellors tend to identify fewer gender differences in the use of computers and common programs; if they do, young women tend to be more competent at it. The situation is similar – only with a stronger tendency towards gender differences – with regard to the use of social media; also here “in favour of” young women. According to the career counsellors, larger gender differences can be observed with regard to more advanced digital skills (such as programming): 70% consider young men to be more competent. In the open answers, it is pointed out that social skills should also be given higher priority.

More than half of the respondents see an influence of digitisation on gender segregation, with more respondents (around 30%) expecting an increase than a decrease (around 25%). Again, the data shows a difference in response behaviour in female-dominated and male-dominated fields. Approximately 70% of respondents state that the digital shift offers an opportunity – agree and rather agree – to get more young women interested in STEM professions. Conversely, only just under 30% share this opinion when it comes to getting young men interested in health and education professions. In both cases, the opportunity is seen in particular in the fact that information about occupations is more easily accessible and people who work in a “gender-atypical” field become more visible (e.g., in social media).

## 6 Summary: The path into the digital future – digitisation as part of career orientation?

In the “DigiTyps” project and specifically in this Volume, which addresses the role of educational and career counsellors and career orientation in the context of the digital shift, the aim is to gain an understanding of the interaction of gender stereotypes, the digital shift in the work environment and structural, gender-related inequalities in the labour market. The focus is on (unequal) attributions based on the social category of gender, in full awareness that other characteristics (such as migration background, socio-economic status, etc.) and their interactions should also be considered.

In the context of the digital shift and with regard to career orientation, various points are central to our discussion. On the one hand, digitisation influences the world of work in terms of changed or newly created job profiles and skills; on the other hand, it influences gender stereotypes and role expectations (e.g., Brandao et al. 2019 in relation to social media). Last but not least, digitisation influences the practice of career orientation (KOFA 2021, Gehrau 2020 in relation to internet searches for occupations).

Based on this, we have focused on these three levels of influence in the report presented. The most important findings and implications are set out below.

The majority of those surveyed see themselves as rather well informed when it comes to changes related to digitisation; only 13% state that they are very well informed. This goes hand in hand with a **strong desire for further training**, both in relation to the digital shift in the labour market and the use of digital tools. The latter are largely judged to be useful in career counselling and orientation, but only as a supplement to an individual counselling setting. The problems mentioned are rather a high-threshold access, the lack of involvement of young people in programming and a lack of reflection in some cases.

In the practice of career orientation, the respondents experience **that traditional gender roles have a strong influence on the career choices of young people** – both young women and men. At the same time, the assessment of unequal opportunities in “gender-atypical” career choices is evident: according to the education and career counsellors, it is more difficult for young women to gain a foothold in a male-dominated field than for young men in a female-dominated field. Stereotypical ideas, prejudices and gender images related to (lacking) skills, suitability and personalities are particularly effective.

The extent to which **opportunities arise here in the course of the digital shift** is assessed differently. Around 70% rather agree / agree very much that there are opportunities to get young women interested in the STEM field; “only” around 30% consider this to be the case among young men in relation to professions in the health and education sectors. The respondents see the opportunities to lie above all in **low-threshold access to information** on the internet or via social media and in **making role models visible**.

The unequal assessment of equal opportunities is also reflected in the call from the educational and career counsellors surveyed to **upgrade female-dominated professions socially and financially**. The majority of those surveyed also consider a gender-sensitive presentation of occupations, an early start to career orientation offers and training for counsellors and the use of digital tools to raise awareness to be important.

The **interaction between structural inequalities and the thoughts** and actions of individuals harbours the risk that young people have less confidence in women and (if female) in themselves due to social circumstances. At the same time, more is demanded of women in “atypical” jobs. They therefore have to assert themselves against double discrimination: the attribution of lacking or lower competences and the demand for better performance.

Those interviewed consider it very important to make young people's skills visible in career orientation. The discussions with and written responses from the girls' advice centres also show that the **competent use of social media is an important starting point** to make young people aware of existing skills and to simplify the learning of new digital skills or take away their fears and anxieties. In addition to visibility, strengthening self-confidence is also key. An additional relevant factor is **starting with the interests of young people**. It is also emphasised that regardless of gender, young people, their interests and their skills should be the focus of career orientation.

At the same time, the survey shows that when asked whether young people already have digital skills that are important in the world of work, the majority of educational and career counsellors (rather) disagree. From the counsellors' point of view, although young people are competent in dealing with smartphones and social media, they often lack the necessary understanding of computers and professionally relevant programs.

Basic digital skills, such as dealing with computers and programs, but also competent use of social media are assigned comparatively less strongly to one gender; if so, in favour of young women. A **strong difference can be seen in advanced digital skills** (e.g., programming). Around 70% of those surveyed state that young men are more competent in this field than young women. To what extent this assessment is based on actual observations and experiences or on stereotypical expectations and attributions cannot be clarified, but the strong trend in response behaviour in favour of young men is remarkable.

The survey of educational and career counsellors shows that teaching **social skills and the emphasis on the need** for them are relevant in all professions.

Those surveyed also emphasise that, in addition to career orientation, other social connections in private (family, friends) and public life (school, company, etc.) convey stereotypical role expectations; here, it is important to raise awareness and educate.

Overall, it is noticeable that educational and careers counselling do little to address possible digitisation-induced changes in order to counteract any gender stereotypes. The attribution of social media and related skills as more “female” and advanced digital skills (e.g., programming) as more “male” follows quite traditional fault lines. The rather critical assessment of the potential for change and one's own knowledge of changing framework conditions also shows that the digital shift is being recognised as a phenomenon. There are no recognisable specific considerations and concepts on the complex question of whether this could also involve breaking up traditional gender stereotypes or to what extent this could be supported.

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