

Effects of the crisis on the social representation of the university and the work: differences in gender, generation and social class in Rome in times of crisis.

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Abstract

The majority of experts (Beck 2008, Stiglitz, 2013, Gallino, 2013 e 2014, Piketty ,2013.) considers a perverse effect of the crisis, the increase in income inequality, social class and between generations. This leads to a narrowing and the crisis of the middle class and greater difficulty for young people to find work (De Rita, Schizzerotto, Galdo 2014). A confirmation of how Italian families are trapped in the economic crisis emerges from the statistical analysis conducted in 2012 by the Ministry of Economy which shows that the prolongation of the crisis has hit especially on the middle class. But what are the factors that determine an impoverishment of the middle class? And what consequences they have on the representations of young people about their future? To answer these questions, we proceeded to a survey with semi-structured questionnaire, on a purposive sample of 500 Roman's students enrolled in the final year of the upper secondary school, by analyzing, at the micro level, the effects of the crisis on families, and on the post diploma choices of their sons. The main hypothesis is to check if relatively privileged class feel the crisis and transmit their anxieties to their sons, that their turn "depressed" by a social climate in which it is said that "the sons will stay worse than the fathers." This is reflected in the dilemma if seek employment or continue studying, that most of the respondents resolves with the hypothesis of groped to do both. Even as regards the university, it goes in the same direction in the sense of choosing degrees that appear more immediately usable in the labour market. Regarding the effects of the crisis on families in addition to looking to the objective conditions of economic hardship of the parents (unemployment, single income families or separate), we have analyzed how this affecting the everyday life. A second aspect investigated, are the differences in employment within the family between wives and husbands, making a comparison with a research on the social classes of 1996 (Rella, Cavarra, 2000) where emerged an abrupt transition from home mothers to daughters workers. In 2013, the entry of women into the labour market seems to have almost ended, in the sense of a further drastic reduction of pure housewives (women who have never worked), but are returning the women who are doing the housewives due to lack of job. Early indications shows as comparing the most popular professions in Rome, employees and teachers, mainly present in the public sector, the middle class, are the ones who suffer especially unemployment. Among respondents who belong to a higher social class, more than

90%, will enrol at the university; while among those who belong to the middle class more than 80% will enrol at the university, of which 51.6% declared their intention to make it compatible to work and study, between those who belong to the lower class, only 16% plan to pursue graduate studies, showing how the difficult conditions in which families pour affect a lot their choices in the present and in the future of their children.

The majority of scholars (Beck 2008 Stiglitz, 2013, Gallino 2013 and 2014) consider a perverse effect of the crisis, the increase of income inequality, social class and between generations. This implies the narrowing and the crisis of the middle class, that for Piketty (Piketty 2013), is related to the increase in inequality of incomes, long-term phenomenon that is present in the majority of the countries. Moreover Italy is situated at the second last place in the ranking of 30 countries relating to income inequality measured by Gini's index (Salverda et al. *Gini Growing Inequalities' Impact*, 2014) and this results in a greater difficulty for young people to find work (De Rita, Galdo 2014 Schizzerotto et al, 2011 Ballarino et al, 2014). A confirmation as Italian families are trapped in the economic crisis emerges from the analysis of the income declared to the tax authorities and published by the Ministry of Economy which highlights how the prolongation of the crisis has hit especially on the middle class¹. The main factors that determine an impoverishment of these classes are on one hand the decline of the small commercial bourgeoisie and on the other hand a difficulties of the white collar class, both public and private: precarious employment contracts, and the consequent risks of unemployment and declining incomes also affect the public sector where there is a hiring freeze since the began of the crisis.

What effect this determines on the possibilities and choices of study and work? And what consequences has on the representations of young people about their future? There are differences between boys and girls?

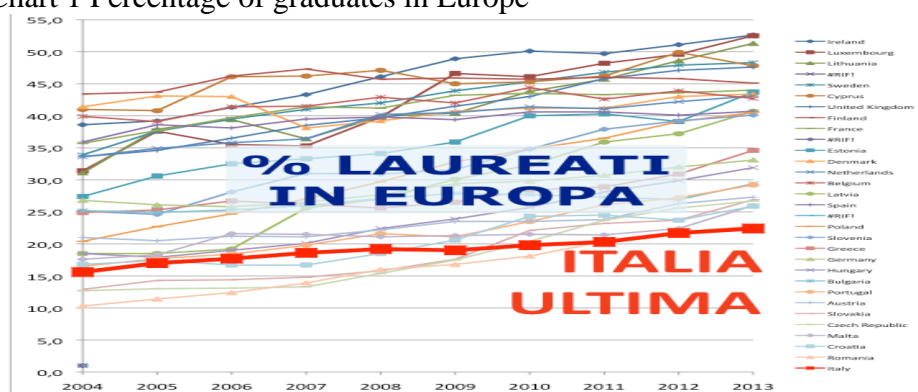
To answer these questions, we proceeded to a survey with semi-structured questionnaire, a purposive sample of 500 Roman students enrolled in the final year of the upper secondary

¹ From 2008 to 2012, the average income of employees fell by 4.6% and that of the self-employed of 14.3% (data released March 26, 2014)

school, by analyzing micro-level effects of the crisis on households, and on their choices about post-diploma. The main hypothesis that we want to verify is whether relatively privileged classes feel the crisis and transmit their anxiety to their children, in their turn "depressed" by a social climate in which it says "the children will be worse than the fathers"². Before submitting and commenting on research data, we make a brief picture of the situation of the school and university in Italy, on the professional outlets of graduates and a comparison to the European scene.

Let's start by saying that Italy sadly is positioned at the last position for the percentage of graduates, registering a 21%, compared to an average of the EU countries, which stands at 36%, while if we take as reference the OECD countries is 39%.

Chart 1 Percentage of graduates in Europe



In a context in which Europe put as an objective the 40%, to which Italy replied that it will arrive at a maximum of 26-27%. But let's go into detail and see up close some of the variables that help us to better define Italian context, comparing contextual factors: education, graduates, job opportunities, with structural data coming directly from our research.

² M. Benasayag, G., Schmit, (2003), "Les passions tristes, souffrance psychique et crise social". Éditions La Découverte, Paris.

2. The secondary and tertiary education in Italy and career opportunities of graduates

We take the information on these issues from the report on social cohesion. Year 2013 taken care of by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy³. Let us make the comparison between the evolution of the levels of secondary and higher education of young Italians aged between 20 and 24 years with their peers in major European countries. Between 2005 and 2010 the percentage of young people attending school rose from 73.6% in 2005 to 76.3% in 2010, but remains slightly below the average of the 27 EU countries. The proportion of young Italians aged between 14 and 18 years enrolled in secondary school is 92%, but the percentage of the total number of graduates 19enni is appreciably lower and is equal to 72%. Compared to the school year 2004-2005 the level of schooling drops significantly in all Italy. This means that our sample enrolled in the last year of secondary school in 2012-13 is a selected sample of young people, with no drop out of high school⁴. In the academic year 2009-2010, were enrolled at the university 39% of the cohort aged 19 to 25 years. The same percentage was recorded in 2004-2005. This shows that the education has decreased in Italy while has remained stationary the proportion of students at the university.

Interesting to note how the women continue to have a greater propensity to university, registering a rate of 46% compared to 33% of males "(Report of the Ministry of Labour 2014). Of particular interest is the analysis of the career opportunities of graduates three years after graduation. Among the graduates of 2004 in three-year cycles, in 2007 worked 73% of which 20.4% before graduation.

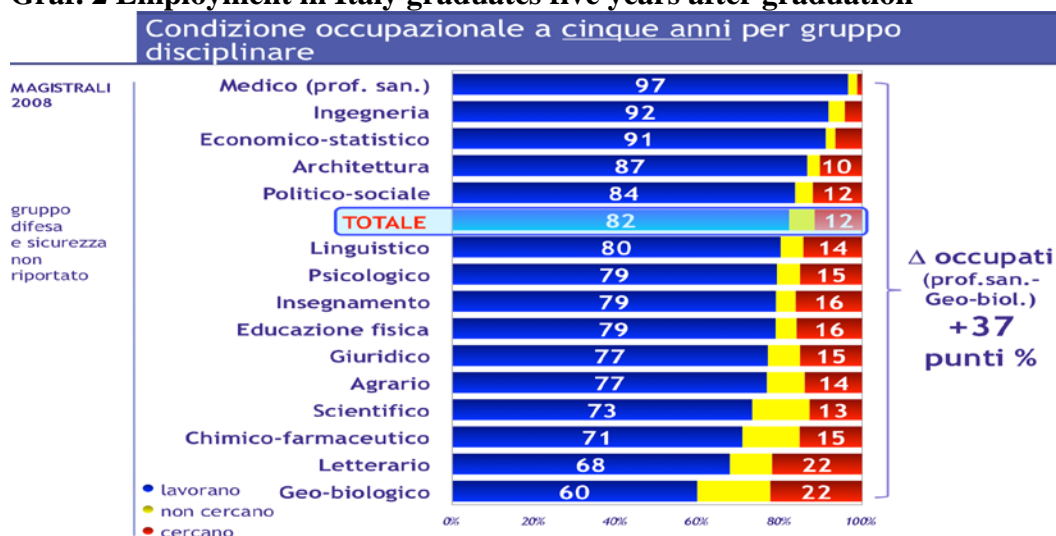
In the specialist cycle (lasting 4 or 6 years) shares occupied and recent graduates looking for work are essentially the same, but there is a greater share of those who work in a continuous manner (56%).

⁴ Young people who do not complete their studies are rejected in previous years, given that those who do not pass the final exam are a small minority.

The same trend is confirmed by the data of Almalaurea, calculated over a distance of five years after graduation, with reference to graduate in 2008, it is recorded that in the year 2013 those who have a job are the 82%.

Inside, the sample is divided in 3 parts: doctors, engineers and economists. Over 92% of doctors are working, the literati and the biologists have a percentage of 70% and in the middle there are the architects, political scientists, sociologists, and graduates in languages, with percentages between 90% and 73% (Cammelli 2014).

Graf. 2 Employment in Italy graduates five years after graduation



Source: Almalaurea 2013

3 The results of the field research: social class and objective conditions of discomfort

To better summarize the social origins of the respondents, we have built a typological index of social class, taking as variables the type of work carried out by both parents. In the families of the upper class (28.3%) at least one of the parents pursues or has pursued⁵ highly professional work activities, which in the ISTAT classification are placed at the first two levels (entrepreneurs, senior executives and intellectual professions and highly specialized). The middle-class families are the most common (31.4%) in the Roman context, related to the role of the capital of Italy (presence of the ministries, the Region and Headquarters of companies and national and international bodies).

⁵ We have also included a few retirees who performed this type of work

Almost always both parents (or at least one of them) **perform activities of work**, which are typical of the white collar class especially in the public sector (employees and technicians to which we added the military), but also a skilled job in commercial activities and services, always now a day is a work most at risk in the current economic crisis in which those who work in the private sector, a trader and a salesman, is relatively more exposed to unemployment of a worker audience. The third group consists of the lower-class families (14.8%). Are those in which parents play a type of work more or less qualified: apparently there are very few, but, as we shall see in the next paragraph, **are of lower class also large part** than those who do not indicate either the craft of the father, nor the the mother, probably because their parents or have lost their jobs, or are to perform multiple jobs, which makes it difficult to identify the children in one class professional. Prevailing in our sample, therefore, the middle class, both because they are more present in Rome, because as a capital, than in the rest of the country, and because in what we have defined lower class is less likely that the children arrive at the fifth year of high school. In a country where social mobility is very low, it is not surprising that the guys that are going to take the baccalaureate degree originate in clear majority of families who are at the intermediate level also from the point of view of cultural capital, with at least one parent graduated. A data that is confirmed Almalaurea, which shows that young people who are enrolled at the University (19%) come from wealthy families. Another aspect considered in order to understand the context in which the research has been moving the family ambit, where it appears that single parent families (separated, divorced, widowed), are now quite widespread. Often the "weaknesses" family members accumulate; Families with only one parent present are also foreign families and mixed in 32% of cases, compared with 24% of those with both parents Italians. If we make a comparison with research carried out again in Rome in 1996, it appears that the families of

separated, divorced or widowed were just 17.5%, 1996 emerges, therefore a noticeable increase in single-parent families.

3.1 The problem of non-respondents to questions about their parents' work

In our sample, those who deliberately did not respond to these questions (25.5%), a group that we could not ignore and of which therefore we have tried to understand and identify, through the intersection of the responses to a battery of questions about family, employment status, sector of activity and cultural capital. The most significant questions were the following:

1 **Intersection with lives with me.** The non-respondents to questions about the work of the parents are the ones who live more with a single parent: only 73% live with their father and only 91% with the mother and 5% did not answer these questions.

2. **With a civil state,** only 68.8% had married parents (to which are added 2.8% of household). The divorced parents are twice the average value. This explains why not answer the questions on the work of at least one parent, not the present.

3 **Intersection with the professional status (D3a and D3b):** Among the mothers, there are almost housewives (and the unemployed are well 4.7%). So they are more active than the mothers, whose condition was made known. The fathers are unemployed as much as 9.3% almost like those of the lower class (11.1%). Among the fathers of which is not indicated for the craft are numerous also the invalids 2.8% - maximum value and retirees 4.7%.

4 Intersection with business sector: among mothers who worked prevails the private sector, although in a less sharp than in the lower-class, for fathers variable field is not discriminating.

5 Cultural capital: results to be low (17.8% does not even have a parent graduated), but not as low in the lower class (27.9%).

In conclusion, very often its about children who live with a single parent and this explains in part why they not respond to questions about their parents' work, but also indicate risk of

slipping into poverty, as households have a high level of unemployed parents and disabled and low cultural capital. From the characteristics it is clear that it is a group certainly closer to the lower class than those medium and high, as we shall see also with the vulnerability index.

3.2. The objective conditions of discomfort: the vulnerability index

As regards the effects of the crisis on households, we tried to look at the objective conditions of economic hardship of the parents (unemployment, income families or separate) by building a vulnerability index that summarizes: cultural capital, labor situation father and mother, civil state and social class.

40. In particular, we build an index sum by adding the above-mentioned variable, where 1 is the minimum and 11 the maximum vulnerability: and proceeding to a division into four categories, each of which has been assigned the following scores: as shown the following scheme.

- a) Minimum vulnerability: 1 to 3, includes the percentage not above 27% of vulnerability.
- b) Medium - Low vulnerability: 4 to 5 points = 36% to 45%.
- c) High - Medium vulnerability: 6 points = 54%
- d) High vulnerability: 7 to 11 points = 63% to 100%.

The first confirmation of the effectiveness of our index, resulting from the intersection with the social class, which obviously increases the vulnerability corresponds to a lower class, showing a clear inverse correlation between social class and vulnerability (Tab. 1).

Table1. Vulnerability Index by Social Rank Index

Vulnerability Index	Social Rank Index			Total
	High	Medium	Low	
Very Low	30,2%	18,2%	11,5%	19,2%
Low To Average	25,5%	56,6%	39,7%	42,1%
Over Average	28,3%	11,9%	20,6%	19,5%
High	16,0%	13,3%	28,2%	19,2%
Totale	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: our survey 2013

Note: the social rank index is *high* when almost a parent is Intellectual, scientific or high specialised professional; it is *medium* when almost a parent is a white collar or technical or trader and it is *low* in the other cases (blue collars, not qualified professions and when the interviewed do not indicate the job neither of the father or the mother).

The upper class has the lowest vulnerability: 30% min and 25.5% low. But there is a not insignificant quota (28%) who have a vulnerability medium - high: these are families with unemployed entrepreneurs and traders (see file professions listed further down.), While the high vulnerability only affects 16% of families (the average is 19.1%) and there is nobody who comes to the maximum score. The opposite is found as the lower class has the greatest vulnerability, while the middle class are placed in an intermediate position.

The second confirmation of an increase in vulnerability due to the crisis comes from a comparison with research on social mobility in Rome (Rella, Cavarra, 2000) carried out in 1996⁶. These data are not fully comparable, but the differences are such as to leave no doubt. By calculating, the vulnerability index with 1996 data emerges that a good 57.7% had a vulnerability minimum, 33.3% medium-low, barely 7.2% medium-high and only 1.8% high. Not even the upper class now has much lower levels of vulnerability! If we look at the variables that make up the index, we note that, as we have already mentioned, there was a lower presence of single-parent families in 1996⁷. Given the unemployment rate is quite similar, the main differences are social class.

In the survey of 1996 prevailed in the middle class (65.6%) and the lower class was only 7.7% and the cultural capital of the intermediate level was a bit 'higher.

⁶ The research was carried out on Roman territory in 1996 with the aim to understand the differences of class and social status, and then directed at all the ages, but removing the unmarried and considering information relating to collaborate the age composition is close to that of the parents of our current respondents. The data used are based on 200 respondents.

⁷ It is a 5.2% on average in 1996 compared to 4.4 of the investigation, but it should be borne in mind that these are the parents of 18-year-olds it comes to decidedly adult people, which should therefore be less unemployed, in a market work such as Italian, where are the young people to meet with the greatest difficulties.

Even with all the limitations of comparability between the two surveys, there is now a greater vulnerability of families and above all a crisis of the middle class, who is contracting, as well as to have become more vulnerable. Finally, to understand how the vulnerability affects the daily life we cross the index with two questions on family conversations.

Table2. How much the interviewed speak in the family of economics problems and parent’s work by vulnerability index

How much the interviewed speak in the family of:	Vulnerability Index				Total	
	Very Low	Low to Average	Over Average	High		
Economics Problems of The Family	High	56,20%	63,10%	52,70%	55,60%	58,30%
	Little	43,8%	36,2%	47,3%	44,4%	41,4%
Parent’s Work	High	68,5%	61,3%	54,8%	52,8%	59,8%
	Little	31,5%	38,8%	45,2%	47,2%	40,2%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

The table shows how the most discussed argument is the family economy and parents' work in situations of low vulnerability, as though for the most vulnerable families, poverty and unemployment are not new.

4. After secondary school, continue to study or work?

The crisis in which globalized capitalism has fallen, has shaken all social classes, and encouraged many young people of the lower class, but also a substantial minority of young middle-class and even upper postpone the continuation of their studies or not to continue them at all, looking for immediate work.

The aspect that interests us here is to consider is how mature this decision.

One of the approaches of social psychology, which also involved the sociology was the notion of social representation⁸.

Social representations they are neither opinions or attitudes but of knowledge systems of values and ideas that people develop in relation to their specific social context.

⁸ The scholar who has most contributed to the development of this approach was Serge Moscovici. See Galli, 2006.

Social representations are always of something (the object that it represents) and someone (the subject).

The social representation therefore depends both on the object, in our case the work is the subject: our respondents, graduating students.

The work is known to play an important role not only in social position that will be responsible, but also in the expectations and orientations of the subjects: it is considered the most important work, the more active you are to achieve it. In this evaluation the image of the work, which takes the body to anticipate the decision whether or not job seeking progression to further education. The information, opinions and experiences lived, directly or indirectly, both within the family and in the social context closest approach, are processed by the subject and become means to "take possession of such a reality," to anchor it into meaningful patterns encoded (values, norms of behavior, interpretive schemes, etc.). filtered and re-built over time in relation to ascriptive variables (family of origin, gender, socio-territorial, etc..) and **acquisitive** (academic tracks the social contexts of attendance, etc.).

In essence, the representation of the reality of the workplace is that the subject is rooted in pre-existing network of meanings in subject. In this sense, the representation, that the subject is constructed, it becomes almost tangible, is not an abstraction but it looks like something that exists in reality. In other words, the social representation made by our respondents manifests itself as a "naive theory" in the sense of non-scientific, the functioning of the labor market that allows them to decide and behave. To conclude this point, in summary we can say that, on the one hand, there are ways in which our respondents have perceived, organized and produced the representation n- theoretical knowledge of the labor market - this representation, on the other hand has produced concrete future choices.

It likely that the decision to start your search for a job derives also from the awareness of not having resources to control the ability to access the world of work. This decision is related to

the representation of a labor market "closed" whose access mechanisms are uncontrollable and therefore any effort is likely to remain futile. Conversely, choose to study those who have a representation of a labor market "open" whose mechanisms of inclusion are not dependent on external controls (eg. Recommendations) but from personal skills and therefore their commitment can be rewarded. In addition, the economic crisis that makes up for all social classes and more hostile to the labor market. As stated, the main hypothesis that has guided the research is to see if they feel the crisis relatively privileged classes and transmit their anxieties to their children, in their turn "depressed" by a social climate. This is reflected in the dilemma of whether to seek employment or continue studying, that most of the respondents / e has not yet resolved: this is particularly true for the middle class that in 51.6% of case⁹s, says he wants to do both things together.

Table3.What the interviewed want to do, when they finish school by social rank index

	Social Rank Index			Total
	High	Medium	Low	
To search a job	18,6%	24,0%	37,8%	27,2%
To enrol at a professional course	-	4,5%	6,3%	3,9%
To enrol at university and search a job	42,4%	48,1%	39,9%	43,6%
Only to enrol at university	39,0%	23,4%	16,1%	25,3%
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

Note: see Table1

Legend: the class is defined according to the occupation of the highest parents is high if at least one parent is between legislators and high skill occupations); middle class (and technical employees, skilled occupations in trade and services + armed forces); low (unskilled occupations + who indicates neither the craft of the father, nor the mother's present or past and behaved like the lower class.

It is necessary to premise that the respondents have already chosen in part when working, enrolling in a general or vocational school. Who does a school of vocational content is not as high schools to 92.2% plan to attend college, but about half plan to study and work.

⁹ Who says I want to look for work should not only indicate the type of degree, but in 27% of cases it does, a value that grows the more the class is low (18.6% upper class, 24.0% middle class, 37, 8% lower class). This indicates uncertainty about what you want to do after graduation.

In technical-vocational schools, the opposite is true: only 10.9% plan to attend college, 35.4% to work and attend college and as much as 53.8% intend to immediately look for work or attend a course vocational training¹⁰, but even this choice, prior to the interview, was conditioned by social class. Among respondents who belong to a higher social class, more than 80% think that they enroll in college; while among those who belong to the middle class little more than 70% will enroll it, of which 48.1% declares its intention to make compatible study and work; between those who belong to the lower class, only 16% plan to pursue graduate studies without working, showing how difficult condition in which discharge their families a great deal of influence in the choices of the present and the future of their children.

4.1 Which degree to choose?

Enroll in the university also depends on the social representation that we have of it, and in particular in times of crisis is careful to choose a degree program that opens a good opportunity in the labor market, at the expense of of faculties that appear to have little hope of employment. For "little hope of employment," we mean those faculties in which graduates have greater difficulty in finding work, or the degrees currently less spent on the labor market. To construct the three different classes: high hopes for employment, employment high hopes and low expectations of employment, we used data AlmaLaurea¹¹, relating to 184,639 graduates of 2012 (or 86% of the population), interviewed after 1 year from the degree, as shown in the table below (Table 4).

¹⁰ At the national level, graduates of high schools declare themselves the most (60.8% in 2011) to college students full-time, while among the graduates of technical and vocational institutes the corresponding shares are respectively 19.9 and 6.7 percent. Source: Istat, Italian Statistical Yearbook, 2013, p.182.

¹¹ AlmaLaurea is an innovative service providing on-line graduates' curricula. The aim of AlmaLaurea is to be a meeting point for graduates, universities and the business world. It was set up in 1994 following an initiative of the Statistical Observatory of the University of Bologna. Since then it has experienced an exponential growth; now it involves almost the 80% of Italian graduates" www.almalaurea.it

Table 4. First- and second-level graduates in 2012: An assessment of employment outcomes one year on from graduation

Graduation type	Newer worked after graduation	Unemployment rate	Not working before graduation's unemployment rate
Medicine (healthcare)	25,0	21,0	26,0
Sciences	40,1	12,0	15,4
Economics-statistics	38,9	23,8	34,2
Teaching	16,4	16,8	28,7
Low	60,8	29,4	40,7
Political and social sciences ¹²	28,8	27,7	44,2
Humanities ¹³	35,1	28,7	43,3
Psychology	40,4	29,7	50,0
Agriculture	33,0	25,7	34,7
Geo-biology	51,9	28,9	36,9
Languages	27,7	27,7	37,7

In particular: highlighted in yellow are the values of unemployment below average, representing the faculty in high hope of employment, in green, the low-power and hope in blue those with high hopes of employment. The table 5 shows that respondents are careful to choose a degree that offers hope of employment: less than one-fifth plan to enroll in courses that offer little hope of employment, however the paths that offer better chances, they are almost always the most challenging, such as medicine and engineering, which explains why it is especially the upper class to choose routes that have high hopes of employment.

However, the paths that offer better chances, they are usually the most challenging, such as medicine and engineering, which explains why it is especially the upper class to choose routes that have high hopes of employment.

¹² also includes 795 graduates of Communication and Languages.

¹³ also includes oriental studies and school archivists.

Table5 Type of graduation chosen grouped by probability to find job by Social Rank Index (%)

probability to find job	Social Rank Index			Total
	High	Medium	Low	
High	48.8	32.1	30.0	36.1
Medium	35.5	44.2	53.3	45.0
Low	15.7	23.7	16.7	19.0
Total	100	100	100	100

Note: see previous able for the explication of probability of job

Deepening the analysis (table 6)by distinguishing both pure students from working students it appears that especially the first choose the more challenging routes especially if the upper class or middle, and those that offer a good chance of employment if lower class.

Table6. What the interviewed want to do, when they finish school by type of graduation chosen by Social Rank Index

What the interviewed want to do, when they finish school	Social Rank Index				
	High	Medium	Low	Total	
<i>To enrol at university and search a job</i>	high probability to find job	68,0%	36,5%	54,4%	50,8%
	medium probability to find job	14,0%	29,7%	24,6%	23,8%
	low probability to find job	18,0%	33,8%	21,1%	25,4%
		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
<i>Only to enrol at university</i>	high probability to find job	50,0%	55,6%	34,8%	48,6%
	medium probability to find job	28,3%	19,4%	26,1%	24,8%
	low probability to find job	21,7%	25,0%	39,1%	26,7%
	Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Entering more detail is exemplary in the case of the degrees that appear more immediately usable in the labour market, such as those in the medical area. In the upper class, about a quarter (26.8%) chose a course in the medical area (half medicine and half paramedic

course): 19.8% of the lower class chooses a course in medical area and therefore less of the upper class, but most of the middle class (14.2%). However, the lower-class expresses a preference for a particular degree paramedical while few of the middle class are divided half and half between graduate medical or paramedical. Also engineering is the choice of most of the upper class (11.3%) and medium (10.6%) as against 8.9% of the bottom.

The third degree is the most economic choice especially from the lower class (12.1%) versus 8,2% of the upper class, probably because it is perceived as less difficult than others with high hopes of employment.

In summary, the middle class the half that wants to work and study, it does not particularly care to choose a degree that has no hope of employment, as opposed to those who choose only the path to college and the other 2 classes (table 6).

If the upper class college is the overwhelming choice for the low college is a luxury and is chosen only if it results from. To the children of the middle class is said to work and if they want to study a degree is perhaps best less demanding, but we will return to this point after analysing the influence of cultural capital.

Another factor that affects the choice after the **diploma** is the cultural capital of the family; households with at least one parent graduated give more value to the university education.

If it is a mother graduated, the push to enrol at the university is stronger especially for daughters, who as we shall see nevertheless tend to study more than boys.

The boys from families with high cultural capital for the same class think they enrol in courses with more chance of employment. Those with lower capital concentrate on courses with "high hopes of employment", because it is less demanding than high hope.

More ambiguous are the guys with average cultural capital (neither parent graduated, at least 1 graduate) that do not make a clear choice, indicating that you want to work and study in

49% of cases, in an intermediate position between the other 2 groups, choosing to enrol in courses with little hope of employment.

It is assumed that in front of a widespread devaluation of the humanities degrees by the media as the first choice is to work while studying is secondary, the choice falls on degree courses not too challenging to be able to reconcile with work and study.

5. The gender differences in post-high school choices

An element that cannot be left out in order to understand the university choices are gender differences. How does it work at the national level in our sample girls are more oriented to the study of children, in the same conditions. This stems from two elements: the best outcome in studies education and awareness of the major difficulties women encounter in the labour market, if low skilled. If you then enter into the merits of the choices of university course, affect, although less than in the past, the social representations of what is a suitable job for women. As we have already seen in general, the type of school attended has an overwhelming effect on the choice of the university: boys, however, tend to look for more work immediately: 10% versus 1% of girls. The difference of 10% between the two genres is also among those who come from other types of schools, but in both types of schools do not concern the students pure: it is the choice to study and work that is present among girls. This means that women cannot only learn, strive to reconcile work and study more than men.

The higher the cultural capital more children both boys and girls tend to continue their studies: in general, however, as we have seen girls tend to continue their studies and most of the guys in particular if the mothers are graduates thrust is slightly higher and vice versa, the sons of father with low titer seek more work. The parent of the same gender influences the social representation of study and work more. In the 1996 study emerged such that the daughters of housewives easier they too housewives

At the same degree of mother boys tend more to seek work of the girls and this applies to 50% of boys (39% D) with mother with a low educational level. The girls think they enroll in the university and work in the majority if the mother has a medium level of education (57,5%D/41%U) and to make students pure more than boys if mothers are graduates.

5.1 Gender differences in the choice of the degree course

We have seen that women in our sample, such as Italian, more likely to enrol at the university, but there are also qualitative differences. The courses with high hopes of employment are chosen by 37% of males and 35% of females as well as those who state they look for work or choose a course of training indicates the degree courses as intermediates in hopes of employment. This is especially true if the choice is not conditioned by family difficulties, as shown in Table 7 where the courses that offer little hope of employment are chosen by women with a family vulnerability minimum or medium-low, while those who belong to families vulnerable if women choose degrees with high hopes of employment and whether men with high hopes.

Tab 7 What the interviewed want to do, when they finish school by gender and type of graduation chosen

Gender	probability to find job	To search a job	To enrol at a professional course	To enrol at university and search a job	Only to enrol at university	Totale (V.A.)
Male	high	8.3%	12.5%	54.0%	51.5%	37.3%(97)
	medium	86.9%	87.5%	27.0%	23.5%	47.3% (123)
	low	4.8%	0.0%	19.0%	25.0%	15.4%(40)
	TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%(260)
fermale	high	5.4%	0.0%	47.1%	42.6%	35.0%(69)
	medium	89.2%	100.0%	21.2%	21.3%	39.0%(46)
	low	5.4%	0.0%	31.8%	36.2%	26.0%
	TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%(177)

So the girls less vulnerable to follow their own inclinations and vice versa, the more vulnerable they are more careful to choose a university course that will facilitate job placement. The need to find work now affects both genders, but men are perhaps more affected. The other factor that affects those choices is the social representation of a profession seen as more suitable for women or men that affects the choice of the degree course (Almalaurea 2014). The three groups of degrees grouped by hope of employment are characterized by their gender: The group with high hopes of employment does not have a clear characterization by genre: include defence, engineering, science, physical education that have a predominance of males enrolled, while teaching and part of the medical group are characterized as more paths chosen by women. The group with medium hopes of employment is "equal": apart from languages that had 82% of women registered in 2007, courses in architecture, economics and agriculture is the presence of listed peer.

In contrast, the group with low hopes of employment is "feminine." degrees that are part of this group are among the most chosen by women at the national level: psychology, biology with more than 80% of women, letters and law with 68% and 60% of women in the political and social near the average value of 56% of women. All this explains in detail why the respondents chose more degree courses that offer little hope of employment, other conditions being equal, but this can also mean that their inclinations are more influential in the choice of university and / or that the work to which open these degrees seems more suited to women.

If we look at gender differences, eliminating the conditioning due to the vulnerability (Table 9) shows that the girls with the least vulnerability those who follow their own inclinations and vice versa, the more vulnerable they are more careful to choose a university course that facilitates the job placement. The need to find work now affects both genders, but men are perhaps more influenced.

Conclusion

Italy is a country heavily aged, where the generational imbalance is exacerbated. In this crippled society, young people are suffering the hardest blows from the long crisis of global capitalism (which many insist on defining "transition") emblematic of the fact that the youth unemployment rate is over 40%.

The two fundamental institutions of the universe youth, the family and the school does seem to be more able to act as depositories of rules of conduct (Espanet, 2013) and even the peer group provides reference models. In a society that has made the crisis brought its cultural background, especially young people experience uncertainty in their lives as citizens, men and women of the future, the future looks uncertain, threatening. The labour problem, as we have seen from 'analysis of our research worries young people and affects the choices of study not only of those who have the poorest households and vulnerable, but also to those who belong to the middle class; a class that has been shrinking over time, as shown by the comparison with the 1996 survey. The decision to start your search for a job stems from an awareness of not having resources to control the ability to access the world of work, from a social representation pessimistic about their future as workers. Obviously, the class is still a conditioning variable: Upper Class students choose to continue their studies, much more than those of the lower class, the middle class in an intermediate position that manifests its uncertainty "choosing" to do both. In addition to the class counts the family's cultural capital in particular as regards the choice of an eventual path to college kids from families with high cultural capital for the same class think they enrol in courses with more chance of employment. Those with lower capital focus on those with "high hopes of employment" because of much less demanding than high hope. The more ambiguous are those with cultural capital average (neither parent graduated, at least 1 graduate) who not only do not make a

stark choice between work and study, but also accepted to enrol in courses with little hope of employment, especially if they do not belong to lower class.

It seems therefore tested the main hypothesis that relatively privileged classes feel the crisis and transmit their anxiety to their children.

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