

URPP Equality of Opportunity

# Introducing HESSS: Home Economics at Swiss Secondary Schools

Anja Grob Garret Binding Judith Spirig

Equality of Opportunity Research Series #40 December 2023





URPP Equality of Opportunity

URPP Equality of Opportunity Discussion Paper Series No. 40, December 2023

## Introducing HESSS: Home Economics at Swiss Secondary Schools

Anja Grob University of Berne hesss@ipz.uzh.ch Garret Binding University of Zurich binding@ipz.uzh.ch

Judith Spirig University College London and University of Zurich j.spirig@ucl.ac.uk

The University Research Priority Program "Equality of Opportunity" studies economic and social changes that lead to inequality in society, the consequences of such inequalities, and public policies that foster greater equality of opportunity. We combine the expertise of researchers based at the University of Zurich's Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, the Faculty of Business, Economics and Informatics, and the Faculty of Law.

Any opinions expressed in this paper are those of the author(s) and not those of the URPP. Research published in this series may include views on policy, but URPP takes no institutional policy positions.

URPP Discussion Papers often represent preliminary work and are circulated to encourage discussion. Citation of such a paper should account for its provisional character.

URPP Equality of Opportunity, University of Zurich, Schoenberggasse 1, 8001 Zurich, Switzerland info@equality.uzh.ch, www.urpp-equality.uzh.ch

### Introducing HESSS: Home Economics at Swiss Secondary Schools<sup>\*</sup>

Anja Grob<sup>†</sup>, Garret Binding<sup>‡</sup>, and Judith Spirig<sup>§</sup>

December 2023

#### Abstract

Education policy has increasingly gained the attention of political scientists. Owing to its decentralised structure and the ensuing variation across cantons, the Swiss education system is a great place to study questions about the determinants and consequences of education policy. However, partly for the same reason, structured and detailed (historical) comparative data about curricula — who was was taught what, when, where and how — is relatively rare. We contribute to closing this gap by introducing HESSS, a novel dataset on the provision of home economics education ("Hauswirtschaft") in Switzerland in ten German-speaking cantons for vocational- and university track secondary schools since 1980 and 1991, respectively. The new dataset can help social science scholars explore variation in various aspects of home economics education over time and across cantons, and facilitate research on the Swiss educational system. In this research note, we outline the main features of the data and illustrate how it can be used in two applications: (i) tracking the switch from gender segregated to co-educated classes in response to the 1981 vote on equality for men and women; and (ii) describing the impact of cantonal education budget cuts and popular opposition to such cuts on home economics at secondary schools in the canton of Zurich.

<sup>\*</sup>Grob collected the data, created the dataset and provided a description of the dataset. Binding and Spirig contributed equally to the factual review and manuscript. This research is supported by the UZH Research Priority Program 'Equality of Opportunity'. We would like to thank Ursi Bamert, Susanna Holliger, Regula Kressig, Corinne Senn, Christian Sommer, Denise Wahlen and Claudia Wespi for their support with the data collection.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>†</sup>University of Bern. Email: hesss@ipz.uzh.ch

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>‡</sup>University of Zurich. Email: binding@ipz.uzh.ch (corresponding author)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>§</sup>University College London and University of Zurich. Email: j.spirig@ucl.ac.uk

#### 1 Introduction

The study of education has increasingly attracted the interest of political scientists over the last decades (see, e.g., Busemeyer and Trampusch 2011). Scholars have taken to study a vast set of questions, ranging from the political and institutional determinants of education policy (see, e.g., Busemeyer 2014), to the consequences of education for individuals' political behavior (see, e.g., Cavaille and Marshall 2019), and the characteristics of inequality in the education system (see, e.g., Stadelmann-Steffen 2011). As the review article by Busemeyer and Trampusch (2011) illustrates, there are many studies on education systems, decentralisation and education spending, or educational inequality. However, work that specifically takes into account or studies educational content itself — what is being taught and how — has so far been relatively scant: What are the institutional and political determinants of taught subjects? How does content vary across performance levels or pupil background and characteristics? What are the effects of having been taught a specific subject on political attitudes and behavior?

While we could be interested in studying such and similar questions with regard to many subjects, Binding and Spirig (2023) set out to study one of them with regard to home economics — a subject in which students learn essential housekeeping skills including cooking. In order to do so, we collected detailed information on the evolution of home economics education in Switzerland. The Home Economics at Swiss Secondary Schools (HESSS) dataset covers the provision of home economics education ("Hauswirtschaft") in ten German-speaking cantons for vocational- and university track secondary schools since 1980 and 1991, respectively<sup>[2]</sup> It shows that variation occurs in terms of whether home economics education is offered at all, the performance levels at and school grades in which it is taught, the number of lessons, the syllabus, or whether it is delivered in a gendersegregated or co-educated way, and more.

The motivation underlying the creation of this novel dataset on home economics education in Switzerland is threefold. First, there is generally relatively little systematic and structured data on the educational evolution of certain subjects, particularly comparatively, i.e., delving into subnational variation. It is very likely that different subjects evolve differently and have different effects on political attitudes and life trajectories, but this is difficult

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>sometimes also called "domestic science", "domestic education", "family studies", "family and consumer sciences"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>The HESSS dataset is available at https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/XEL84W

to explore without detailed subject-specific datasets.

Second, as Stadelmann-Steffen (2011, 379) points out, "Switzerland has one of the most decentralized education systems in the world and is thus an exemplary case for a subnational analysis". In other words, owing to its federalism, there is a large degree of variation when it comes to education across Swiss schools. While this makes Switzerland a fruitful case to study determinants and consequences of education (policy) including with regard to specific subjects, it also means that gathering detailed information on education is challenging: information is often not archived in a single central domain, but rather scattered across different private and public (cantonal) archives.

Third, the gendered history of home economics education makes home economics a particularly relevant subject to study—both when it comes to its political determinants as well as consequences—for political scientists, education scholars, gender researchers and sociologists alike<sup>3</sup> Beginning in the 19th century, home economics education in Switzerland was originally taught for girls and women  $only^{4}$  In a 1895 Federal Decree on the Household and Professional Training of the Female Sex,<sup>5</sup> for example, it was noted that although home economics education for women existed, it should be more widely available. In essence, the decree recommended that cantons should set up additional home economics courses for girls which would take place outside of the co-educated primary school curriculum.

By 1956, 12 cantons had mandatory home economics education for young women and in six further cantons, it was up to municipalities to decide whether it should be mandatory or not (Eidgenössische Kommission für Frauenfragen 2001). In 1979, female pupils, on average, accumulated 200 additional school hours over their nine compulsory years compared to boys. This discrepancy arose from mandatory handicraft and home economics courses, despite females having approximately one-tenth fewer school hours dedicated to mathematics and the sciences (Eidgenössische Kommission für Frauenfragen, 2001). Gender differences in education persisted until the 1990s in some cantons, most notably in the domain of home economics.

Over the years, home economics education has also been a contentious topic in debates around the evolution of curricula and education budget cuts. While some politicians hold

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>In addition to the gender dimension of home economics education that exists not just in Switzerland but more broadly, there is also a colonial dimension to home economics education. In many African and Asian countries, home economics was largely introduced by missionaries in the 20th century (see, e.g., Mberengwa and Mthombeni, 2012

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>This was similar in other European countries, e.g., Estonia, Norway, or Finland (see Branlat and Sano 2021) Paas and Palojoki 2019 Sundqvist, Korhonen and Eklund 2020).
<sup>3</sup>See here https://www.fedlex.admin.ch/eli/fga/1895/386/de.

the view that teaching home economics education is less important than teaching other subjects, others disagree with this view. In some cantons, there has been a decrease in the provision of home economics. In the early 2000s, the canton of Zurich dropped home economics from the university-track secondary school curriculum for budgetary reasons. Others, for example the canton of St. Gallen, have reduced the number of hours allocated to home economics education, sometimes in the course of moving from gender segregated to gender-co-educated home economics education<sup>6</sup> Home economics teachers, pupils, parents, and others have often opposed such changes by collecting signatures, writing readers' letters, protesting and petitioning cantonal parliaments—at times, successfully.

The HESSS dataset allows for the exploration of the evolution of home economics education across cantons, secondary school types and years. In addition, it builds a foundation for the study of questions about the political and institutional determinants, as well as the attitudinal and behavioral consequences of education, starting with home economics. In the remainder of the research note, we briefly outline the data collection process, provide a description of the dataset and illustrate how it can be used in two applications.

#### 2 The HESSS Dataset

The HESSS dataset contains structured information about home economics education in Switzerland in ten German-speaking Swiss cantons since the 1980s or the 1990s, depending on the type of secondary school. For these cantons, it documents features like whether home economics is being taught at a specific performance level.<sup>7</sup> whether it is co-educated, whether it is taught as a block or a semester course, the academic (school) year it is taught in, the number of annual weekly lessons, and when the syllabus was introduced.

#### 2.1 Scope and Data Collection

The HESSS dataset provides information on home economics education in ten Germanspeaking cantons: Basel-Land, Basel-Stadt, Bern, Graubünden, Luzern, St. Gallen, Solothurn, Thurgau, Uri, Zürich (BL, BS, BE, GR, LU, SG, SO, TG, UR, ZH; see Figure 1). Given time and resource constraints, it currently includes only German-speaking cantons

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>See, e.g., <u>https://www.tagblatt.ch/ostschweiz/appenzellerland/handarbeit-droht-bedeutungsverlust-</u> ld.417384 <sup>(At vocational-track secondary schools in Switzerland, classes are often differentiated according to pupil</sup>

Part vocational-track secondary schools in Switzerland, classes are often differentiated according to pupili performance, see, e.g., https://www.edk.ch/de/bildungssystem-ch/obligatorium/sek-l.

to maximize comparability and minimize other differences between cantons. The choice of these ten cantons is influenced by information availability as well as population size. Combined, over 50% of the current population of Switzerland lives in these ten cantons.

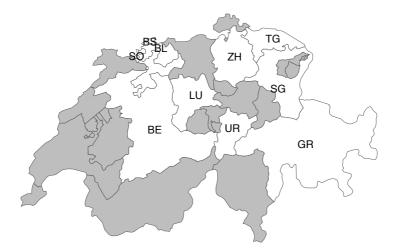


Figure 1: Coverage (cantons included in HESSS are marked in white).

The HESSS dataset focuses on public secondary schools. To our knowledge, in the timeperiod we focus on, home economics did not feature on the curricula of primary schools. The dataset omits private schools. Most Swiss secondary school pupils are enrolled in public schools and there is a higher degree of cantonal curriculum standardization at public schools.

The dataset distinguishes between home economics education in vocational- and universitytrack secondary schools ("Sekundar- und Mittelschulen"). While vocational-track secondary schools tend to follow cantonal-level curricula and, usually, do not exhibit variation when it comes to whether or not home economics is being taught across schools within a canton, home economics education can vary more dramatically across university-track secondary schools within a canton.

We began the data collection process by gathering primary source materials from the website of the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education (EDK)<sup>9</sup> The website contains timetables for vocational-track schools in all cantons from 2004 onward. To gather information on home economics education at university-track secondary schools and vocational-track secondary schools prior to 2004, we searched state archives and contacted cantonal education offices ("Mittelschul- und Berufsbildungsämter" as well as "Volksschulämter"),

institutions specialized in the delivery of home economics (most importantly, Strickhof in Zurich), home economics teacher associations, home economics subject didactics teachers, as well as (former) home economics teachers, many of whom kindly shared documents from their private archives with us.

Several aspects delimit the temporal scope of our dataset. First, we were not able to gather information on home economics education in university-track secondary schools before the 1990s. Second, we also lack some information for vocational-track secondary school home economics education as we go further back in time. One reason for this missingness is that although records from schools or school offices from the late 1990s often exist and have been transferred to the respective state archives, they have sometimes not been catalogued yet and therefore were not accessible to us.

#### 2.2 Dataset Description

The dataset covers the period from 1980–2023 for vocational-track secondary schools, and the period from 1991–2023 for university-track secondary schools.

In vocational-track secondary schools, home economics education can vary by canton, performance level, pupil gender, and academic (school) year. Accordingly, for these types of schools, the data is organized at the level of canton  $\times$  level  $\times$  gender  $\times$  year (rather than canton  $\times$  year only; this results in a total of 834 observations). For these schools and across these dimensions, the dataset contains information on whether or not home economics was taught, how many lessons of compulsory, compulsory-elective, or elective classes were taught by school grade and school week, whether there is variation in the weekly lessons across schools in a canton, in which year the home economics syllabus used was originally introduced, and whether the syllabus is based on the national curriculum "Lehrplan 21", which was introduced around 2010 to homogenize education across cantons. A more detailed description of all the variables included in the HESSS dataset is available in the codebook at https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/XEL84W.

The data for university-track schools is provided at the level of canton  $\times$  school  $\times$  year (for 87 schools; resulting in a total of 2,251 observations). While the provision of home economics education at university-track schools can vary across schools within a canton, from 1991 onward—the first year of our data on university-track secondary school home economics education—there is no variation across pupil gender and there are no performance

levels within schools, which reduces the number of possible combinations compared to the vocational-track schools. Like for the vocational-track schools, the HESSS dataset contains information on whether home economics education featured on the curriculum, whether it took the form of regular classes during a school week or block courses, which grade they took place in, how long block courses lasted, how many weekly lessons were assigned in semester courses, and what kind of a university-track secondary school the school is.

| year | ut_type | he | coeduc | he format | ut he grade | ut he count | ut_he_block_count | semester | name | curr | 1p21 |
|------|---------|----|--------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|----------|------|------|------|
| 2000 | 0       | 1  | 1      | 0         | 11          | 99          | 3                 | 99       | 1    | 1998 | 0    |
| 2000 | 0       | 1  | 1      | 0         | 11          | 99          | 3                 | 99       | 1    | 1998 | 0    |
| 2001 | 0       | 1  | 1      | 0         | 11          | 99          | 3                 | 99       | 1    | 1998 | 0    |
| 2003 | 0       | 1  | 1      | 0         | 11          | 99          | 3                 | 99       | 1    | 1998 | Ő    |
| 2004 | 0       | 1  | 1      | 0         | 11          | 99          | 3                 | 99       | 1    | 1998 | Ő    |
| 2005 | 0       | 0  | 99     | 99        | 99          | 99          | 99                | 99       | 99   | 99   | 99   |
| 2006 | 0       | 0  | 99     | 99        | 99          | 99          | 99                | 99       | 99   | 99   | 99   |
| 2007 | 0       | 0  | 99     | 99        | 99          | 99          | 99                | 99       | 99   | 99   | 99   |
| 2008 | õ       | 3  | 1      | 0         | 10          | 99          | 3                 | 99       | 1    | 2009 | 0    |
| 2009 | 0       | 1  | 1      | 0         | 10          | 99          | 3                 | 99       | 1    | 2009 | 0    |
| 2010 | 0       | 1  | 1      | 0         | 10          | 99          | 3                 | 99       | 1    | 2009 | 0    |
| 2011 | 0       | 1  | 1      | 0         | 10          | 99          | 3                 | 99       | 1    | 2009 | 0    |
| 2012 | 0       | 1  | 1      | 0         | 10          | 99          | 3                 | 99       | 1    | 2009 | 0    |
| 2013 | 0       | 1  | 1      | 0         | 10          | 99          | 3                 | 99       | 1    | 2009 | 0    |
| 2014 | 0       | 1  | 1      | 0         | 10          | 99          | 3                 | 99       | 1    | 2009 | 0    |
| 2015 | 0       | 1  | 1      | 0         | 10          | 99          | 3                 | 99       | 1    | 2009 | 0    |
| 2016 | 0       | 1  | 1      | 0         | 8           | 99          | 3                 | 99       | 1    | 2016 | 0    |
| 2016 | 0       | 2  | 1      | 0         | 10          | 99          | 3                 | 99       | 1    | 2016 | 0    |
| 2017 | 0       | 1  | 1      | 0         | 8           | 99          | 3                 | 99       | 1    | 2016 | 0    |
| 2017 | 0       | 2  | 1      | 0         | 10          | 99          | 3                 | 99       | 1    | 2016 | 0    |
| 2018 | 0       | 1  | 1      | 0         | 8           | 99          | 3                 | 99       | 1    | 2016 | 0    |
| 2019 | 0       | 1  | 1      | 0         | 8           | 99          | 3                 | 99       | 1    | 2016 | 0    |
| 2020 | 0       | 1  | 1      | 0         | 8           | 99          | 3                 | 99       | 1    | 2016 | 0    |

Table 1: Home Economics at Kantonsschule Freudenberg (2000–2020)

As an example for the type of data in HESSS, Table 1 shows the provision of home economics education at the Kantonsschule Freudenberg in Zurich, a university-track secondary school, between 2000–2020. Each row in the data for university-track secondary schools like the ones in Table 1 represents a canton  $\times$  school  $\times$  year combination. If home economics was taught differently at different grades in a university-track school (which sometimes happened during transition phases), then rows for a given combination are separated (as an example, see the years 2016–2017 in Table 1).

More specifically, the year variable indicates the academic year (e.g., 2000 corresponds to the academic year 2000/2001) and the ut\_type variable indicates that this is a school offering grades 7–12/13 for pupils joining directly from primary school<sup>10</sup> The he variable indicates whether (1) or not (0) home economics education took place, or whether home economics was taught only to some (trial) classes as part of a pilot project (3) or in a non-

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$ University-track secondary school vary across whether they offer grades 7–12 or 13 (lower and upper secondary schools) or only grades 9–12/13 (upper secondary school only), and whether they are open entirely to pupils from primary school or whether pupils from lower vocational-track secondary schools can join for upper secondary school.

compulsory manner (2), e.g., in a phase of transition. For more on the variation on this variable, see Section 3.2 below.

The coeduc variable indicates that home economics at the Kantonsschule Freudenberg was always co-educated (with the exception of the years when there was no home economics education, when the variable resorts to 99). The he\_format variable shows that the instructional format of home economics in this school was always as a block course (0). In different years, home education was taught in 11th, 10th, or 8th grade (ut\_he\_grade). The ut\_he\_count and semester variables are coded as '99', because home economics was not taught as a semester course with a corresponding number of weekly lessons. Throughout, the home economics block courses offered took three weeks, as indicated by ut\_he\_block\_count. The name variable (coded as '1') shows that the course was consistently called "Hauswirtschaft". In this period, the curriculum (curr) used in home economics was originally introduced in 1998, before it was replaced with newer versions in 2009 and 2016. Finally, the "Lehrplan 21" was never the basis of the curriculum (1p21 coded as '0'). While some variables in HESSS are unique to either vocational- or university-track school types, the structure of the data and the data collected is otherwise very similar.

#### 3 Illustrative Applications of HESSS

There are many ways in which we could use the HESSS dataset to study questions about education policy. In this section, we highlight two potential applications, both exploring whether and how political processes shape the provision of education. More specifically, the first empirical application (subsection 3.1) tracks the staggered introduction of gender co-educated home economics education at vocational-track secondary schools across cantons beginning in the early 1980s. The second application (subsection 3.2) documents implications of the political conflict over cantonal school budget cuts in the Canton of Zurich in the early 2000s on the provision of home economics education.

#### 3.1 From Gender-Segregated to Co-educated Courses

In line with the gendered nature of home economics education worldwide, for a long time, home economics in Switzerland was primarily taught to women pupils (Eidgenössische Kommission für Frauenfragen, 2001). The Swiss women's movement of the 1970s pushed for an end to such gender inequality, not only, but also in education (Rielle 2010b). On the June

14, 1981, a federal vote took place on a proposal that sought to add the following to the Swiss constitution: "Men and women have equal rights. The law shall ensure their equality, both in law and in practice, most particularly in the family, in education, and in the workplace. [...]". Overall, the outcome of the vote was clear-cut—60.27% of the electorate and 17 of the 26 cantons voted in favor of the proposal (Rielle, 2010b). The vote spelt the beginning of the end of gender-segregated education, targeting the question who is taught.

The implementation of this change to home economics education, however, was not immediate as cantons could exploit their far-reaching federal autonomy to impede this change. Figure 2 shows the staggered introduction of co-educated home economics classes at vocational-track secondary schools after the vote in 1981 across cantons based on the HESSS dataset. Gender-segregated courses are marked in dark grey, those co-educated in light grey. In Zurich, there was a brief pilot phase of partially co-educated home economics in 1984. For some years, we are uncertain about how home economics was taught with regard to this dimension (missing data). Early adopters of co-educated classes were the cantons of Basel-Landschaft (1982), Solothurn (1983), Bern (1984), and Zurich (1986). At the other end of the timeline, the cantons of Luzern, Graubünden (both 1993), Sankt Gallen (1995) and Uri (1996) took more than ten years to switch to gender co-educated home economics courses in their vocational-track secondary schools after the vote on gender equality passed.



Figure 2: Gendered-co-education in home economics courses across cantons.

As educational systems vary across cantons, differences in size or system complexity might partially explain why some cantons took longer than others to adapt. Yet, one reason for the divergence in timing is possibly also to be found in the varying levels of political support for gender equality in the different cantons. While two-thirds of the electorate and most cantons had voted in favor of equal rights in 1981, there were notable exceptions, too. In nine predominantly rural and conservative cantons—among them the cantons of Sankt Gallen, Thurgau and Uri—a majority of the electorate had voted against the proposal (Rielle 2010b). Furthermore, these cantonal patterns closely followed the results of the federal vote on the introduction of women's suffrage in Switzerland in 1971 (Rielle 2010a). Then, a majority of the electorate had also voted for women's suffrage (65.73%). But of the eight cantons with a majority against this proposal in 1971, seven also rejected equal rights for men and women at the ballot box ten years later.

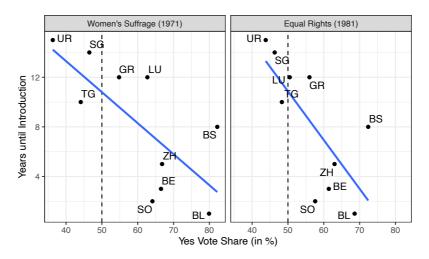


Figure 3: Time until introduction of co-educated home economics education and support for gender equality at the ballot box across cantons.

We relate these two factors—political support for gender equality and the time it took until co-educated home economics courses were introduced—to each other in Figure 3 The left figure shows support for women's suffrage in 1971 along the horizontal axis, while the right figure shows support for equal rights in 1981. The number of years until co-educated classes were introduced is shown along the vertical axis. In both cases, there is a strong negative association between the two factors. The correlation coefficient for political support for gender equality in both 1971 and 1981 and years until the introduction of co-educated home economics courses is -.73<sup>[11]</sup> On average, cantons with more political support for gender equality were quicker in introducing co-educated home economics courses than those

 $<sup>^{11}</sup>$ Here, we used the first year in which we are certain that home economics were taught in a co-educated manner to calculate the correlation coefficients and generate Figure 3 If we instead use the last year in which we are certain that home economics were taught in a gender-segregated manner, then the correlation coefficient is -.84 for 1971 and -.87 for 1981.

more opposed to gender equality.

#### 3.2 Cantonal Politics and Home Economics in Zurich

While the previous application focused on *who* home economics courses are taught to, the question of *whether* home economics are taught at all is also open to political contention. An illustrative example of this is home economics education at university-track secondary schools in the canton of Zurich<sup>12</sup> At these secondary schools, home economics featured on the curriculum in the 1990s, was dropped in the early 2000s, reintroduced in the late 2000s, and then moved from tenth to eigth grade. Various political actors and stakeholders ranging from the cantonal government, the cantonal parliament, home economics teachers, as well as political parties were involved in this 'back-and-forth' at different stages of the political process, thereby showcasing elements of the inner workings of direct democracy in the canton of Zurich. The HESSS dataset can also be used to study and illustrate such and similar processes and how they shape the provision of home economics education within a canton across time.

As the HESSS dataset documents, home economics education was part of the curriculum of university-track secondary schools from 1991 on onward. This is shown in Figure [4] for 15 public university-track schools in the canton of Zurich. In contrast to home economics education at vocational-track schools, where home economics courses are offered regular weekly classes, they took the form of compulsory three-week block courses in tenth grade at university-track schools in the period from 1991–2005. During these three weeks, pupils went to a course center (the "Strickhof" mentioned above as a source of information) dedicated exclusively to home economics education, where they were taught how to cook and clean amongst other things.

This period ended abruptly in 2005, when a phase without home economics education began. This shift came as a consequence of a restructuring of the budget that the cantonal government had begun to discuss towards the end of 2003, and that came into effect in 2005<sup>13</sup> Among the many measures to alleviate the budget, the cancellation of home economics courses was one of the more contentious issues. Home economics teachers organized alongside politicians and parents, and launched a popular initiative in support of

 $<sup>^{12}</sup>$  In this application, we focus on long-term university-track secondary schools only, "Langzeitgymnasien". They provide both lower- and upper-level secondary school education (school grades 7–12/13).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>The budgetary restructuring program was called "Sanierungsprogramm 04" or "San04" in brief. It aimed to reduce the budget of the canton of Zurich by 2.5bn Swiss francs for the years 2004-2007. For more, see https://www.zh.ch/de/news-uebersicht/medienmitteilungen/2003/09/aeq.html accessed: 30.11.2023.

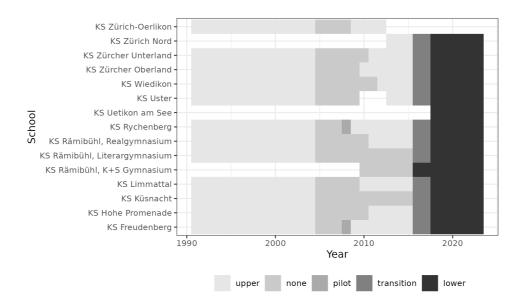


Figure 4: Varieties of home economics at Zurich's university-track secondary schools.

these courses. The initiative garnered 17,000 signatures by November 2004—9,000 signatures more than necessary for a popular initiative to be put to the vote in the canton of Zurich<sup>14</sup>—thereby forcing the issue back on to the political agenda.

Faced with this initiative, the government reiterated its position against home economics education at university-track schools. It argued that "graduates of university-track secondary schools are capable of recognizing the interactions between nutrition, health, and movement due to the requirements for the attainment of the Matura. This allows them to acquire knowledge in the area of home economics on their own and at a time that suits them" (December 2005)<sup>15</sup> A majority of the cantonal parliament saw things differently, however. The parliament supported the initiative when it was discussed in legislature in 2007, thereby making a popular vote on the initiative unnecessary as its central demand—the reintroduction of home economics courses—was met. Subsequently, steps towards a re-introduction of the courses were put into motion (Sommer 2009) Bayard et al. 2015). In 2008, one trial class from the Kantonsschule Rychenberg and one from the Kantonsschule Freudenberg were part of a pilot project for the re-introduction of home economics courses at these schools, before (most) schools gradually returned to the format of home economics education they had known previously.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>The name of the initiative was "Ja zur Husi" ("Yes to Home Economics"); https://www.20min.ch/ story/volksinitiative-ja-zur-husi-eingereicht-849136660401 accessed: 27.11.2023 <sup>15</sup>https://www.zh.ch/de/news-uebersicht/medienmitteilungen/2005/11/302\_husi.html accessed:

<sup>27.11.2023</sup> 

At the same time, home economics courses had again become the subject of new budgetary considerations by the cantonal government: in another program aimed to relieve the cantonal budget, the government now focused on *how* home economics was taught at these schools<sup>16</sup> The suggested change in this round was that the courses no longer take place in upper secondary school (in 10th or 11th grade), but be moved to lower secondary school (in 8th grade). The proposed change meant a (slight) reduction in the number of pupils visiting these courses at university-track schools each year, while also assuring that all pupils had home economics education once during secondary school (contrary to the change in 2005)<sup>17</sup> Due to a parliamentary referendum, this proposed change was put to the vote at the ballot box in March 2013, where it was supported by 69.27% of the electorate. The shift in the timing of the courses was introduced via a brief transition phase in 2016–2017 during which pupils from 10th grade could take home economics courses, while they had already become a compulsory feature of the curricula of university-track secondary schools in 8th grade across the canton of Zurich (Bayard et al.) [2015).

#### 4 Conclusion

The HESSS dataset provides an overview of whether and how home economics has been taught at Swiss secondary schools since the 1980s. The dataset allows researchers to explore the subject's evolution and study interesting questions about the causes and consequences of education. Research on education policy suggests that how education is provided is shaped by institutional and political processes. Work on political behavior highlights that education influences political attitudes and participation. Understanding the role of specific subjects can shed light on the mechanisms underlying these processes.

While there are many other subjects that would be interesting to explore in more depth, home economics education has been a crucial site of gender and education politics for centuries. Hence, knowing more about the evolution of home economics education should also help us to better understand the relationship between gender inequality and education.

At present, home economics is co-educated in all cantons covered in the HESSS dataset and all pupils have home economics as some point in their school career. Other political

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>The budgetary restructuring program was called "Sanierungsprogramm 10" or "San10" in brief. It aimed to reduce the budget of the canton of Zurich by 1.7bn Swiss francs for the years 2011–2013. For more, see https://www.zh.ch/de/news-uebersicht/medienmitteilungen/2010/03/076.html accessed: 30.11.2023.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Because pupils in the vocational-track can switch to the university-track after absolving lower grades of secondary school, some pupils were receiving home economics education twice, once in lower vocational-track secondary school, once in upper university-track secondary school.

issues such as health and sustainability have increasingly begun to shape home economics provision. In the future, the HESSS dataset could be extended to other cantons and over a longer time-frame. In addition, further variables, providing more detailed information on the syllabi, for example, could be included. In the meantime, we hope it will provide useful for education, political and social scientists alike.

#### References

- Bayard, Sybille, Hans-Martin Binder, Tobias Schalit et al. 2015. "Entwicklung der gymnasialen Mittelschulen des Kantons Zürich 2006-2014: Bildungsdirektion Kanton Zürich, Bildungsplanung; Sybille Bayard, Hans-Martin Binder, Tobias Schalit.".
- Binding, Garret and Judith Spirig. 2023. "Home Economics and Gender Differences in Household Labor." *Working Paper*.
- Branlat, Jennifer and Junko Sano. 2021. "5 Creating more equal partnerships: Home Economics education and gender equality in Japan and Norway." Comparative Perspectives on Gender Equality in Japan and Norway p. 70.
- Busemeyer, Marius R. 2014. Skills and inequality: Partisan politics and the political economy of education reforms in western welfare states. Cambridge University Press.
- Busemeyer, Marius R. and Christine Trampusch. 2011. "Review Article: Comparative Political Science and the Study of Education." *British Journal of Political Science* 41(2):413–443.
- Cavaille, Charlotte and John Marshall. 2019. "Education and Anti-Immigration Attitudes: Evidence from Compulsory Schooling Reforms across Western Europe." American Political Science Review 113(1):254–263.
- Eidgenössische Kommission für Frauenfragen. 2001. "Frauen Macht Geschichte 1848 2000." Zur Geschichte der Gleichstellung in der Schweiz 1848 – 2000.
- Mberengwa, Lois R and Fungai M Mthombeni. 2012. Envisioning an African-centric higher education home economics curriculum for the 21st century. In *Creating Home Economics Futures: The Next 100 Years*. Australian Academic Press Bowen Hills, QLD pp. 195–206.
- Paas, Kristi and Päivi Palojoki. 2019. "Aims and challenges of handicraft and home economics education in Estonia." International Journal of Consumer Studies 43(3):289–297.
- Rielle, Yvan. 2010a. Das Ende der Männerdemokratie. In Handbuch der eidgenössischen Volksabstimmungen 1848–2007. Haupt, Bern pp. 308–310.
- Rielle, Yvan. 2010b. Gleichstellung von Mann und Frau in der Verfassung festgeschrieben. In Handbuch der eidgenössischen Volksabstimmungen 1848–2007. Haupt, Bern pp. 401–402.
- Sommer, Kaspar. 2009. "Abschaffung und Wiedereinführung der Husi: Ein bildungs- und finanzpolitischer Schildbürgerstreich.".
- Stadelmann-Steffen, Isabelle. 2011. "Education Policy and Educational Inequality—Evidence from the Swiss Laboratory." European Sociological Review 28(3):379–393. URL: https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcq071
- Sundqvist, Karin, Johan Korhonen and Gunilla Eklund. 2020. "Finnish subject teachers' beliefs and use of information and communication technology in Home Economics." Nordic Journal of Digital Literacy 15(3):202–222.