**Module « Pratiques scolaires et voies de formation »**

Ce module porte sur le système de formation suisse. Dans une perspective historique, on y étudie les pratiques scolaires qui favorisent l’intégration ou l’exclusion, la manière dont se déroule l’entrée dans le monde scolaire puis dans le monde du travail, les directives et modèles institutionnels qui influencent les parents et les jeunes lors de l’orientation de ces derniers et les critères appliqués par les petites et moyennes entreprises lors de la sélection des apprentis.

**Projets**

Les déterminants de l’intégration sociale dans l’école obligatoire à l’épreuve de la réalité  
*Mauro Amiguet*

Le conseil en tant qu’instrument d’intégration sociale: le cas de la ville de Bâle des années 1950 aux années 1990  
*Sibylle Brändli Blumenbach*

Sélection des apprentis dans les petites et moyennes entreprises (PME) – intégration et exclusion lors du passage de l’école à l’apprentissage professionnel  
*Urs Haeberlin*

Processus d’intégration et d’exclusion entre jeunes en cours de formation  
*Johanna Rolshoven*

Retour à l’école: perception et vécu des élèves, des parents, des pairs, des enseignants suite à une suspension ou à une exclusion. Conséquences pour la politique de la formation et la pratique scolaire en Suisse  
*Christopher Szaday*
Determinants of social integration in the compulsory school: examples from real-life practice

Mauro Amiguet

Summary of the main results (extract from the final report)

This study is designed to analyse the promotion of integration within the school system of Vaud as well as the exclusion procedures from the normal schooling cursus. The defined theoretical model has been put to the test according to the integration system already set up in the canton.

Objectives This research throws light on the institutional mechanisms of integration and social exclusion within the compulsory school system of Vaud by following three aims:

- To identify, reveal, and index the determining factors of exclusion and social integration in the compulsory school system of Vaud and to group them in a complex model, in which the diachronic dimensions are historical and the synchronic ones are institutional and organisational;

- Once the model defined, to put it to the test of integration methods implemented in projects conducted by schools;

- To compare the model with the procedures used for definitive exclusion for disciplinary reasons.

Process

This research was conducted in three stages:

- The building of the model. We used institutional analysis to define the configuration of the model, and we explored its historical, institutional, and organisational dimensions. The historical analysis covered the period from the first scholastic law (1806) and was based on the annual compendium of laws of Vaud, the systematic compendium, and the Vaud government session reports. The institutional part of the model was built from the analysis of six conferences held with the Direction of the Département de la Formation de la Jeunesse (DFJ) of the Canton of Vaud as well as through analysis of legal texts and by-laws. We defined the organisational part based on statistics and quantitative facts provided by the Department.

- The analysis of projects run by schools. We examined 37 requests for subsidies addressed to the Direction Générale de l’Enseignement Obligatoire (DGE) by schools for projects with integrational aims as well as the relating exchanges of letters. We were thus able to define the integrational policy of the DGE, which attaches great importance to the concept of inclusion, and extricate three semantic levels applied to the concept of integration. They fit together like Russian dolls: the first semantic level corresponds to the physical inclusion of the pupil in his ‘normal’ class. The ability of the pupil to frequent his ‘normal’ class thereby vouching for the second level of scholastic integration and the evolution of the pupil within a ‘normal’ cursus of schooling. This level is in turn corresponding with one of the factors of social integration which is the third semantic level. - The analysis of definitive exclusion for disciplinary reasons. After having pulled together the official procedure for definitive exclusion for disciplinary reasons from the legal texts, we analysed seven situations where the procedure was applied up to the end We conducted and analysed 63 interviews with 49 school professionals involved in these situations. Thus we compared the prescribed model with the given account of the circumstances and
brought to light a schooling disaffiliation procedure that follows the sequence of the different stages of the procedure.

Conclusions
Our principal conclusions are situated on three levels:

- On a political discourse level, we defined historical, institutional, and organisational references of social integration within the compulsory school system of the canton of Vaud which it is possible to include under the generic name of model. This model, even although not formally explicit, nonetheless constitutes a point of reference for the decisions taken by the DGE and evolves towards a notion of inclusion.

On the level of institutional action, the DGE funds projects that present the aim to 'reinstate to the norm' pupils for whom these projects are proposed. On the other hand there are exceptions for pupils said to be 'highly potential'. For them programs adapted to their needs are accepted.

- On the level of the institutional actors, no explicitly formulated procedure to refer to exists, despite the existence of legal and regulatory texts. The school exclusion process is comparable to a schooling disaffiliation process which involves a key moment of break-down. One passes from the worry of protecting the concerned pupil and 'reinstating him to the norm' to the concern of preserving the class, the teachers, and the institution with resort of school exclusion. This moment corresponds to a divergence of practice with regard to the defined model, and we have ascertained that it is at this moment that it can easily happen that laws may be twisted, and there may be procedure errors, flaws, and collaboration problems.

Duration 01.09.2003-31.08.2006

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From cases to clients: The history of counselling as a technique for social integration (the example of Basel, 1950s to 1990s)

Sibylle Brändli Blumenbach

Summary of the main results (extract from the final report)

The research project addresses the broader themes of education, social policy and health. In a historical perspective, it explores the changing meanings and uses of counselling in psychosocial institutions dedicated to the social integration of children, youths and families along the dimensions of psychic health, education and social security. It deals with largely invisible services whose role it is to facilitate 'normal' life - and thus also, in a positive sense, an invisible life - for troubled children. On a theoretical level, the study is dedicated to the enabling dimensions of counselling.

The study posits that counselling as an institution in modern society represents a legitimized and professional way of dealing with social differences; in addition, the study works from the assumption that counselling has the role of strengthening individual competencies and implementing societal and state responsibility for people in jeopardized circumstances. Within this framework, the research concentrates on the changing pedagogical, psychological and social work discourses and practices that come into play when schoolchildren perceived as "difficult" come into prolonged contact with the institutions mentioned. A case study focused on the city of Basel (1965 to 1995) provides an in-depth historical analysis of three cooperating institutions and follows up on more than a dozen long-term cases from the school psychologist's office in Basel, which forms the empirical heart of the research study. Particular attention is devoted to the 1970s.

The study offers three main results:

1. In order to understand the locally specific dynamics of differentiation and expansion in psychosocial institutions, modernization theory approaches and approaches dealing with the history of professions and their methods must be supplemented by research on institutional actors and the professionals that they employ. Flexibility, professionalism and go-between functions are learned and practiced within specific local contexts. Gaining professional competence and doing "generative" work (such as founding new institutions, establishing new methods and routines of treatment and counselling) can thus be studied as necessarily complex trial-and-error processes within the force field of local conditions, the lessons from which flowed into later and more sophisticated training requirements and institutional set-ups. The study shows that by NOT filtering out local conditions, one can gain a greater perspective on the truly applied nature of knowledge production in the institutions under study.

2. Case-based practice is at the heart of what psychosocial and psychological professionals do. In the 1970s and 1980s, finding a new balance between a clinical and a developmental perspective fuelled the professionalization dynamics of school psychology, social work and social pedagogy in the institutions under study. A multi-disciplinary treatment approach involving different actors began to replace mono-disciplinary approaches and the concomitant in-fighting over client turfs. As more (and more diverse) counselling becomes available as a normal fixture of the welfare state, contact between professionals and clients becomes more dependent on temporary intimate communication in order to lead on to customized support and 'triage'. Only those parents who can deal competently with state services are in a position to influence the educational and ultimately biographical trajectory of their children. In the course of the 1980s and 1990s one can trace a certain professionalization in client dealings with professionals: Clients become familiar...
with divulging their needs in the appropriate language, thus also helping to pinpoint new areas of need.

The research as a whole emphasizes how irreplaceable counselling for schoolchildren and their families has become in state services. It stresses how highly emotional and intense counselling contact has come to be - thus counteracting the image of the anonymous welfare state. The study thus contributes to a micro history of the welfare state as an invaluable place of interaction between citizens and the state.

Duration 01.08.2003-30.09.2006

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The selection of trainees in small and medium-sized enterprises: Integration and exclusion at the transitional stage between school and vocational training

Urs Haeberlin

Summary of the main results (extract from the final report)

What are the rationales of decision-making when small and medium-sized businesses (SMB) allocate their apprenticeship places to school leavers? An interview-based approach was used to examine the organisational logics of decision-making and how applicant characteristics such as gender, nationality, and school achievement become relevant in the context of trainee selection. We followed unsuccessful applications by numerous school leavers in 2004/05 for the following apprenticeships: automobile painters, mechanics, carpenters, dental and medical assistants, and clerks. The combination of company and trainee candidate data comprised 67 SMB and 89 applicants. In addition, 14 further training firms were examined (N=81 SMB altogether). The documented interviews with training experts in the firms were interpreted using argumentation analysis. Due to a lack of knowledge in the research field, the study aims more at a comprehensive than for a representative reconstruction of trainee selection activities.

The selection procedures and criteria turned out to be inconsistent in the firms investigated. Procedures seem to differ not only within a trade but oftentimes within a single firm as well. Correspondingly, no generalizable "killer criteria" could be found above the level of the single firm. More adequately the relevance of particular selection criteria can be metaphorically described as a mosaic. In the end, an interwoven tangle of diverse criteria serves to justify the selection of a candidate for an apprenticeship. The statistically known differences in the accessibility of apprenticeships by gender and ethnicity can not be explained on the basis of vocational competencies relevant for the jobs. Instead, analyses of the differences with reference to the organisational exclusion of "foreigners" from training point to presumptions and fears on the part of the companies that significantly structure the selection of trainees. Generalized assumptions that operations troubles will result with regard to specific groups of applicants ("foreigners" in general, or foreign men working in dental and medical surgeries in particular) are made independently of individual competencies. But the organisational exclusion of "foreigners" is hardly ever justified in public using the reconstructed organizational apprehensions. Instead, generalized attributions in line with the prevalent ideology of merit and achievement are offered (notably the argument of "language and school deficits"). However, our results show that school achievement is not as all-important in trainee selection by small firms as is generally supposed.

The results allow for developing recommendations to avoid the organisational exclusion of disadvantaged applicants in the context of trainee selection:

- Systematic promotion of in-house skilled workers having a disadvantaged background (for example, migration experience) to the position of trainers; this lowers problematic attributions at a selection level.
- The creation of short-term traineeship for disadvantaged youth enables trainers to recognize their potential for the firm.
- Further education of trainers aiming at: (1) reducing company fears by confrontation with positive opposite images of productive trainees from disadvantaged backgrounds, (2) developing an organizational culture of self-reflection about the company’s own selection activities.
- (Special needs) schools should avoid stigmatizing pupils with special educational needs. Remedial teaching should be carried out as unnoticed as possible. Integrative forms of instruction are well suited to do so.
- Reorientation in policymaking of transitional solutions between secondary school and vocational education and training: Establishment of institutions that see themselves as facilitators matching disadvantaged school leavers with training firms’ needs (thus relieving the latter of the burden of trainee selection).
- Increased institutionalization of practical vocational trainings (certificate programs) for disadvantaged youth in a greater number of vocational fields.
- Small trades' customers can use their purchasing power to address the issue of trainee selection and to put the firms under more pressure for justification.
- Entrepreneurs and business partners can make use of their business connections to demand fairness in the selection of trainees.
- Professional and trade associations can award certificates of recognition to firms that train disadvantaged youth.
- Close relatives and teachers should encourage school leavers not to see their failure to find apprenticeship places as personal failure. Disadvantaged youth need to be supported (financial, advisory, or therapeutic) in their application efforts, sometimes for a long period.

However, one has to consider that under the condition of zero-sum games on the apprenticeship market - that is, when there is an insufficient supply of training spots - the integration of disadvantaged youth always happens at the expense of other school leavers (of newly disadvantaged groups).

Duration 01.12.2003-30.11.2006

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Integration and exclusion processes among adolescents in an educational context

Johanna Rolshoven

Summary of the main results (extract from the final report)

The research project "Integration and exclusion processes among adolescents in an educational context" focused on the processes of negotiation and group forming among young people at the transition from school to vocational training.

The negotiating of norms was considered as the basis for integration processes, in which belonging to a group was not understood as a static concept but as an ongoing process of finding and asserting one's identity. The project was rooted in cultural studies and started out from a notion of identity as a resource that can be activated and applied in the context of the social and cultural values of the group. Interaction as well as collective forms of expression underpins the constant situational negotiation and re-construction of identities.

The methodological approach was a one-year comparative ethnography observing two graduating classes in Basel and Bern and subsequent one-year ethnographic accompaniment of individual pupils in their efforts to find professional training. The gathering of data was done by interactive observation, conversations with individuals, group discussions, and network analyses. It revealed the emic perspective ("insider perspective"), which is generally underrepresented in youth research; it gave this perspective priority over the institutional settings and thus saw the young people themselves as active producers of culture.

Social time and social space were considered as the frames of action of the young people. They are the reason for the high capacity for integration of one of the classes: over the nine year school period, the class in Bern had grown into an "association" that was embedded in the social structures of the neighborhood. The social frame engendered, on the other hand, the weak capacity for integration of the other graduating class: the social association of the class in Basel was built for a short time and was located in a school situated on the demarcation line between two contrasting social spaces of the city.

In the "integrated" class, this space-time worked towards leveling the internal group formation principles of social class, sex, and cultural background. The "loosely associated" class, where multiple affiliation groups were observed, mirrored the social class differences of the urban neighborhood around the school in the recruitment arrangement of the affiliation groups. Each of the observed school classes had its own frame of normality, which was constituted as a field of tension between belonging and not belonging. Thus the class is a social space within which the social structures of the urban surroundings penetrate and are re-created and reordered in the negotiations among the pupils. Normality as the given social and economic reference draws the boundaries within which young people are allowed to act. From their perspective, the negotiation of their own understanding of normality is a process: a process that includes finding one's own position within the social association, realizing self-discipline and self-control, as well as transgressions, exclusions, and cooperation. We examined verbal and non-verbal articulations in language and actions at the expressive level of the negotiation processes.

Due to the continuing shortage of apprenticeships, the transition time from graduation to professional training was extended and accentuated. Here we observed overall strategic coping with this problem by the young people by means of provisional solutions of their own devise and use of "bridging offers" by the education authorities.

The egalitarian tendency with respect to sex and cultural background that was characteristic for the girls and boys of the class in Bern dissolved after the end of the school years. Girls from immigrant families returned to classical gender behavior by conforming to traditional family models or by preferring temporary jobs over further education to acquire qualifications. We interpreted
this as a strategy aiming at assured palliative solutions in an economically insecure situation. The young men from immigrant families also followed traditional family models and showed clear intentions of social and career advancement. They internalize discourses of integration aimed at normalization and are thus bound to strategies of self-discipline. In contrast, the pupils of Swiss origin of both sexes had a tendency to take a more relaxed approach to the prolonged space-time of the educational "moratorium" than the immigrant pupils. 

The causes of the strategies that provided postponement in view of career selection and an independent working life were identified by us as being a set of individual fears and concerns: first, the young people have uncertainties about their biographical position as adolescents growing up; second, they are reacting to economic and social uncertainties in contemporary society; third, they have concerns due to the concrete inappropriateness of the traditional offers in vocational education, offers that do not correspond to either forward-looking economic sectors or to the interests of the young people.

Altogether these strategies can be interpreted as the adolescents’ response to the increasing flexibilization of the labor market, a response that echoes the open nature and lack of definition of their own social future. Seen from an actor-centered perspective, their behavior is thus an appropriate reaction to the conditions set by society.

Based on our findings, our recommendations pertain especially to the phase immediately following school graduation: (1) recognition and institutional normalization of the transition from mandatory schooling to the vocational realm; (2) support for finding suitable apprenticeships; (3) integration of future-oriented professions into the standard curricula, aiming at widening the basis for apprenticeships; and, (4) support programs for young women seeking the route to qualified career choices.

Duration 01.05.2003-30.04.2006

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Reconnecting to school: Pupil, parent, peer and teacher experiences of school suspension and expulsion. Implications for educational policy and practice in Switzerland

Christopher Szaday

Summary of the main results (extract from the final report)

Definition of disciplinary school exclusion
Disciplinary school exclusion occurs when a pupil is not permitted to participate in the educational or social life of the school as a result of his or her behaviour. The exclusion can be either temporary or permanent and can extend to either all or only some lessons and school activities. Disciplinary school exclusion contains both a temporal dimension (related to the length of the exclusion) and a spatial dimension (related to the places within, or designated activities of, the school from which the pupil is excluded). For the purposes of this study, we focused on the form of disciplinary school exclusion most commonly understood by an international audience: when a pupil is not permitted to return to the school that he or she would normally attend.

An unresearched field in Switzerland
Our study was conceived and conducted at a time when very little systematic knowledge about disciplinary school exclusion in Switzerland had been collected and reported. Three separate components of this study added to the knowledge base concerning the practice of disciplinary school exclusion in Switzerland.

Project 1: Survey in Canton Zurich (Mettauer & Szaday)
Although school exclusion figures are not available on a national level, a number of cantonal education departments have begun to collect local data in recent years. A survey was conducted in the Canton of Zurich in the 2003/04 school year. The cantonal education authorities wanted to find out how many pupils were being excluded from lower secondary schools in Zurich and what kind of support the schools needed. With an 80% survey participation rate, a total of 119 cases of school exclusion (representing five pupils per thousand) were reported. Pupils who were male, or of foreign language background, or in the lower academic strands, or in the final year of compulsory schooling were found to be overrepresented in the statistics. School absenteeism and disaffection were the most frequently given reasons for the exclusion, followed by a range of persistent discipline and behaviour problems as well as conflict and aggression. The main goal of the exclusion was the removal of the student in order to relieve and protect the class and teacher. The exclusion was also meant as a punishment, clearly showing the pupils the consequence for disruptive behaviour. In some cases, the exclusion was seen as a solution for the pupil, removing him or her from a stressful situation and easing the transition to vocational training.

Project 2: School exclusions between 1900 and 1990 (Hürlimann)
690 documented cases of school exclusion were discovered in selected archives in the Cantons of Zug and Zurich. Through the sampling of villages in the mainly rural Canton of Zug and school districts in the city of Zurich, the practices of local school boards made up of predominantly lay members (Zug) and school boards with more professional administrations and access to a variety of professional services (Zurich) could be compared. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the school authorities were more concerned with enforcing the obligation of parents to send their children to school. A remarkably similar pattern of behaviour leading to disciplinary school exclusion was noted throughout the century: it was rarely a matter of sensational incidents but instead an accumulation of rule infringements. From the perspective of the teacher, the pupils in
question showed too little respect, disrupted lessons and neglected their school work. These behaviours typically existed concurrently with school absenteeism. With the increased social acceptance of compulsory schooling during the twentieth century, the main reasons given for exclusion began to change from attendance to behaviour issues. This development could be characterised as a change from pupils being excluded for manifesting too little desired behaviour (absenteeism) to pupils being excluded for manifesting too much undesired behaviour (disruption).

**Project 3: Excluded pupils returning to school after a time-out (Mettauer)**

Case studies of 16 pupils who had been excluded from their regular schools and placed in an alternative “time-out” program were undertaken to examine the school exclusion experiences from the multiple perspectives of the pupil, parents, former teachers, school principals, social workers and time-out program staff. The pupils were described as having learning problems in addition to difficulties in social behaviour. Their problems were perceived to be caused by attention deficits, restlessness, language difficulties and a migration background. The factors influencing successful reintegration after exclusion were found to relate to the attitude of the pupil, preparation for the reintegration, transition from the time-out program, clarification of expectations, crisis management, teacher-pupil relationship, acceptance of discipline, parental cooperation, integration support and interdisciplinary collaboration.

**Avoiding and overcoming disciplinary school exclusion**

Four essential elements appear to be crucial for the development and maintenance of pupil connectedness or engagement with school and thus to a reduction of behaviour that can lead to disciplinary school exclusion:
- access to, and success in, the school curriculum;
- access to constructive and meaningful relationships with teachers and fellow pupils;
- the existence of a fair, transparent and consistently implemented school disciplinary policy; and
- active participation of the parents.

Duration 01.08.2003-31.10.2006

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