Integration und Ausschluss
Nationales Forschungsprogramm NFP 51
Intégration et exclusion
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Social Integration and Exclusion
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Module « Espaces publics et positionnement social »

Les chercheurs s'intéressent ici à l'utilisation des espaces publics et aux facteurs qui favorisent ou freinent la participation à la vie sociale, voire marginalisent certains groupes et individus. Les effets de l'environnement résidentiel sur la position sociale des personnes concernées sont par ailleurs analysées. Enfin, les études tentent de répondre à la question de savoir dans quelle mesure les technologies de la communication et de l'information constituent des facteurs d'intégration ou d'exclusion.

Projets

Intégration et exclusion dans le contexte de la structure, de la perception et de l'utilisation de l'espace public
Rosmarie Anzenberger, Sabine Eggmann

Qui est «dedans» et qui est «dehors»? La dynamique socioculturelle et politique de l'intégration et de l'exclusion sociale en Suisse
Manfred Max Bergmann, Dominique Joye, René Levy

Intégration et exclusion dans l'espace public. Etude empirique de familles avec jeunes enfants dans leur environnement résidentiel
Daniel Sauter, Marco Hüttenmoser

La fracture numérique: émergence, évolution, enjeux et perspectives
Luc Vodoz, Pierre Rossel

Integration and exclusion as related to the structure, perception and utilization of public space

Rosmarie Anzenberger, Sabine Eggmann

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

1 Integration and exclusion in urban spaces

Background and outline of the problem Our project was based on the premise that space is not an unchangeable entity but is historically defined and contextualised and permanently worked on by social and cultural forces. Thus space influences ways of life and actions in manifold ways and also plays a role in processes of social integration and exclusion. Starting out from this premise, we aimed to analyze space as a social and cultural phenomenon that for some persons and social groups has an integrating effect, while for others it is restrictive and excluding.

2 Research aim We wanted to find out what spatial structures, processes, and mechanisms have an excluding (or integrating) influence on what sets of persons, with an emphasis on the interplay of individual perception and use of space versus the given spatial structures and their integrating or excluding character.

3 Methodology Our project started with empirical research in four neighbourhoods of the city of Basel: St. Johann, Klybeck, Rosental, and Matthäus. Our research ran along two separate tracks: the first examined individual approaches in everyday life, the second focused on the ideas and projects on the part of public and private organisations committed to urban and social planning in these neighbourhoods. To find out about perceptions, utilization, and structure of space, we used the following methods: statistical analysis, qualitative interviews, semi-structured questionnaires, mental maps, participant observation, and walks through the neighbourhood to record people's perceptions.

4 Resumé of the results The most remarkable results of the two research approaches were the following:

Integration in perspective The representatives of political and private institutions that we interviewed generally regard spatial integration from two sides: policy-wise, integration work should lead to and support well-functioning social structures and social cohesion. Urban planners thus consider a person to be "integrated" when this person submits to the social rules and norms and adjusts his/her lifestyle to the cultural mainstream. In a political perception, the process of integration moves along given lines of social policy and input/output structures, which defines this same process as something that can be planned, organized, and taken in hand and consequently measured and checked as to its success or failure. In contrast to that, representatives of private organizations/institutions show a more individualized approach: in their eyes integration is successful if and when an individual can realize his/her own aims and wishes regarding work and ways of living in independent and self-fulfilling ways. These different images of successful integration also influence the everyday work of the institution or organization. Whereas politically funded integration measures are geared towards safeguarding a certain order in the public domain (that is, safe and clean urban surroundings), promoting a social mix in the neighbourhoods, and minimizing the costs of social disintegration, privately funded integration work has as its main aim the empowerment of the individuals to be integrated.

Ethnic bias It is important to notice that all of the institutional integration work in our sample is aimed mainly at immigrants. Immigrants are – in a construction of cultural difference – perceived as foreign, unused to "our ways", and therefore in need of integration. But it is precisely this ethnical bias that may create the discriminating structures in social and integration work that these organisations want to overcome. One finding of our research was that as to their spatial integration, immigrants are not necessarily worse off than their Swiss counterparts living in similar circumstances.

No integration without exclusion Most institutional workers perceived integration and exclusion as two independent phenomena. To them, given sufficient financial means and efficient social-policy instruments, it should ideally be possible to attain the spatial integration of everyone in a certain neighbourhood. Consequently, in everyday work of the institution the possibility of exclusion remains unconsidered, is seen as marginal, or is even ignored. We found that there can be no integration without exclusion and that the degree of integration will always depend on one's own position and point of view.

Correlation of values and spatial use There exists a close correlation between individual values and the use of space, in that subjective values and perceptions engender various practices of distinction, which again constitute and perpetuate all kinds of barriers and dividing lines.

Connection of spatial, social, and normative phenomena Urban planners, representatives of private institutions, and individual neighbourhood residents connect and mix up spatial, social, and normative phenomena when they talk about spatial issues. This is most apparent when they draw a line between themselves/their own group and significantly different other people and groups. In a second step, these positionings of self and other are tied up with the concept of space, in that one's personal space (private and public) is set against the space used by others. These limiting spatial definitions play an essential role in the construction of individual identity and in the perception of oneself as a social individual. Moreover, these social and spatial positionings and differentiations carry with them a certain weight of moral and normative issues. Thus spatial, social, and normative phenomena become connected and built into an individual geography of inclusion and exclusion. These processes can be seen as mental representations that structure, order, and serve to visualize an individual's social, spatial, and normative surroundings. The resulting imaginative structure helps people to cope with the complex and multi-layered demands of urban living, by outlining their own living space and finding their ways around town. Moreover, this imaginative structure comprises specific ideas about integration by laying down individually what or who is included or excluded under what circumstances. Space as an instrument of placing oneself in complex surroundings and as an instrument of providing points of orientation helps people to individually define integration and exclusion.

5 Recommendations following from our research The following recommendations are directed in the main to people working in urban planning and integration policy.

Necessary basic reflection on spatial integration The NRP 51 research project conducted by Olloz brought out the fact that the representatives of public and private institutions that he surveyed hardly ever made connections between integration matters and the spatial issues, and vice versa. Moreover, the representatives surveyed showed scant systematic awareness as to spatial integration. We would recommend, therefore, that in administrative circles this topic be made a subject for reflection and discussion, with the aim of laying down spatial concepts for practical uses.

Integration is defined by situations and interpretations When defining spatial integration, it seems important to include both the various ways of exclusion and one's own position as a public or private urban planner or social worker. Our research has shown that there is no one ideal integration and there are no ideal spatial wishes of residents. In reality, a wide variety of spatial ideas and preferences have to be taken into account – in fact, they vary so widely that any plan

to build the one general integration space for all and sundry seems bound to fail. It would make more sense, in the first place, to start at grassroots level and capture the spatial preferences of the neighbourhood residents in order to obtain an overall picture.

Definition of factors of (dis)integration The interviews reveal that representatives of public and private organizations wrongly consider ethnicity and language skills to be the main reasons for disintegration, whereas the NRP 51 research project conducted by Fretz found that ethnicity is only one of many disintegration factors. This leads us to recommend a general rethinking of the existing perceptions of immigrants when dealing with immigrant neighbourhoods.

Successful integration work Our research has shown that successful integration work depends in the main on the degree of immediacy and closeness to people's surroundings, and in this it will bring the most promising results when the focus is on traffic restriction, space for leisure/recreational activities, the quality of housing, and the safety of public space.

Cooperation with neighbourhood residents In urban planning and development it seems desirable to take questions of social practice and cultural meanings into account. An integration project in a certain neighbourhood should start, for instance, by collecting qualitative data and should not rely on statistics or the professionals' own ideas. All implementation should be checked against the residents' opinions and interests, even if they are diverse and contradictory. It seems indispensable for any successful spatial integration work to ensure the residents' identification with their living space and their immediate surroundings; successful identification can be created via cooperation and participation.

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Who's in and who's out? The dynamics of socio-cultural and political integration and exclusion in Switzerland

Manfred Max Bergman, Illaria Covizzi, Dominique Joye, Paul Lambert, René Levy, and Katharina Manderscheid

The project centred on two overarching research aims: first, to study processes of social exclusion and integration in specific areas of social life in contemporary Swiss society, and, second, to develop models that reflect the dynamic nature of processes of exclusion. For these purposes, we elaborated theoretical frameworks of the dynamic nature of social exclusion and integration, drawing, among others, on Max Weber's theories relating to the social differentiation and power, as well as Pierre Bourdieu's notions of the forms of capital/power. Our research output aimed at being theoretically grounded and empirically tested, while, on the other hand, we aimed at an exploration of the dynamic reciprocities between social structures and individuals within Swiss society. More precisely, we pursued our research aims by exploring five central research questions, which concentrate on key areas of Swiss social and political life. On the one hand, these research areas were analysed independently from each other and our project was therefore organised not in the form of one single study, but structured around five sub-projects, which, each in their own way and across different domains, empirically demonstrate specific aspects of the interactive nature of processes and outcomes of exclusion and integration between individuals and institutions. On the other hand, the five research areas together form building blocks that contribute to a more general understanding of the multidimensionality and persistence of social exclusion and integration.

The overall output of this project can be grouped into three areas:

1. The systematic, empirical study of the conceptual space of social exclusion in relation to theoretical and empirical research as present in the social science literature on social exclusion from the 1980s to the present;

2. The statistical modelling of the stability and change of the dynamics of social exclusion and integration due to social and political institutions;

3. The statistical modelling of the exchange of various forms of capitals to secure social integration on different dimensions;

Accordingly, we initially analysed the conceptual space of the term social exclusion in order to understand its conceptual content and boundaries. The results from our qualitative content and thematic analysis of approximately 400 texts relating explicitly to social inclusion and exclusion, as well as from the adaptation of the argumentation analysis can be summarised as follows:

1. Failure to define the term, implying that the constructs "social exclusion", "poverty", and "stratification" are self-explanatory and shared among those who use them.

2. Citation of existing publications, but sometimes only partial and out of context, i.e. the meaning of the construct is changed in the transfer from the source text.

3. The literature on social exclusion is either implicitly or explicitly linked to poverty, inequality, and stratification. This conceptual linking is evident in both theoretical and empirical works.

4. Most definitions on social exclusion are connotative, i.e. they focus on the relations between the construct and other, related constructs, e.g. income, expenditure, occupational status, education attainment, housing, health, subjective assessment in making ends meet, citizens' satisfaction with health and welfare services, etc. (European Disability Forum, 2000); low income, activity status, the means and perceptions of the standard of living, quality of life, etc. (Mejer, 2000); unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime, bad health, family breakdown, etc. (Social Exclusion Unit, 2001).

5. Related to the lack of annotative definitions, i.e. clear statement of what exclusion means, there exists a tremendous variety of indicators, with which social exclusion levels and states are measured, e.g. economic resources (incl. wealth, income, debts, expenditures, etc.), educational achievement (number of years in formal education, highest educational certificate or degree), health and living conditions, participation (civic, legal, cultural, and political), security and stability of lifestyle, indicators relating to networks and membership in groups and associations, work participation (kind and degree), working conditions, job security, etc.

6. If we consider points 3 and 4 together, it also becomes clear that precursors of social exclusion such as employment status can equally well serve as indicators of the construct itself, as well as consequences of exclusion, thus creating circularities and tautologies, e.g. when the employment status or education attainment is both an indicator of exclusion as well as its precursor and/or consequence.

7. The explicit differentiation from other constructs do not reflect the state of the art in theory and research, especially in attempts by social exclusion specialists (who appear more strongly in need of differentiation from other constructs due to the relatively newness of the field, especially in relation to poverty and stratification research).

8. Empirical research on all three constructs is often atheoretical and highly descriptive such that most narratives produced within these texts could be used for work on exclusion, poverty, and, to a lesser extent, on stratification. Furthermore, the descriptive nature of many works tends to focus on symptoms of these phenomena, and they tend to neglect the conditions and consequences within which these symptoms are embedded.

9. Many indicators such as income are used directly or indirectly to assess the state or degree of exclusion, poverty, and social position.

10. Both exclusion and poverty assume a dichotomy (excluded vs. not excluded; poor vs. not poor) but can be also treated as continua. As dichotomies, empirical studies often grapple with the line of demarcation, whether exclusion or poverty is a relative or an absolute measure, whether to use single (and which one) or multiple indicators (which ones and how to combine them), what the appropriate level of analysis should be (individual, household, social groups), whether to include subjective experiences of the excluded or poor, etc.

Based in part on the analysis of texts relating to social exclusion and integration, we proposed the following definition:

Social exclusion refers to a condition or an act of exemption from the distribution of commonly desired goods – tangible or intangible – in the social, cultural, economic, and political spheres of individuals or social groups.

From this, we divided our attention on the structure and dynamics of social exclusion and integration into various foci that were studied in separate analyses, conducting secondary data analysis on about a dozen nationally representative data sets, collected from 1975 to the most

recent wave of the Swiss Household Panel. Based on spatial considerations, we explored, for example, how special and social position and mobility are related in Switzerland. Accordingly, our findings of this particular focus included the following:

1. Maybe unsurprisingly and despite the relative small distances and the extremely well-organised and generally affordable mass transportation system in Switzerland, the communes differed in terms of social position: the highest average social stratification level for men and women is found in urban centres and the lowest in agricultural communes, even though, obviously, there is a sizeable presence of individuals with extremely low levels of education and further transferable skills in urban areas as well.

2. In urban centres, men have a higher social position if their cohabiting partners are also working, compared to men, whose cohabiting partner is a homemaker. For agricultural communities, this trend is reversed: Men's social position tends to be higher, if their wives are homemakers, compared to men, whose live-in partner is also employed.

3. The greatest intergenerational social mobility can be found among men living in rural commuter communes. Women with the highest intergenerational mobility live in peripheral urban communes. The greatest variation in intergenerational mobility can be found in urban centres for women, and in suburban communes for men.

4. While high educational acquisition has a lengthening influence on the commuting time overall, the combination of female gender with children has a shortening effect, regardless of educational acquisition. Thus, for men, the transfer between education and social position is more strongly linked. For women, it is somewhat weaker, dependent on location of residence, and moderated strongly by the presence of children.

5. The dominant family model across all communities is the traditional model with the male as the main wage earner, although this model is moderated by community not in kind, but in relation to extent: metropolitan areas seem to be associated more strongly with a greater variety of family models while rural areas are marked most strongly by this traditional model. Even there, 15% of families do not match the traditional model.

6. In main and small metropolitan areas, daily family trajectories seem to be easier to manage, opening options for new or less tradition family models (e.g. more egalitarian work and household-related task distribution between men and women).

7. Among the adult population, no significant link could be established between educational achievement and community of residence at age 14. Apparently, where one grew up does not have had a significant effect on final educational achievement in today's Switzerland.

8. While it is quite obvious that educational achievement is connected strongly with the educational achievement of the parents and, particularly, the achievement of the father, it is nevertheless moderated by residential community and gender. While in the greater metropolitan centres, educational achievement appears to be statistically independent of educational background for women, it is strongest, for both men and women, in middle and smaller metropolitan areas and in the suburbs.

9. Spatial mobility is strongly associated with marriage, especially for women. As a consequence, they experience a loss in social capital but this is partially compensated by the integration of the partner's social network position. Here again, we find evidence to suggest that partnerships can be both integrative and exclusionary at the same time, although the causes and consequences are moderated by gender.

10. There exists a positive correlation between residential mobility and social position for men, i.e. there appears an ability to capitalise on job opportunities by changing residence for men. This effect could not be detected for women, as they are more likely to change residence due to their partner's needs or for other reasons (e.g. concerns in relation to their children).

11. There exists a positive correlation between residential mobility and educational achievement for women, i.e. more highly educated women are more likely to move, often away from rural communities.

Another focus of integration and exclusion in this study was the role of partnerships and marriage, based on the available waves of the Swiss Household Panel. Individuals who experience the end of a union are at a greater risk of exclusion in the form of unemployment and its consequences, compared to individuals who are married or in a cohabitating union, as shown in the following graph:

Baseline Cumulative Hazard functions for Model 3 (age=40)
Curve 1: married
Curve 2: separated women
Curve 3: separated men
Survival time (months)
Source: SHP, 1999-2004
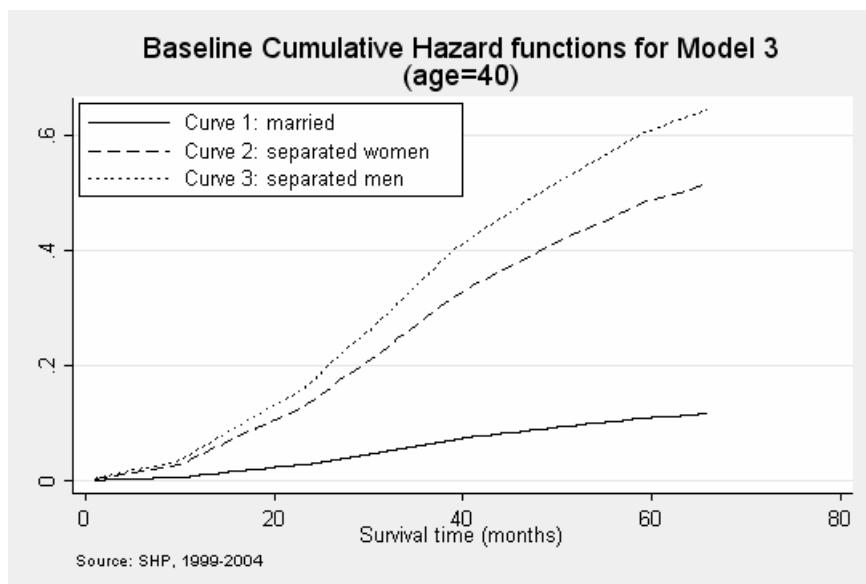
In particular, the results have shown that one of the mechanisms through which marital disruption affects the probability of remaining employed is ill health. The dissolution of a union is likely to negatively influence the health of individuals by causing psychological stress-adjustment problems. The joint effect of union dissolution and poor health status significantly increases the risk of becoming unemployed. Due to the fact that the data on which this study is based allows for the control of changes in health status prior to the marital breakdown, we have been able to test whether the impact of union dissolution on labour market outcomes operates through 'selection' or 'causation'. As we did not find a reduction in the hazard rate of separation on the risk of unemployment, after controlling for prior health problems, our findings support the 'causation' hypothesis. That is, union dissolution is itself an important source of distress and poor health, and consequently a determinant of labour market failure for employed individuals. However, the selection mechanism cannot be ruled out and is likely to operate alongside causation.

A further key finding suggests the presence of relevant gender differences in the ways in which women and men experience union dissolution in relation to their labour market position. Some men seem to 'lose' more than women when they undergo a separation process. Men's hazard of unemployment is higher than that of their female counterparts, even after controlling for crucial 'gendered' variables such as children and part-time employment. To explain this result, two mechanisms are likely to take place. The first mechanism operates through health. Prior re-

search has shown that marriage is more protective for men than for women, at least in terms of social integration, social networks and emotional support, and consequently of general well-being. Marital breakdown is therefore more detrimental to men's well-being than to women's. This holds particularly true for separated men with children. The lack of daily contact with children after the separation is likely to increase distress among non-custodial parents, preventing fathers from benefiting both from the emotional closeness of the parent-child relationship and the social networks related to their children.

Important to note is that our findings do not imply that women 'gain' more than men from a union dissolution. It is essential therefore to understand the reasons underlying the lower risk of losing a job for employed women undergoing a separation. A self-esteem mechanism may take place among women. The most direct psychological effects of work on well-being operate through self-esteem and job satisfaction. Self-esteem from job satisfaction is found to be stronger among women than men. It might be that for women undergoing union dissolution, work identity plays an important role not only for their economic sustenance but for their social identity as well. However, it is important to keep in mind that high levels of self-esteem in relation to work are largely associated with good jobs, not all jobs. In this sense, the results found for the interaction between union disruption and part-time employment may be a marker for the complexity of the effect of work on women's self esteem. We have found that, compared to those working full-time, those engaged in part-time jobs are more at risk of losing their job when they face union breakdown. Considering that the large majority of part-time workers are women, the adjustment patterns of employed women to union dissolution appear somehow more complex than those for men. They seem to imply a greater interconnection (or overlap) of determining factors such as health, occupational class, work conditions, self-esteem, role conflict, and last, but not least, familial roles.

With respect to family roles, this analysis has shown that parental responsibilities towards young children (aged 0-3) have a detrimental effect on the labour market outcomes of parents who separate. The presence of younger children is an important factor increasing the hazard of unemployment among those undergoing marital dissolution. However, it should be noted that increasing numbers of children in the household does not seem to exert additional detrimental effects. On the contrary, greater numbers of children have a positive impact on the hazard of separated couples remaining employed. Although this result may seem incongruous, it may be suggestive of the positive effects that children have on the emotional well-being of custodial parents. It is worth noting that the variable for number of children includes all dependent children aged 0-16. Thus, the negative effect on labour market outcomes found for custodial parents with children in younger ages (0-3) is likely to be counterbalanced by the positive effect of older children. This finding is consistent with health studies suggesting that non-custodial parenthood is a stressful event and that non-custodial parents are more distressed than parents residing with their own minor children due to the lack of daily contact with their children.

Finally, we present here a set of findings that explored intergenerational social mobility and its relationship to educational acquisition in a typical OED framework (i.e. origin of ego, i.e. socio-economic of parents; education acquisition of ego; and socio-economic destination of ego), i.e. the relationship between the transfer of advantage from one generation to the next, controlled for the effects of educational achievement:

1. Parental social background is still a very strong predictor of social position, i.e. strong evidence exists here as well for the inheritance of social advantage and, thus, positions of power relating to economic, social, and political domains.

2. There appears to be a slight tendency toward greater meritocracy in Swiss society such that the link between fathers' social position and that of their children decreases over time.

3. Swiss social mobility is similar to that of the UK and the Netherlands, greater than in Germany and France, and less than in the US and Israel.

4. There is some evidence to suggest that in the recent decade, there is a slight closing of opportunity structures, i.e. social background seems to play a stronger role in the past ten years, compared to the decade before.

5. No such closure could be detected in other countries.

6. Educational achievement is strongly related to fathers' social position but plays an ever increasing role in the social position of the individual, independent of the social position of the father.

7. The social position of women seems to be slightly less tied to that of their fathers, compared to men.

8. Women's social position is somewhat more linked to their educational achievement, compared to that of men.

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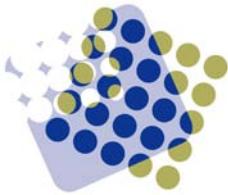
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Intégration et exclusion dans l'espace public. Etude empirique de familles avec jeunes enfants dans leur environnement résidentiel

Daniel Sauter, Marco Hüttenmoser

Résumé des principaux résultats (extrait du rapport final)

Thème

En dépit d'une mobilité et d'une individualisation croissantes, le voisinage et l'environnement résidentiel demeurent importants pour la vie communautaire dans les quartiers d'habitation urbains, notamment pour de jeunes familles, leurs enfants et les gens d'un certain âge. Il est vrai que l'utilisation de l'espace public se trouve souvent limitée par la circulation routière ce qui réduit les rencontres et les interactions dans le quartier. En Suisse, depuis 2002, la création de zones de rencontre offre la possibilité d'aménager l'espace public dans un sens de coexistence, favorisant ainsi les potentiels d'intégration. L'étude s'intéresse à l'impact de la circulation routière et de la qualité de l'environnement de différents types de rue sur les relations sociales, l'utilisation de l'espace public et sur le sentiment d'intégration subjectif. L'analyse se conjugue en trois dimensions : une dimension structurale, discursive et subjective. Sont discutés les potentiels d'intégration, c'est-à-dire les conditions d'intégration, car il est difficile de déterminer objectivement l'intégration effective.

Méthodes d'étude

L'analyse prend en considération trois types de rue dans des quartiers constitués de différentes couches sociales de la ville de Bâle : 1) une rue limitée à 50 kilomètres-heure avec une circulation relativement dense, 2) une rue dans une zone limitée à 30 kilomètres-heure et 3) trois zones de rencontre, limitées à 20 kilomètres-heure où les piéton(ne)s ont la priorité et où les enfants ont en principe le droit de jouer. Sont prises en compte une rue résidentielle conçue d'après la nouvelle loi et deux rues résidentielles existant depuis 25 ans. Ainsi, l'effet à long terme a aussi pu être étudié. Les rues montrent toutes des structures similaires quant à l'aménagement et la population. Le niveau de loyer ne diffère guère. Le relevé des données résulte d'une enquête écrite menée auprès des habitant(e)s ainsi que de l'observation des activités dans l'espace public (documents photographiques à l'appui).

Résultats les plus importants

Une rue attractive à circulation réduite est proportionnelle aux potentiels d'intégration: Moins il y a de véhicules à moteur en circulation, moins la vitesse et la densité de places de parc sont élevées, plus les potentiels d'intégration se trouvent favorisés. Les zones de recontre offre clairement plus de potentiels d'intégration que la zone limitée à 30 kilomètres-heure et celle-ci plus que la rue limitée à 50 kilomètres-heure. Ceci s'exprime par exemple dans les contacts de voisinage : Les relations sociales entre les habitant(e)s des rues à circulation réduite en particulier entre voisins habitant chacun un côté différent de la rue s'avèrent nettement plus fréquentes et plus intenses que celles des habitant(e)s des autres types de rue. L'effet de séparation de la rue est moins apparent, surtout pour les enfants. En dépit des interactions plus soutenues, les personnes interrogées des zones de rencontre ne souffrent pas d'un surplus de surveillance sociale. Les habitant(e)s des rues à circulation réduite se sentent beaucoup plus en sûreté et utilisent plus souvent l'espace public. Seulement 24% des habitant(e)s de la rue limitée à 50 kilomètres-

heure disent qu'ils passent parfois un moment dans l'espace public routier. Ce pourcentage s'élève à 37% pour les habitant(e)s de la zone limitée à 30 kilomètres-heure. Dans les zones de rencontre, il monte même à 51%. Plus que toute autre groupe de population, ce sont en priorité les familles qui utilisent l'espace public de l'environnement résidentiel. Les enfants qui sortent non accompagnés ce qui est le plus souvent le cas dans les zones de rencontre jouent nettement plus longtemps dehors que les enfants qui ne peuvent pas sortir seuls. En outre, les jeux des premiers s'étendent sur tout l'espace routier et procurent plus d'exercice physique. Les habitant(e)s des zones de rencontre se sentent beaucoup mieux dans leur rue et y habitent plus longtemps. Contrairement, les personnes interrogées habitant les rues limitées à 50 kilomètres ou 30 à l'heure soutiennent nettement plus souvent que leur rue est interchangeable, qu'elles y habitent que momentanément ou même qu'elles préfèreraient déménager. En outre, environ 30% des personnes interrogées qui habitent dans la rue limitée à 50 kilomètres-heure se désignent comme " plutôt moins bien " ou même " pas du tout " intégrées. Ce pourcentage ne s'élève qu'à 13% dans les zones de rencontre et à 14% dans la zone limitée à 30 kilomètres-heure. Le sentiment d'être " très bien " intégré est de loin le plus répandu dans les deux rues résidentielles qui existent depuis longtemps. Curieusement, les caractéristiques sociodémographiques influencent beaucoup moins les potentiels d'intégration que les types de rue. Rarement, l'âge, le sexe, la nationalité ou le statut social en soi ont une influence marquée sur les potentiels d'intégration. Ce sont les familles qui diffèrent le plus des autres groupes de population, surtout en ce qui concerne le nombre de contacts entre voisins et l'utilisation de l'espace public.

Recommandations

Les espaces publics facilement accessibles et des rues à circulation réduite offrent un potentiel d'intégration élevé comme le montre l'exemple des zones de rencontre dans des quartiers d'habitation urbains. Pour cette raison, leur réalisation devrait être favorisée dans toute la Suisse. En particulier, il faut tenir compte d'un aménagement de bonne qualité doté d'espaces de jeux pour les enfants ainsi que d'espaces de rencontre pour les adultes. La création de zones de rencontre permet avec relativement peu de moyens financiers d'activer les potentiels d'intégration et d'augmenter la qualité de la vie pour tous.

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La fracture numérique: émergence, évolution, enjeux et perspectives

Luc Vodoz, Pierre Rossel

Résumé des principaux résultats (extrait du rapport final)

La fracture numérique est le clivage qui distingue d'une part ceux qui ont accès aux technologies de l'information et de la communication (TIC), savent les manier et en exploiter les ressources; d'autre part ceux qui n'y ont pas accès, ou manquent de compétences pour pouvoir les exploiter à satisfaction. Notre projet a consisté à examiner les relations entre deux variables: (1) ce que nous avons appelé l'intégration "numérique" (c'est-à-dire le degré d'accès et de maîtrise des TIC par les individus ou groupes sociaux); et (2) l'intégration sociale, que nous avons déclinée sous forme de quatre dimensions du lien social (dimensions professionnelle, sociale, politique et territoriale).

L'intégration "numérique" comme l'intégration sociale peuvent être envisagées soit comme des états à un moment donné (dimension statique), soit comme des processus évolutifs (dimension dynamique). D'autre part, ces deux types d'intégration peuvent être appréhendés en fonction de critères objectifs (données factuelles, statistiques, etc.), mais aussi en fonction d'indicateurs plus subjectifs (sentiments d'intégration ou d'exclusion perçus par les individus). Notre projet a mis l'accent principalement sur les dimensions dynamique et subjective de l'intégration et de l'exclusion ("numériques" et sociales). Il a été réalisé à l'échelle suisse.

Après des investigations de nature théorique, la phase empirique de notre projet a consisté à réaliser près de huitante entretiens approfondis (entretiens semi-directifs), essentiellement avec des adultes en formation aux TIC (surtout microinformatique, mais aussi téléphones portables) ainsi qu'avec leurs formateurs. Afin de diversifier les points de vue, les terrains ont été choisis en combinant divers critères: région linguistique, situation territoriale centrale ou périphérique, sexe, âge, niveau de compétences TIC, statut professionnel des apprenants et type d'institution de formation.

Divers constats ressortent de nos analyses, parmi lesquels:

- l'importance croissante de l'intégration "numérique" en tant que norme sociale, ayant des effets principalement par rapport aux dimensions professionnelle et interpersonnelle du lien social;

- les sentiments d'exclusion "numérique" récurrents que ressentent la plupart des individus, en relation avec la dimension dynamique de la fracture numérique (craintes liées aux processus permanents d'obsolescence des compétences TIC);

- l'importance des compétences (compétences techniques, mais aussi savoir apprendre et compétences sociales, qui supposent des compétences basiques préalables telles que la "littératie") pour l'accès aux ressources TIC;

- la question des compétences étant devenue plus cruciale que celle de l'accès aux infrastructures, on peut faire l'hypothèse que les régions urbaines (où se concentrent les populations à statut socioéconomique fragile) recèlent une plus grande proportion d'individus "numériquement" exclus;

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- l'absence de corrélation stricte entre intégrations "numérique" et sociale, vu notamment divers cas de figures dérogeant à une telle corrélation.

Au terme du projet, une série de recommandations a été formulée, dont:

- la nécessité d'encourager de nouvelles recherches dans ce domaine encore peu exploré de la place des TIC dans la société helvétique (et notamment concernant la dimension dynamique de la fracture numérique en relation avec l'intégration sociale);

- l'utilité d'instaurer un organe de suivi proactif de la problématique de la "société de l'information", au niveau fédéral, en y associant les milieux de la formation continue ainsi que les milieux académiques;

- le développement de nouveaux cadres d'apprentissage des TIC, de sorte que ces technologies puissent être appréhendées sans que cela soit forcément en lien avec un enjeu d'employabilité;

- une diversification créative des modes d'enseignement ainsi que des systèmes de certification des compétences liées aux TIC;

- la promotion des pratiques TIC en articulation avec d'autres mesures relevant de l'action sociale (accompagnement des chômeurs, politiques d'insertion sociale, etc.).

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