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Post-Compulsory
Education
in
Suisse romande

by

David J Matheson

thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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David J Matheson (1992): **Post-Compulsory Education in Suisse romande - ABSTRACT**

This thesis sets out to describe and discuss, to analyse and criticise post-compulsory education in the francophone part of Switzerland, or *Suisse romande*. A further object is to see whether this part of the oldest confederation in the world might have lessons on the educational front to offer the European Community or indeed whether there might be practices in the EC whose adaptation to Suisse romande's situation and circumstances might be beneficial. The remaining object is to propose a series of models for educational structures – autonomous, synthetic and pluralist – and to determine which model fits which part of Suisse romande's post-compulsory education.

After describing the rationale behind the work, the thesis moves on to set out the historical, geographical, economic and cultural backgrounds to the area in question in order to provide a context for the main body of the discussion. This reduces the need for tangential digressions to explain particular aspects of education in Suisse romande.

The main text covers post-compulsory school (with a description of the end of compulsory school), vocational training, adult education and higher education with a concluding chapter devoted to drawing together some of the threads spun in the course of the thesis.

The writer found that Suisse romande in particular and Switzerland in

general have much experience which the EC might do well to examine. There is, for example, the creation of national certificates in vocational training which, although of equal value throughout the country, bear the clear stamp of their Canton of origin. Autonomous structures have been brought together, in the case of schools, by negotiation between Cantonal authorities (with the encouragement of Federal government).

Another point of note is the extreme slowness of Swiss educational reforms. This slowness permits careful reflection and thinking out of a reform and its articulation with the rest of the educational structure. We contrast this with the Scottish propensity for rushing reform (as is the case in the 5-14 programme of which some parts are being introduced while other parts have yet to be finalised).

An important example from the EC which the Swiss might examine concerns access to higher education as practised in Scotland while currently under study in Switzerland are the EC's various open universities.

In sum, the avoidance of bandwagons and the panic visible in parts of Europe as countries attempt to have their education systems keep up with technological advances, while frustrating in its slowness, does lead to coherent and cohesive structures in formal education at all levels.

In adult education, partnership between private charities and Cantonal government provide a wide and varied provision which reaches out into the most rural and mountainous of areas while in the urban areas there is unique

phenomenon of the Migros Club Schools. This is a case of a supermarket chain which has taken a social mission and consequently provides, with the help of subsidies from the chain's turnover, more than half of the entire adult education offer in Switzerland.

Preface

This thesis is an attempt to examine a group of education systems which are rarely studied by educationists, other than those of the country itself. At the present moment, as Scotland considers a baccalaureate for university entrance, as the European Communities search their soul for an identity, this country has ideas and experience which both might do well to consider. After all, topographically and in terms of population (and indeed history) there is much similarity between Scotland and Switzerland, and Switzerland has been offering baccalaureates for a long time. Like the probable Europe of the future, Switzerland is a confederation which strives not only to maintain national cohesion but also local identity and culture.

To simplify matters (and indeed to take account of a linguistic lacuna on the part of the writer) the area of study has been restricted to the Francophone part of Switzerland. Perhaps at some future date when his knowledge of German and Italian are somewhat better than at present, he might attempt a similar study of Germano- and Italoophone Switzerland.

Naturally the judgments and opinions expressed by the writer are formed and even to some extent clouded by his own history and experience. Therefore to set these judgments and opinions in some context it is perhaps worthwhile that he give the reader some of his features which might be relevant to the subject of this study.

The writer is a Scotsman, born and educated in Glasgow who began his

Preface

teaching career in Livingston, West Lothian. From there he worked for a year in Madrid before settling in Lausanne for five years. Subsequently he returned to Glasgow to work in a secondary school in area of multiple deprivation in the East of the city. While in Livingston he met Catherine Monnet, a French assistant from Sion in the Canton of Valais, whom he later married. It was through Catherine that he developed an interest in Switzerland, learnt to speak French properly and became interested in comparative education. It is to her that this thesis is dedicated.

A variety of source types has been used. These include published and unpublished reports and interviews as well as the literature. The study is not statistical although statistics are referred to. The use of numerical data is kept relatively low key in order to make the text more readable. This is despite (or perhaps because of) the writer being a mathematician to trade. Rather the study is discursive and bases its conclusions more on tendencies than on accurately defined probabilities and statistical analyses. These of course have their place but they are more at home where it is likely that the reader is sufficiently familiar with the systems in question that description is largely superfluous. Besides, statistical analyses depend on data being available and in Suisse romande this is always not the case as Gilbert Fournier found while preparing his doctoral thesis on the entry to higher education of the Valaisans.

Whenever the writer judged it feasible French terms have been translated into English. Where he reckoned that the English equivalent might be lacking or misleading he has kept them in French. A result is that French

Preface

grammatical conventions have been adhered to so that in *Suisse romande*, for example, only the first word has a capital letter. Occasionally, an English version of a term has been used where the original French is ambiguous.

Any comparative work depends on the goodwill, support and general help of others. This study is no exception. The writer interviewed and shared the experience and expertise of a great many people. Others helped by sending him material, by providing suggestions of paths to follow and by commenting constructively on aspects of the work in hand. In this respect I should like to express my indebtedness to the following groups, organisations and individuals without whom this thesis would have ever remained a vague idea.

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Particular thanks are due to the writer's mother, his sister and his in-laws for all the various help they provided.

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Chapter one

Introduction

As the European Community takes its faltering steps toward unification under some probable confederation questions are asked about the level of independence or autonomy each component should retain in, among other things, education or, alternatively, how to cope with a multiplicity of education systems. Should a pan-European system be developed? If so, would this require revamping at the admission of each new member? Or should some aspects be centralised while others are left to the component states?

At the heart of Europe, in a position which has led to its being described as the crossroads of Europe (1), lies a confederation which has had to face and continues to face many of the problems which keep the Brussels bureaucrats so busy. It is also a confederation of such diverse cultures that at least one writer has claimed that it is not a country at all (2). That Switzerland has managed to hold together such disparate cultures and to survive a history of regular outside threats and frequent civil wars must surely hold some lessons for the architects of tomorrow's Europe.

It is far from inconceivable that Switzerland also has lessons on the education front for the rest of Europe. Even ignoring that it is an exceptionally long-lasting confederation, the mere fact of having the highest gross national product *per capita* in the world (3) might be expected to make Switzerland the object of the educationist's attention if only to see whether there is something special in the country's education which might help explain this. Equally it might be asked whether the present education system is the product of the society (*à la* Durkheim) or vice versa. Oddly, however, Switzerland is largely ignored in the education literature, especially in the

Anglophone world. Instead, Switzerland's larger neighbours are studied and the Swiss experience is palmed off merely as reflecting parts of the French, German and Italian cultures and education systems.

It would be foolish to pretend that Switzerland's neighbours have not influenced her. Indeed, they are largely responsible, as we shall see in chapter 2, for the country's very existence. However, just as a photon by behaving both as a particle and a wave is really something different to either, Switzerland, by being at the confluence of cultural tides, has developed cultures and cultural identities all of her own. By striving to remain independent from her more powerful neighbours (though not always successfully) and by Cantons striving equally hard to remain autonomous, or indeed independent, from one another, Switzerland has developed strategies to maintain her cultural identities. However, neighbours have to live together, to make *bon ménage*. Those with something obvious in common are off to a flying start where developing cooperation is concerned. A common language is an asset which most of Switzerland lacks. Swiss German is not even a series of dialects but more a series of languages which may or may not overlap (4). Swiss Italian is equally disparate (but then so is Italian Italian!) Swiss French is however, with the exception of the odd term, the same language as that of the French. This simple fact makes French Switzerland (*Suisse romande* or *Romandie*) a unique area of the country.

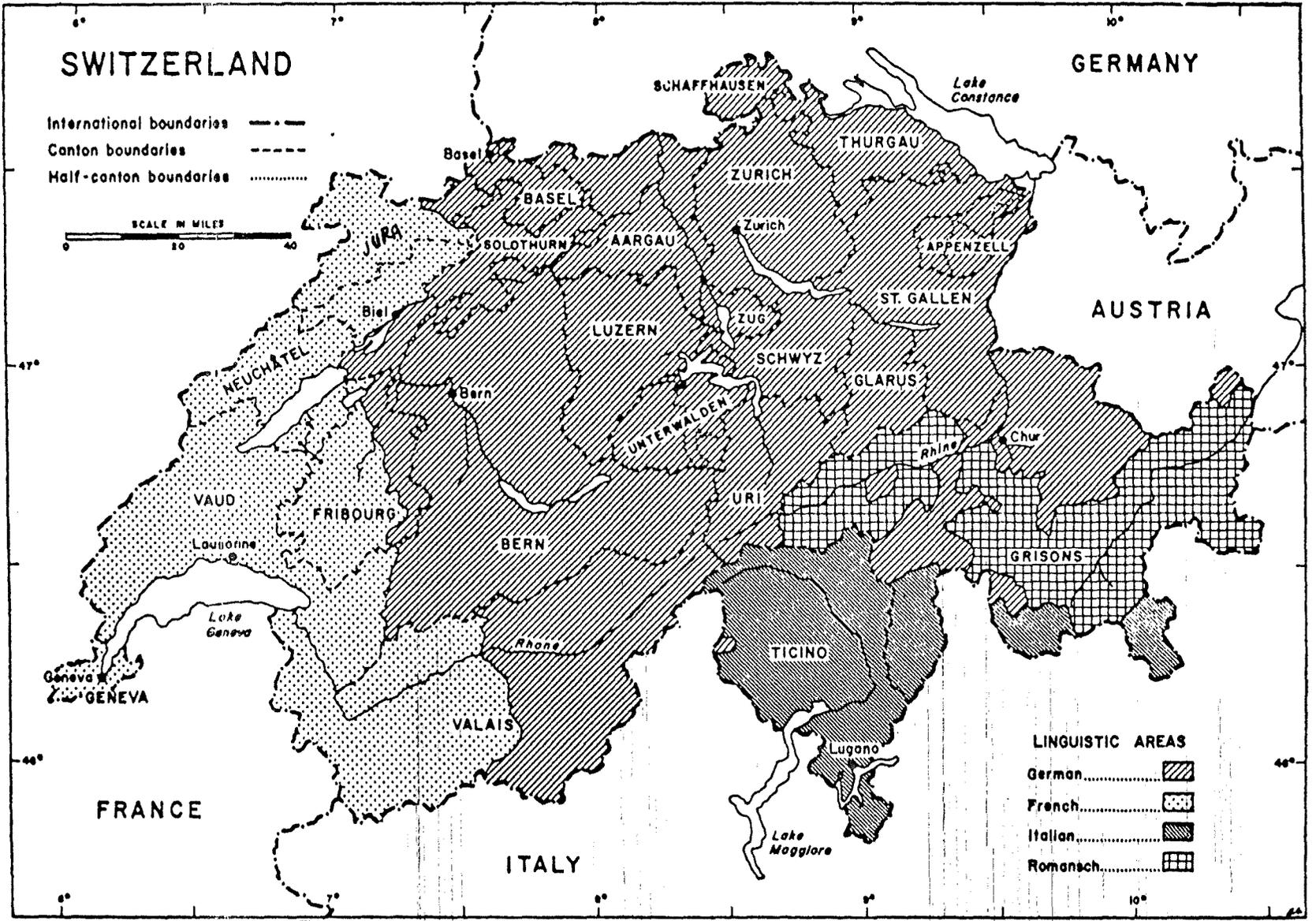


Figure 1.1 The Cantons and areas which form Suisse romande

Suisse romande consists, as Figure 1.1 shows (5), of the Cantons of Geneva, Vaud, Neuchâtel and Jura, roughly half of the Cantons of Valais and Fribourg and some enclaves in Berne. It contains both the flattest and most rugged parts; among the lowest and the highest points; among the richest and among the poorest Cantons and the most urbanised and the most rural areas of Switzerland. The seven Cantonal authorities have to face very different problems and yet must bear in mind that they do not exist in a vacuum. This leads to the question of what unifying characteristics exist in those states in a Federal system which share a language. A comparison might be drawn here with the United States upon whose constitution Switzerland based its own 1848 constitution. (As we shall see in chapter 2, the Swiss, in keeping with good comparativist practice, adapted the US constitution to suit their own peculiar circumstances and neatly circumvented the problem of the constitution becoming a monolithic sacred cow.)

We shall seek to determine the distinguishing characteristics which exist and to what extent these might be argued as a consequence of history, geography or economics or whether some or all of a Canton's educational peculiarities might be put down to a pedantic desire to be different from its neighbours. We shall see in chapter 4 that this charge of wishing to be different for its own sake is one which some Cantons escape with difficulty, if at all, at the level of the Maturité exam.

The Swiss constitution lays down clearly that education is the Canton's responsibility (though, as we shall see, there are backroads around this restriction on central government). This results in a multi-faceted situation

which can confuse as much as it might enlighten. There are, for example, how many education systems in Switzerland? One with local variations or twenty-six which may meet from time to time?(6)

It may be argued that any decentralisation of administrative (as opposed to executive) authority constitutes a fragmentation of the system into subsystems or even separate systems and that, however much these may cooperate, they are *de facto*, if not officially, autonomous units. On the other hand, autonomy before the law does not preclude interdependence in reality nor does it preclude the existence of common characteristics. This might lead to the argument that each Canton's solutions to its educational problems are merely different facets of the same thing. Hence we shall try to determine, where appropriate, whether Suisse romande might be termed a pluralist system where, although centrally planned to some extent, local variations are permitted; a series of autonomous systems which exist largely in isolation from those in neighbouring Cantons; or a synthetic system where, through choice or force of circumstances, autonomy has given way through cooperation or indirect legislation to a single system synthesized from previously independent entities. The series of figures below aims to define and exemplify these various types of education systems.

A simple classification of education systems

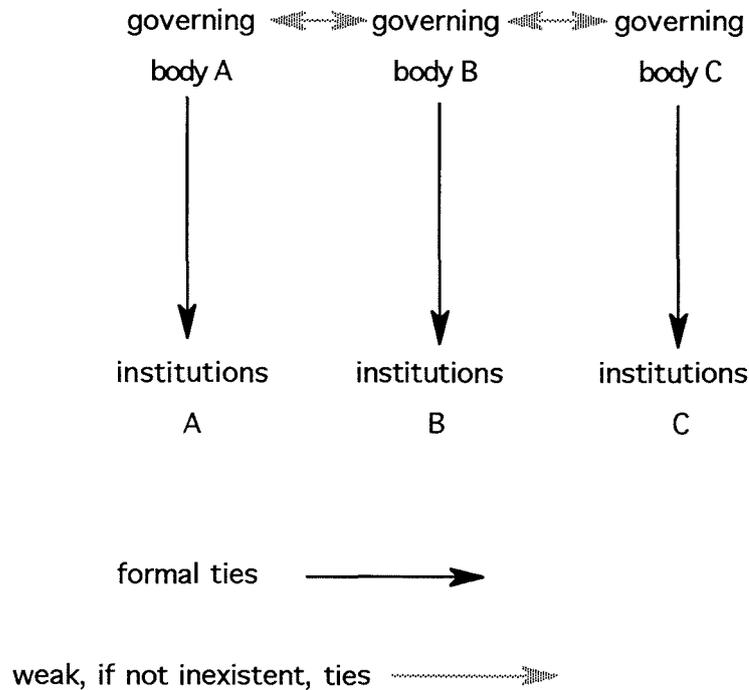


Figure 1.2 Autonomous systems: schematic diagram

In autonomous systems, governing bodies decide the level and type of control they wish to exert on curricula and institutions. Groups A, B and C exist in isolation and each may go so far as to consciously ignore what the others are doing. The scope for myths is immense. For example: "Wha's like us?" and the myths of the Scottish secondary school offering a broad curriculum and of Scottish education being "the best in the world". As these examples suggest, it is possible for several autonomous systems to be controlled by one parliament via different "governing bodies". An example of this is the control exercised by the Westminster Parliament over schooling in Scotland, via the Scottish Office Education Department, and in England and Wales, via the Department of Education and Science, while these two

governing bodies remain legally independent from one another.

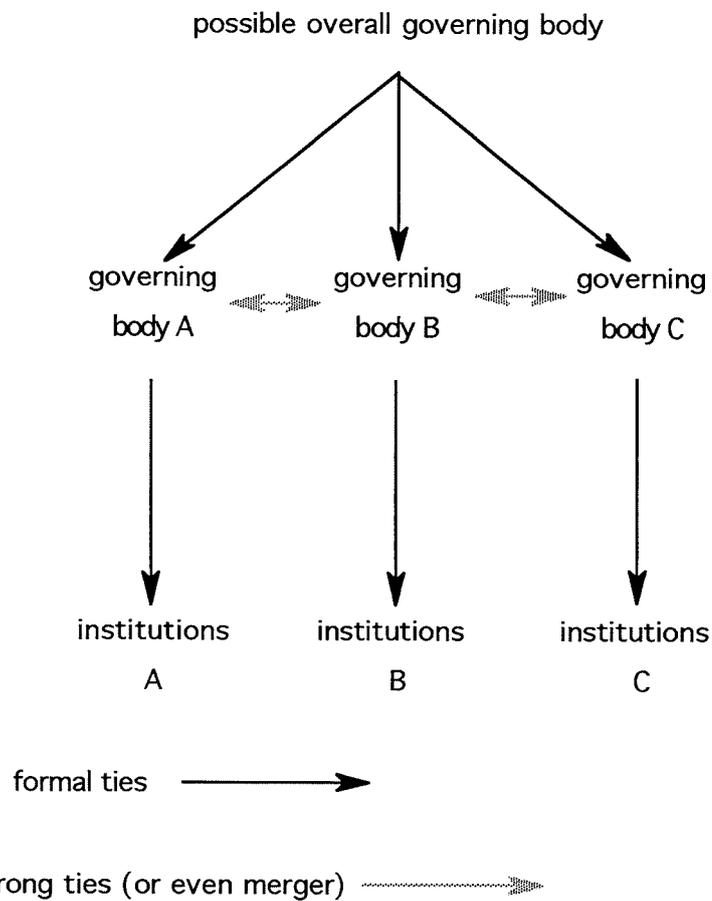


Figure 1.3 Synthetic systems: schematic diagram

In the synthetic system legally autonomous or independent systems through force of circumstance or indirect legislation may strengthen ties and cooperation to the extent of sharing curriculum development or even administration. In synthesizing, disparate sets of institutions agree (or have it agreed for them) to accept common curricula though there is obviously scope for variation in how common common curricula need to be in order to be termed "common".

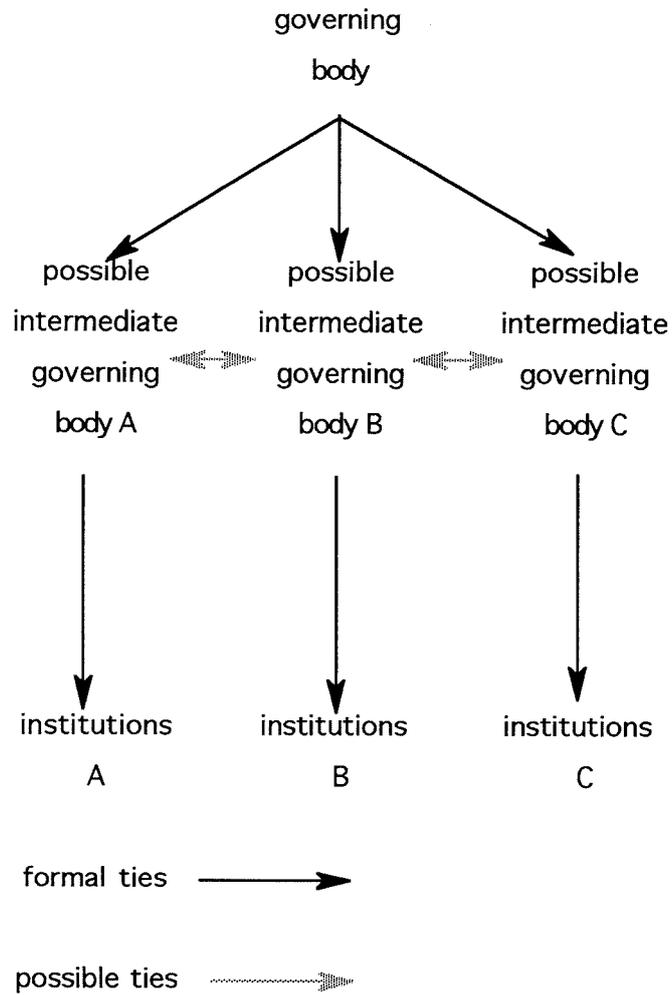


Figure 1.4 Pluralist systems: schematic diagram

In the pluralist system the governing body lays down curricular outlines which may be refined by an intermediate governing body (this may be the institution itself). Institutions (or the intermediate governing bodies), singly or as groups, finally define what is to be taught and how. Variable scope may be available to the teacher to define his own program or method with or without constraints.

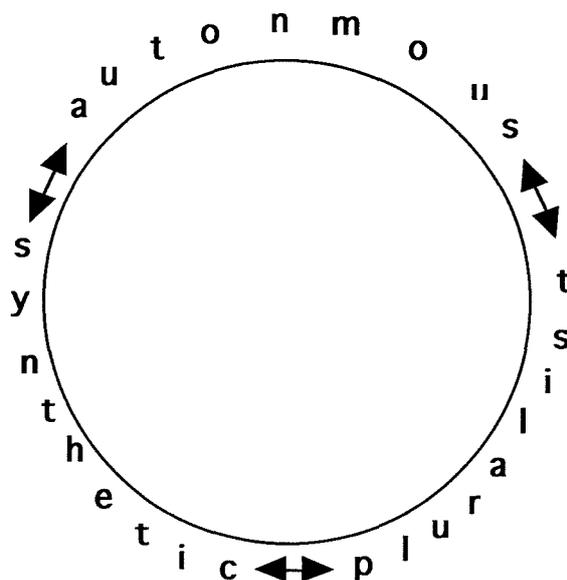


Figure 1.5 The circle of synthesism-pluralism-autonomy

Clearly these categories of synthetic, pluralist and autonomous do not have rigid boundaries and a system may even be classed as fitting more than one category depending on the observer. The United Kingdom is a case in point: are the systems for whom Westminster legislates autonomous systems as suggested following Figure 1.2 or are they part of a pluralist system? Similarly, did the post-World War II systems in Eastern Europe which fell over themselves to mimic their Soviet dominators form autonomous or even independent systems, or were they components of a pluralist system under Soviet hegemony?

These two cases demonstrate that the pluralist-synthetic-autonomous circle is not unlike the rainbow - divisible into as few or as many parts as one wishes. However, like the colours of the rainbow, once defined, even vaguely

as here, the labels "pluralist", "synthetic" and "autonomous" may serve as a useful shorthand, provided we bear in mind the limitations of the labels.

It is far from inconceivable that autonomous systems feed into the same end-products or institutions, or that disparate paths reach destinations whose equivalence is agreed. (6) As we shall see, in Switzerland pluralism, synthesism and complete autonomy are often functions of the level of education on offer as well as being functions of the provider and the validator (where appropriate).

The aim of this work is to outline, analyse and criticise post-compulsory education in Suisse romande. A thematic approach is used primarily to make the work more readable and to allow ready comparisons to be made between the Cantons concerned and the situation elsewhere. The thematic approach avoids the repetitiveness of, say, King's **Other Schools and Ours** (8) which while serving as an excellent, though now somewhat dated, reference book, gives the reader a feeling of *déjà vu* as he ploughs from chapter to chapter, reading and re-reading the same paragraph headings each time. The thematic approach also allows overlaps to be dealt with as they arise. This is important in Suisse romande where boundaries are sometimes blurred as one might expect when dealing with intranational education systems.

The themes of this thesis are set in their historical, demographic, geographic and economic contexts by means of background chapters to which reference can then be made elsewhere in the work. These chapters not only serves to set the scene for the other chapters but also avoid the need to go off at a tangent to

explain why, for example, Valais has no university whereas the other Romand Cantons (with the exception of the new Canton on Jura) do. (This is a direct consequence of the Sonderbund war of 1847 and the subsequent expulsion of the Jesuits but the effects of general poverty for centuries and of the Reformation on a Catholic Canton are also important.)

The chapters from 2 to 7 are intended to be more or less logically separate units and therefore able to be read out of sequence. Naturally the divisions and categorisations adopted are not the only ones available and other writers might wish to arrange the subjects differently. Some distinctions are carefully avoided, such as that between education and training (9). The writer has instead stuck, insofar as possible, to the labels attached to the activities by those actually engaged in them. It is not the function of this work to sidetrack into such philosophical nuances as the difference between education and training. The arguments over this particular distinction are often sufficiently flawed as to make one think that certain forms of learning are termed "training" merely as a pedantic device to devalue them from the loftier plane which "education" is often held to inhabit.

In each of chapters 4 to 7 the objectives remain roughly the same: to construct a model of the aspect of post-compulsory education in question by examining: power and control, structure, goals and philosophies employed or implied. In each we shall endeavour to determine why this aspect of post-compulsory education has developed as such, looking at socio-cultural and economic forces at play. We shall examine: the problems and shortcomings of each aspect while drawing upon and criticising other analyses and

descriptions of this and other federal, pluralist and synthetic systems; the articulation between the component parts in theory and in practice, both historically and geographically.

Just as a premise of this thesis is to suggest lessons which the rest of Europe might draw from Suisse romande then it is equally a premise to suggest experiences elsewhere which might be useful to the Romands. This is not to say that the outside observer can prescribe modifications but he may offer ideas for those who are intimately involved on the ground to examine and to adopt and adapt as they feel appropriate and are able to.

Chapter 4 opens the discussion proper with an examination of post-compulsory school education. However it is necessary to describe at least the latter stages of compulsory school to show from what the students involved in this and other post-compulsory educations are entering and to help make better sense of what follows. Chapters 5 to 7 cover between them formal further education, adult education, and higher education.

Chapter 8 tries to draw together the various threads of the thesis and give an overall critique.

Most earlier work undertaken on education in Switzerland has tended to concentrate on a fairly narrow particular aspect of it or on the relation of education to a particular segment of Swiss society. As we see in the bibliography to this thesis, the result is a wealth of information and critiques of all sorts. However very few of these works consider Suisse

romande as a whole. To our knowledge and according to Pierre Gentinetta, director of the *Centre suisse de documentation en matière d'éducation*, (10), no other work has attempted to examine the **totality** of post-compulsory education in Suisse romande. For example, the 1989 OECD profile (11) which, while describing the scene in each Canton, is short on analysis and constructive criticism. It also does not make comparisons between Cantons and fails to take account of non-formal education and retraining. Similar complaints can be levelled at Emile Blanc's **Les Formations post-obligatoires en Suisse** (12) while Edo Pogia in his monumental **Politique et planification de l'éducation en Suisse** (13) attempts to cover the entire country and winds up concentrating on mountainous areas. Pogia's work is informative, though, as we shall see, some of his conclusions are of dubious cause and effect status, depending on an unstated assumption of all other things being equal.

A gap therefore exists in the literature and it is hoped that this work will serve to at least partially fill it.

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- 1 Holmes, Brian (ed)(1983): **International Handbook of Education Systems volume 1 Europe and Canada** (Chichester, John Wiley & Sons) p644
- 2 Mikes, George (1975): **Switzerland for Beginners** (London, André Deutsch) p5

- 3 **World Bank Development Report** (1985) (Washington, World Bank)
- 4 Steinberg, Jonathan (1976): **Why Switzerland?** (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press) p2
- 5 MacRae, Kenneth: **Switzerland - an example of cultural coexistence** (Toronto, Canadian Institute of International Affairs) pXIV, modified to show the Canton of Jura. Despite continued foreign immigration, the language status of the communes and Cantons has remained the same.
- 6 An example of this is that of the Channel Island systems which, while being legally independent from any United Kingdom system, nonetheless feed their students into English higher education. To this end the Channel Islands have carefully modelled their curricula and school structures on those of England. See: Grant, Nigel & Bell, Robert (1977): **Patterns of Education in the British Isles** (London, George Allen & Unwin)
- 7 This latter view is taken by Hari who writes that there are:
"twenty-five independent school systems, scarcely coordinated, even radically different from each other in terms of structure, age of pupils at each stage of schooling, programs offered and methods used."

From Hari, Robert (1976): "Une expérience de réforme scolaire: le cycle d'orientation genevoise" in **International Review of Education** Vol XXII, 1976, p64. Hari was writing before the Canton of Jura became independent of Canton Berne, bringing the number of systems to twenty-six.
- 8 King, Edmund (1967): **Other Schools and Ours** (New York & London, Holt, Rinehart & Winston)
- 9 "Until the last few years it has always been important in

talking about secondary education ...to draw a sharp distinction between education and training. Education not training has been the business of compulsory schooling. In fact, the distinction is wholly artificial, both practically and theoretically. What the divide has meant however is that very little occupationally specific work has been transacted in schools"

From Holmes, Sue and Jamieson, Ian (1986): "Jobs and Careers: Classes, Schools and the New Vocationalism" in Rogers, Rick (ed): **Education and Social Class** (Lewes, The Falmer Press) p156

- 10 Correspondance with Dr P Gentinetta, Directeur, Centre suisse de documentation en matière d'enseignement et d'éducation (CESDOC), Geneva
- 11 OECD/CDIP (1989): **Examens des politiques nationales d'éducation** (Berne & Paris, OECD/CDIP)
- 12 Blanc, Emile (1987): **Les Formations post-obligatoire en Suisse** (Berne & Genève, OECD) p11
- 13 Poggia, Edo (1983): **Politique et planification de l'éducation en Suisse** (Berne, Peter Lang)

Chapter two

Some background

- introduction
- some history
- geographical, economic and demographic data
- Sources and notes

Introduction

"We are fixed on where we came from" (1)

Education systems and structures do not exist in a vacuum. Regardless of their perceived or actual function, education and educators exist as part of a social structure. They are, like that social structure, an outcome of a chain of historical development - a development shaped by geography, economics and greed.

To examine the educational circumstances of a region or group of regions without at least glancing at other socio-historical aspects is a bit like examining a wave on the ocean without looking under the surface or at other waves round about. Waves interact with other waves and with the unseen ocean depths. In a like fashion, education interacts with social phenomena and is equally a product of historical precedents.

This chapter has as its main purpose to set the socio-historical and geographical scenes of Suisse romande. The chapter opens with some historical background though this is perforce chosen very judiciously. The object is to examine briefly some major events in the development of Switzerland and to focus on their impact on Suisse romande. The events examined are of course not the only ones that could have been chosen but in this writer's opinion they are the most important. As William Martin puts it:

"The evolution of our country has been disordered, directed more by circumstances and collective passions than by

reflexion and will."(2)

Here we shall look at a few of these passions and circumstances to give depth to the later chapters.

The geography, demography and economics of Suisse romande will be treated primarily by means of illustrative tables and diagrams from which the reader is free to extract that information he/she deems necessary. In this way it is hoped that instead of the narrow, thin view which might otherwise result, the reader will be given, if he/she does not already have it, a reasonably concise three-dimensional framework in which to locate the main body of the thesis.

Some history

According to Rappard:

"The history of England, of France, or of Spain, for example, is in the main that of the rise and fortunes of ruling houses whose role it has been to unify, protect and to expand their prospective kingdoms. The story of Switzerland ...is that of a multitude of tiny sovereign states, each of which had its own origins and adventures, no two of which, for centuries, had the same relations to their neighbours and to the Confederation as a whole, and not all of which participated in the same so-called national wars and treaties." (3)

As good a place as any to begin this brief account of Romand history is in fact

outwith Suisse romande on the banks of Lake Luzern. It was here on 1 August 1291 that "the fundamental Swiss treaty of collective security was signed on behalf of the three mountain communities of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwald."(4) This followed nine years after Rudolf I of the Holy Roman Empire had assured the Schwyzers that no foreigner would sit in judgment over them. (5)

As we shall see in Chapter 3, the impact of this promise and the legend of William Tell which goes with it have had a profound impact on the national psyche of the Swiss.

The declaration of semi-independence by Uri, Schwyz and Unterwald (known collectively as the *Waldstätten*) and the communal movement it began:

"gained ground in those districts which did not belong to the Confederation. ...In (the Bishopric) of Sion administrative autonomy, independent jurisdiction and even political freedom of the inhabitants made rapid progress at the expense of episcopal rights...(This movement) came to regard itself as responsible for having created a host of autonomous communities and republics rooted in the people."(6)

The *Waldstätten* made the essential move from alliance to statehood with the battle of Morgarten when, on 15 November 1315, Austrian troops under Duke Leopold attempted a punitive expedition against the Schwyzers.(7) The *Waldstätten*,

"through effective roadblocks, picked the scene of the battle ... (and) the Austrians were totally defeated."(8)

The victory at Morgarten assured the Swiss of credibility as a fighting force (and subsequently as exporters of mercenaries) and encouraged their neighbours to throw off the Habsbourg yoke and join the Confederation. This was an on-going process through much of the 14th century and culminated in 1353 with the alliance with Berne.(9) Berne had spent much of the earlier part of the century in aggressive expansion of its territory in "the area between the Rhine and the Rhone rivers and the Jura and the Alps."(10)

Links with Valais were strengthened at the end of the century by an alliance with Berne.(11) This and other alliances between Valais and the various states of the Confederation might have helped defend that future Canton against outsiders but being an ally of the Swiss did not stop Confederate troops from trying to invade the Valais in the 15th century.(12) As Switzerland's many civil wars up to the *Sonderbund* of 1847 demonstrate, the Federal alliance was against attacks from outside but did little, if anything, to guarantee peace between signatories.

Part of the reason for this lies in the sheer complexity of the multiplicity of treaties involved in binding the Confederation and its allies together. However, sight never seems to have been lost of the need for unity against outside adversity and, as Rappard tells us, the outcome of the civil wars was generally compromise and serious attempts were made to avoid similar *casus belli*.(13)

Following the Bernese invasion of 1447, Fribourg seceded from Austria in

1452 and in 1454 became an associate member of the Confederation.(14) In 1513, just in time for the upheavals due to the Reformation, Fribourg acceded to full Cantonal status.(15)

In 1517 Martin Luther nailed 95 charges against the Church to the door of his own church in Wittenberg and hence began the Reformation. (16) In 1519 Ulrich Zwingli, a priest from Toggenberg, became the leader of the Swiss Reformed Party of Zurich.(17)

"From this time on and until at most a century ago, the confessional dualism of Switzerland has been perhaps its most significant characteristic."(18)

In 1528 in Berne

"officialdom, in the form of the Great Council and with the support of the guilds, ordered that the Reformed religion must replace the old."(19)

This peaceful transition, not repeated elsewhere, was, according to Martin, deemed essential by the Bernese in order to use the Reform movement against the House of Savoy. Savoy controlled the Country of Vaud and Berne coveted this area.(20)

Tensions rose over religious belief and the concomitant political stances to such an extent that two civil wars were fought over this issue in the space of three years. The second which ended on 20 November 1531 put an effective

end to the development of the Reformation in Switzerland with a victory of the Catholic Cantons over the Protestant, Berne having remained neutral.(21)

The Reformation of course affected Switzerland's allies to a greater or lesser extent. Neuchâtel, which had been seized by Berne in 1512 (22), sheltered Calvin for some time following his expulsion from Geneva in 1538.(23) Incidentally the overlordship of this future Canton had, in 1530, passed to the House of Nassau -Orange (24) though in 1707 it was the King of Prussia who became Prince of Neuchâtel.(24) Calvin and his followers converted the rulers (and consequently the people) of Neuchâtel and subsequently made Geneva "a pillar of the Protestant faith."(25)

For its part, Geneva had been a free city since the Late Middle Ages despite endless attempts by the House of Savoy to absorb it.(26)

"When, in 1535, again menaced by Savoy, Geneva... called upon the help of Berne alone - Fribourg having in 1530 abandoned her Genevese ally, already suspect of heresy - she was... saved by her mighty protector."(27)

However, en route to Geneva the Bernese occupied and annexed the interjacent territory of Vaud.(28) It was only through the influence of Calvin and a playing off of the rivalry between Savoy, France and Berne that Genevan independence managed to survive at all.(29)

The Bernese occupation of Vaud brought to an end the Vaudois feudal system,

unified the land and converted the people to protestantism.(30), the path to this conversion having been beaten by Farel and Calvin.(31) This conquest

"undertaken at the expense of the Duke of Savoy, a close ally of the Catholic Cantons, was successfully carried out, not only without their support, but in the face of their bitter opposition."(32)

In all, the Swiss fought five internal religious wars (1529, 1531, 1656, 1712 and 1847) and yet managed to stay out, except as mercenaries, of those religious wars that raged around them.(33)

It is to one of these external religious wars that Martin traces the roots of present-day Swiss prosperity. The Thirty Years War

"by destroying German competition and in stimulating (Swiss) national production,... gave the Confederation an economic lead on its neighbours which she never quite lost and which explains how a country set in the worst natural conditions, with no mineral resources (and) no outlet to the sea, has been able to play such a considerable role in the European economy."(34)

However, as Luck tells us, the prosperity was largely confined to service and fine mechanical industries.(35) The War had seen the price of food rise considerably and its end brought a price collapse.(36) The resulting tensions gave rise to the Peasants' War of 1653 which led almost straight into the First Willmergen War. This former was economic in origin while the latter

was ostensibly religious but actually appears to have been an attempt by some Catholic Cantons to diminish Protestant Zurich's power.(37)

Tensions between Catholic and Protestant Cantons waxed and waned in the country until they were finally laid to rest in the aftermath of the *Sonderbundkrieg*.

Religious dualism had its major economic impact following the revoking by Louis XIV of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.(38) According to Martin

"The revoking of the Edict of Nantes, after having imposed on the Reformed Cantons some passing costs, became for them a permanent source of prosperity. The immigrants brought them new industries."(39)

Simultaneously the Catholic economies and industries slowed and shrank. Almost the entire productive part of the country was in protestant hands. The Protestants held the industrial towns, the commercial roads, the rich countryside and the financial power. The Catholics had only mountains and alpine grazing.(40)

It is worth noting the linguistic situation of the country during this period and the predominance of German:

"In 1481 when Fribourg joined (the Confederation) the government adopted the German language for all public acts and the governing families Germanised their names. It was the same in the case of the allies, for example, in Valais.

Everywhere German made gains.

The conquest of the ...Country of Vaud did not significantly alter this situation, the language of all the overlords - with the exceptions of those of Geneva and Neuchâtel - remaining German.

The closer and closer relations which the Swiss enjoyed with France, foreign service and the blossoming of French civilisation in the 17th and 18th centuries had the effect of Franckifying most of the governing aristocracies. Little by little French became the second official language in Switzerland and even supplanted German in certain public acts - not through regard for Romand subjects of Berne and its allies, but through regard for the king of France."(41)

It should not be forgotten that, while French gained ground in official circles, in Suisse romande the language of the peasants remained Patois - a situation that only altered in the course of the twentieth century.

As the 18th century wore on, the Confederation's members and allies, continued, despite the much earlier exhortation to the contrary by Zwingli, to supply mercenaries throughout Europe and into the European colonies. As Martin puts it, the country had soldiers aplenty but no army. The numbers of Swiss in foreign armies varied between 60 000 and 70 000 men. For the poorer Cantons, mercenaries and the tribute paid for them often represented

just about the only source of hard currency.(42)

On 10 August 1792, 600 Swiss troops were massacred at the Tuileries in Paris while trying to protect Louis XVI. This massacre and those that followed it in September reflected what Martin terms "the weight of popular hatred" felt by the French mobs towards the Confederation.(43)

As the 18th century moved to a close, the French encouraged revolution in Geneva, annexed part of the Bishopric of Basel (44) and eventually invaded and took control of the rest of the country.(45) Coincidentally on the same day as the French occupied Lausanne (20 January 1798) (46) the Lower Valais declared itself independent of the Upper.(47) The separation was short-lived and came to an end when

"France forced a series of constitutional changes in Valais, attaching it first to Switzerland, later making it an independent republic and finally annexing it."(48)

The French invasion is a critical point in Swiss history. Initially, the First Consul, Bonaparte, forced upon the Swiss a unitary and centralist constitution and created the "One and Indivisible Helvetic Republic".(49) This ran counter to the country's tradition of Cantonal autonomy and independence (50) and reduced the Cantons to the level of French *départements*.(51)

In 1803, Napoleon's ideas on Switzerland had evolved somewhat and he issued his Act of Mediation. In this document he recognised that "Nature herself had

constituted Switzerland into a federation" (52) and although the Swiss immediately repudiated this diktat upon its author's downfall (53) it would not be an exaggeration to claim that it set the tone for the country's constitutional development. Many previously disenfranchised men were enfranchised (54) and equality before the law appeared.(55) The new Diet, or parliament, became plenipotentiary and former bailliwicks such as Vaud acceded to Cantonal status.(56)

The end of Napoleon's first military adventure brought, as Martin tells us, chaos to the country and took it very close to disintegration.(57) However, survive it did and the Congress of Vienna in 1815 saw Switzerland take up its present borders. The Congress also approved the Swiss Pact of 1815 whereby Geneva, Neuchâtel and Valais acceded to the Confederation as full Cantonal members.(58)

The Pact remained in force until the aftermath of the *Sonderbundkrieg* of 1847. (59) The Congress of Vienna also guaranteed Swiss neutrality - presumably as a buffer between power blocs. As the Duke of Dalberg put it:

"It is necessary... to protect (this country) from war.

Switzerland ought to be everyone's Fatherland."(60)

Repercussions of the Reformation were still being felt in the 19th century. When the Jesuits were reconstituted in 1814 "Jesuit colleges were reopened in Fribourg and Valais."(61) Trouble brewed even within such a Catholic Canton as Valais, resulting in a small-scale civil war being fought there in 1844.

"The Jesuits were numerous and were blamed for inciting the people of the Upper Valais into open revolt."(62)

Troubles between Catholic and Protestant Cantons came to a head in 1847 when Luzern recalled the Jesuits. According to Mügge, in 1830, in Valais, the "Jesuits were...in power."(63) But what Mügge's less than unbiased account fails to mention is that the Jesuits were the major providers of education in the Catholic (ie poorer) Cantons. They aimed primarily at higher levels of education:

"The Jesuits were prepared to undertake, in such depressed areas...much of the responsibility for higher education."(64)

Thus, one might judge that the anti-Jesuit sentiments of the Protestant Cantons were based as much on fear that Jesuit education would undermine the economic supremacy of those Cantons as on any fear of Catholic revivalism.

In 1847 the majority of Catholic Cantons, including Valais and Fribourg, announced their secession from the Confederation. The result was that Confederate troops invaded each of the Cantons in turn. Valais surrendered without a single casualty - a scenario not repeated elsewhere. The whole *Sonderbund* war lasted a few weeks. The Jesuits were banned from the country, returning only in 1973 following a referendum.(65) However, as in previous Swiss civil wars, not all Cantons were involved. In the case of the *Sonderbund* it was Neuchâtel which, despite being staunchly Protestant and opposed to any secession, especially by its neighbour, Fribourg, stayed

neutral throughout the conflict.(66)

Politically the *Sonderbund* war had immense repercussions for Switzerland with a new constitution, based closely on that of the United States, being passed by referendum in 1848.(67) This constitution delineated Cantonal and Federal tasks. The first major revision of the Constitution (in 1874) set forth arrangements for laws to be passed by referendum and for voters to challenge existing laws or propose their own by means of the *popular initiative*. (68) The constitution was never meant as a final document and has been revised partially and completely several times in the years since.

In 1870 mercenary service, so long a financial mainstay of the poorer Cantons, came to an end as the last of the mercenary contracts, outlawed in the 1847 Federal Law, expired. The only exception allowed was the retention of the primarily Valaisan ceremonial Swiss Guard in the Vatican. As Luck remarks:

"It is nothing short of amazing that for so many decades, mercenary service was never officially regarded as being incompatible with the country's neutrality."(69)

The 19th century saw, of course, the rise of Bismarck and the creation of the German Reich. Consequent to this was the *Kulturkampf* and the creation of the modern nation-state with its notions of *national* culture. It was in a bid to create such a national culture that the Swiss National Day (August 1) was created *ex nihilo*, that William Tell was discovered as a *national* hero, that festivals of folklore and *national* shooting and gymnastics competitions were

introduced. Indeed it could be argued, as Furter maintains, that Switzerland is in fact a creation of 1870 - it being in this year that the modern Swiss nation-state took on the cultural appearance which to a very large extent it still wears today. (70)

The First World War brought cultural tensions to the whole of Switzerland and in Valais underlined the differences between the Upper Valais and the Lower. As Steinberg puts it:

"In 1914 a deep fissure, which became known as the trench or the *Graben* opened between French and German Switzerland."(71)

This was a result of opposing sympathies for the Entente and Central Powers to which Kerr claims linguistic hostility between the Romands and Alémaniques can be traced.(72) In his argument he quotes William Martin who in 1971 wrote:

"Language problems are an entirely modern phenomenon. Formerly people hated each other because of their religion rather than because of the language they spoke."(73)

In the light of previous disagreements between Upper and Lower Valais, we can see that while this argument might have applied in general cases it is not a historical rule, as the various conflicts between Francophone Lower Valais and Germanophone Upper Valais demonstrate. Without wishing to deviate too much into this area, it seems clear that at least in the case of Swiss history even the most ostensibly religious wars have had fundamental economic

causes. The same is true of the last great social conflict: the General Strike of 1918.

With growing industrialisation in the 19th century came, as elsewhere in Europe, the growth of trade unions. According to Hardmeier:

"they are the children of industrialisation and capitalism. The insufferable conditions of life and work, the social misery and the exploitation of the workers imposed by the businessmen of that time pushed the wage-earners to unite."(74)

Hardmeier summarises the situation of Swiss workers in the middle of the 19th century as:

- "- daily hours of 12 or more hours;
- children made to work;
- workers totally at the mercy of the boss;
- a daily wage of a few miserable francs;
- dangerously unhealthy work conditions;
- atrocious conditions in (both) life and lodgings;
- no social security."(75)

In other words, leaving aside the general smallness of the average industrial unit, their situation differed little or not at all from that of industrial workers elsewhere.(76)

On August 3, 1914, on account of the situation in surrounding countries, the Parliament approved a

"veritable blank cheque which accorded the Federal Council the right to take, in every area, any and all measures which the new circumstances demanded." (77)

The next four years saw the economy plummet. The wages of the lowest paid were reduced even further while those of industrialists, businessmen and farmers rose. In the four years of the War the index of prices passed from 100 in 1914 to 229 in 1918 (78) while by 1918 the country counted 692 000 paupers for a population of 4 million.(79) The social polarisation evident came on top of the linguistic divisions caused by the War and left the country ripe for what followed.

Switzerland had, of course, played host to many of the future leaders of the Russian revolution. Their powerful presence doubtless influenced the course of the events which greeted the closing days of the War. Of these the most important is the Strike itself which M Vuilleumiers describes as "the most important turning since the Sonderbund war of 1847."(80)

General strike was viewed by Socialist and trades union leaders as a means to at least two ends:

- a) at best the whole political structure would crumble and a bloodless socialist revolution would take place;
- b) failing this, political and social reform would be offered to the workers.

Historical precedent dictated that even if the strike collapsed rapidly then

the strikers would be asked to negotiate to reduce the chances of further strife. We need only look to the Reformation and the various wars of religion to see the force of compromise in Swiss history.

The Strike began on 12 November 1918 in response to the Army having taken up position particularly in Zurich. 107 localities were affected and about 400 000 workers came out on strike. In the face of sheer size of the movement, the Federal Council gave an ultimatum to the strike organisers and ordered out more troops. At this, the organisers gave in and ordered an end to the strike. (81)

In true Swiss tradition, however, the Socialists lost the war but won the peace. Proportional representation was introduced in 1919, followed by major social reforms over the next few years. These included the introduction of the forty-eight hour week and an extension of the social security system. (82)

The gains accruing from the General Strike were all the more remarkable for the social schisms from which it arose. The Strike appears to be the fruit of a separation between town and country. This is exemplified by the peasant-farmers association (USP) and its reactions to the workers' movement.

"Switzerland is a democracy where the right to vote is sovereign: the initiative and the referendum offer a peaceful road to change. In consequence, to strike is a crime against democracy."(83)

It is worth mentioning that among the demands of the Strikers was the enfranchising of women and the introduction of old age and survivors insurance schemes. (84) The latter, agreed by the Federal Council, took 28 years to be introduced while the former, disputed by the Council, took 54 years to reach the Federal statutes and male-female equality is still only partially in legislation.

As we shall see in Chapter 3, the social and work structures prevailing in much of the country whereby a person might, at one and the same time, be industrial worker or artisan, peasant and bourgeois may have nurtured the growth of anarchism (in, for example, the South Jura) but they militated against the growth of socialism. With its emphasis on the individual, anarchism was much more attractive than socialism with its emphasis on the group. This situation was further compounded by many of the peasants having grown fat during the War years as the price of agricultural products rose.

Thus, those areas where the workers were most distanced from the land were most ripe for socialism while primarily rural areas, which includes much of Suisse romande, were not.

Let us take the Valais as a case in point. Although unique in its own way, this Canton sufficiently resembles the rest of Suisse romande to make much of its experience on this front applicable throughout the region. The industrial unrest left Valais untouched for two reasons:

- a) Valais had extremely little industry other than small craftworks;
- b) Valais had no urban proletariat as such.

Traditionally the overwhelming majority of people possessed at least a small (sometimes very small) piece of land. Thus all levels of society were landowners and bourgeois, and streetsweepers might realistically find themselves working land next to a lawyer or even the Cantonal or Federal president. It is this context of landholding which Amherdt sees as the major reason for the non-advance of socialism in the Canton.(85)

During the Second World War the cultural tensions of the First were largely avoided through the shrewdness of the Swiss Army's Commander-in-Chief, General Henri Guisan, who by judicious propaganda was able to unite the country in a way his predecessor in 1914-18 never could.

The Jura

Probably the single most important event of the post-war years in Switzerland was the secession of Canton Jura from Canton Berne and it is with this that we close this section.

Canton Jura came into existence on 1 January 1979 (86) but this was only the latest in a series of attempted solutions to a problem whose roots can be traced back to 1528 when the Bishop of Basel, "forced to retire from the city itself at the Reformation, established his court at Porrentruy."(87)

According to Aubert,

"On the eve of the Reformation it was possible to distinguish, in the Prince-Bishop's lands, a 'Helvetic part', turned towards the Swiss Cantons, and a 'Germanic part', turned exclusively

towards the (Holy Roman) Empire. The Helvetic part contained Bienne, la Neuveville, l'Erguel. The Germanic part included notably Delémont, l'Ajoie, the Franches-Montagnes."(88)

This division, Aubert tells us, has lasted more than five centuries. It explains why the Reformers stopped in the South Jura, never making it into the North; why the North alone suffered the Thirty Years War; why the French initially annexed only the North and why when they crossed into the South, four years later, the days of the Confederation were numbered.(89)

It is perhaps also in this division that lies the explanation as to why the South Jurassians embraced anarchism in the 19th century why their Northern Catholic neighbours totally eschewed it, ie not because they found anything intrinsically amiss in anarchism but that it had found favour in the South.

The Congress of Vienna in 1815 awarded the primarily French-speaking Jura to the German-speaking and Protestant Canton of Berne as a compensation for the loss of Vaud. (90) The tensions which this aroused in the Jura eventually gave rise to a separatist movement which began organising itself seriously in the 1940s. Tensions were greatest in the North where there was least in common with the Bernese. The South Jurassians may not have shared the language of Berne but at least they shared the religion and had a long history of *combourgeoisie* with Berne. The North Jurassians shared nothing: not language, nor history nor religion. (91)

The modern history of Jurassian separatism began in earnest on 9

September 1947. On this day the Grand Council of Berne decided that the Director of Public Works could not be a monoglot Francophone.(92) The furore which ensued among the Jurassians eventually evolved into a movement for separation from Berne, a movement most strongly followed in the North. (93)

This movement, the *Rassemblement jurassien*, became increasingly bellicose and eventually moved from simple acts of vandalism (such as painting out signs in German) to more violent acts of terrorism (such as burning military barracks and blowing up property owned by anti-separatists).(94) The violent reprisals by the anti-separatists were such that talk of *Irlandisation* became common on both sides of a deepening divide.(95) In fact, a full- scale internecine conflict was only narrowly avoided though sporadic acts of violence have continued since Canton Jura came into being. (96)

Various plebiscites in the course of 1974, 1975 and 1978 finally resulted in the three most Northerly districts of the Jura gaining their independence from Berne. But these are the poorest districts and further industrial development (of, for example, the watch industry) suffers from the Canton's remoteness from Switzerland's main arterial links. (97) The four remaining districts voted to stay within Berne. Unfortunately for the new Canton, these count the most prosperous parts of the old Bernese Jura. However, the Southern Jura is Protestant and feared religious domination while the North-East Jura is Germanophone and feared forced assimilation into a Francophone culture.

Another notable effect of the painful process of Jura's detachment from Berne was that on the way French moved from being the language of a neglected minority to having equal legal footing with German. French is thus entitled to be supported as much in the Francophone schools as is German in the Germanophone schools. It is perhaps ironical that the Francophone administration has its headquarters in the hometown of one of the *Rassemblement jurassien's* leading lights. Tramelan gave birth to Roland Béguilan, despite which the town and its district voted solidly to remain in Berne.

The problem of Jura provoked a remarkable amount of international discussion - remarkable in view of the smallness of the area concerned. (98) In the 1960s and 1970s few writers seemed to believe that any situation other than one similar to Northern Ireland would result. However, while major armed conflict was only narrowly avoided, these commentators appear to have lost sight of the fact that the issues were far from even being similar to those in Northern Ireland. In fact, beyond the religious question there are no historical or even geographical resemblances between the two areas.

Dire predictions such as those made by Steiner that a separate Canton Jura would undermine the foundations of Swiss national cohesion have proved totally unfounded. Steiner bases his argument on the notion that cultural cross-cutting among the various groups which compose Switzerland is of great importance to peaceful coexistence in the country.(99) This argument

bears no little similarity to Henry Kerr's view that it is the multiplicity of cultural cleavages which holds the country together.(100) These claims however rely on a greater cultural homogeneity in Jura than probably exists and they assert that the national structure is much more fragile than seven hundred years of riding inter- and intranational storms shows to be the case.

Geographical, economic and demographic data

For the sake of conciseness, these are presented in tabular form. The tables compare data for the Cantons which form Suisse romande but include the non-Francophone parts of these Cantons. The national average for each datum is included.

Table 2.1 Aspects of land use (101)

<i>Canton</i>	<i>total area (Ha)</i>	<i>productive area (% of total)</i>	<i>area under forest (% of total)</i>	<i>population per km²</i>	<i>no. of communes</i>	<i>av. size of communes (Ha)</i>
Fribourg	166 998	88	22.2	118	260	628
Vaud	321 900	80.6	33.3	173	385	836
Valais	552 576	54	20.5	45	163	3206
Neuchâtel	79 663	83.4	36.1	197	62	1285
Geneva	28 217	66.5	9.5	1295	45	627
Jura	83 747	96.6	46.5	77	82	1021
Jura bernois	57 300 (102)	79.2#	28.#	182	53 (103)	1081 (104)
CH	4 129 315	74.4	28.7	159	3022	1363

figures for the whole of the Canton of Berne.

Table 2.2 Population data (105)

<i>Canton</i>	<i>resident population *</i>	<i>no.of private households</i>	<i>women per 1000 men</i>	<i>Catholics in %</i>	<i>Protesants in %</i>	<i>inhabitants of native tongue French German in % in %</i>	
Fribourg	200 166	61 359	990	83.2	13.6	61.4	32.3
Vaud	565 181	66 082	1 078	35.7	55.7	75.1	8.6
Valais	239 048	72 354	1 016	92.8	4.7	60.0	32.1
Neuchâtel	157 436	65 856	1 080	36.5	53.0	77.1	8.0
Geneva	371 356	156 945	1 111	51.3	30.6	64.7	9.5
Jura	64 681	22 583	1 034	83.6	13.3	85.9	6.3
Jura bernois	104 018 (106)	n/a	1 049	17.7	76.8	8.2	84.4
CH	6 619 973	2449784	1 044	47.9	44.3	18.4	65.0

* population as of 1/1/89, except for the Jura bernois where it is as of 1/1/87; except for population, all figures for the Jura bernois are those for the whole of the Canton of Berne - for reasons of wanting to avoid appearing divided into two linguistic regions, the Bernese authorities rarely release figures specific to the Jura bernois.

Table 2.3 Economic data

Canton	financial capacity index (1987 -1989) (a)(107)	taxation of income (b) (108)	Cantonal income per inhabitant (1987) (109)	Cantonal income index (1987) (110)	employment per sector in % of total workforce		
					primary	secondary	tertiary (111)
Fribourg	51	8.97	29165	85.5	13.0	38.3	47.5
Vaud	89	9.07	33250	97.4	6.4	32.0	59.5
Valais	39	8.11	26121	76.6	10.2	36.6	51.4
Neuchatel	45	8.91	29165	85.5	4.5	48.9	45.0
Geneva	161	10.18	44878	131.5	1.3	23.2	72.7
Jura	31	11.11	25690	75.3	10.7	50.7	37.2
Jura bernois	70*	8.94*	30440*	89.2*	4.2	48.3	47.5
CH	100		32934	100	6.2	38.7	53.4

* figures for entire Canton of Berne

(a) The financial capacity index is revised every two years by the Federal Council. It is based on the fiscal power of the Canton, the Cantonal income, the fiscal expenses of the Canton and the amount of mountain it contains.

(b) As the tax rate varies not only with income but also with family situation, these figures are given as example only. They concern the

percentage payable by a married person with two children whose income is Fr50000 *per annum*.

The primary sector comprises: agriculture, silviculture, fishing and hunting.

The secondary sector comprises: extractive industries, manufacturing, arts & crafts, construction and civil engineering, energy harvesting, environmental protection.

The tertiary sector comprises: service industries.

The figures given for employment do not take account of the unemployed.

According to the Federal decree which instituted financial aid to those mountainous regions whose economy is under threat, the entire Jura bernois has its economy menaced. (112)

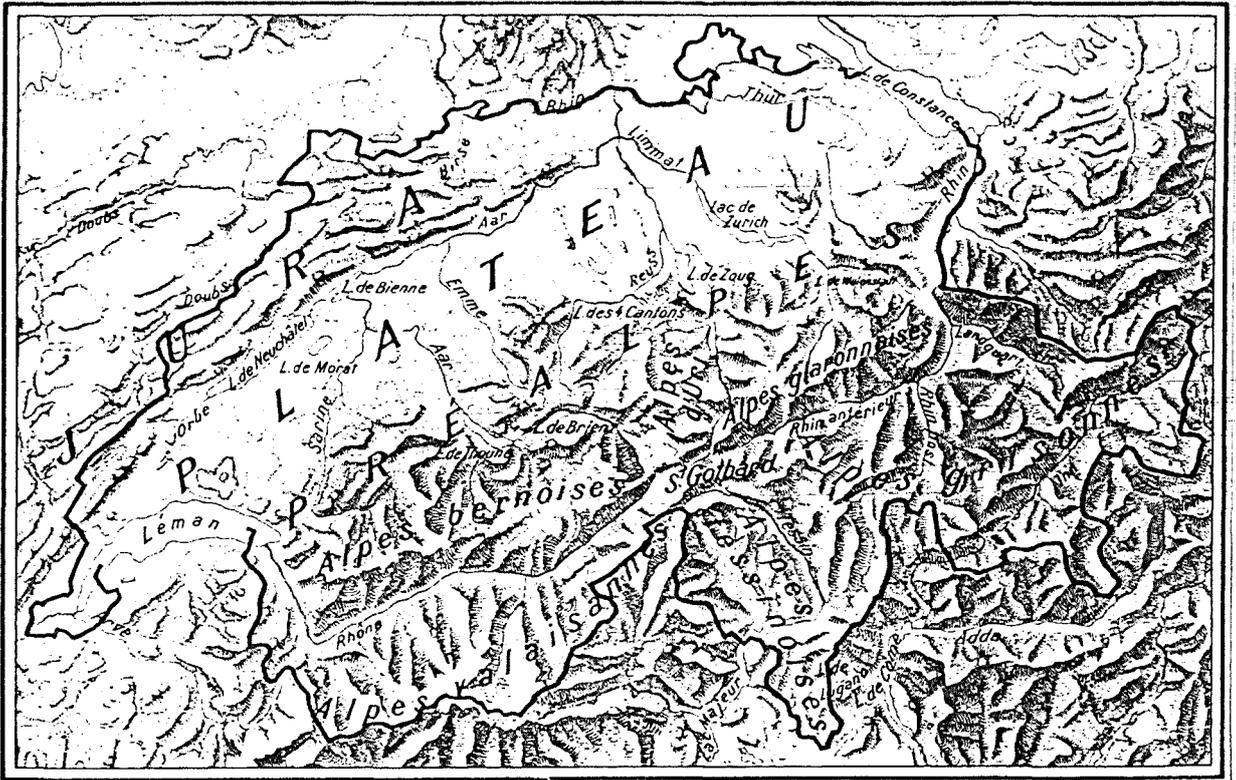


Figure 2.1 The natural regions of Switzerland (113)

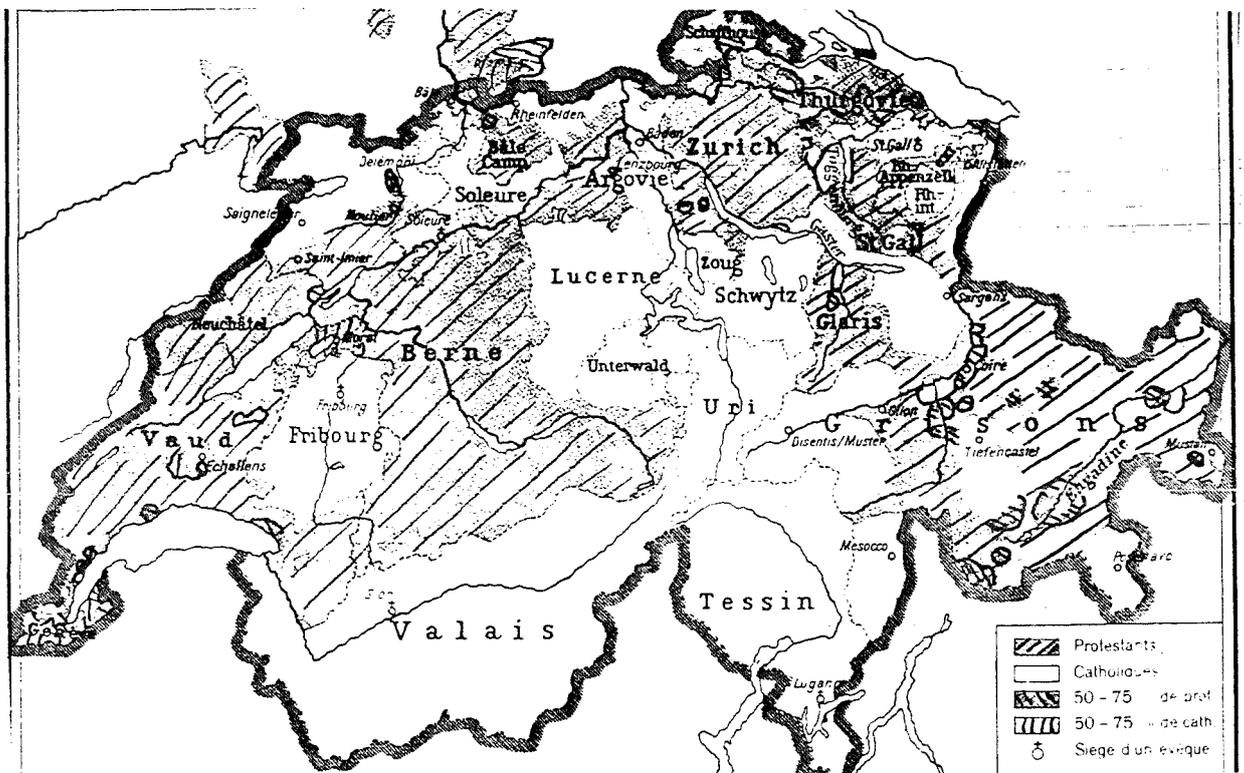


Figure 2.2 Religion in Switzerland (114)

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- 54 Jewish men were enfranchised in the 18th century but women, Jewish or Gentile, only received the vote for Federal votations in 1973. The most misogynist Canton, Appenzell Inner-Rhoden, accorded the vote to women in Cantonal and communal matters only in 1991 following a Federal Supreme Court ruling that continuing to deny women the right to these votes was unconstitutional.
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Chapter three

Further background

- introduction
- culture and identity
- social structure and politics
- Sources and notes

Introduction

This chapter divides itself into two distinct sections though the headings are such that each will naturally impinge on the other. We deal first with the culture and identity of the Romands and will seek to ascertain at least a few of the characteristics which distinguish the Romands from other Swiss and also the inhabitants of each Romand Canton from their neighbours. Secondly we shall look at the social and political structure in Suisse romande and in Switzerland.

Culture and Identity

Identity is a notoriously elusive concept whose problems are due in no small part to its possession of a dual nature: at one and the same time it is both concrete and abstract. By being felt and experienced, identity cannot but govern and be governed by much of social interaction. The problem is though how to explain what constitutes identity. The situation is further compounded by the not uncommon occurrence of multiple identity. The old cliché of "different faces for different places" may exaggerate but certainly few would deny that we bring to the fore different facets depending on the circumstances. None of this simplifies the task of describing the identity of the Romands.

A further problem which arises is that of stereotyping. In discussing how a group identifies itself from other groups we run the continual risk of sinking into cliché or even racism. Bearing this in mind, we shall attempt here to construct a sketch of identity in Suisse romande. This is not an in-depth sociological analysis but, like the other background sections, it will, it is

hoped, provide a backdrop and context for the rest of this work.

The most obvious difference between the Romands and their compatriots is that of language. The language divide creates an invisible set of internal frontiers to such an extent that crossing *outré-Sarine* is like entering another world. With the exceptions of some public functionaries' uniforms, the shops seen and the money used, everything changes. The *feel* of the place is different. Even the coffee tastes different.(1)

The role of *Schwyzertütsch* in Suisse alémanique reinforces this feeling of foreignness (from a Romand point of view). The Alémaniques may all learn High German at school but this becomes their *Schriftdeutsch* and their language remains dialect (or *Mundhart*) . These dialects are in fact more akin to separate languages and, while the larger of them may show much resemblance to High German, the smaller ones are as foreign to the average Swiss German as they would be to, say, an Anglophone.(2) As Steinberg remarks:

"More than any other single factor, dialect makes it hard to get 'inside' (German) Switzerland." (3)

The isolation engendered by this multiplicity of dialects is underlined by Brachetto. The Romands and Alémaniques are reported to be growing linguistically further apart. Fewer of each group are learning the other's language to any degree of proficiency - 65% of Romands are said to know *nothing* of Schwyzertütsch beyond the inevitable *Grüzi* (ie ciao).(4)

Unlike their Alémanique and Ticinese compatriots, the French spoken by the Romands shows no great degree of dialectic divergence from the French of the French, allowing for the same local variations of the odd expression. The only common divergence from French French lies in numbers: the Romands, like the Belgians, count entirely in base 10. Thus 70, 80 and 90 are rendered *septante*, *huitante* and *nonante* as compared to the French *soixante-dix*, *quatre-vingts* and *quatre-vingts-dix*. Beyond this, the only notable differences between French French and that of the Romands is in the Romand use of the odd German phrase or antiquated term. Two examples suffice to illustrate this: a Valaisan may amuse his friends with a *Witz* (ie *blague*) while the Neuchâtelois replace *stationnement interdit* with *mis au ban*.

Until recently (5) Franco-Provençal dialects were the languages of the mass of Romand peasants. Bjerrome reported in 1957 that the Patois were alive and thriving in the Gruyère, the Vaudois Alps, the Jura and the Valais.(6) Thirty years later, the Patois survives as a language of daily use only in the region of Valais around the village of Evolène.(7) Thus, unlike their compatriots whose dialect is generally a function of their place of upbringing, the Romands must look beyond language to define their cultural identity.

Given the near-uniformity of French in Suisse romande it is not surprising that the Alémaniques are said to view Suisse romande as a cultural unit.(8) A few examples will demonstrate the extent to which this view is based on myth.

We saw in chapter 2 the effect of the Reformation on Suisse romande. Geneva became an isolated island of Protestantism until the Bernese forcibly converted Vaud. Jura formed a refuge for the Bishop of Basel. Neuchâtel reformed quickly while Fribourg and Valais remained faithful to Rome. This situation encouraged the growth of divergent cultures and consequently distinct identities.

However not all writers agree that there is any regional specificity to identity in Suisse romande. The Genevan Département d'instruction publique's commission of 1978 *Egalisation des Chances*, for example, recognises

"the existence of *regional cultures* (without defining or delimiting the concept of *regional*)... (and) then explains that *regional identity* no longer exists in a society made uniform by mass communications since (that society) has become culturally homogeneous as the example of native language demonstrates."(9)(italics in original)

Further comments on this:

"One can only be amazed at such a conclusion which denies the evidence in a national situation where regional diversity and identity are just about the pillars of our political reality."(10)

The Commission's claim also makes one wonder just what definition of identity they had in mind which allows them to separate culture from identity and assert that the one could be uniform but not the other.

A further encouragement toward uniqueness comes from the topography of each Canton and its relations with its neighbours. It goes without saying that mountains breed different traditions and cultures from the plateau while, as we saw in chapter 2, until comparatively recently, the pacts, alliances and power relations which held the Cantons together were of such diversity and complexity that no Canton came near to repeating its relationship to another with a third.

According to Fischer and Trier:

"A Suisse romand feels... a sense of belonging to the Suisse romand and *as such Swiss*."(11)(italics in original)

We shall endeavour to show in this section that the sense of Romand identity comes through several layers: that the Romand sees himself and his culture as that of his commune, then of the area around the commune, then of his Canton, then perhaps of Suisse romande and finally as Swiss.(12) The Russian doll is a simple but appropriate metaphor for this model. We must not however lose sight of the overlay of French culture and we deal with this aspect shortly. The historical growth of the region has been such that in any particular commune religious belief and observance was, until recent years, fairly uniform and this reinforced the initial identification with the commune. Increased mobility has meant, especially in the larger cities, increased religious mixing. Geneva has seen its proportion of Protestants consistently decline as *confédérés* and foreigners move in.(13) Rural areas, such as the Valais, have largely maintained their religious homogeneity

- foreign immigrants to Valais being primarily Italian and Spanish Catholics.

We shall attempt to show later in this chapter that our postulate is reflected in the social and power structures in Suisse romande.

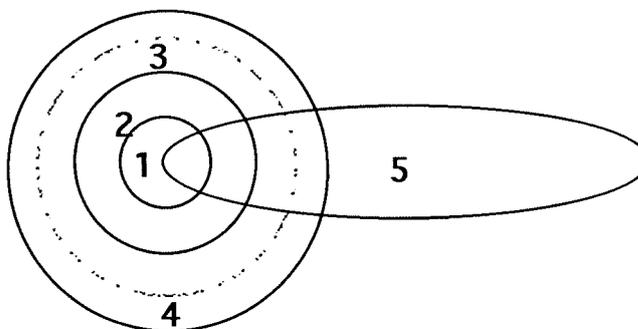
The postulate is borne out by the very local nature of Romand newspapers. Not only are these specific in terms of readership and what is defined as local news to the Canton of origin but often also to a single commune or a small groups of communes. The only exceptions to this are *Tribune le Matin* and *la Suisse* whose Sunday editions sell throughout Suisse romande. Steinberg exemplifies this local specifism with the case of the very serious *Gazette de Lausanne* and its Genevan counterpart the *Journal de Genève* who, although scarcely able to survive through low circulation, took until 1991 to finally merge despite being identical in more than 80% of their content since 1976. As Steinberg puts it:

"Apparently the world looks very different in Geneva and in Lausanne."(14)

Through the French language comes a major outside influence on Romand culture. The rising star of French culture under Louis XIV influenced Swiss aristocracy and set in motion the process which culminated in French supplanting the Patois as the language of the common people in Suisse romande. The pull of French culture has been reinforced by the use of French texts (15) and the arrival throughout the region of French television. French television stations are widely available either directly from France or through a widening network of cable television. Similarly, French

literature swamps that of Suisse romande through its volume and diversity.

In spite of this, the Romand maintains an attachment to his/her commune - an attachment which tends to remain even if s/he moves elsewhere. In some respects this is not dissimilar to the nostalgia which emigrants generally feel for their place of origin and is perhaps just an aspect of homesickness. However while the Scots Highlander is both Highland and Scottish, an person from Isérable (a village in Valais) is Isérablais and *hence* Romand. The French for their part tend to be French first and then, say, Lyonnais. This is in keeping with a long tradition of heavily centralised government. Likewise, in keeping with decentralisation, the Romand belongs first to his commune. Figure 3.1 illustrates this postulate of identity structure by means of Venn diagrams.



- 1 commune
- 2 Canton
- 3 Suisse romande
- 4 Switzerland
- 5 overlay of French culture

Figure 3.1 A model of Romand identity

It is perhaps the inversion of the identity structure in Suisse romande *vis-à-vis* the identity structure in France which has helped the Romands maintain their multiplicity of cultures and hence identities in the face of their large and powerful neighbour. The following examples typify the divergence in socio-cultural priorities between the Romands (and Swiss in general) and most other countries. The Swiss have no well-known national anthem (*cf La Marseillaise* which is known to every French person and at least in parts to every Francophone in Europe). Swiss presidents, be they Federal, Cantonal or Communal, are unknown to the mass of the people. A rotating Federal presidency does not help this. The French however change government almost as frequently as the Swiss do president (which is once each year) but French media and the emphasis on personalities are such that each entering Prime Minister is massively exposed to public attention while Swiss presidents at all levels slip by almost unnoticed and this with very few exceptions.

In conclusion, Suisse romande exists as a linguistic area. To its inhabitants, Romandie, as newspapers such as Lausanne's *24 Heures* like to term the area, has no cohesion except when the occasional political expediency arises (such as harmonising the school year or collaborating over school programs etc). This in itself helps explain the unpopularity of the name, given its tones of unity and uniformity, while Suisse romande remains acceptable - emphasising, as it does, that the area is Swiss and Romand rather than existing on its own.

To the Alémaniques, however, the area seems to be viewed as the culturally fairly homogenous *Welschland* (16) which, Vouga tells us, is often simply

ignored by the Alémanique media. (17)

As an entity, Suisse romande's only blood consists of a common language with perfusions of a foreign and yet familiar neighbouring culture. The region has no capital and no over-riding cultural centre. However, with the possible exception of the Jura, each Canton leads the country in something, be it watchmaking, banking, beer or skiing. The Cantons are not equal, economically or otherwise, but none is under the thumb of another. How long they will remain so under, if nothing else, the unifying blanket of French media we can only wait and see. Certainly, Vouga fears that this might even lead to what he terms a *substitution of identity* though he does imply that this can avoided if recognised in time.(18) As we shall see in Chapter 4, economic necessity and a desire to move away from French curricula have encouraged the Romands to collaborate in producing school texts. But will this suffice to stem the tide? Unlike their Alémanique compatriots who have their multitude of dialect barriers which allow them to maintain a visible vestige of native culture in the face of German media, the Romand only has the strength of tradition. Paris has always exerted a pull on the educated Romand and it is far from inconceivable that Romand cultures and identities will move closer to France and things French (19). There again, perhaps the very vagueness and lack of definition of Romand cultures and identities will be their saviour. While the Alémaniques fear the death of their smaller dialects through the use of major dialects in the media and the cultural modification this will bring with it (20), the Romands have a unified tongue and are thus immune to culture modifications through linguistic intrusions. Doubtless, the cultures will change and the identity with it. It can only be hoped that the

Romand uniqueness will survive. Vague and undefinable as they are, Romand cultures may be hard to undermine but they are also hard to defend.

Social Structure and Politics

The outside observer may be forgiven for thinking Romand society to be a seamless robe or for seeing the Swiss as divided only into language blocks. The Swiss give an impression of bourgeois solidity and general middle-classness. They may appear to share the same virtues, ethics and vices at all levels of society.

In this section we shall briefly examine this view and question its validity in terms of the social structure in Suisse romande and see how this structure is reflected in politics and in the Romand identity.

"In 1840 about 80% of all Swiss owned their bit of land."(21)

This was as true in Suisse romande in the 19th century as it was in the rest of the country. Industrialisation however with the concomitant growth in urban concentration and service industries soon shifted more and more workers into the conurbations. Major differences existed (and still do) between the Cantons and these are reflected in both the observed and felt social structures.

Industrialisation began in Valais in 1914 with the opening of the aluminium smelter at Chippis near Sierre. The workers attracted were primarily land-owning peasants who, through a combination of spare time farming and

delegation of the farming to the rest of the family, sought to earn concurrently from full-time farms and full-time industrial work.(22) This particular combination appears to be one of the reasons why there seems to be no overt social stratification in Valais. Ahmerdt holds it to be responsible for the non-advance of socialism in Valais in the years following World War I.(23) The peasant-industrial worker may have been in very similar work conditions to his uniquely industrial compatriots elsewhere but as he returned to his farm he returned to being bourgeois. Land-ownership in Valais was, and still is, relatively common. In fact, some communes, such as Isérables, go so far as to give their citizens (or *bourgeois*) a small, indeed very small, piece of land. Incidentally a Swiss's "commune of origin" is that commune to which the paternal line of ancestry may be traced. Exception is made only in the case of Swiss children of a foreign father where the wife cannot assume the husband's commune since he does not have one! Thus, this writer's children are *originaires d'Isérables* since he is British and his wife's father's family originated in Isérables. The commune of origin fulfills more than a symbolic role since it is here that all documents relating to citizenship are kept.

Possession and working of land as a common social thread cross-cuts domains which would otherwise tend to diverge. This widespread land-ownership also contradicts any notion that either peasants are poor or land-owners rich. In Valais it is quite conceivable for the street-sweeper to work the fields next to those of the Cantonal or even Federal president.

The multifaceted peasant is also notable in the Jura, Bern and Neuchâtel.

The industrial lynchpin in these Cantons remains watch-making - now showing signs of a permanent recovery after the slump of the 1970s. Unlike their Valaisan compatriots, the Jurassiens, Bernese and Neuchâtelois peasants are most occupied by cottage industries. In this respect they are not too dissimilar to Scottish crofters. Unlike the crofter however these peasants own the land they work.

This tradition of peasant-artisan-bourgeois dates back to at least the 18th century when the manufacture of watches and other fine instruments became common in this part of Suisse romande. (24) Like many cottage industries elsewhere, these depended on the system of "putting out". The capitalist who controlled the various workers was, according to Steinberg, more of a kind of go-between who directly employed very few people to conduct the final assembly.(25) Even as late as 1980 the overwhelming majority of businesses in the watchmaking and jewellery industries employed less than 100 persons. Over half of them employed between 1 and 5 persons.(26)

This extreme decentralisation meant (and still means) that while proletarian work and social conditions existed there was little class consciousness.(27)

As Masnata put it:

"(These workers) lived in isolation, without contacts, and considered themselves more as artisans than as workers... An abyss separated these "workers" from the proletarians of the big cities of Europe."(28)

The independence of spirit and yet dependency on the capitalist system

enchanted Kropotkin who admired the literacy and intelligence of the Jurassien watchmakers he visited in May 1871.(29) Kropotkin noted that the watchmakers were federalist in principle and though bound by circumstance to capitalism espoused anarchism with a rare fervour. (30)

Throughout Suisse romande (and indeed Switzerland) 19th century economic development concentrated on the establishment of small units - these incidentally were generally too small to fall under existing factory legislation. (31) Small units imply a level of intimacy with those in control unheard of in a large factory. As a result, the industrial dichotomy which is a necessary precursor to the growth of class consciousness rarely took place. Anarchism gained more acceptance than socialism but it was anarchism in which nothing generally happened beyond discussions. To overthrow the system was either to abolish one's own stake in capitalism or to abolish the stake of a boss who was as far from the distant Victorian factory owner of 19th century Britain as can be imagined.

The General Strike of 1918 mobilised a major part of the industrial working class and, as we saw in Chapter 2, thoroughly shook the ruling class. Socialism had seen considerable growth in the urban areas and the form of proportional representation (the d'Hondt system of multiple transferable vote) introduced in 1919 made the Socialists one of the four main parties in the Federal Parliament. It also killed off the anarchists. (32) The dilemma which saw off the anarchists was simply that with as much participative democracy as in Switzerland, coupled with the workers having a powerful voice in the National Parliament, to abstain from voting was self-destructive

while to vote meant accepting the system.

The identification of the Romand first with his commune and eventually through to the country which we postulated above is reflected in the micro-capitalism described above. Intimacy with the work and the product leads, as Japanese industrialists have demonstrated, to a feeling of possessing the process and the product whether or not one is the owner. By the nature of capitalism the product must make its way into the world to be sold and new orders must be sought. Thus the identity of the Romand worker as a worker began with the process in which he was employed and thence out into the economic system. He did not, as his contemporaries appear to have done, see himself first as a class member and hence as a particular kind of worker.

Major myths grow out of this scenario and these are important here. There is the myth that the Swiss, rich and poor, share the same world view and ideals. The boss is presented as sharing the social class of his most poorly paid worker. The general absence of class conflict and a relatively dull political scene bear this out. Unfortunately it falls down at the first push:

If Switzerland were entirely middle-class there would be no correlation between social class (in terms of the parents' employment) and educational attainment. As Walo Hutmacher has found in Geneva, this is not the case.(33)

This fact alone shows the flaws in the theory that Romand society is a seamless robe. The nature of the Romand identity, discussed earlier, further undermines this theory.

Kerr postulates that, far from presenting an effectively monomorphic aspect, Swiss society is riven by social cleavages which cut and cross-cut in every direction.(34) Although the sample upon which he bases his analysis is, especially in the Romand case, so limited in size that one might reasonably suspect its statistical validity (35), his postulate viewed purely on a socio-historical basis seems to hold water.

The growth of the Confederation has been such that the independence of the local area has often been of paramount importance. Depending on the moment in history, that local area might be defined as the commune, singly or with its neighbours, or the Canton. Schisms litter Swiss society. Two of the more obvious are the religious and linguistic divides which bear no relation to each other. Rather, they cross-cut and to some extent tend to balance each other. Even industrial development which until this century was effectively split between the industrialised Protestants and the rural Catholics has tended to level out. This is not only through industrial growth in Catholic Cantons but also through increases in the Catholic population of former Protestant strongholds such as Lausanne and Geneva.

Suisse romande presents a picture of social structure which is at best fuzzy. The overt stratification of, for example, the United Kingdom is absent. Instead there are myriads of local cultures to which all in each area concerned appear to subscribe.

The grip of local culture is such that one of the criteria for naturalisation is

degré d'acculturation. It must be mentioned that in becoming Swiss one must first be accepted into a commune. Only by becoming bourgeois of a commune might one become citizen of the Canton and hence Swiss.(36) In this respect, despite the inscription on Swiss passports that the holder is a Swiss citizen there is in fact no such thing!

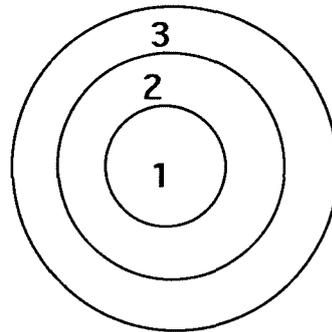
Very few eligible foreigners in Switzerland ever apply for citizenship, about 1% according to Maillard and Ossipow. This, they write, is due in no small part to the problem of having to choose between the very localised citizenship of a Swiss Commune and often that of a supra-national organisation such as the EC. (37)

The seriousness with which acculturation is taken was very successfully parodied in the 1970s by the Swiss German film *der Schweizermacher* which did what it set out to do so well that attempts were made to have it banned as an insult to the Confederation.

An overt stratification is not only easy to spot but presents itself for attempts at modification. On the other hand, a covert stratification, by its will o' the wisp nature, is much less open to change. The question must be asked here whether the lack of overt class structure in Switzerland is not responsible for the maintenance and possible immutability of the actual class structure. Creating the myth that everyone is middle-class and actually promoting this notion - whether deliberately or not - neatly circumvents the division of society so evident in much of the rest of Europe.

However, that Swiss society is stratified is exemplified by the one experience that most Swiss men have in common - the Army. As Steinberg makes clear, Swiss officers and Swiss senior executives tend to be one and the same group.(38) This view is based on a report, stolen from Border Division 2, which appeared in *National-Zeitung* and which gave the civilian occupations of the Division's entire officer corps. The officers numbered no workers in their ranks. Therefore, were the officers in the upper social classes (ie classes 1 and 2 of the British social class classification) because they were officers or *vice versa*? It is hard to believe that this situation arose through sheer chance. Steinberg claims that this attitude of looking to the *classe dirigeante* for military leadership runs through Swiss history from the Confederation's very founding.(39) This of course is far from unique to Switzerland but it is perhaps surprising in a country which prides itself on so much and so long a history of apparent grass-roots democracy.

Were Switzerland really classless (ie of one class) then the occupations held by the officers would span the work spectrum. Instead "professionals" provide the officer corps. The assumption seems to be that he who is able to become a professional is also equipped with the wherewithal to become an officer (or *vice versa*) but on what basis? Leadership skills are not the prerogative of any particular group nor are the organisational attributes an officer needs. However we see an apparent belief both on the part of the military authorities and of those attempting to become officers that this is not a task for the workers, no matter how well-qualified or able they might be. Thus, according to Steinberg, the workers do not try to be officers and the army does not seek them out.



- 1 communal government
- 2 Cantonal government
- 3 Federal government

Figure 3.2 Government in Switzerland

The micro-capitalism which did so much to shape Swiss social structure is reflected in the political structure. Just as the basic work unit was very small and created a close identification with the system in which it functioned the basic political unit of the commune has only in the larger towns grown beyond the point of close intimacy. The forms of participative democracy which the Swiss have developed have aided this intimacy in surviving by creating a situation where anyone who is of a mind to can try to directly change a political aspect of their commune (or Canton or even the country). Needless to say, it is easier to amend the laws and regulations of the commune via the referendum or popular initiative than it is to amend those of the Canton or country.

The forms of participative democracy adopted by the Swiss are effectively unique in the industrialised world. As such, it has developed a mythology of its own and it is worth spending a few moments considering this.

Myths, according to Grant and Bell, have two main functions - to explain and to justify. They can also be used as "an ideological or conceptual shorthand, obscuring the need for argument, analysis or definition." (40) Thus, for example, the notion that Swiss democracy is built from the ground up (41), as *appears* to be the case from the theory of Swiss democracy, is a myth, which, like the best myths, contains elements of truth but is, in mythical fashion, divorced from present-day reality. The social polarisation which we saw in the General Strike would have been impossible had the myth been true. More importantly, however, the myth ignores the power of overt and covert hegemonies.

These hegemonies include industrial and commercial groups (termed "the Swiss Barons" by the polemicising sociologist Jean Ziegler (42)) and which use their cash and other influences to gain votes in those issues that they favour. Hoesli and Péclet mention as a case of this the last vote on a Federal decree concerning agriculture in which, as they ironically put it, "the Co-op did not play a minor role." (43)

Participative democracy is claimed as an integral part of the Swiss political identity to such an extent that orators on the Swiss National Day (1 August) often eulogise it. (44) Unfortunately, even ignoring economic and other milieux attempting to influence the vote, Swiss grass-roots democracy suffers consistently from apathy. Elections and other votations occur with amazing regularity and as possible consequence of this those who vote range from a third to only a half of the electorate. In the entire history of Swiss

participative democracy, out of over 200 Federal referenda, on only five occasions have more than 80% of the Federal electorate voted.(45)

We must distinguish between the two forms of participative democracy in Switzerland which, as we shall see, can cause confusion to outside observers.

The oldest is the referendum. This is required for all partial or complete revisions of the Constitution and may also be used for Federal laws, Federal decrees and some international treaties. In the latter cases, it is used, generally, following a petition by 50 000 voters whose signatures have been gathered within 90 days.(46)

The popular initiative is required following petition by 100 000 voters gathered within 18 months. The initiative may demand any revision of the Constitution but not Federal laws.(47) It must be mentioned that an initiative could be phrased in such a way as to render a law unconstitutional.

Where the Constitution is involved, an article, by referendum or initiative, must be accepted by both a majority of those who vote and a majority of the Cantons. There is no required quorum.

According to Miles:

"In Switzerland, since the mid-1960s, the state has regularly organised referenda on the question of the desirability of the expulsion of migrant workers."(48)

It is true that there have been several votations on this subject but only as a result of popular initiatives. The reality is therefore not concordant with Miles' apparent insinuation that the Federal government suffers from chronic or recurrent xenophobia. In fact, on each occasion the Federal Council, recognising that the country would collapse without foreign workers, recommended rejection. Assuming no malicious intent on Miles' part, this example serves to show how easy it is to fall into confusion over Swiss democracy - confusion made all the easier if one fails to recognise that the State is charged with *organising* the vote even if it did not *initiate* the process leading to the vote. (49)

The Cantons and the communes also have the referendum and the initiative but the rules for application vary much from place to place. Naturally the numbers needed to initiate the processes are much lower than in the Federal case though these vary, depending largely on the electorate concerned.

The communal movement, inspired in Suisse romande by the declaration of semi-independence of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwald in 1291, no doubt played a role in the development of the particularly Swiss forms of participative democracy but this movement was dependent on the area's topography and the severe communications difficulties which existed in Winter over much of the area. Communes grew as separate entities, not as arbitrarily decided administrative zones. Even now, it is rare for communes to merge though the smaller ones are often obliged to work together to fulfill their responsibilities for, for example, compulsory schooling.

The next level of government is the Canton and it is this which forms the main working unit for the running of the country. The Canton is legally responsible for almost everything affecting its inhabitants except foreign relations and defence. That the Cantons are independent political units is demonstrated by the case of Appenzell Inner-Rhoden which, until 1991, persisted in refusing women the vote in Communal and Cantonal matters (50).

The Federal Government composes a bicameral parliament and an executive Federal Council. The former is modelled closely on the USA's Senate and House of Representatives while the latter is a Swiss version of the President and the Secretaries of State. Members of the Federal Council are elected by both Houses of Parliament sitting together (hence forming the *Assemblée nationale*) and remain in office for a four year term. However as those who wish to remain on the Council are seldom thrown out of office (51) it is rare for more than one or two places to need filling at a time. (52)

Custom has it that one councillor be from Zurich, one from Bern, one from Vaud (53) and two from Suisse romande. In addition, the main political parties, the two principal linguistic groups and both Catholicism and Protestantism must customarily be represented. (54) The Presidency and Vice-Presidency are tasks taken on in rotation for one year at a time. The President has very limited powers, even in an emergency, and seems to exist if for no other reason but that visiting dignitaries can meet one person rather than seven.

Parliament meets for a few weeks at a time several times a year and these assemblies are generally very unheated affairs. Exceptions do occur and usually the more vitriolic debates are concerned with Cantons feeling their independence to be threatened. A case in point was the finally successful attempt to harmonise the school year. In this the Romand Cantons united in promoting a start in Autumn while the Alémaniques inclined more towards Spring. After much verbal violence the Romands won over their compatriots.

Sociologically it is interesting that Swiss politics shows little major splitting along confessional or linguistic lines. This said, the confessional cleavage which was previously important has declined while a linguistic cleavage has begun to show itself.⁽⁵⁵⁾ In fact, in 1986, 48.1% of Genevans were without an opinion on the possible nomination of a Catholic archbishop in Geneva while in 1989 62% of Swiss reckoned that Protestants and Catholics should form a single church. ⁽⁵⁶⁾ This reinforces our postulate on identity - a Romand identity appears to be developing further as the primacy of the confessional identity declines. Should this linguistic cleavage, which obviously cross-cuts social classes and religious attitudes, continue to grow then this may not augur well for the country as a whole. The Romands have until now suffered more division than unity. A rapprochement among them could lead to a deepening of the cultural gulf between Suisse romande and Suisse alémanique. From there, given another recession more severe than the last, and even in as politically inert a region as Suisse romande the growth of a separatist movement is far from unimaginable. This is the constant danger of pluralist societies but, who knows, perhaps in the end the general apathy of the Swiss to things political may turn out to an asset.

Sources and Notes

- 1 This is mentioned to exemplify the regional specificism of many even mundane foodstuffs. Incidentally, as one goes north in Switzerland the coffee gets weaker and weaker. That is, except in the Jura which still bases its food more on the French than on its Bernese and Baseler neighbours.
- 2 *Oberwallisertütsch* is a case in point. It is a dialect of the High Alemann spoke by the 8th century invaders and is roundly held by other Schwyzertütsch to be incomprehensible. However, even Oberwallisertütsch shows such divergence within itself that villagers even as little as ten kilometres apart will maintain that they have the greatest difficulty in understanding each other and will often resort to High German to communicate with each other.
- 3 Steinberg, Jonathan (1976): **Why Switzerland?** (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press) p105
- 4 Brachetto, Roland (1986): "All out for mutual understanding" in **Swiss Review** 3/88 September 1988 pp6-7
- 5 Favre, Adéline (1982): **Moi, Adéline, Accoucheuse** (Sierre, Edition monographiques) Faure tells how as she grew up in a Valaisan village the Patois was the *lingua franca* for the district. She also gives examples of the language to demonstrate its distance from French.
- 6 Bjerrome, Gunnar (1957): **Le Patois de Bagnes (Valais)** (Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell) p10
- 7 Zuffrey, Alain-R (1989): "Evolène - an Island of Dialect" in **Swiss Review** 4/89 December 1989 pp11-12
- 8 Steinberg *op cit* p118
- 9 Furter, Pierre (1983): **Les Espaces de la Formation** (Lausanne, Presses polytechniques romandes) p16

- 10 *ibid*
- 11 Quoted in Kerr, Henry H (1974): **Switzerland: Social Cleavages and Partisan Conflict** (London, SAGE) p22
- 12 Bergier describes the growth of the closely bound communities of the Innerschweiz in terms of a close geographical association made even closer by the need to cooperate in order to market produce. Documents relating to the growth of communes are thin on the ground but there appears no *prima face* reason why the communes of Suisse romande should not have developed their initial historical identity in a similar manner. See: Bergier, Jean-François (1988): **Guillaume Tell** (? , Fayard) p204
- 13 Steiner, Jurg (1974): **Amicable agreement versus majority rule** (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press) p257 quotes the 1970 census which gave the Genevan Protestants as 38% of the Canton's population.
- 14 Steinberg *op cit* p119
- 15 When the writer's wife was studying for her *Maturité* in Valais in the late 1970s the history studied was French, the mathematics used French texts and the literature was overwhelmingly French.
- 16 Vouga, Jean-Pierre (1978): **Romands, Alémaniques, Tessinois** (Neuchâtel, A la Bacconnière) p14.
- Vouga (p16) gives the etymology of the term *Welsch* as being the Germanic pronunciation of the word *Celt* while, he tells us, this same word was Latinised to give *Gallus, Gaulois, Gallois* and *Wallon*. This we can compare with the British cases of *Welsh, Gaelic* and *Gàidhlig*.
- 17 *ibid* p34

- 18 *ibid* p113
- 19 *ibid* p62
- 20 Gut, Walter (1988): "Way to Isolation?" in **Swiss Review** 3/88
September 1988 pp4-5
- 21 Luck, J Murray (1985): **History of Switzerland** (Palo Alto,
SPOSS) p441
- 22 Favre *op cit*
- 23 Ahmerdt, Charles-H, Conseiller-psychologue, Lycée-Collège des
Creusets, Sion - interviewed 17/10/88
- 24 Luck *op cit* p248
- 25 Steinberg *op cit* p132
- 26 Luck *op cit* p592
- 27 Steinberg *op cit* p132
- 28 Masnata quoted in Steiner, Jurg *op cit* p55
- 29 Steinberg *op cit* p133
- 30 *ibid* pp132-133
- 31 *ibid* p134
- 32 *ibid* p135
- 33 Hutmacher, Walo (1985): "Enrolment of Foreign Children in Schools
in Switzerland" in **Immigrants' Children at School** (Paris,
CERI)

- 34 Kerr *op cit passim*
- 35 *ibid* p21 gives the sample number as 315 while on p11 one group numbers only 52 people. No information is given as to how the samples were drawn and therefore the only recourse is to discount the statistical "evidence" on offer and view the article as an expression of Kerr's experience of the Swiss, their cultures and history. Of note is that at the time of writing, Kerr was a lecturer at the University of Geneva.
- 36 Steinberg *op cit* p57
- 37 Maillard, Nadja & Ossipow, Laurence (1988): "Rester étranger en Suisse" in *Info* 21 no 5 juin 1988 p5
- 38 Steinberg *op cit* p168
- 39 *ibid* p169. For his part, Bergier makes the point that in Swiss legends the heros always come from the ruling class (*la classe des chefs*). He takes as a classic of this genre the subject of the book in question, namely William Tell. According to Bergier, the very fact that Tell employed a cross-bow sets him apart from the ordinary peasants - the cross-bow being not only very expensive but also demanding a high degree of instruction and training on the part of the user. See: Bergier *op cit* pp100-103
- 40 Bell, Robert & Grant, Nigel (1974): **A Mythology of British Education** (St Albans, Panther) pp129-130
- 41 Huber, Hans (1974): **How Switzerland is Governed** (Zurich, Schweizer Spiegel Verlag) p18
- 42 Ziegler, Jean (1978): **Switzerland Exposed** (London, Allison & Busby) pp17-34

- 43 Hoesli, Eric & Péclet, Jean-Claude (1990): "La démocratie directe: est-elle dépassée?" in *L'Hebdo* no29 19 juillet 1990 p11
- 44 *ibid* p10
- 45 Aubert, Jean-François (1983): **Exposé des institutions politiques de la Suisse** 2nd edition (Lausanne, Payot) pp264-265
- 46 *ibid* pp253-254
- 47 *ibid* p255
- 48 Miles, Robert (1986): **State, Racism and Migration** (Glasgow, University of Glasgow) p21
- 49 This is not the only misunderstanding of the Swiss of which Robert Miles is guilty. For example, in 1986, he described to Glasgow University conference on minorities and language that Schwytzertütsch speakers formed a minority in Switzerland. It is true that each individual Schwytzertütsch is in the minority but collectively they form, as we have seen, over two-thirds of the country's population.
- 50 Having voted against suffrage for women in the Federal referendum of 1971, this Canton refused to allow women to vote, except in Federal elections and votations (a). Ten years later, in 1981, equal rights for women were voted in by referendum. Appenzell Inner-Rhoden still refused women the vote. In 1989 one of this half-Canton's women citizens began an action in the Federal Supreme Court asking the Court to rule whether sexual discrimination was unconstitutional (b). In April 1990, the Landsgemeinde of Appenzell Inner-Rhoden again voted against suffrage for women in what appears to be flagrant disregard for the Federal constitution. However late in 1991 the Supreme Court announced its judgment and ordered Appenzell Inner-Rhoden to abide by the Federal Constitution or face unspecified consequences.

see: a Luck *op cit* p821 and
b Hürler, Elizabeth (1989): "A close scrutiny of a year..." in **Swiss Review** 3/89 September 1989 pp4-5

51 Steinberg *op cit* p84

52 Luck *op cit* p720

53 Huber *op cit* p50

54 Luck *op cit* p720

55 Kerr *op cit* p16

56 Campiche, Roland (1989): "L'affaire des diocèses: Pièce montée par les médias où test de la permanences des identifications confessionnelles?" in **Info** 21 no8 juin 1989 p8

Chapter four

Public school education

- **introduction**
- **control & power**
- **the end of compulsory school**
the structure of the end of compulsory school (a, b, c);
concluding remarks
- **the tenth year of school**
- **post-compulsory school**
écoles de degré diplôme;
diplôme de commerce;
Maturité
- **teacher training**
training in Normal Schools;
training in pedagogical institutes;
training secondary teachers
- **conclusion**

Introduction

The ultimate purpose of this chapter is to describe and discuss post-compulsory schooling in Suisse romande. However, to render this more meaningful it is first necessary to describe and discuss the last stages of compulsory school in each Canton. This not only allows us to see the process through which pupils feed into the upper stages of school but also to set the scene from which pupils feed into apprenticeship and other forms of further education (to be discussed in Chapter Five).

As we have discussed in Chapter 3 the general political structure of Switzerland, it is appropriate to include here some discussion of power and control over schooling in the Cantons. The same agencies of control may or may not be active in further education but it is school which occupies not only the most staff and pupils and the most cash (in fact the greater part of each region's budget) but it is also the most important part from a *political* point of view. An area must live with and largely by the products of its schools, not forgetting that their students' performance in further education may well be heavily influenced by their school experience. Thus it is important to see just to what extent the Cantons, as providers of the cash necessary, can decide what is taught in schools and how. It is with this that the chapter opens.

Control & Power

The Federal Constitution lays down that

"The autonomy of the Cantons in the field of education shall be upheld in every case."⁽¹⁾

This autonomy is ferociously held onto as was demonstrated in 1985 by the near physical fights in the Federal Parliament over when the school year should start. The Romands supported a start in Autumn while the Alémaniques sought in general a uniform start in Spring. Much to the surprise of observers, it was eventually the Romand idea which won the day though not without much argument and verbal violence.

The situation of the Cantons with regard to education has some comparability with that of the West German *Länder* in the education field. According to Mitter,

"Education in the Federal Republic of Germany is directly linked to the Weimar past....Before 1933 the Länder on the one hand utilised their legislative and executive power in making laws and issuing decrees the contents of which were frequently charatcerised by a regard for specific regional customs and denominational particularities. On the other hand the economic and socio-political background, and the common moral values were a solid safeguard against any radical divergency." (2)

Thus the Länder are sovereign in education though, while they demonstrate this from time to time, they all follow more or less parallel paths which is, as we shall see, the case in Suisse romande. Prais and Wagner tell us that "standards amongst the Länder are kept more or less comparable by negotiation at Federal level" (3) while in 1970 the Cantons signed a concordat (4) on harmonising their school curricula and programs and, given

how strenuously the Cantons hang onto their sovereignty, major advances have been made. As Vuilleumier puts it: "Progress has been slow but indisputable" (5). The entire primary school curriculum is now common (6) (where all agree on what constitutes primary school!) and the Romands have now almost all introduced an orientation cycle (of which more shortly). They also cooperate in producing texts and in organising documentation centres, seminars, etc.

The Communes officially control infant, primary and lower secondary schools which they are required to organise among themselves. However, the curricula they follow are laid down by the Cantonal authorities, though they may have some choice as to the school structure, and the Communes are required to raise usually 50% of the funding necessary, the remainder being provided by the Canton. An obvious upshot of this is that the smaller and generally poorer Communes are often forced to collaborate with their neighbours to run schools. The danger becomes apparent that the more isolated Communes might find themselves not only deprived of a level of precompulsory or compulsory school for want of cash but also unable to send their children to a neighbouring Commune because of communication difficulties, especially in winter. This problem is most acutely felt in the mountainous areas where Cantonal, and sometimes Federal, subsidies have had to be given to resolve the problem.

Also of note is that even Federal Laws concerning education, such as the laws on the Maturité, have to be approved by the Cantonal Parliament before they are enacted, though they may be modified before any such enactment.

The end of compulsory schooling

Introduction

Within the five of the seven Cantons the orientation cycle is either part of, or leads into, a selective part of schooling. This generalised orientation cycle is comparable in many respects to the function which the first two years of secondary school in Scotland are held to serve: namely, that of orienting the child towards more or less academic levels within subjects. (7) The motivations behind the generalised orientation cycle are also very similar. The Scots (and indeed most of the British) had introduced comprehensive schooling by the end of the 1960s in an attempt to overcome the discrimination and precocious streaming that was felt to occur with selection at the end of primary 7 (primary 6 in England and Wales). Whether the aim was the real production of a generalised and more fair meritocracy than was previously the case or merely the transference of selection from outwith the school to within is not at issue here. The rhetoric employed much resembles that quoted below. This should be no surprise given the influence which, according to Furter, the United Kingdom has had over schooling in at least some parts of Switzerland. (8)

According to the Genevan *Département de l'Instruction publique* (DIP):

"Its objectives (in Geneva) are to achieve a better democratisation of education and to ensure a continuous guidance of pupils." (9)

Fribourg has its orientation cycle:

"conceived and organised according to three principles:

democratisation of education...; the equality of opportunity...; the guidance of pupils as a way of facilitating their choice of scholastic or professional future." (10)

The aim of these two systems appears to be to avoid precocious selection, leaving any absolute selection to the end of compulsory school. This said, within both, classes are streamed or set.

In 1984, twenty-two years after Geneva, Vaud adopted a law on school reform which:

"makes the 5th grade a heterogeneous class, destined to orientate pupils into one of the three streams which go from 6th to 9th year. It is therefore desirable that the program be at the same time substantial and not too ambitious in such a way that *all* the pupils can take in its contents."(11)

Neuchâtel takes a similar tack to Vaud in that its orientation cycle is limited to one year only but in this Canton's case it is the 6th grade which serves the purpose. Like Vaud, Neuchâtel uses entirely mixed ability teaching in its orientation cycle. The objectives of the Neuchâtelois orientation cycle:

"aim first of all to welcome as well as possible the pupil and to make him feel secure as, for the first time, he goes from having one single teacher, often in a small setting, to being taught by several in a large secondary school." (12)

The Neuchâtelois hence see a primary function of their orientation cycle as

that of smoothing the transition from primary to secondary in addition to orientating the child towards the secondary section "best suited to their tastes, skills and knowledge". (13)

Like most of their Romand counterparts the Valaisans have as the declared idea behind their orientation cycle "equality of opportunity" (14) - an idea just as fraught with difficulty on the Romand scene as it has been elsewhere. One of the major problems is that this concept while sounding good has basically very little meaning since it has potentially so many meanings! (15).

The Jura and Berne have as yet no generalised orientation cycle. In each there is selection at the end of primary 4 and only those gaining entry to secondary school have an orientation cycle.(16) This apparently idiosyncratic approach is, as figures 4.2 and 4.3 show, similar in some respects to that which was adopted both by Vaud and Valais before their reforms of the end of compulsory school. (17)

Depending on the Canton, lower secondary school in Suisse romande falls into one of three basic groups: a) that which ends on a long orientation cycle; b) that which uses a short orientation cycle to stream pupils into the remaining years of compulsory school; and c) that which reserves the orientation cycle to a part of the cohort.

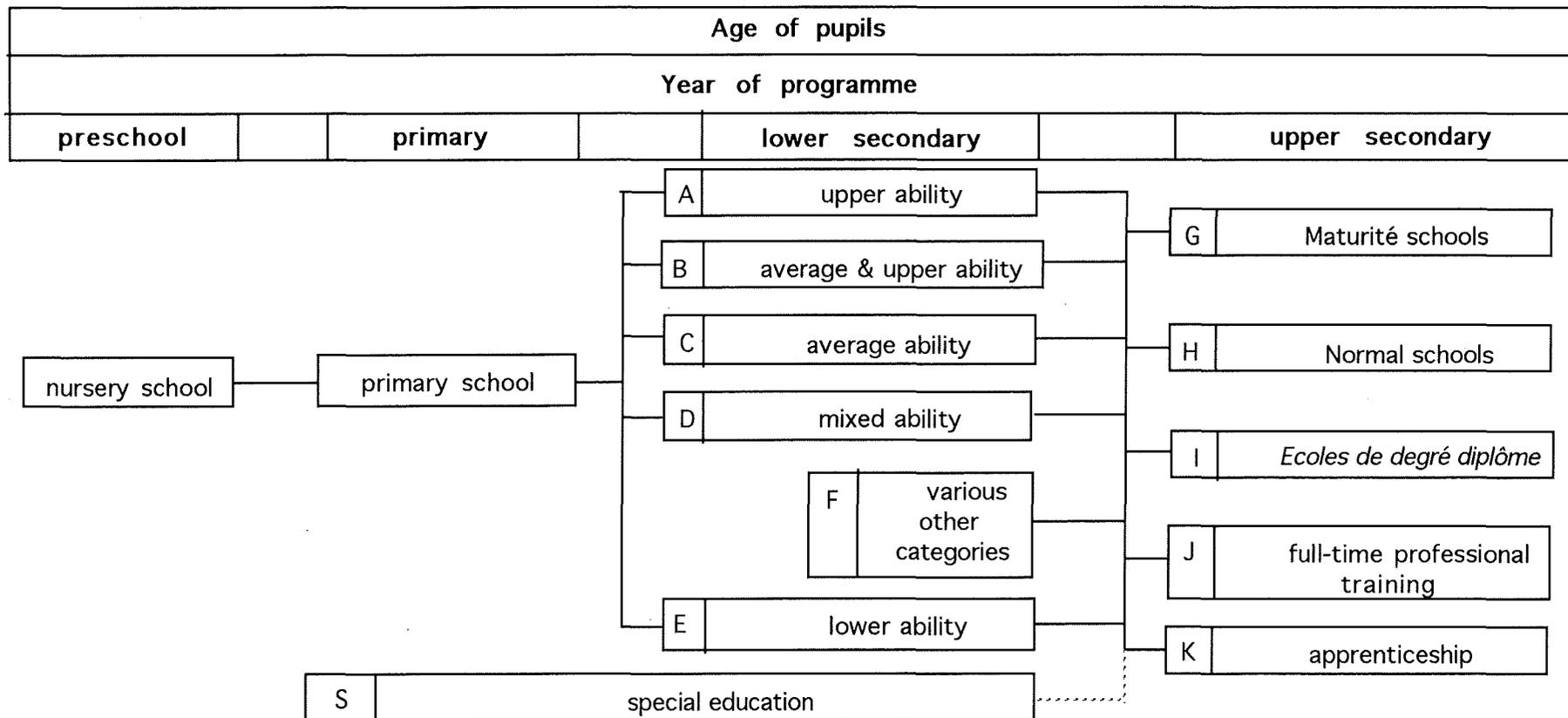


Figure 4.1 Key to the organigrammes of the Cantonal school systems

age	4/5	5/6		6	7	8	9	10		11/12	12/13	13/14	14/15			15/16	16/17	17/18
year	-	-		1	2	3	4	5		6	7	8	9			10	11	12
	preschool		primary						lower secondary						upper secondary			

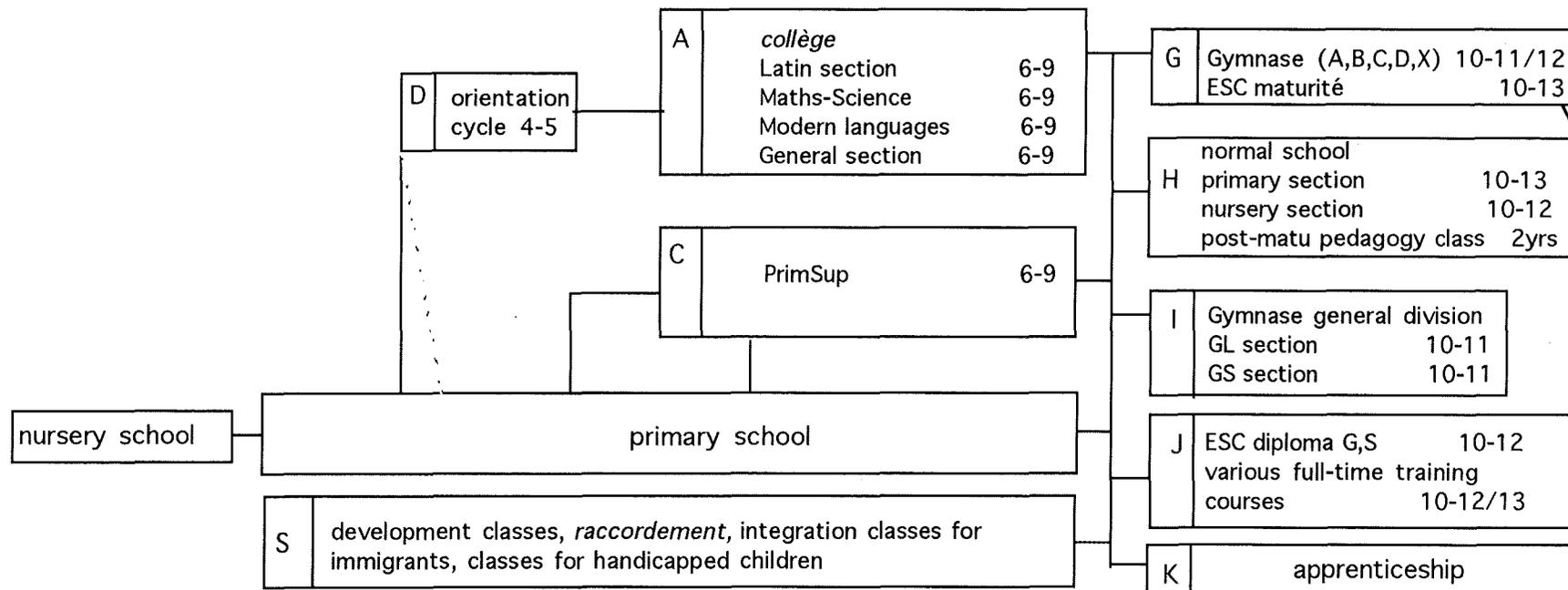


Figure 4.2 Vaud prior to 1985

age	4/5	5/6		6	7	8	9	10	11		12/13	13/14	14/15		15/16	16/17	17/18	18/19	
year	-	-		1	2	3	4	5	6		7	8	9		10	11	12	13	
	preschool			primary							lower secondary					upper secondary			

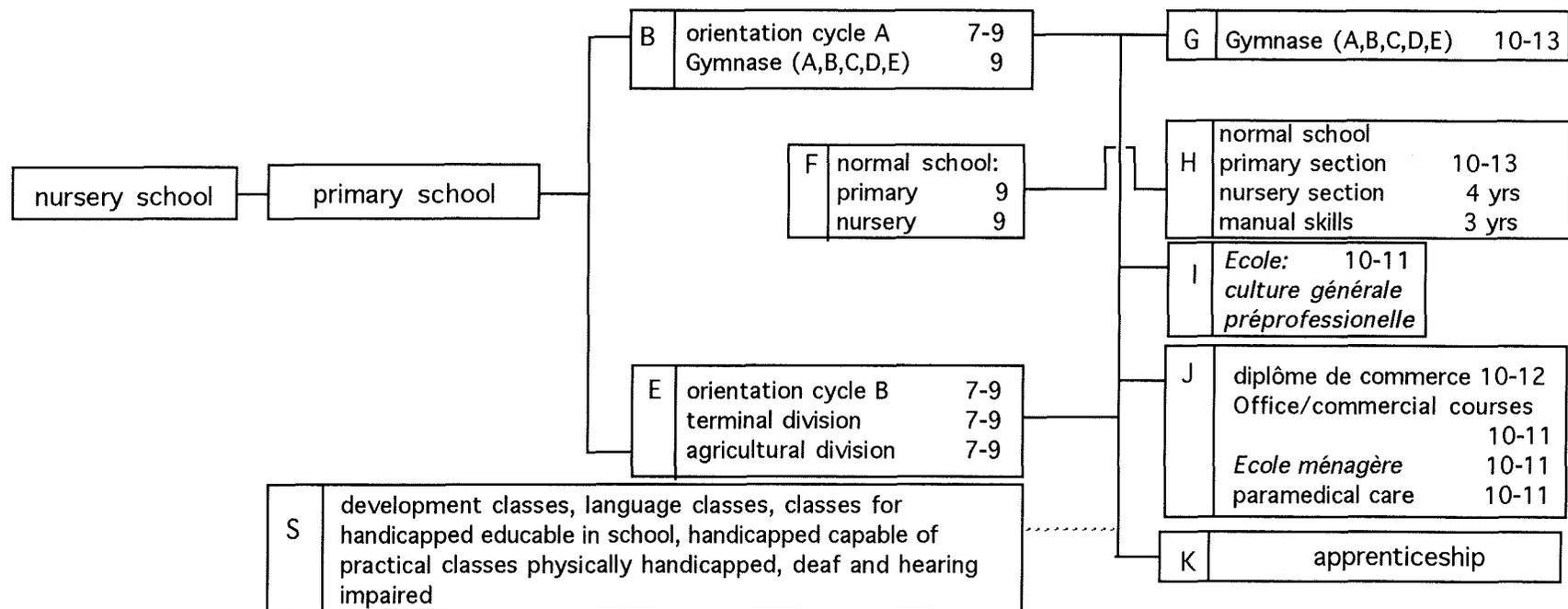


Figure 4.3 Valais prior to the 1989/90 reforms

Structure of the end of compulsory schooling (a)

Fribourg remains with an orientation cycle in which streaming plays a major rôle (see figure 4.4 (18)). On the basis of an assessment pupils are guided into one of three sections: pregymnasial section;
general section;
practical section. (19)

These sections take in annually about 30%, 50% and 20% of the cohort respectively. (20) They are however not hermetic with "changes of section being aided by catch-up and support classes". (21)

Geneva effectively runs two parallel systems: one following closely the Fribourgeois pattern, the other, until 1988 termed "experimental" since its inception in 1975, involving setting and optional classes (22). Since 1988 the "experiment" has come to an end and this latter system is now a permanent feature of the schools concerned. (23) (see figure 4.5 (24))

Since the coming into force of the 1986 school law, Valais has had two systems available for the Communes to choose between. (see figure 4.6 (25)). According to Mermoud (26), the Valaisan DIP prefers that the Communes choose the second, perhaps less traditional form, which combines mixed ability teaching in some subjects with set classes in others.

age	4/5	5/6		6	7	8	9	10	11		12/13	13/14	14/15		15/16	16/17	17/18	18/19	
year	-	-		1	2	3	4	5	6		7	8	9		10	11	12	13	
	preschool			primary						lower secondary						upper secondary			

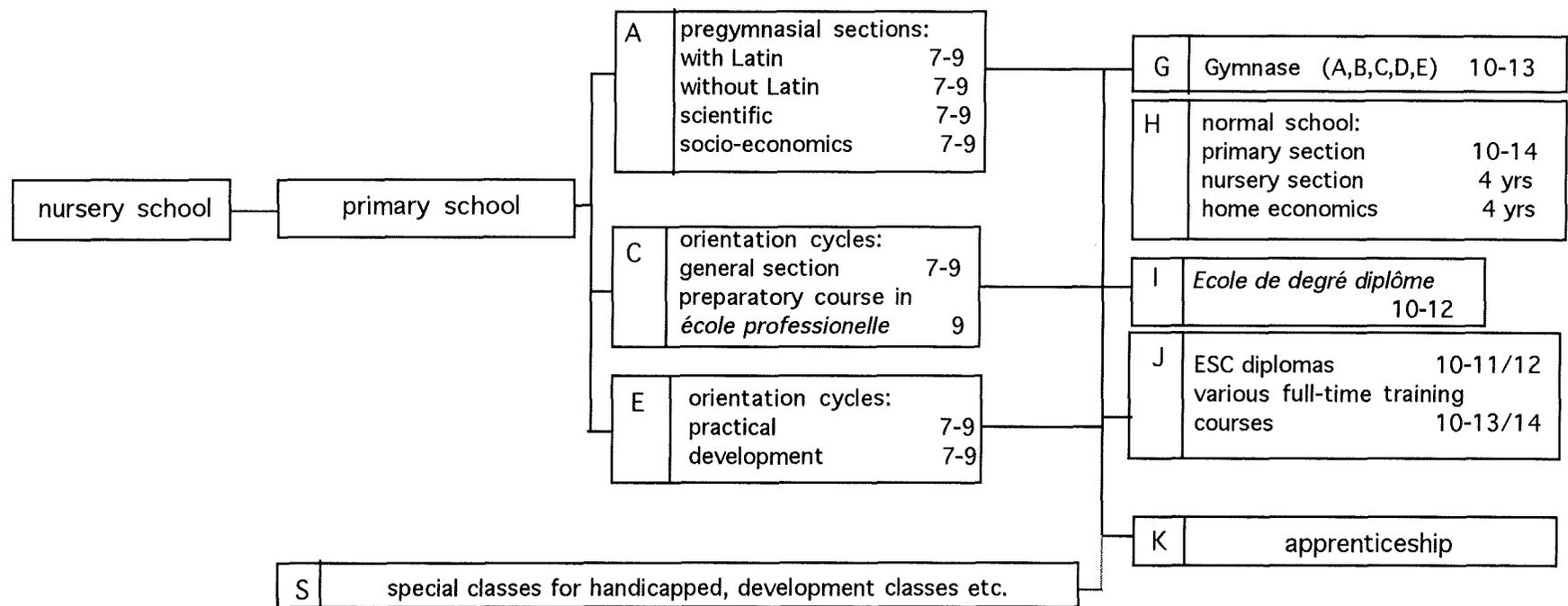


Figure 4.4 Fribourg

age	4/5	5/6	6	7	8	9	10	11		12/13	13/14	14/15	15/16		15/16	16/17	17/18	18/19
year	-	-	1	2	3	4	5	6		7	8	9	10		10	11	12	13
	preschool		primary						lower secondary						upper secondary			

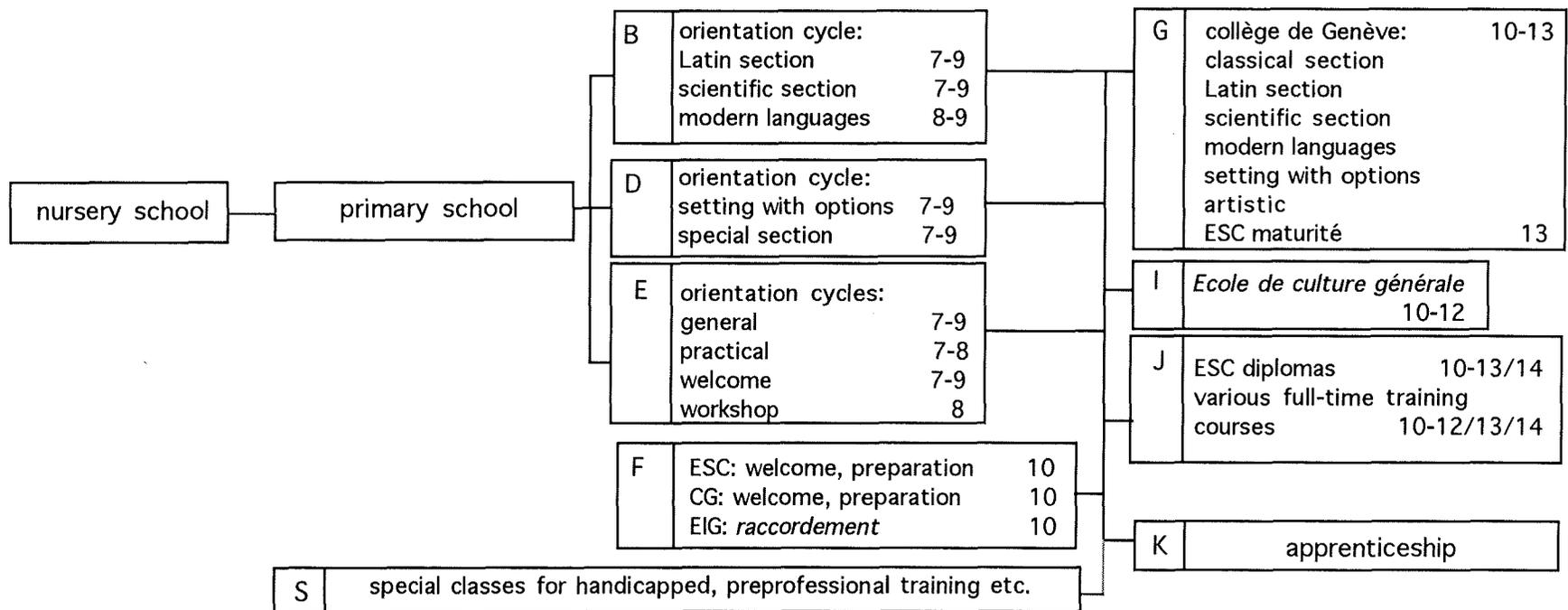


Figure 4.5 Geneva

age	4/5	5/6	6	7	8	9	10	11		12/13	13/14	14/15	15/16		15/16	16/17	17/18	18/19
year	-	-	1	2	3	4	5	6		7	8	9	10		10	11	12	13
	preschool		primary						lower secondary						upper secondary			

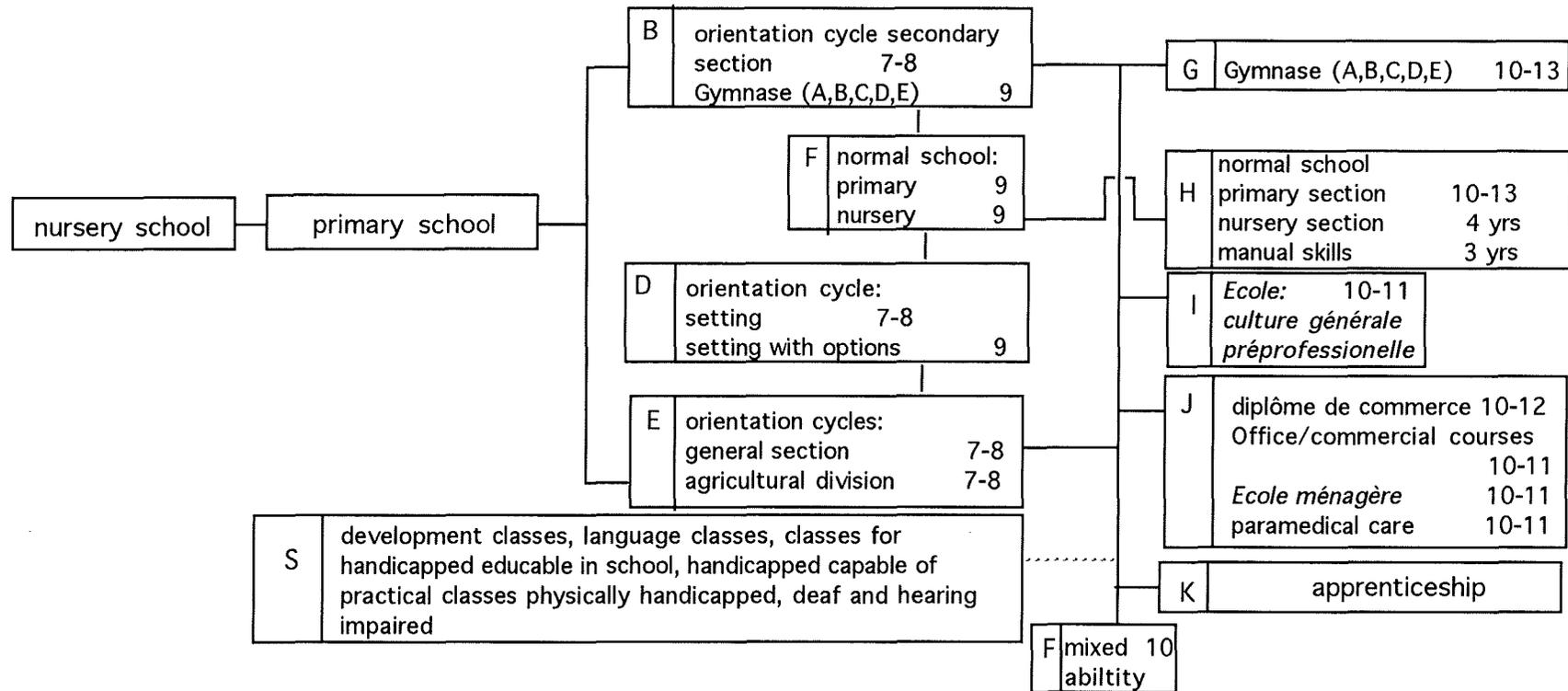


Figure 4.6 Valais since the 1989/90 reforms

Structure of the end of compulsory schooling (b)

The short Vaudois orientation cycle was introduced by the School Law of 12 June 1984 (27) as a means of softening the transition from primary to secondary school and was never meant as in Geneva, Fribourg and Valais to become a major entity in its own right.(28)

"All the pupils follow the same programme. Teaching is done in a semi-individualised manner, according to the pupil's potential and keeping in mind their orientation. Class numbers reflect this kind of teaching." (29)

What renders the Vaudois system unusual is that it is the 5th grade which serves for orientation while for those other Cantons who have adopted a generalised orientation cycle this grade is part of primary school.

The Vaudois orientation cycle guides pupils into one of three sections:

pregymnasial (4 subsections)

supérieure

terminale à options. (30)

These run for the last four years of compulsory school. (See figure 4.7 (31))

The Neuchâtelois use a mixed ability 6th grade to orientate their pupils. This is an innovation dating from session 1987/88 prior to which pupils moving from 5th grade were, following an orientation assessment, split between the various sections of secondary school. (32) Pupils are now guided into one of

age	4/5	5/6	6	7	8	9	10/11	11/12	12/13	13/14	14/15	15/16	15/16	16/17	17/18
year	-	-	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	10	11	12
	preschool		primary				lower secondary						upper secondary		

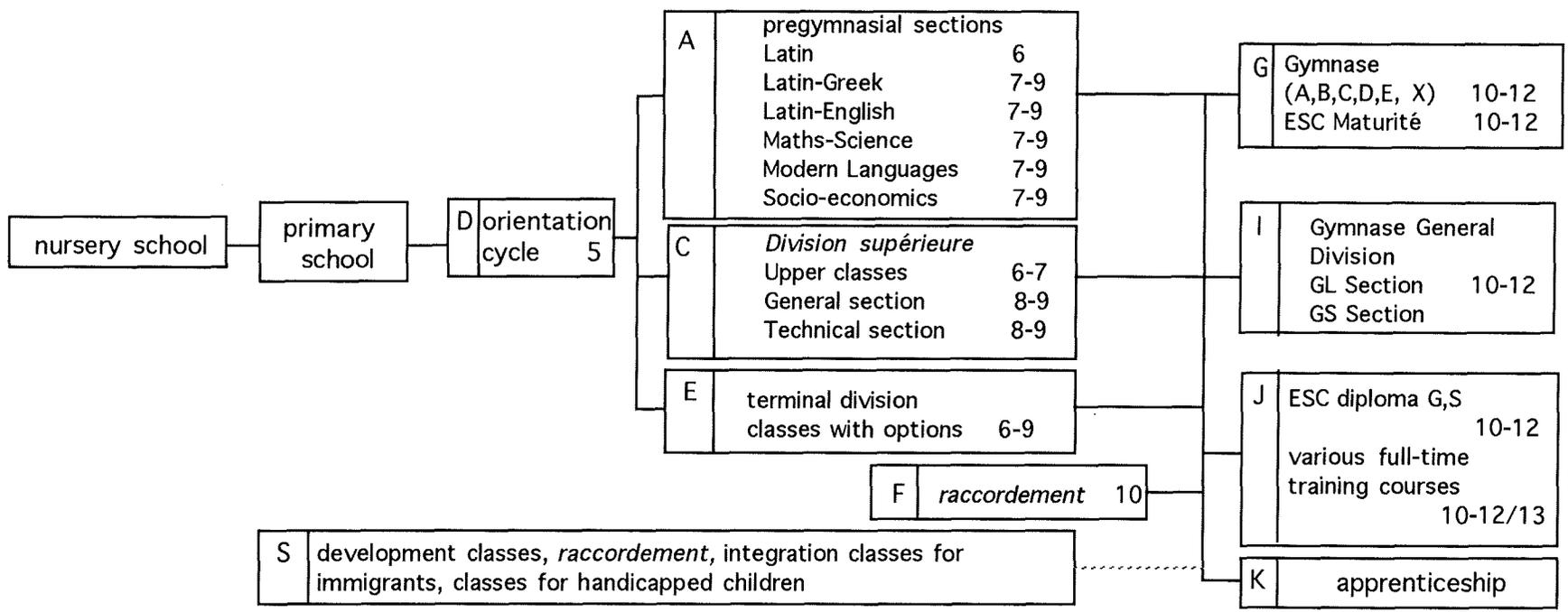


Figure 4.7 Vaud since 1985

the following sections for the remaining three years of secondary school:

pregymnasial (classical or scientific)

modern

preprofessional. (33) (see figure 4.8 (34))

Structure of the end of compulsory school (c)

As figures 4.9 (35) and 4.10 (36) show, the structure of the end of compulsory school in both the Jura and the Jura bernois is identical. Given the heat of the passions raised over the creation of Canton Jura, this may come as a surprise. As a multitude of examples from the rest of Europe, especially in the aftermath of the Second World War and then the Cold War, education systems are often among the first social edifices to alter once the political wind has changed. West Germany at the defeat of Hitler immediately threw out the Nazi school reforms (and all the teachers); the East Bloc adopted wholesale Soviet models when that country had firmly drawn the nations concerned into its "sphere of influence". (37) Now with the end of Cold War the re-emerging market economies of Eastern Europe are largely overturning their Soviet-inspired (if not just copied) models in favour of more home-grown products and processes. But to have expected such immediate alteration in the Jura would have been to misunderstand two important aspects:

Firstly, unlike the countries of Eastern Europe, the Jura had no "pre-Berne" system to fall back on. Therefore any restructuration has first to be devised (or discovered) before being implemented. This in fact is in the process of being carried out with the assistance of the *Faculté de psychologie et*

age	4/5	5/6	6	7	8	9	10		11/12		12/13	13/14	14/15		15/16	16/17	17/18	18/19
year	-	-	1	2	3	4	5		6		7	8	9		10	11	12	13
	preschool		primary					lower secondary							upper secondary			

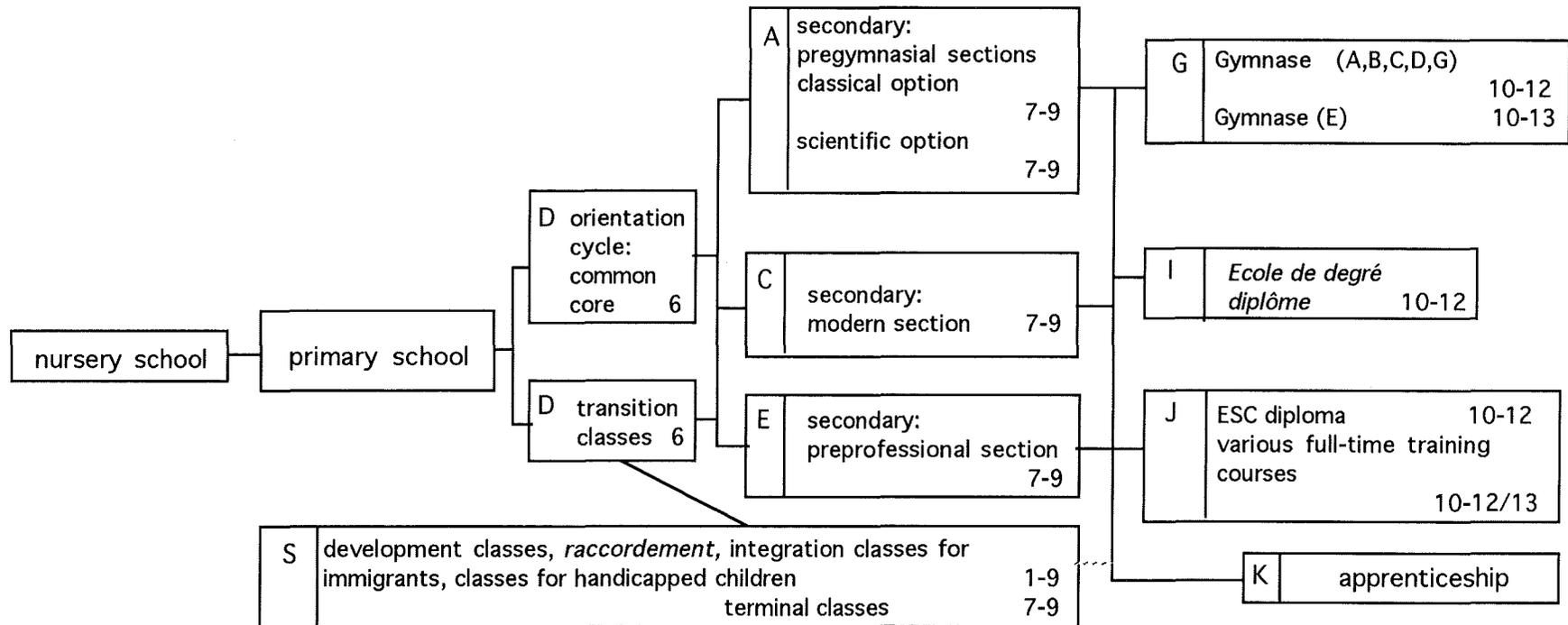


Figure 4.8 Neuchâtel

age	4/5	5/6		6	7	8	9		10/11	11/12	12/13	13/14	14/15	15/16		15/16	16/17	17/18	
year	-	-		1	2	3	4		5	6	7	8	9	10		10	11	12	
	preschool			primary					lower secondary								upper secondary		

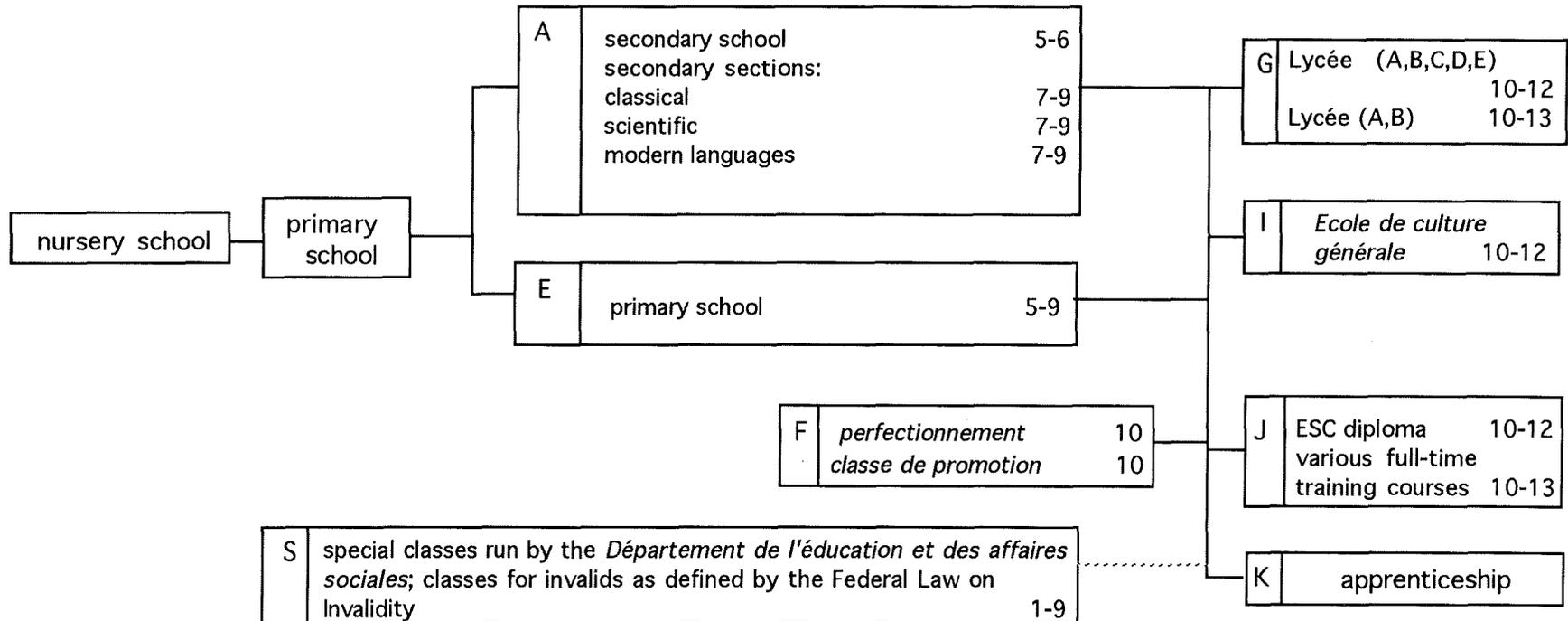


Figure 4.9 Jura

age	4/5	5/6		6	7	8	9		10/11	11/12	12/13	13/14	14/15	15/16		15/16	16/17	17/18
year	-	-		1	2	3	4		5	6	7	8	9	10		10	11	12
	preschool		primary				lower secondary									upper secondary		

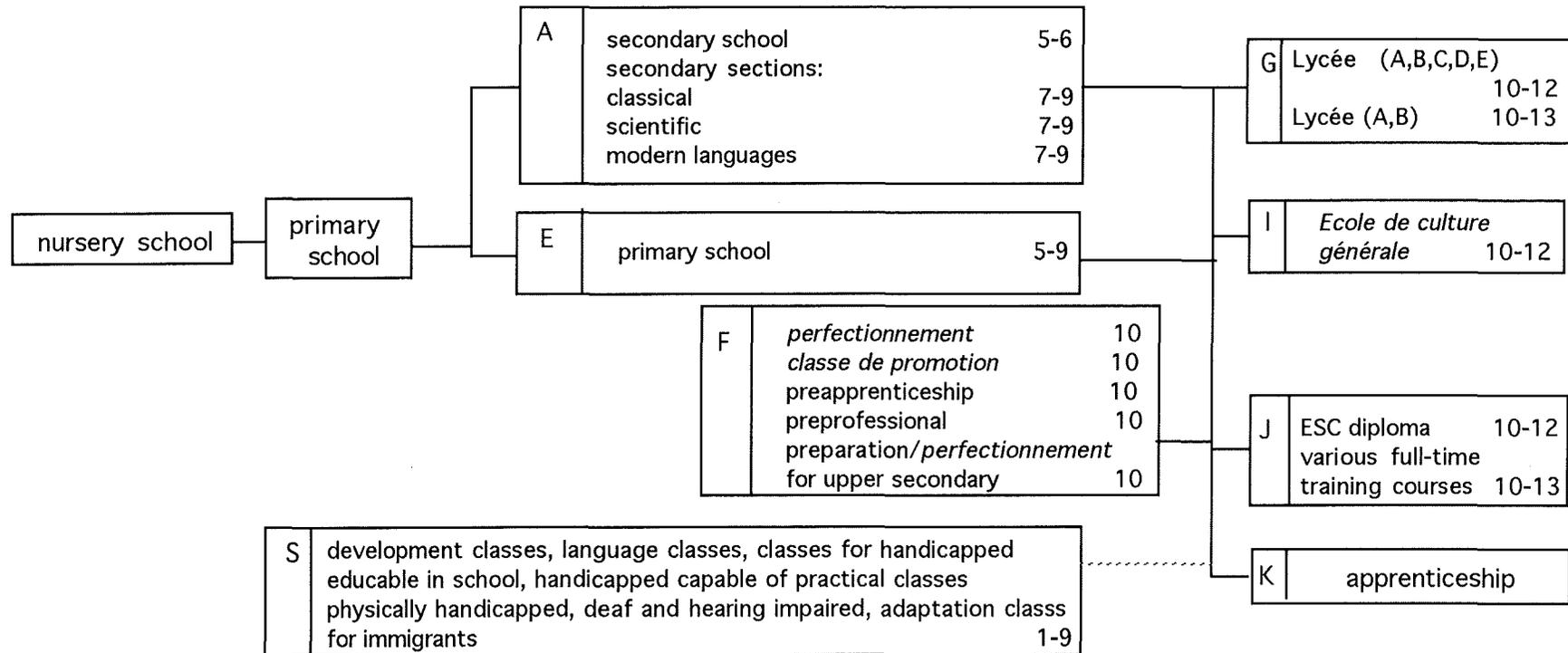


Figure 4.10 Berne

des sciences de l'éducation of the University of Geneva.

Secondly, what might be termed "Swiss logic" dictates that a social edifice should only be removed when there is another, preferably of greater perceived value, ready to be put in its place. The creation of the Canton from the referendum in the Jura to its final birth was a rapid process. Thus, necessarily any wholesale abandonment of Berne's structures would have meant adopting those belonging to someone else. And this with no guarantee that those structures would have been better suited to the Jura's situation than were those of Berne. In this way the Jurassians avoided the inappropriateness so apparent in many post-WWII countries where Soviet texts were often simply translated and put into use. Hegemonically, of course, there is no comparison. The Eastern Europeans might be said to have been going under the yoke post-1945 while the Jurassians saw themselves as breaking free from it.

Selection occurs in the Jurassian and Bernese systems at the end of primary 4. At this point pupils are streamed into secondary school for years 5-9 or continue in primary.(38) In the old Vaudois system, this continuation in primary was split into "PrimSup" and primary school but both served exactly the same function: namely, to expand on skills acquired earlier with a view to pupils entering apprenticeships.(39) The first year in the Bernese secondary is spent in an adaptation class, followed by an orientation year. The Jurassian counterpart is a two year orientation class. The object for each is

the same: to feed pupils into one of three classes for the last two years. Two of these, classic and scientific, allow those who pass them to enter gymnase while those in the remaining class, modern, may only enter gymnase if their marks in *essential subjects* are sufficiently above the average and they are recommended by their secondary teachers.(40) Modern also allows access to lower forms of post-compulsory education than Maturité.(41)

Concluding remarks

An examination of figures 4.3 to 4.10 might lead the reader to conclude that the differences between the ways of ending compulsory school in these Romand Cantons are more apparent than real. If we leave aside the fine details of structure and examine function then a distinct similarity of purpose and objective becomes clear. That this should be so is no surprise as it would be rather difficult for totally disparately conceived systems to feed into similar next stages of upper secondary and trade training.

The similarities are further underlined by the various means whereby pupils can switch either orientation or post-orientation section, sometimes, but by no means always, by repeating a year. Naturally, as time goes on, different streams, sets and sections will move further apart, making transfer all the more difficult. However, all the Cantons lay on catch-up classes wherever this is feasible. The labelling borne by the various lower secondary schools reflects a tradition of autonomy which force of circumstance is slowly eroding as economic reality implies increasing cooperation in curriculum development and subsequent textbook publication.

The questions arise as to what extent autonomy can be eroded and still exist and the extent to which setting and streaming are aspects of the same thing. The major difference between the various systems is that in some the pupils are streamed and in others they are set, at least in some classes. This latter form allows for greater adaptation of the curriculum to the individual pupil's need but both involve at least some selection. Within each form there are various escape routes available for the misorientated, the precocious, the slow and those who change their mind. Therefore it might be contended that the differences are largely cosmetic and that hence the one is as fair as the other.

Using mainly mixed-ability classes avoids the pupils having their self-labelling confirmed by official processes (42) but it can be argued that pure mixed-ability tends to slow down the more able and the precocious. This would, of course, depend on the style of mixed-ability teaching which is adopted. Given that in the Cantons concerned the style of teaching is largely up to the teacher, in consultation with the headteacher, using setting to hopefully adapt subjects seen as more rigorous (and also seen as more essential) to the needs of groups of pupils while retaining mixed-ability for the majority of subjects appears a neat compromise. It does, however, throw up another difficulty; namely that some subjects might be perceived as second-class. The counter-argument is that this happens anyway but is this enough to justify a standpoint where certain fields of knowledge are openly displayed as being more important than others? In the minds of the Romand curriculum planners it is and so, as table 4.1 (43) shows, the curriculum of years five to nine remains divided into two groups of subjects, the *essential*, whose

marks count double for promotion, and the rest.

Table 4.1 The Curriculum of the Orientation Cycle

<i>essential subjects</i>
French
German
Mathematics
.....
<i>Educative and Cultural Subjects</i>
Religious instruction
Art
Home economics
Geography/History
Civic education
Science
Physical education
Educational & Vocational Guidance
Computer studies

An area of study emerges from this duality of subject importance, ie to ascertain how the pupils within each system view those subjects classed as essential compared with those which are not (or those which are set with those which are not). Even where overt labelling is strenuously avoided pupils notoriously label themselves and their performance in terms of self-defined criteria and the stress they see laid on each subject. From this it would be reasonable to suppose that pupils rate more highly subjects which are set as these, simply by dint of the setting procedure, have the greater attention placed on them. Unfortunately this is not a statistic one finds readily, even in the publications of as informative a body as the Swiss Federal Office of Statistics.

At this point it is perhaps worth mentioning a major difference between the Swiss and Scottish *modus operandi* in matters of school reform. Hari contends that the Swiss slowness in all things political "owes less to a supposed Helvetic prudence than to an often paralysing federal structure". (44) As we saw in Chapter 3, this slowness is well-nigh symptomatic of the Swiss form of semi-direct democracy. However, compare, for example, a case of Swiss educational reforms and the Scottish Education Department's introduction of the Standard Grade reforms which almost a decade and a half after being first proposed have yet to be fully implemented. If we contrast this with the 1988 reforms in Valais we see that:

- a) The Valaisan reforms, while fairly slow to germinate, have not been applied piecemeal, as in Scotland;
- b) Teachers in Valais are not expected to work a full timetable and do development work at the same time. Instead, there are workgroups of seconded teachers and school inspectors who collaborate with selected teachers, who are themselves on reduced timetable, in the production of materials;
- c) Genuine breadth in the curriculum has been maintained in Valais;
- d) The new system in Valais is quite easy for the outside observer to understand.

The Valais is not unique in this. When Vaud adopted its reformed end of compulsory school in 1984, the same points could be made.

So, if the *Bernertempo* which Hari laments means that reforms are carefully thought out before their introduction then perhaps it is not such a bad thing.

The question of whether the Cantons can still be considered autonomous at this level underlines the continuum nature of the circle of autonomy-synthesis-pluralism. That differences persist shows at least a vestige of autonomy but increasingly these differences are being ironed out as the systems synthesise themselves in the face of the realities of inter-cantonal migration, curriculum development etc. It is clear that at this level the systems do not yet operate as one. They show significant differences in structure. There is as yet no overall inter-cantonal governing body (other the consultative *Conférence suisse des directeurs de l'instruction publique* or CDIP under whose auspices discussions aimed at harmonisation usually take place) at this (or indeed, any other level) and therefore of the labels discussed in Chapter 1 the one which appears to fit best is that of *synthetic* (with the Jura and Berne remaining as yet as a separate duo). Whether the Cantons adopt a single governing body at some future date in order to form a single or a pluralist system remains to be seen. In this writer's opinion any such move is unlikely. The tradition of Cantonal autonomy has been sorely battered by largely economic forces but while it remains at all possible for the Cantons to avoid totally relinquishing authority then they will do so. However if merging became inevitable then, in the absence of direct legislation, historical precedent would indicate that a fully synthetic system would be the choice (45). It is perhaps not so much that, say, the Fribourgeois are so different from the Vaudois but that they feel themselves to be so which would be the deciding factor. (46)

The tenth year of school

Falling between compulsory and post-compulsory schooling is the 10th (and

sometimes 11th) year or transition year. This is largely optional, except for those who have not yet reached school-leaving age by the end of the 9th year and who do not intend to continue in formal full-time education.

Although there are many ways of spending the transition year, we shall concern ourselves here with that of spending it in school. Surprisingly many pupils undertake the 10th year (and extremely few the 11th. Nationally, number for 10th year can reach as high as 13.5% (47) which is more than for the Maturité. The transition year in school can have several, possibly overlapping, functions:

- a) to fill in gaps in basic knowledge, skills and aptitudes left from compulsory school;
- b) to act as a holding point for pupils not yet old enough to leave;
- c) to prepare pupils to enter apprenticeships which are more academically demanding than is generally the case;
- d) to permit access to further study by those who failed to enter (or remain) in the appropriate stream, where applicable (termed *classe de raccordement*).

Blanc succinctly defines 10th year classes as follows:

"The majority of the pupils who take these transition or *raccordement* classes intend both to complete their general culture and to prepare to enter the training school or apprenticeship of their choice."(48)

The aim of the transition year is to:

"deepen and widen the general culture acquired during compulsory schooling. (This is) necessary as much for those who have passed with difficulty a stream with basic theoretical demands as for those emerging from a middle level stream but who have failed to enter gymnase or who have not been accepted into apprenticeship in the profession they envisaged."(49)

Depending on the Canton, the transition year may be effectively under the auspices of compulsory or post-compulsory school. It may even be both within the one Canton! There frequently exists the possibility of continuing in the orientation cycle (as in Valais, for example (50)) for an additional year or two or of attending preapprenticeship school, preparatory school or *raccordement* classes. These latter are usually under the auspices of post-compulsory school while the former is definitely not. In Neuchâtel, the preapprenticeship and preparatory classes are offered in the same schools as those used by apprentices. (51). The Jura specifies *classes de perfectionnement* and *classe de promotion*, the former fulfilling functions (a) and (c) above and the latter function (d). Both can fulfill function (b). (52) The remaining Cantons employ similar set-ups though the names show some variation.

As we shall see later in this chapter, within most of the Cantons schools exist which fulfill the four functions given here but in a *de facto* manner. Their stated goal is not necessarily that of being transition schools but the use made of them is.

Post-compulsory school

Post-compulsory school in Suisse romande divides itself into two discreet areas: *Maturité* (or *Baccalauréat*) and diploma. The Cantons being sovereign in education are free, at least in theory, to define and carry out their own school programs. The result of this is that, as far as the *Maturité* is concerned, while the Federal Ordonnance (53) has to be adhered to, there are often major differences between the *Maturités* delivered by the various Cantons. As we shall see, the number of examined courses, the workload involved and the course content can vary largely from Canton to Canton.

Although the original *Maturité* date from 1906 (types A and B) (54) the sovereignty of the Cantons in education led to them developing their own baccalauréat courses, generally tailored to the demands of a particular university. It is important to note here that the universities were and continue to be **cantonal** institutions although they are now tending more to find common ground between themselves in terms of facilitating transference of students, sharing courses etc. This situation has meant that wide discrepancies grew between the demands that each Canton made on its university-bound students (university being the most common destination for bacheliers). The situation was most clear-cut for Cantons possessing their own university but what of a Canton bereft of tertiary education? Of the Romand Cantons only Jura and Valais have no university but of these two only Valais has any real history of having to provide its own baccalauréat in the days before the *Maturité* became widespread. Jura's emergence from Canton Berne came at a moment when the *Maturité* was already common.

According to Udry (55) Valais was effectively forced to raise the level of difficulty of its baccalauréat in order that it be acceptable to as many universities as possible. However, while such an argument may have previously been sound, we shall question its continuing validity and whether indeed the Valaisan maturité *is* more difficult than elsewhere.

The basis of the Maturité and diploma programs, be they Cantonal or Federal, is general culture. This is a notion which underpins much of Swiss pre-university education and whose position is such that its effect on school and other curricula seems rarely to be questioned. Culture is employed here in an anthropological sense and curricula are constructed so that aspects of the entire cultural heritage are examined. The curriculum is divided into subjects but beyond this knowledge is not divided into fields, as has been increasingly the case in Scotland (56), for example, where the pupil is required at around age 13 to narrow his curriculum to an extent unheard of in the Romand Cantons outwith English or American type private schools. On the contrary, the generality of the culture to which the Romand pupil is exposed is so wide as to be relatively encyclopædic.(57)

As we have seen in the end stages of compulsory school, the Romands divide the knowledge to be acquired (or at least to which the pupil is to exposed) into essential and other subjects. This hierarchy of thinking continues into the post-compulsory school with some subjects counting double for the annual average mark. What remains avoided, however, is the notion so prevalent in England and on the increase in Scotland (58) that at some arbitrary age

pupils show themselves to be primarily or exclusively orientated towards science, or arts, or humanities. In other words, while general culture encumbers the curriculum and, as we shall see, leaves itself open to criticism, it postpones firm and lasting decision about future direction.

Ecoles de degré diplôme (EDD)

Egger describes these schools somewhat disparagingly as being formerly a sort of senior school for girls which took young women who, because of their age, were required to wait a year or two before beginning their apprenticeship as, for example, nurses, laboratory assistants or technicians (59). The apprenticeships toward which these girls aimed are now open to both sexes (following the acceptance in a referendum in June 1981 that sex discrimination be ended) and so the schools have become co-educational. Even before 1981, these schools were the object of the CDIP's attentions as they occupied a grey area in educational planning and provision. The CDIP has sought to define the rôle of the EDD and through the development of program-outlines it has tried to ensure that the diplomas from the various cantonal EDD have some agreed equivalence.(60)

As Sallin puts it, the EDD are preparatory schools, aimed at readying students for particular apprenticeships in paramedical or social service fields, and not vocational training schools. (61)

The problem of the EDD's identity remains however and they are still perceived as occupying a no-man's land between the schools preparing for the Maturité and those dispensing part-time or full-time vocational training.

Despite now having a status accorded them through the CDIP, the EDD still have difficulty in getting the vocational schools to value them, their courses or their diplomas.(62) The situation is compounded by the EDD being able, under the guidelines issued by the CDIP, to offer the same diploma by means of a two or three year course. The specialist schools (see Ch 5) into which the EDD feed are not found in every Canton and so a student with a two-year diploma will, according to Blanc, have a great deal of difficulty in having his/her diploma accepted in a Canton whose own diploma takes three years.(63)

The objectives of the EDD are as follows:

"to provide a general education linked with the reality of everyday life, (while) avoiding specialisation and (aiding in) fostering human relations in particular; to advise (students) about their choice of education or vocation; to prepare them for higher vocational schools by offering... a choice of elective courses."(64)

The EDD divide themselves into two main groups depending on their courses being over two or three years. This latter group subdivides into those offering a narrower core with fewer electives and those whose core is wider and electives fewer.

Blanc offers the basic version of the diploma course in which we find three complementary groups of curriculum areas:

- common core of general culture;

- a choice of subjects specific to the student's intended career;
- other educational activities, at the school's choice, including further electives. (65)

The common core ranges over six areas:

- native language (ie the language of the school);
- second national language;
- mathematics;
- humanities;
- æsthetic and physical education.(66)

The CDIP guidelines suggest three options for the preprofessional part of the course:

- paramedical;
- social service;
- administrative and commercial.(67)

What is potentially most important is that the CDIP guidelines are just that. It is incumbent upon "each school to establish its own curriculum under the cantonal responsibility and the guidelines".(68) This means in effect that Cantons and their EDD are independent in the layout and execution of their courses. In itself this explains the possibility of having several types of EDD within Suisse romande.

The Neuchâtelois diploma course runs for three years and is available in two centres, each of which is in a sizeable town: the one in La Chaux-de-Fonds

(the *Ecole de préparation aux formations paramédicales et sociales*) and the other in the town of Neuchâtel (in a separate section of the Gymnase Numa-Droz).(69)

The objective of these two schools' programs is to satisfy the requirements of the CDIP concerning the award of the *diplôme de culture générale*. (70) In 1988 the DIP began the process leading to the CDIP granting official recognition to the diplomas. This move is essential in order to widen as far as possible the range of vocational schools willing to accept the diplomas.

Both schools are small: the larger (in Neuchâtel) counted 159 students in 1988 while the other had 102.(71) This is perhaps not only a reflection of the lack of firm identity of the EDD but also of a) the relatively small number of career paths open to diploma holders; and b) the other paths (such as *Maturité*) which can lead to the same careers.

Low numbers entering EDD appears to account for Fribourg placing all its diploma students in one school. It is significant that the bilingual nature of the Canton is reflected in this school by its being bilingual and located in the Canton's bilingual capital of Fribourg. The Francophones make up over 80% of the students and in 1988 numbered only 181.(72) Prior to 1987 the diploma course was two years (73) but adding a year has seen student numbers per year of course remain roughly stable (74).

Those entering EDD in Vaud in 1987 became the first in that Canton to follow the course over three years instead of two. With its greater population than

Fribourg and Neuchâtel, Vaud offers its diploma course in seven gymnases of which four are in the region of Lausanne, one in the North of the Canton in Yverdon, one in the West in Nyon and one in the East in La Tour-de-Peilz.

(75) The Vaudois diplomas differ from those of Fribourg and Neuchâtel in that they are available with either a scientific or literary bias whereas the other two describe theirs merely as *diplômes de culture générale* - the bias being developed by the student through his choice of optional or elective courses. The Vaudois, for their part, offer far less in the way of options, presenting instead a larger core and fewer choices beyond that of section. A possible compensation however by the Vaudois is in the additional openings available to holders of the scientific diploma. Unlike their counterparts in the other Cantons who are limited to pursuing higher vocational courses, they have the possibility of entering higher education either to the Faculty of Science in the University of Lausanne, provided they pass an exam in mathematics, or to the *Ecole polytechnique fédérale de Lausanne* (EPFL) where they may be admitted to a special mathematics course, success in which allows them to matriculate to EPFL degree-level courses.(76) Also of note is that possession of the diploma may allow the holder access to the final year of Maturité (Type C for the scientific diploma and type B for the literary diploma).

The Genevan diploma is spread over three years and is available in two schools, one on each bank of the Rhône. With a first year constituted mainly of a large common core while in the second and third years this drops to one third of the timetable (77) the Genevan course falls between two stools, accomodating those who seek to develop quickly their level of general culture

and those who seek to acquire the diploma. This enables the Genevan course to fulfill a rôle as intermediate school with the student having the possibility of staying on. An obvious danger of intermediate schools such as in Suisse romande is that they may develop into little more than holding points for those not yet ready, through age or achievement, to leave and seek work. A glance at the Fribourgeois enrolment figures which showed in 1988 drop from 109 Francophone students in first year to 68 in second (78) *suggests* that a similar function is being served here.

The Valaisan diploma courses extend over two years and in Valais romand are given in two schools in Sion and two in St Maurice. Valais is unusual insofar as the école de culture générale and the école préprofessionnelle are separate entities, each leading to a purely cantonal qualification. Neither course contains any optional or elective element and they seem to exist purely to raise the student's general level of education. The goal, for example, of the école préprofessionnelle is to:

"allow young women and young men to perfect their basic education whilst waiting to have the age and/or opportunity to realise their personal ambition."(79)

Thus the function of this school is to act as a holding point which sets it apart from the other schools operating at this level.

The école de culture générale aims to allow access to Valais' nurse and social service schools and hence fulfills a function similar to its counterparts mentioned above. However its diploma being Cantonal and over two years must

surely present a major obstacle for any holders who wish to train in another Canton. As we shall see, such artificial barriers to free passage of diploma holders *may* not be unintentional and might in fact be beneficial to the Canton's economy.

It will be interesting to see just how long Valais can maintain its two year course as the majority of Romand Cantons move over to three years and courses which aim either explicitly to fulfill the CDIP's requirements or at least cover them more or less.

The Bernese diplôme de culture générale is dispensed in only one location in the Jura bernois, at Moutier, and the course lasts three years.(80) The Bernese also offer a two year course leading to the *diplôme de l'école d'administration*. This is available in both German and French in the *Ecole cantonale d'administration et des transports* in the bilingual town of Bienne/Biel. (81) This is a peculiar EDD insofar as it is the only school at this level in Suisse romande offering courses specifically aiming at preparing its pupils for careers associating with passenger and freight transport. (82) As such, the recognition by other Cantons of the diploma does not appear to present the problems associated with other two year diplomas.

The Jura offers its diploma only in Delémont and it is dispensed via a three year course. The first year consists of a common program for all pupils while from the second year they must choose between a paramedical and a social service orientation. The Canton is quite open about the school fulfilling the functions for transition year(s). Pupils are acceptable on the basis that they

only wish to stay for a year or two before leaving to enter apprenticeship though they also have the possibility of staying to finish the course.(83)

Diplômes de commerce

Although these are of roughly the same academic level as the EDD they must be set apart from them by dint of there being a set external control over syllabi. As the diplômes de commerce are vocational certificates their courses are governed by the *Loi sur la formation professionnelle* (LFP) (84) which covers most forms of apprenticeship be they industrial or commercial. LFP specifically does not apply to agricultural or paramedical training courses.

Falling under the LFP, the courses are regulated by the *Office fédérale de l'industrie, des arts, des métiers et du travail* (OFIAMT), whose function and purpose we shall discuss in greater detail in the next chapter, which exerts a far tighter control over course content than does the CDIP for the general culture diploma courses.

Depending on the Canton, the diplôme de commerce is available either in the gymnase or in specialised *écoles supérieures de commerce* (ESC) which may or may not also prepare students for the commercial Maturité (type E).

The program outlines for the diplôme de commerce are laid down by OFIAMT (85) though, as Blanc remarks, the schools concerned do enjoy a large degree of freedom within this framework and indeed they take advantage of it. (86) Thus a school can largely tailor its courses to suit the aptitudes of its staff,

for example, but this situation makes its very difficult if not impossible for a student to change from one school to another at the same level, even within a single Canton, without at least having recourse to catch-up classes or to repeating part of the course. All the curricula must contain:

- native language (ie the language of the school);
- second national language;
- English;
- business studies;
- commercial mathematics;
- accounts;
- use of computers;
- word processing;
- office practice.(87)

To this the Cantons add varying amounts of general culture.

At a general level it is felt that there is major problem in maintaining a sufficient quantity of general culture in the face of a large (and increasing) amount of work directly related to employment.(88) If we look, for example, at the last three subjects on the list above we see one which has been revolutionised over the last ten years while the other two either did not exist ten years ago or were so much in their infancy that to cope with them required specialised personnel who did nothing but that. Now they have been reduced to the level of the mundane. That being as it may, accomodating these new and revamped subjects on the timetable does mean reducing the time available for others. This is where the continuing use of "general culture"

must be questioned. Is it valid and worthwhile that students should spend a sizeable amount of their curriculum on subjects which may have no bearing, direct or otherwise, on their future career? On the other hand, it might be argued that the vocational aspect of the *diplôme de commerce* is just a spin-off of a particular area of general culture and that to remove the less or non-vocational aspects would be to devalue the course to the level of merely learning techniques, instead of, as is intended at the moment, raising the general level of education. Even in the two *Ecoles polytechniques fédérales*, which are in effect Federal technical universities, general culture is seen as an essential part of otherwise largely vocational courses. A further point not to be forgotten is the effect which general culture in commerce, for example, might be argued to have. Although there is no direct evidence as yet it is reasonable to suppose that general culture in a course such as the diploma effectively *generalises* culture. By making literature, for instance, the domain of the mass of the people then the people are made more literate. High culture is not viewed in Suisse romande as the private domain of the intellectuals, as it is in the United Kingdom, but as the domain of all. This hypothesis is backed up by the enormous success which was enjoyed both in its native France and in Suisse romande of the French literature television program *Apostrophe*. This programme weekly invited viewers to listen to authors debating, often in quite esoteric and philosophical terms, the merits and demerits of each others' works. Without its viewers feeling at home in literature, *Apostrophe* would have died after one or two programs instead of running, as it did, from 1975 to 1990.

It is worthwhile spending a further moment considering some of the

implications of this attitude to culture. If we consider Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital and the idea that education exists to stratify society by means of distribution of culture (89) then we can see that in the Swiss case that capital is widely held. Therefore can we conclude that Bourdieu is simply mistaken or is it that Swiss education operates a much more subtle process than he might argue was the case in a more overtly stratified society such as in the United Kingdom? The latter would concur with our argument in chapter 3 that Swiss society is subtly divided into layers. Thus in keeping with subtle layering should not the cultural differences between the layers be equally subtle? Unfortunately if the cultural differences between strata are too subtle there must come a point when they cease to be of any consequence and at this point the whole issue of education propagating cultural, as distinct from economic, layers must be called into question.

It would be simplistic to argue that the Romand attitude to high culture is a product of the place of general culture in the schools but the schools at all levels, including, as we shall see, apprenticeship, push this culture and therefore must take some credit for its sustenance.

The problem of space in the timetable remains unanswered as yet. It is obvious that space must be made for the new subjects but if the students are not to be overloaded by simply having the same general program as before but crammed into less space then some parts will have to go. The difficulty is to decide which. Removing general culture altogether as do some private schools preparing students for the diploma leaves a purely vocational course which stands at right angles to the direction of the rest of schooling, namely: to

instill general notions albeit with a vocational bent at some levels. It would be interesting though costly to ascertain how employers view these privately trained diploma-holders and to see how they cope compared to those who have come through the more rugged general culture route.

Neuchâtel operates three ESC: one in the town of Neuchâtel; one in Le Locle and the last in La Chaux-de-Fonds. (90) The Neuchâtelois diploma is available in several varieties depending on the aspect of business studies which is emphasised. There are several other points of note:

In the town of Neuchâtel the ESC has, since 1989, possessed a special section for young artists and sportsmen. The object of this section is to allow young hopefuls to devote a significant part of their day to their art or their sport while undertaking the *diplôme de commerce* (options informatique) over four years instead of the usual three. (91)

This same school has developed a tradition of attracting non-Francophone students wishing to study French.(92) This has led to there being more than 450 such students in a total of just over 1'000.(93) However such a situation is not without its problems. Prior to the harmonisation of the start of the school year it was possible to run a preparatory course from April to July for non-Francophone students coming from Alémanique Cantons as these Cantons' schools began their year in Spring, leaving the students with a gap of several months before the Romand year began. Harmonisation of the start of the school year has meant that the preparatory course has been reduced to three weeks in August. (94)

Unlike their Neuchâtelois neighbour, the Fribourgeois present their courses for the *diplôme de commerce* in three of the four cantonal gymnases (95). In keeping with the nature of the Canton two of these three gymnases have both a Francophone and a Germanophone commercial section (96); one gymnase (also bilingual) has no commercial section while the fourth (the *Collège du Sud*) is solely Francophone.(97) These facts are a reflection of the demography of the Canton and appear to indicate a desire on the part of the Cantonal authorities to reduce as far as possible the language-based antagonisms which have so stressed the Confederation in the past.(98)

In Geneva the diploma is offered in ESC of which there are three in the Canton, all in the city of Geneva itself. The Genevan approach is unique since each of the ESC contains, rather than the normal two, four sections as follows:

- 1 commercial studies (*diplôme* and *maturité*);
- 2 program-analyst;
- 3 preparatory class;
- 4 commercial courses for apprentices.(99)

The preparatory classes are aimed at those who have completed their 9th year of school (and hence would normally have finished the orientation cycle) but who have not yet attained the entry requirements for the commercial studies section. (100)

Sections 2 and 4 will be dealt with in Chapter 5.

A further unusual aspect of the Genevan ESC is that the first year constitutes an orientation year. On entry to the second year the student is guided into either a section leading to the Maturité (type E) in another three years or another leading to the *diplôme de commerce* in a further two.(101) Those in the Maturité section have the opportunity to sit the diploma exam after two years and thence leave the school.(102)

Vaudois ESC are located in the Canton's seven gymnases and offer two types of course: commercial diploma and *baccalauréat ès sciences économiques*. Both courses are three years long. The latter also entitles the holder to the Maturité type E. (103). Like Vaud's general culture diplomas, the commercial diploma allows access to the final year of Maturité (in this case type E).

The Valaisan diploma is offered in five schools in Valais romand spread along the valley floor from Martigny to Sierre, including two in Sion.(104) One of these latter, the *Ecole supérieure de commerce*, also offers Maturité type E while the other, the *Lycée-Collège des Creusets*, offers Maturité types A, B, C and E.(105)

The ESC in Martigny, as befits its location near major ski stations such as Verbier, offers special classes for skiers (as well as for artists and sportsmen).(106) This allows young hopefuls to develop their talent whilst acquiring an academic qualification over three years instead of the usual two.(107)

The Jura Bernois offers its diploma in only one location, the Gymnase économique in Bienne.(108) The course extends over three years (109) and successful completion allows entry into the penultimate year of Maturité type E.(110)

The Jurassian diploma is offered to two ESC: Delémont and Porrentruy. The course last three years and success in the final exams allows the pupil entry to the fourth (and final) year of the Maturité Type E course at the Lycée cantonal in Porrentruy. (111)

Maturité

Although the Maturité is recognised for entrance to all faculties of all universities, it is not actually (except in one case) a Federal qualification. In terms of the *Ordonnance sur la reconnaissance des certificats de Maturité* (ORM) a Canton's schools may or may not be recognised as teaching and examining courses which come up to the level required by the statute. This situation, as mentioned earlier, leads to one where there is much divergence in the precise details of course contents or even, in some cases, in the subjects taught. The main core of each type of Maturité embraces the same subject headings. The content is another matter.

According to the ORM

"The goal of the schools preparing for the Maturité, in all the types (A, B, C, D and E) is to give the students the maturity necessary for higher education, ie to give them solid basic knowledge and an independent judgement, but not to push

specialist knowledge too far. The schools do their best to attain this goal in developing at the same time the intelligence, the willpower, the sensitivity and the physical ability (of the students).

The students at the final level of school must be capable not only of understanding, assimilating and discussing what they are taught but also of applying themselves to problems of a certain difficulty and clearly presenting the solution.

The school must prepare cultivated persons,..and make of them members of society conscious of their responsibilities as men and as citizens. At the heart of the school will reign a spirit favourising the attachment to the cultural and linguistic values of Switzerland, while remaining open upon the world."(112)

Within a Canton the differences between the five kinds of Maturités are of emphasis and of special subjects. Type A distinguishes itself by the presence of Latin and Greek; type B by Latin and a third national language (or English); type C by the emphasis on Mathematics and the Sciences; type D by the third national language (or English) and another modern language (English, third national language, Spanish or Russian); and type E by business studies and the third national language (or English). Additionally in each subject in type D the historical aspects have to underlined. (113)

It is notable that although Romansch is officially a national language it is not

possible to study it at Maturité, except where it is the mother tongue of the candidate (ie the language of the school). (114)

The *Règlement des examens fédéraux de maturité* (RFM) outlines briefly the syllabus and content for the exams organised by the *Commission fédérale de Maturité* (CFM). The CFM organises exams for students who have either prepared the work themselves (though it is generally expected that at least some direct teaching will have been involved) or attended a school not recognised by the CFM for the purpose of delivering the Maturité. We shall use this program as the means of setting the scene and hence to examine the Cantons against this backdrop.

Table 4.2 shows the subjects per Maturité and indicates those which are examined both orally and in writing, those examined only orally and those whose marks count double. (115) Also of note are music and art which, although examined, do not have their marks count for anything!

The style of examining (oral and written, oral only and subjects which do not count) indicates a pecking order not dissimilar to that apparent at the level of the orientation cycle. As we see from table 4.2, the group counting double is contained in that examined both orally and in writing.

Hierarchies of subject importance are not, of course, a Swiss monopoly. The Scots, for example, while ostensibly treating alike all subjects (116), with the exception of English and maths, notoriously define some subjects as of more worth than others. Physics is typically rated above biology, the

Table 4.2 Subjects appearing on the Maturité certificate

subjects	type				
	A	B	C	D	E
<i>for all types</i>					
1 native language	* / -	* / -	* / -	* / -	* / -
2 2nd national language	* -	* -	* -	* -	* -
3 History	+	+	+	+	+
4 Geography	+	+	+	+	+
5 Mathematics	* / -	* / -	* / -	* / -	* / -
6 Physics	+	+	* / -	+	+
7 Chemistry	+	+	+	+	+
8 Natural sciences	+	+	+	+	+
<i>specific to a type</i>					
9 Latin	* / -	* / -			
descriptive geometry			+ -		
3rd national language				* / -	
commercial & economic subjects					* / -
10 Greek	* / -				
English or another modern language		* -	* -	* / -	* -
<i>for all types</i>					
11 drawing or music	+	+	+	+	+

* = principal subjects. Minimum total required: 24 points

/ = subjects counting double for the total of points

+ = other subjects

- = written & oral exam, other subjects only orally examined.

sciences above the humanities. Yet on what basis? There appears none apart from some ill-founded prejudice. By contrast, American senior high school programs usually demand four years of English and three of maths with the remainder of the subjects appearing to swim in a general hotchpotch where at least there is a greater semblance of equality among them than in Scotland or Switzerland.

The Swiss are overt in their subject hierarchies and while they offer direct evidence to support the notion conveyed that some forms of knowledge matter more than others they make no pretence of not believing this. For their part, the Scots consign hierarchies of knowledge to the hidden curriculum where they are probably less open to change than in overt systems such as the Swiss.

The Maturité is a block certificate. However success in each individual subject is not essential for the candidate to pass. Expressing itself somewhat negatively, Article 21 of the RFM states that a candidate fails if:

- a) other than in music or art the candidate has obtained:
 - one mark of 1
 - or two marks of 2
 - or one mark of 2 and two of 3
 - or more than three marks of 3
- b) if he has obtained in the eleven (main) disciplines a total of less than 60. (117)

Each subject is marked out of 6 with 4 being a pass.

Close reading of the RFM suggests, although this is never openly stated, that at least for the CFM's exams there is no norm-referencing or scaling of marks whatsoever. Instead the exams appear to be quite simply marked by an examiner, moderated by an "expert", and the marks gained given as score out of 6. As Article 19 of the RFM puts it:

"When a group has been examined in a discipline, the examiner and the expert affirm the correctness of the marks awarded by placing their signature on the marks list.

At the end of the series of exams taken by a group, the expert and the director of exams ... ratify the marks."(118)

The candidate has the possibility either of sitting all the exams at once or of splitting them over two sittings, there being two per year. Either way, no candidate can present himself a third time. (119)

A comparison might be made with the case of the West German *Abitur* examination whose syllabi "have always emphasised the idea of a strong comprehensive core, the acquirement of which is obligatory for all pupils."(120) The core consists of the same subjects as in *Maturité* (with the exception of the German inclusion of scripture and the Swiss often including philosophy. (122) As in Switzerland the West Germans employ an overt subject hierarchy with mathematics and German being obligatory in all schools until age 18 and at *Abitur* the candidate being examined in writing in two major and two minor subjects. The difference is that the German candidate has some say in which subjects are examined in this way. (122)

Neuchâtel

Within the Canton of Neuchâtel the Maturité type E is dispensed in the ESC in the town of Neuchâtel and in La Chaux-de-Fonds (123). The Canton possesses four gymnases - a cantonal gymnase in each of Neuchâtel and La Chaux-de-Fonds and a much smaller communal gymnase in each of Neuchâtel and Fleurier.(124) The gymnases deliver Federal Maturités types A,B,C and D plus a cantonal Maturité, termed *Maturité ès lettres* or LG. (125) This latter attracts relatively few of the cohort. In 1988, for example, 17.6% of the cohort graduated in Maturité (all types) while only 0.6% graduated in Maturité LG. (126) This is attributable to the Maturité LG being cantonal and hence only acceptable for entry into some faculties of some universities, principally the University of Neuchâtel.

The Maturité LG appears to fill a gap in the various Federal Maturités. None of these specialise in literature. This is not to say that literature is not tackled in types A,B,C,D and E but none of these emphasise literature in the way that, say, type E emphasises business studies.

As we can see from table 4.3 (127), Neuchâtel has one of the highest percentage passrates at Maturité of all the Swiss Cantons. This situation is not without problems. As the OECD report on Neuchâtel states:

"The movement of adolescents' interests towards long studies deprives the vocational schools of an important part of the school population. Economic circles see there an imbalance insofar as the holders of a Maturité, after having undertaken university studies, often leave the Canton through lack of

Table 4.3 Passes at Maturité according to Canton of residence as percentage of population of 19 year olds in Canton.

Canton	1987	1988
Zurich	15.5	15.8
Berne	8.3	8.4
Luzern	8.0	7.2
Uri	7.1	7.8
Schwyz	7.2	8.7
Obwalden	4.7	9.5
Nidwalden	8.7	8.9
Glarus	6.0	10.9
Zug	14.7	13.1
Fribourg	14.0	14.2
Solothurn	10.1	10.7
Basel-Stadt	20.8	23.5
Basel-Land	16.8	16.4
Schaffhausen	9.8	13.9
Appenzell AR	9.2	9.4
Appenzell IR	4.6	5.9
St Gallen	8.0	8.5
Graübunden	9.2	10.4
Aargau	9.8	11.1
Thurgau	7.2	7.1
Ticino	16.0	20.8
Vaud	15.6	16.4
Valais	13.1	15.5
Neuchâtel	17.6	18.9
Geneva	23.1	30.3
Jura	12.6	13.5
<hr/>		
National average	13.2	13.4

employment while the Canton suffers a penury of qualified tradesmen in industry, arts and crafts. At the same time, this movement deprives the *écoles techniques et professionnelles* of a certain number of quality elements which this sector needs."(128)

Fribourg

Fribourg also counts four gymnases: three in the town of Fribourg and one in the town of Bulle in the south of the Canton. (129) The Fribourgeois approach to the Maturité distinguishes itself from that of Neuchâtel in the following manners:

- 1 As befits a bilingual Canton the three gymnases in the cantonal capital are bilingual;(130)
- 2 Fribourg no longer has any cantonal Maturité;(131)
- 3 Fribourg has only just introduced (in 1990) Maturité type D (modern languages). (132)

The gymnase in Bulle and one of those in Fribourg allow their students to add to their timetable through "orientation options" and "expressive options" (133) The former allow the student to either reinforce their chosen area of emphasis (for example, a student following the scientific Maturité might choose additional Physics) or widen their curriculum (the same type C student might choose Latin). Expressive options add an æsthetic element to the curriculum and include such topics as photography. (134)

While Neuchâtel adheres closely to the ORM, Fribourg branches out from it

and, as one might expect in a Canton where religion forms a central focus, includes philosophy as a compulsory subject for the last two years. Additionally, students at three of the gymnases have religious studies on their timetable. The fourth, Gambach in Fribourg, does not. (135)

14% of the Fribourgeois cohort pass the Maturité (136) which, as we can see from table 4.3, puts the Canton among the top deliverers of Maturité on a national basis but renders it among the lower Romand deliverers.(137)

Geneva

Geneva is unique. The most urbanised Canton, least mountainous and among the most powerful economically, this Canton delivers by far the highest cohort percentage of Maturité in the country. In 1987 this reached 23.1% and in 1988 30.3% (138) By attaining such figures Geneva has set the pace which Valais, for one, would like to follow. (139)

Geneva offers four Federal (A,B,C,D) and two Cantonal Maturités (artistic and commercial).(140) As mentioned earlier, the Canton's three ESC offer the commercial Maturité. This qualification allows access without further ado to the University of Geneva's Faculties of economic and social sciences, science and law while for entrance to certain courses in the Faculty of Arts the student is required to include in his/her first year a course in Latin language and Roman civilisation.(141) Notable is that the holder of the commercial Maturité is precluded from entry to courses in medicine, pharmacy and veterinary medicine as these fall under Federal legislation and hence require Federal qualifications for entry. (142)

The other Maturités are handled in the eight gymnases, spread throughout the Canton. Together these form the Collège de Genève. Pupils are assigned to a particular gymnase on the basis of geographical criteria. (143) Each offers Maturités A,B,C and D while three also offer the artistic Maturité . (144)

The Genevan version of the Federal Maturités expand on the Federal requirements to include philosophy and history of art. (145) Religious education is left to the faiths concerned as a reflection of the religious diversity now apparent in what was once the Protestant Rome.

The artistic Maturité comes in two forms - music and the visual arts - and is offered in one gymnase in the city of Geneva and two outside. (146) The additional load due to the artistic elements is offset by a reduction in the load in other subjects so that for the visual arts although the specialism occupies ten periods per week the timetable is never more than three periods longer than in the Federal Maturité courses. (147) In the music section the gymnase timetable is consistently lighter but this apparent reduction is more than compensated for by students being required to undertake instrument tuition either in private lessons or in a school supported by the state.(148)

Geneva is the greatest employer of imported labour in Suisse romande and the desire that immigrants' children should be able to compete as equally as possible with native Genevans is reflected in the existence of special classes for non-Francophone children. These classes not only give intensive coaching in French but also in areas such as Mathematics and Physics (149) whose presentation is very culture-dependent. The Swiss tend generally to present

physical sciences and Mathematics in a much more algebraic and abstract manner than do, for example, the British or the Americans. In addition, these are areas in which students frequently find difficulty anyway and these difficulties are compounded by having to cope with a new language. Hence the existence of these classes to soften the culture shock and ease adaption to new circumstances.

The policy appears to be successful since, according to Hutmacher, there is little or nothing to distinguish the achievement of native Swiss in Genevan schools from that of immigrants.(150) What is important though is the social class of the parents and their plans for long or short term residence.(151)

Vaud

As mentioned earlier Vaud divides its ESC into two sections: diploma and *économique* (152). The latter dispenses (as from 1 August 1991) a course leading to the cantonal *baccalauréat ès sciences économiques* and, concurrently, to the Federal Maturité type E (153) This represents the latest move by the Vaud toward complete compatibility of its baccalauréat with the ORM.

The seven Vaudois gymnases contain, in addition to their general culture sections, a baccalauréat division of five sections. Four correspond to Maturités types A,B,C and D while the fifth refers to the cantonal baccalauréat type X. Type X appears to be a cross between types B and C (*cf* the Valaisan type LS below) and emphasises both languages and the physical

sciences.(154)

As if to emphasise the extent to which even the Federal Maturité is primarily a cantonal affair the Vaudois, like the Neuchâtelois (except for type E)(155), but unlike Fribourgeois (156) and Genevans (157), prepare their students in three years instead of four.(158) Despite this, Vaud follows the official programs for the Maturité (159) (as we have seen, these leave a large amount of liberty to the Canton) and in 1987 delivered Maturités (Cantonal and Federal) to 17.3% of the cohort.(160)

By having a longer school year than, say, the Valaisans, the Vaudois manage to prepare their students for the Maturité by their eighteenth year - the minimum age for presentation allowed by the ORM.(161) We shall soon contrast this with the Valaisan approach.

All the Vaudois baccalauréat include philosophy as part of the last two years (162) but none includes any religious education. The courses lead first to the Cantonal baccalauréat and successful candidates then receive the corresponding Federal Maturité provided they satisfy the requirements of the ORM.

Valais

With 13.1% of the cohort receiving a Maturité in 1987 and 15.5% in 1988, Valais shows one of the lowest passrates of the Romand Cantons but is well above the national median and mean (163). According to Mermoud, Valais' low placing vis-à-vis its fellow Romands is a major cause for concern and

plans are being elaborated to attempt to raise the passrate to at least equal that of Geneva.(164) The relative centralisation of the gymnases in Valais is held by Mermoud to be an important factor contributing to the present situation (165) while Udry lays the blame on the level of difficulty of the Valaisan Maturité courses. (166)

At five years the Valaisan courses are certainly the longest (167). The students also have the longest regular week (34 periods of 50 minutes (168)) and the school year is the shortest, lasting 36 weeks minus a number of one day holidays.(169)

Since before the Maturité became widespread as a *Federal* qualification Cantons were effectively required to conform to the entrance requirements of a university. Valais, having no university, was in a unique position among the Romand Cantons of having to attempt to comply with the entrance requirements of four Romand universities and four in Suisse alémanique. The result was a baccalauréat whose level of difficulty was legendary. Since the only other Romand Canton bereft of a university, Jura, did not exist before 1979, the Jurassians took their cue from the University of Bern of whose Canton the Jura formed part.

In the past Valais' position at the level of Maturité was unenviable but now its reputation seems to hang more on myth than on reality. Certainly the length of the courses must daunt many a prospective student but they are only one year longer than most of the other Romand Cantons. Unfortunately the myth of disproportionate difficulty may do considerable damage by equipping would-

be entrants with a negative set from the start. Valais' pass-rate may be low, though far from the lowest, among the Romands, but one must ask at what level the pass-rate at Maturité should be? Here one must question the rôle and function of exams such as Maturité. Are they there for general consumption or do they exist to sift out the exceptions from the general tendencies? This begs the question as to what use a Canton would have for a possibly over-educated population, which is to say one which aspires to a level of employment commensurate with a stage of academic achievement that renders them largely unemployable in their native surroundings. In other words, if prospects exist within the Canton for 200 *Maturants*, how can it profit that Canton to prepare 2000, even if 2000 members of the cohort are found to have the potential? We return to this somewhat contentious point later in this chapter.

Valais romand offers its population the Maturité in two of its towns - St Maurice at the Western end of the Canton and in the Cantonal capital of Sion. The Collège-Lycée de l'Abbaye de St Maurice is described officially as *privé-public* and dispenses courses leading to the five Federal Maturités. A point of note is that the classics section (for types A and B) divides itself into two variants:

literary: preparing for Maturités types A and B;

Latin-sciences: also preparing for types A and B but emphasising Mathematics and Physics more than is strictly necessary for these Maturités.(170)

The Latin-sciences Maturité (or LS) from which the second variant descends

was a Cantonal qualification which, according to Fournier, combined the requirements of type A or B with those of type C.(171) As such it was recognised by the ORM as either type A or type B depending on whether the student had been examined in Greek or English/Italian.(172)

The remaining offerers of Maturité in Valais romand number three. The ESC in Sion offers Maturité E, the Lycée-Collège des Creusets types A, B, C and E and the Lycée-Collège de la Planta types B and D (173) The Lycée-Collège des Creusets follows the pattern of the old type LS for its classics students (174) although the overwhelming majority of these opt for type B (36 out of 44 classics bacheliers in 1988) (175)

All the Valaisan Maturités include philosophy (176) and all the curricula include religious instruction for the first three years (177). The non-classics types allow the student to broaden his horizons by taking optional Latin (178) while the type C students have optional laboratories in physics and chemistry. (179) All students are initiated into computing by means one or two periods per week in the fifth year.

Jura

Like Vaud, the Jura offers its Maturité over three years. The Jurassians, as one might expect in a poor and small Canton, have only one public gymnase, the Lycée cantonal at Porrentruy.(180) Here the five Federal Maturités are on offer and there are no Cantonal Maturités. In 1987 the Jura had a pass-rate of 12.6% and in 1988 this rose, in a trend common to the rest of the country, to 13.5%. This places the Jura at the bottom of those parts of Suisse

romande whose data are directly available but the Canton is still a long way above those Germanic Cantons which are similarly placed economically, geographically and demographically.

Berne

Maturité in the Jura bernois is available only in the bilingual town of Bienne/Biel (181) which in recognition of its linguistic nature has two bilingual gymnases.(182) The larger offers Maturités A, B, and C while the smaller, the Gymnase économique, offers only type E. (183)

Working from figures provided both by the Bernese authorities and the Office fédéral de la statistique, we calculate that in the Jura bernois the Maturité is passed by approximately 10% of the cohort. (The imprecision is due to the indirect nature of the statistics) This compares with 8.4% for the Canton as a whole (1988 and 8.3% in 1987) but, as table 4.3 shows, it is still well below the national average of 12-13%.

In terms of centralisation, the Jura bernois shows no real difference with most of the rest of Suisse romande. The courses are of median length (four years).(184) Therefore one must ask why the pass-rate is so low. At least two factors enter into play in this scenario:

- the relation between the Jura bernois and the rest of the Canton;
- the perceived rôle and function of the Maturité.

By its nature as an exam giving right of entry to higher education, the

Maturité necessarily is open only to part of the cohort. However, differences are apparent between Cantons as to how large or small this part should, or can, be. With the possible exception of Basel-Stadt whose pass-rate of 23.5% in 1988 and 20.8% in 1987 is second only to Geneva, the Germanophone Cantons seem to regard the Maturité as the ultimate school-based staging post, open only to the *crème de la crème*. Basel-Stadt incidentally shows a distinct similarity in terms of demography, geography and economic strength to Geneva.

However, even in comparison to purely Germanophone Cantons, Berne has a low pass-rate at Maturité. Only when we limit the area of comparison to primarily rural Cantons does Berne rise above the average. In itself this indicates that there may be an urban/rural divide in Maturité success. We return to this point shortly.

Teacher Training

Teacher training and the certificates issued from it are a subject of continued controversy in Suisse romande. The problem is one of mutual recognition of Cantonal qualifications. Since there is no Federal law which covers teacher training then, unlike most other vocational certificates issued by public authorities, there is no compulsion for a Canton to recognise the certificates granted by its neighbours.

The present situation has its basis not only in the Federal system but also in the long transition from one scheme of training to another. In the older system infant, primary and manual skills teachers (together sometimes with

teachers of lower secondary) are trained in Normal Schools. In the newer system, courses with the same goals require Maturité or some other post-compulsory school diploma for entry and are dispensed in pedagogical institutes, either standing alone or attached to a university.

The question of Normal Schools versus pedagogical institutes divides both pedagogical and political circles. As Blanc states:

"Those advocating Normal School feel that it is the best way to favour early teaching vocations and to heighten the value of Cantons and regions without a university. Those in favour of pedagogical studies (ie institutes) after acquiring a certificate of Maturité emphasise that one assures in this way a better general training of future primary teachers, that one has here much more certain vocations and that this allows would-be teachers to enter university without difficulty, either to complete theoretical training or, if needs be, to change professional direction." (185)

The only area where there appears to be general agreement on the entry-level qualification required is in courses for teachers of post-compulsory school. These require a degree or equivalent. The problem here however is whose degree! Cantons with a university tend to demand a degree from their own university or one which that university judges equivalent.

It will be noticed that, unlike earlier parts of this chapter, in this section we have translated more terms into English. There are two reasons for this:

firstly, there is no real potential ambiguity in the translated terms while, secondly, there is potential ambiguity in the original French. Unfortunately, the nomenclature employed is not always consistent between Cantons and *école normale* does not mean quite the same thing in, for example, Neuchâtel as it does in Valais.

Training in Normal Schools

In the Jura bernois, the state operates one Normal School, in the bilingual town of Bienne. Originally conceived as a schools for intending primary teachers only, after the creation of the Canton of Jura it found its client hinterland substantially reduced. In compensation for this, it has since diversified its activity and now prepares not only primary teachers but also nursery, manual skills and home economics teachers (186) in courses which last 5, 3, 3, 5 years respectively.(187)

The Normal School in Bienne accepts not only students fresh from compulsory school but also those with Maturité. Unlike in the Germanophone part of the Canton, in Bienne those with Maturité are not offered a special course. Instead they follow the last two years of the primary course. (188)

Fribourg trains its primary, nursery, home economics teachers and manual skills teachers in one bilingual Normal School, split over two campuses in the town of Fribourg. One point serves to underline the status of the students: both campuses regularly organise parents' evenings! (189) The primary course lasts five years as opposed to four for the others. (190)

The Valaisan Normal School in Sion prepares primary and nursery teachers, starting from the end of compulsory school. It also trains home economics teachers for lower secondary but requires Maturité for entry (191) to its three year course. (192)

Training in Pedagogical Institutes

Geneva demands Maturité (Federal or Genevan) for entry to its three year primary course. Unlike for university courses, possession of Maturité is a necessary but not sufficient condition for entry. Instead a selection procedure involving mock lessons, written tests and interviews decides who enters the course. The reasons for this selection are simple: the Genevan DIP not only pays a salary to its primary trainees but also guarantees to employ them for a minimum of three years. (193) It is therefore essential that the DIP be able to place these students upon graduation. This is one of the rare instances of manpower planning in Romand education.

Neuchâtel admits holders of the diplôme de culture générale, diplôme de commerce or equivalent to its three year course for nursery teachers. The primary students require a Maturité, Neuchâtelois baccalauréat or equivalent for entry to their three year course. (194) As in Geneva, entry is selective but requires candidates to undertake a short practical introduction to teaching. Failure in the assessment of this section eliminates the candidate from the rest of the entry procedure. (195)

The Jurassien pedagogical institute demands fulfillment of similar conditions to those of Neuchâtel for entry to its courses for nursery, primary and home

economics teachers. It is indicative of the demographic decline in one case and the increasing lack of available space in school timetables in the other that entry to nursery training is only open in even years while entry to home economics training is only open in odd years. (196)

Vaud is unusual in its primary and nursery training in several respects:

it is decentralised over three campuses, located in the north, south and east of the Canton;

the courses are two years long;

both courses are open not only to holders of Maturité but also to holders of the Vaudois diplômes de culture générale and baccalauréat technique (see Ch5);

admission may also be sought by candidates whose maximum scholastic attainment has been to complete compulsory school. (197)

Training secondary teachers

The same basic entry requirement for secondary school training applies throughout the region. As a rule, intending secondary teachers are required to possess a degree or equivalent in two subjects taught at the level they wish to teach to. The Jura, however, will admit to lower secondary training candidates who have only completed five semesters (eight is the usual minimum for a degree) of university or Federal polytechnic. (198) Berne retrains some primary teachers to teach secondary. Both these Cantons collaborate closely in many aspects of lower secondary teacher training – a collaboration which also extends into neighbouring areas of other surrounding Cantons. This is considered by Berne as a major initiative in the

direction of regional, if not national, recognition of teaching diplomas. (199)

In the area of upper secondary training, Berne collaborates directly with Neuchâtel. There being no facilities in Canton Berne to train these teachers, they must undertake their classes in educational theory in the University of Neuchâtel, (200) following the same one year course as their Neuchâtelois compatriots. (201) The remaining Cantons organise their own *Séminaire pédagogique* with, where appropriate, the support of their own university. With the exception of Geneva, all course last one year. The Genevans extend theirs over two years, with the student teachers teaching 10-12 hours per week (and getting paid for it). (202)

Not surprisingly, the training of special educators is a strictly Cantonal affair with widely varying entrance requirements, ranging from Maturité in Valais (203) to possession of a teaching certificate in Berne. (204) As we can see from figures 4.4 to 4.10, the concept of special education varies much from Canton to Canton. Special educators naturally have to be available as a consequence of this concept. What remains unclear however is the extent to which a Canton can meet its needs in special educators through retraining (partially or more completely) existing teachers. It appears from Thomet *et al* that retraining is the favoured method among the Romand Cantons with much intercanton collaboration being centered around the special education course offered by the University of Neuchâtel.

Conclusion

We have seen in the course of this chapter that performance at the level of Maturité varies much from Canton to Canton as does the length of the Maturité courses. Poggia describes factors which he states are the *causes* of low performance at Maturité in certain Cantons which he tells us follow the same patterns as performance at the level of diploma.(205) These factors are:

- a) the degree of "mountainousness";
- b) the degree of rurality;
- c) the degree of economic weakness. (206)

He states that the number of Maturités delivered varies inversely with these factors (in addition to which he claims a cultural divide between the Latins and the Alémaniques). (207) Poggia's arguments appear at first glance to be complete but their lack of transferability to other cases undermines this completeness. His results fail entirely to transfer to at least one other region where his work in Switzerland would lead one to expect the worst. The Highland Region of Scotland is more mountainous than Valais or the Jura, economically very weak and primarily rural and yet for centuries has been able to send a greater proportion of its young into higher education than has any other region of the United Kingdom. The point of this comparison is to demonstrate the weakness of Poggia's assertion that by combining the factors listed the causes of the effects are plain to see. This conclusion is strangely simplistic for as thorough a researcher as Poggia and, as the example of Highland shows, is forcibly missing something.

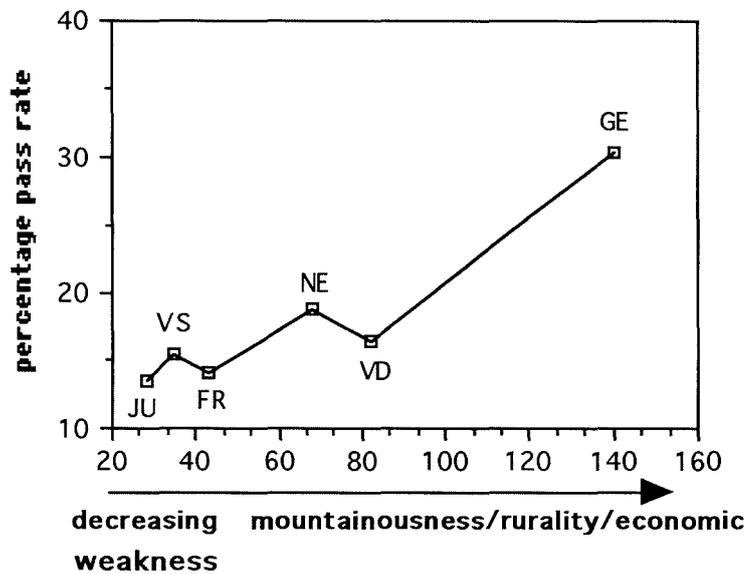


Figure 4.11 a comparison of pass rates at Maturité and the Federal Index of mountainousness/rurality/economic weakness

However, as we can see from Figure 4.11, there is, in the Romand context, an almost linear correspondance between the rate of passes at Maturité and the Federal index of mountainousness/rurality/economic weakness. This index is reassessed every few years and its function is to provide a consistent backdrop against which one can make comparisons between Cantons.

Economic weakness implies that many of those who pursue higher level school studies and move onto university or into skilled professions are destined never to return to their place of origin. The comparison with Highland looms large (208) but while Highland has long accepted this situation most of the Cantons have not. Otherwise, why are the gymnases so centralised and the Maturités generally so much longer and more difficult than is strictly necessary?

This centralisation is a factor which Poggia takes for granted (209) but the level of difficulty of the Maturité and the implications of this are passed by.

Accessibility of schools to the population must surely play a rôle more important than economic strength. Economically there is little to choose between Neuchâtel and Valais (210) but Neuchâtel's gymnases are much more in the direct reach of that Canton's population than are those in Valais to the Valaisans. Put simply, Neuchâtel is smaller and flatter than Valais. Having to reach St Maurice or Sion from a lateral valley can take a couple of hours and while boarding houses exist for students these are not free. In fact in 1988 they cost up to Fr6400 per annum (211). Besides, not every fifteen year old can or wishes to cope with boarding school. This point is further compounded by the attachment which the Valaisans have to their Canton. The general attitude appears to be that if getting on means getting out then most would prefer to stay put.

It is impossible to predict the effect that decentralising the gymnase provision in Valais would have but it would not be illogical to expect that if all other factors remained unchanged then this alone would raise the numbers choosing to enter for Maturité. However, would it be reasonable to expect Valais to invest the vast sums necessary when the Canton would almost certainly export a sizeable proportion of the resulting bacheliers? Encouraging students to follow paths other than to university might retain some of them but would this suffice to avoid the present situation of Neuchâtel where there is a penury of apprentices in the more skilled and technical

trades and yet many university graduates are forced to emigrate through lack of employment in the Canton?

This situation calls into question the means of funding of school, especially of gymnases, in Switzerland. Highland Region receives most of its money via direct grants from central government and has to raise relatively little itself. It also receives incentives from the EEC. The Swiss Cantons have none of these and while Federal subsidies do exist, they still leave to the Cantons the task of finding most of the funds. However the demand for widening access to Maturité does exist and it is up to the Cantons to decide whether they wish to maintain the present fiscal/educational rapport which is obviously discriminatory both to the poorer Cantons and also to their citizens or relinquish financial control (and, probably soon afterwards, curricular control) over their gymnases. This touches on two opposing and sensitive issues and it would be hard to envisage any resolution of the conflict at least within this decade. To compound the problem further one must also wonder whether the wealthier urban Cantons would be willing to support such a change which would involve amending the Constitution and would hence have to be accepted in referendum not only by a majority of those who voted but also by a majority of the Cantons.

The gradual moves by the Cantons to have their various certificates recognised on a Federal basis is indicative of an emerging pluralism in Romand post-compulsory schooling. As yet, the Cantons are a long way from the synthesism evident in compulsory school and there are no moves afoot to bring them closer together. The OFIAMT, CDIP and ORM lay down outlines of

programs and, as we have seen, the Cantons and their schools enjoy and employ an immense liberty of action in interpreting these outlines. The variety of lengths of equivalent courses demonstrates this freedom but begs the question: how can apparently equivalent Maturités have courses which differ in length by up to two years depending on the Cantons?

The Cantons have maintained their independence from each other since the Confederation was founded and each revision of the Constitution since 1848 has underlined this *status quo* which has often been defended with little short of ferocity. It is against this background that, while questioning what appears at the level of Maturité to be difference for difference's sake, we must judge the progress made towards harmonising the entire Romand school since the signing of the Concordat in 1970.

The major question which begs to be asked concerning teacher training is why, while the Romand primary school adopts a common curriculum, primary teaching certificates have no automatic validity outwith their Canton of origin. These two points stand in diametrical opposition. It defies all logic to even infer that while a teacher might well be capable of teaching a programme in, say Valais, that he/she is incapable of teaching the same programme in Geneva.

What is perhaps most ironical is that upper secondary teaching certificates, at that point in the school curriculum where there is often wide divergence in the material covered, tend increasingly to be mutually recognised.

Both the CDIP and the *Conseil suisse de la Science* (a Federal government advisory body) are aware of the situation and the former body, encouraged by the latter, has begun the process leading to mutual recognition. What effects this will have in terms of teacher mobility remains to be seen in a region where salaries can vary immensely from one Canton to another. We must also wait and see the effect on the number of teacher training establishments.

At present, teacher training establishments are small and generally tied to a specific locality. This enables training to be tuned into the local culture to a far greater extent than is feasible or advisable in, say, the West of Scotland where, for a roughly similar population, spread over a wider area, teachers are trained in three localities. Whether the Romand decentralisation of teacher training remains possible in the future, we can only hope. Without its pedagogical institute, the Jura, for one, would have no tertiary education

It remains to be decided in Suisse romande the better method of teacher training: the Normal School versus the pedagogical institute. The main argument in favour of training intending teachers fresh from compulsory school seems to be that of securing early vocations. This appears reminiscent of the Jesuit adage: "Give us a child early enough and he is ours for life," and it is a position that this writer questions on several grounds:

- a) in a rapidly changing world, is the baggage of general culture of the Normal School entrant sufficient to enable him/her to cope not only with the reception of this change but also with its transmission to young learners?

- b) is it appropriate to treat nursery and primary training as a sort of apprenticeship to be undertaken in the similar manner and at the same age and stage of development as a technical or commercial apprenticeship?
- c) is it fair to assume that a 15/16 year old knows sufficiently his/her own mind to allow him/her to enter a very specific course of training which, unlike other apprenticeships, has exceptionally little cross-professional mobility?

It will be interesting to see how the moves toward mutual recognition of teaching certificates deal with the present dichotomy in teacher training. We have seen most other Cantonal baccalauréats gradually disappear. How long will it be until the pedagogical baccalauréat or Maturité goes the same way? Given the Swiss rate of change, it will probably be quite some time. The trend however seems to be an inexorable move in that direction.

Sources and Notes

- 1 Luck, J.Murray (1985): **A History of Switzerland** (Palo Alto, SPOSS) p462
- 2 Mitter, Wolfgang (1981): "Curriculum issues in both Germanies" in **Compare** vol 11 no 1 1981 p7
- 3 Prais, SJ & Wagner K (1986): "Schooling standards in England and Germany: some summary comparisons bearing on economic

- performance" in **Compare** vol 16 no 1 1986
- 4 For the workings of the Concordat, see Cetlin, D (1972): **Guide romand d'information scolaire et professionnel** (Lausanne, SPES)
 - 5 Correspondance with J Ph Vuilleumier, Chef du service d'enseignement secondaire, Département de l'instruction publique, Neuchâtel, 24/10/89
 - 6 A problem which soon becomes apparent in Suisse romande is that while there is agreement as to what is to be taught and when in primary school, there is as yet no agreement as to when primary school begins and ends or how long it should last. This situation shows so far no sign of resolving itself but must exert a severe limiting force on any further moves towards school harmonisation.
 - 7 Scottish Education Department: **Circular 614**
 - 8 Comment in correspondance by Prof Pierre Furter, University of Geneva.
 - 9 Département d'instruction publique du Canton et République de Genève: **Le Cycle d'orientation - General Information** (1986, Geneva, DIP Genève) p10
 - 10 Cottier, Maurice: "La Politique scolaire du Canton de Fribourg" in **Revue européenne de science sociale** (issue unknown) p70
 - 11 Département d'instruction publique et des cultes du Canton de Vaud (DIP Vaud)(1986): **Classes secondaires - programme du 5e degré** (Lausanne, DIP Vaud) p3
 - 12 Organisation for Economic Development and Cooperation (OECD)(1989): **L'enseignement dans le Canton de Neuchâtel** (Berne, Conférence suisse des directeurs cantonaux de l'instruction

publique) p8

13 *ibid*

14 Pierre Mermoud, Directeur du Centre de formation pédagogique et sociale, Sion - interviewed 15-16/7/87

15 According to Joel Spring:

"*Equality of opportunity* means that all members of a society are given equal chances to enter any occupation or social class. This does not mean that everyone can choose any social position; rather all have an equal chance to compete for any place in society...as a result of merit and not as a result of family wealth, heredity, or special cultural advantages." From Spring, Joel (1982): **American Education** (New York, Longmans) p53

Spring's definition *appears* laudable but it suffers from major flaws as Downey and Kelly remark:

"Equality of opportunity would exist...even if it amounted to no more than an equal opportunity from every child to take a test at 5+ to decide whether he or she should be admitted to the school system or excluded from it altogether." From Downey, Meriel & Kelly, A V (1986): **Theory and Practice in Education** (London, Harper & Row) p213

This reliance on undefined and sometimes undefinable terms (of which "equality of opportunity" forms only one example among any) is far from restricted to the Romands. Two classics of this genre are **The Structure of the Curriculum in the Third and Fourth Years of the Scottish Secondary School** (The Munn Report) (1977) (Edinburgh, HMSO) and **Assessment for All** (The Dunning Report) (1977) (Edinburgh, HMSO) which are bedecked with value-laden terms and presumed definitions. The result is two reports whose philosophical basis is patently absent and which pay little attention to the necessary articulation between educational theory and educational

practice.

- 16 Centre suisse de documentation en matière d'enseignement et d'éducation (CESDOC)(1989): **Organigrammes des systèmes scolaires cantonaux** (Geneva, CESDOC) pp12 & 44
- 17 Valaisan diagram courtesy of Pierre Mermoud *op cit* (modified to fit the model proposed by the CESDOC *op cit*
Vaudois diagram modified to fit the CESDOC model from: Galland, R (1978): **Formation dans le Canton de Vaud 1950-1976** (Lausanne, Office de statistique de l'Etat de Vaud)
- 18 CESDOC *op cit* p21
- 19 Direction de l'instruction publique et des affaires culturelles (DIP Fribourg) (1989): **Compte rendu 1988** (Fribourg, Conseil de l'Etat) p19
- 20 Correspondance with F Sallin, Chef du DIP de Fribourg, 13/10/89
- 21 Cottier *op cit* p71
- 22 Hari, Robert (1976):"Une expérience de réforme scolaire: le cycle d'orientation genevoise" in **International Review of Education** Vol XXII 1976 p71 It is worth mentioning that at this time Hari was a professor of Egyptology at the University of Geneva.
- 23 Département d'instruction publique du Canton de Genève (DIP Genève) (1989): **Information aux parents** (Genève, DIP Genève)
- 24 CESDOC *op cit* p43
- 25 *ibid* p40
- 26 Mermoud *op cit*

- 27 Le Grand Conseil du Canton de Vaud (1984): **Loi scolaire du 12 juin 1984** (Lausanne, Etat de Vaud)
- 28 *ibid*
- 29 *ibid*
- 30 DIP Vaud *op cit* p5
- 31 CESDOC *op cit* p35
- 32 OECD *op cit* p7
- 33 Le Conseil d'Etat de la République et Canton de Neuchâtel (1987): **Règlement concernant les conditions d'admission, de promotion, de réussite et de passage dans l'enseignement secondaire** (Neuchâtel, Etat de Neuchâtel) p1
- 34 CESDOC *op cit* p42
- 35 *ibid* p44
- 36 *ibid* p13
- 37 For further on this subject of Soviet post-WWII hegemony, see, for example: Shimoniak, Wasyl (1970): **Communist Education** (Chicago, Rand McNally)
- 38 CESDOC *op cit* pp13 & 44
- 39 Galland *op cit passim*
- 40 Département d'instruction publique et des affaires sociaux du Canton de Jura (DIP Jura) (1981): **L'école jurassienne** (Delémont, DIP Jura) p25

41 *ibid*

42 Stevens found that

"while the slow lose by being labelled, the bright *who are working well* do not lose by the postponement of that labeling." (our italics) from Stevens, Auriel (1980): **Clever Children in Comprehensive Schools** (Harmondsworth, Pelican)

Unfortunately, Stevens gives no indication as to how one might expect to fare those bright children who, for whatever reason, are not working well.

43 DIP Valais (1987): **Cycle d'orientation - son avenir** (Sion, DIP Valais)

44 Hari *op cit* p64

45 The agreed programs for the levels covered by the 1970 Concordat leave much opening for local variation within a general framework.

46 When the present writer was resident in Vaud he found that his work permit described him as "anglais". Being "écossais" he brought this to the attention of the clerkess in the office concerned. To her reply that it did not really matter he was able to retort: "Etant Vaudoise, Madame, est-ce que vous seriez contente d'être traitée de Fribourgeoise?" The entry on the workpermit was changed!

47 Blanc, Emile (1987): **Les Formations post-obligatoires (groupe d'âge 15/16 -18/19 ans) en Suisse** (Berne & Genève, CDIP) p13

48 *ibid* p12

49 *ibid*

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- 55 M l'Abbé Roland Udry, Directeur, Lycée-Collège les Creusets, Sion - interviewed 18/10/88
- 56 See: Kirk, Gordon (1986): **The Core Curriculum** (London, Hodder & Stoughton)
- 57 Maitre, Maryvonne (1989): "Collège de Genève" in **Dossiers publics** périodique de documentation de Genève juillet/août 1989 p61
- 58 Brent, Allen (1978): **Philosophical Foundations of the Curriculum** (Boston & Sydney, George Allen & Unwin) pp94-165
- 59 Egger *op cit* p26
- 60 Blanc *op cit* p9

- 61 Sallin *op cit*
- 62 OECD *op cit* p16
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- 64 Egger *op cit* p26
- 65 Blanc *op cit* p10
- 66 *ibid* pp10-11
- 67 *ibid* p11
- 68 *ibid*
- 69 OECD *op cit* p16
- 70 *ibid*
- 71 DIP Neuchâtel *op cit*
- 72 DIP Fribourg *op cit* p42
- 73 Cottier *op cit* p75
- 74 *ibid* & DIP de Fribourg *op cit* p42
- 75 DIP Vaud (1986): **Gymnases Cantonaux - Loi Règlements Plans d'études Programmes des cours** (Lausanne, DIP VD) p2
- 76 *ibid* p6
- 77 Département d'instruction publique de Genève (DIP de Genève) (1986): **Informations aux parents** (Geneva, DIP de Genève) p20

- 78 DIP Fribourg *op cit* p42
- 79 Ecole valaisanne (numéro spécial 1987): **Ecoles officielles et privées du Valais romand** (Sion, Office d'orientation scolaire et professionnelle) p53 (EOP)
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- 83 *ibid* p26
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- 86 *ibid*
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- 88 *ibid* p16
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- 91 *ibid* p67
- 92 OECD *op cit* p15
- 93 *ibid*

- 94 DIP Neuchâtel *op cit* p67
- 95 Cottier *op cit* p74 & DIP de Fribourg *op cit* pp27-34
- 96 DIP Fribourg *op cit* pp27-34
- 97 *ibid* p34
- 98 As mentioned in Chapter 2 one only has to look as far as the *Graben* which opened between the Romand and Alémanique Cantons during World War One to see an example of the tensions which stir just beneath the surface of Swiss society. These tensions wax and wane but so far have shown no sign of going away.
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- 100 *ibid* p26
- 101 *ibid* p24
- 102 *ibid*
- 103 Le Grand Conseil du Canton de Vaud (1989): **Loi sur l'école supérieure du 19 septembre 1989** (Lausanne, Etat de Vaud) article 9
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- 108 correspondance with F von Niederhausen, DIP Berne

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- 110 von Niederhausen *op cit*
- 111 DIP Jura (1988) *op cit* p24
- 112 ORM *op cit*
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- 114 Conseil fédéral (1986): **Règlement des examens fédéraux de maturité** (RFM) (2 juin 1986, Berne) Article 12a
- 115 *ibid* Articles 12, 13, 17
- 116 see: the Munn and Dunning Reports *op cit* for some fine rhetoric on the equality of knowledge.
- 117 RFM *op cit* Article 21
- 118 *ibid* Article 19
- 119 *ibid* Article 22
- 120 Mitter *op cit* p15
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- 127 *ibid*
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- 134 *ibid*
- 135 *ibid*
- 136 OFS *op cit*
- 137 In his **Politique et planification de l'éducation en Suisse** (1983, Berne, Peter Lang) Edo Poggia postulates on the apparent cultural divide which makes it that the cohort percentage passrate at Maturité in most of Suisse alémanique is significantly lower than in most of Suisse romande. Although it is hard to disagree with Poggia that the degrees of urbanism, economic strength and mountains within a Canton play a rôle in this, it is difficult to avoid coming to the conclusion, given the vast differences on the whole between Romands and Alémaniques, that there is a basic cultural dimension to these discrepancies. This dimension might include several facets such as:

the attitude of the population at large to higher education

(the primary outlet for *bacheliers*);

students may feel disinclined from pursuing their studies as this would almost inevitably to definitively quitting the home canton (this could be compared to the low rate of entrance of the working class to higher education in, for example, the United Kingdom - those of working class origin are often held to be afraid of *being educated out of their class*;

the Cantonal authorities may, as Valais appears to do, up the level of difficulty of the Maturité so that few enter for it and so more brains are kept in the Canton.

Possession or not of a university appears to play no part. Graübunden, for example, produces a higher percentage of bacheliers than does Berne and, while Graübunden has no university and Berne has, it is much less urbanised than Berne, more mountainous and economically weaker. In other words, while Poggia's hypothesis seems to hold by and large for most of the country, this counterexample shows that his conclusion is more a general tendency than a hard and fast rule.

138 OFS *op cit*

139 Mermoud *op cit*

140 Collège de Genève *op cit* p10

141 Informations aux parents *op cit* p25

142 Collège de Genève *op cit* p5

143 Informations aux parents *op cit* p18

144 *ibid*

- 145 Collège de Genève *op cit* p14
- 146 Information aux parents *op cit* p18
- 147 Collège de Genève *op cit* p14
- 148 *ibid* p67
- 149 *ibid* p74
- 150 Hutmacher, Walo(1985): "Enrolment of Foreign Children in Schools in Switzerland" in **Immigrants' Children at School** (Paris, CERI) p244
- 151 Hutmacher *ibid* p246 found that among immigrants' children in Geneva that the projected length of stay was a major factor in determining school success.
- 152 Grand conseil du Canton de Vaud (1989) *op cit* article 9
- 153 *ibid*
- 154 **Gymnases cantonaux...** *op cit* p14
- 155 OECD *op cit* p22
- 156 Vuilleumier *op cit*
- 157 **Informations aux parents** *op cit* p18
- 158 **Gymnases cantonaux..***op cit* p4 + correspondance with François Bettex, secrétaire général, DIP de Vaud 12/1/90
- 159 Grand conseil du Canton de Vaud (1985): **Règlement des écoles secondaires du 2ème degré 18 décembre 1985** (Lausanne,

Etat de Vaud)

- 160 OFS *op cit*
- 161 ORM *op cit* article 15
- 162 **Gymnases cantonaux** *op cit* pp30-31
- 163 OFS *op cit*
- 164 Mermoud *op cit*
- 165 *ibid*
- 166 Udry *op cit*
- 167 EOP *op cit passim*
- 168 DIP Valais (1988): **La formation des enseignants** (Sion, DIP Valais) p16
- 169 *ibid*
- 170 EOP *op cit* p30
- 171 Fournier, Gilbert (1982): **Du lycée à l'université** (Zurich, ASOSP) p31
- 172 *ibid*
- 173 EOP *op cit* pp47-49
- 174 Lycée-Collège des Creusets (1988): **Rapport annuel Année scolaire 1987/1988** (Sion) p122
- 175 *ibid* p106

- 176 Le Conseil d'Etat du Canton du Valais (1983): **Règlement du 26 mars 1975 concernant les examens de maturité dans le Canton du Valais avec les modifications du 14 décembre 1983** (Sion, Etat du Valais) article 22
- 177 Creusets *op cit* pp123-124
- 178 *ibid*
- 179 *ibid*
- 180 DIP Jura (1988) *op cit* p23
- 181 von Niederhauser *op cit*
- 182 DIP Berne (1986): **L'Ecole bernoise en Chiffres** (Berne, DIP Berne)
- 183 von Niederhausen *op cit*
- 184 CESDOC *op cit* p13
- 185 Blanc *op cit* p14
- 186 Thomet *et al* (1986): **La Formation des enseignants** (Berne, DIP Berne) pp19 & 24
- 187 CESDOC *op cit* p13
- 188 Thomet *et al op cit* p20
- 189 DIP Fribourg *op cit* p21
- 190 CESDOC *op cit* p21

- 191 EOP *op cit* p50
- 192 *ibid* p40
- 193 Service d'orientation (1990): **Au Seuil de l'Université et d'autres études supérieures** (Geneva, DIP Geneva) pp89-90
- 194 Le Grand Conseil du Canton et République de Neuchâtel (1985): **Loi sur la formation du personnel enseignant** Article 14
- 195 *ibid* Article 17
- 196 DIP Jura *op cit* p60
- 197 DIP Vaud) (1991): **Rapport annuel** (Lausanne, DIP(VD)) pp51-52
- 198 DIP Jura *op cit* p60
- 199 Thomet *et al op cit* pp21-22
- 200 *ibid* p28
- 201 OECD *op cit* p18
- 202 Service d'orientation *op cit* p91
- 203 EOP *op cit* p41
- 204 Thomet *op cit* p25
- 205 Poglia *op cit* conclusions p7
- 206 *ibid* partie II pp168-171
- 207 *ibid* conclusions p7

- 208 It has been demonstrated many times that without skilled manpower from the Highland many professions in the Lowlands of Scotland would have been in danger of ceasing to exist. Examples range from nursing to the armed services.
- 209 Poggia *op cit* conclusions p6
- 210 Banque cantonale du Valais (1988): **71e Rapport - Exercice 1987** (Sion, Banque cantonale du Valais) p21
- 211 EOP *op cit* fiche des prix

Chapter five

Formal further education

- introduction
- making good gaps left from school
- vocational training
 - introduction
 - the Law of 1978
 - general culture
 - some apprenticeships outwith the Law of 1978
 - some remarks on basic vocational training
- écoles supérieures spécialisées
- examens professionnels
- vocational training by Canton
- conclusion
- Sources and notes

Introduction

Strictly speaking, further education (FE) may be regarded as any non-university level education taking place after school. This however is a vast field made somewhat more manageable by restricting it to the formal domain. This restriction allows a reasonable differentiation between this area and that of non-formal, non-vocational FE as covered in the next chapter.

This chapter divides itself into a minor and a major area. They are:

- a) making good the gaps left from school;
- b) vocational training.

It is worth reiterating here that, as this is not primarily a philosophical work, we shall not attempt to argue the nuances which some hold to distinguish education from training. Instead we shall stick to the labels attached to the courses and programs concerned by those who teach and organise them. This apparently cowardly approach is, we feel, justified for the following reasons:

- (i) The space available here would scarcely suffice to rehash the arguments on this topic which one finds in the literature in English, still less to add to them or formulate a judgment.
- (ii) As this work draws mainly from the literature in French, any rigid approach would inevitably suffer from trying to render *formation*, *enseignement*, *instruction* and *éducation* into English other than by largely literal translation. Besides, in the literature in French there is no agreement as to when one term should be used in preference to another.

- (iii) The scope for confusion is further enhanced by Switzerland being a multilingual country in which German dominates but translation into the other national languages is not always consistent. In this way, *Bildung*, for example, might find itself rendered *formation*, *enseignement*, *instruction* or *éducation* and hence how does one translate it into English?

We avoid these fruitless arguments by accepting on this occasion literal translation. Besides, is there really any difference between education and training? Or is the distinction made between them merely made so that educators can somehow devalue the efforts of trainers or that the educated might look down on the trained.

Making good gaps left from school

There exists in Switzerland a fairly strict rapport between age and school level. This has the effect that the overwhelming majority of pupils progress through the various classes and courses without repetition of years but with increasingly divergent paths. As a result in many cases where it is felt that a child has been misorientated the only recourse available (and this only to those who have the financial means, which effectively excludes all but the better-off) which avoids repeating years is to move him/her into the private sector as in most Cantons there are no public institutions, other than the 10th year of school (see Ch 4) to cater for late developers. The nearest to fulfilling this function are the four Adult Maturité schools. The Adult Maturité schools however only accept students aged at least 20 and who have either completed an apprenticeship or have supported themselves for at least

three years. (1) Although this indubitably discriminates against women who, not having done an apprenticeship, then settled down to have children whilst depending on her spouse, the numbers concerned are indeed very small. So small in fact that one wonders why the *Ordonnance fédérale sur la Reconnaissance des certificats de Maturité* bothers to effectively single them out for discrimination. (2)

At present the only public Adult Maturité school in Suisse romande is the *Collège pour adultes* in Geneva whose courses are offered free to Genevan residents but only via direct teaching. This Collège has existed since 1962 and dispenses its courses over 3, 4 or 5 years depending on the entry level of the students. (3). Since 1987 the Valaisan DIP has been considering the possibility of opening such a Collège for adults in the Valais. (4)

From September 1989 Geneva has also been offering an *école de culture générale pour adultes* (5) and from September 1990 the Collège pour adultes has begun to offer courses leading to the International Baccalaureate. (6)

With its requirement of three lower level and three upper level courses it is easy to appreciate why the International Baccalaureate might be seen as more accessible to adults than the Maturité with its 12 branches, but can the two really be judged equivalent? Certainly the Federal authorities do not think so since only the Maturité can secure entry to "Federal" university courses such as medicine and pharmacy. The International Baccalaureate represents a sort of crossroads between English O and A levels and the French baccalauréats. In this way, it is a somewhat narrow block certificate in

comparison to the much more wide and diverse Maturité.

The sheer volume of the Maturité must serve as a disincentive to many adults. There is also the fact that only two sittings are allowed. For a person attempting it full-time this is sufficiently daunting but how must it appear to an adult perhaps working full-time and trying to study in the evenings?

As we saw in Chapter 4, the Maturité contains a fairly explicit hierarchy of subjects, giving at least two levels. Thus the exam can be viewed as a number of level 1 passes plus a number of level 2 passes. Would it be such a radical departure from standing practice to allow adults to sit a few subjects at a time over, say, a four year period *and* to ascribe an individual value to each subject passed? In this way, not finishing the course or failing somewhere would not leave the candidate empty-handed (as can be the case at present) while accumulation of the required passes would give the candidate the same Maturité as his/her teenage counterpart.

Despite the demographic decline, there has so far been no move to allow adults to attend school alongside teenagers. The present structure of the Maturité does not lend itself to part-time adult attendance but the modifications we suggest might well do so.

In their 1989 annual report the Genevans mention the need for in-service training to allow teachers to better teach adults. (7) These courses are now being run and:

"gradually the teaching body in the Collège will be in a position to

give teaching perfectly suited to its public."(8)

There is an implication in this idea that adults *require* teaching methods different from those needed with youth. Adults *may* learn differently from youth but need they be taught differently? Adults undertaking school level courses have neither the same motivations or expectations as those in that more traditionally adult domain, non-formal education. The latter draws a clientèle seeking an educative experience more for its intrinsic value than does the former with its more instrumental aims. The adult returnee is looking to his/her course as a ticket to another course or career unlike his/her non-formal counterpart who seeks a course which, however enriching it might be, is effectively an end in itself. Couple this with the pressure on the adult returnee to complete a required amount of coursework in a given time, a lack of security and self-assurance he/she might bring to the course following low attainment at school and the consequent need for a familiar point of departure and we begin to see why the methods employed with youth may be well-adapted to adults. Recognition of this removes one possible objection to adults learning alongside youth. Notice could be taken here of the Scottish experience of allowing adults to join ordinary school classes. Of course, the Scottish system of individual certificates for subjects at each of three levels (plus various types of short courses with their own certificates) lends itself to part-time attendance. However Scottish adults and children have shown that each can benefit from the others' presence while the teachers have shown that they are, by and large, capable of coping with mixed classes of adults and youth. The arrival of adults into teenage classes has demanded adaptability, suppleness and diplomacy on the part of

the teachers but are these not qualities one hopes to find in every good teacher? In short, if the Scots can cope and benefit from adults in classes, it is difficult to imagine their Romand colleagues not being able to do likewise.

Although the private sector caters for all age groups it is perhaps appropriate to include it in further education as the age restrictions evident in school do not apply. Thus it is conceivable to find in the same private class pupils preparing the Maturité for the first time in company with others repeating the course for the fourth or fifth time (although it is only possible to *sit* the exam twice).(9)

The limited attractiveness of private schools for those preparing or repeating a Maturité is shown by the fact that the number of certificates issued each year to external candidates and those in private schools is roughly one-fifteenth the number issued in public school and the failure rate is about 23% compared to 5 to 8% in the public schools.(10)

A major function of private schools is to prepare pupils for commercial diploma examinations and for foreign language diplomas such as those of the Alliance française, University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate, etc.(11) The extent to which this function is one of making up for deficiencies left from school is debatable but exams such as the Cambridge First Certificate and Proficiency cover ground treated in the Maturité and Commercial Diploma courses.

On the fringe of the private school scene are the so-called "international

schools". These draw their clientèle from the upper economic layers of society and, generally, from a wide variety of countries. These facts, together with the offering of foreign programmes such as English GCE, American Advanced Placement and SAT, distinguish them from non-international schools. To these must be added the "finishing schools" which litter the Vaudois Riviera and which often are part and parcel of "international schools" - the latter being the more intellectual part of the former!

The language of instruction of these establishments is often English, though some are bilingual (usually English and French). However due to the client group, the biggest part of whom are transient foreign nationals and many of these are boarders, international and finishing schools have only a limited impact in compensating for gaps left from Romand school.

Within the Cantons of Suisse romande the facilities, both public and private, for making good deficiencies left from school are many and varied, even within an individual Canton. As we have seen (Ch4), this is one of the roles played by the 10th (and 11th) years of school in whatever institution this is offered.

To some extent, the location of the offer is a function of population density. This is as true of the private as of the public sector but there are notable exceptions in the international and finishing school arena. This type of establishment, by dint of its largely boarding population, is able to exist well away from main transport arteries and centres of population. Thus, the Vaudois Alps, in particular, are peppered with small and very small

international and finishing schools. This said, the largest international school in Suisse romande is in the densely populated Canton of Geneva. The International School of Geneva spreads over five campuses, and covers all levels from pre-school to International Baccalaureate in catering for some 2'000 students

Vocational training

Introduction

From an economic and demographic point of view, vocational training is certainly the most important aspect of further education. In Switzerland two out of every three young people now enter some form of apprenticeship (12). However vocational training differs from post-compulsory schooling in at least one important political aspect. As we have seen in chapter 4, the Federal Constitution guarantees the sovereignty of the Cantons in the question of education (which is equated with school and university). The same Constitution, as figure 5.1 (13), shows, gives the Confederation the right to legislate on most forms of vocational training. We spend a moment considering the background on this.

As Tabin tells us (14), the first Cantonal laws concerning arts and crafts were laid down in the 1830s and 1840s in all the Cantons except Solothurn and the Appenzells. These aimed at protecting women and young people and were linked to apprenticeship (although the first Canton to legislate specifically on apprenticeship (ie Neuchâtel) did not do so until 1890 (15)). The inspiration for these laws seems to have been not so much a contestation that women and children should be employed but more on

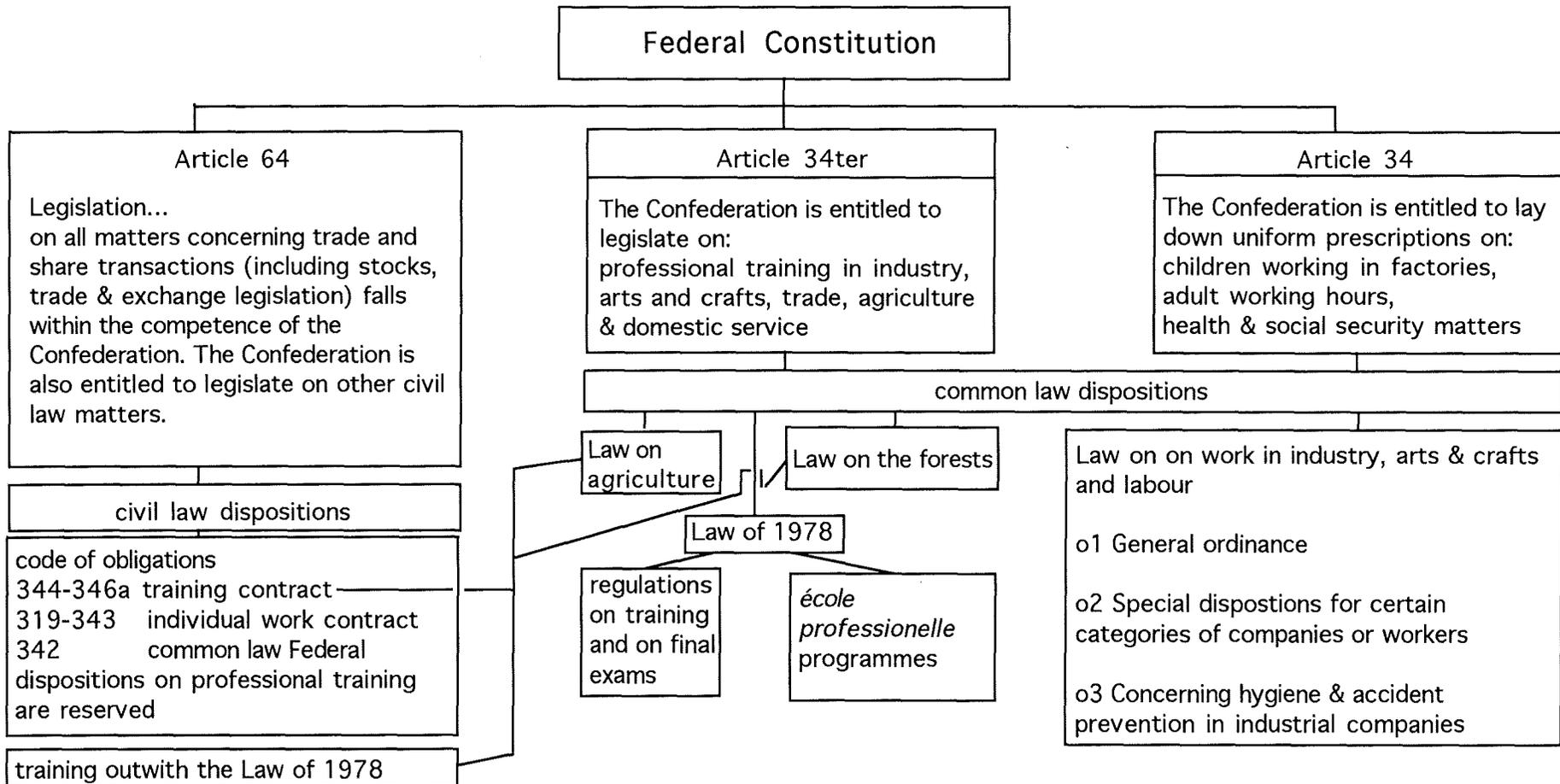


Figure 5.1 Federal constitution and vocational training

whether they should be employed in factories where they were outwith the family environment (16). In this way these attempts at factory legislation really did nothing to prevent exploitation of the workforce, especially given the small size of the average industrial unit which often put it beneath the reach of the law (see also ch3).

The laws were generally unequally applied and did little to prepare the country for the major economic crisis it experienced in 1873, a crisis exacerbated by a wave of emigration towards the USA which drew large numbers of skilled workers. This came at a time when the number of workers in industry was in constant increase, when machines performed their tasks increasingly well and, while the basic industrial unit remained small, working at home began to decline. Machines required skilled operatives and mechanics and thus a lacuna in qualified workers began to be felt.

In this way it was economics which pushed the Confederation in the 1874 Constitution to take the power to "statute uniform prescriptions on the work of children and adults in factories."(17)

The economic situation was further worsened by the consistently poor showing of Swiss products at the international exhibitions which were so much in vogue in the latter part of the 19th century.(18) Finally, in 1882 the National Council demanded that the Federal Council investigate

"the state of the industries and crafts which complain about commercial contracts and to examine to what extent it is possible to help out these industries (and crafts) by altering

(customs) duty, by subsidising professional schools of Arts and Crafts, or by some other means." (19)

Although only eight Cantonal governments bothered to take part in this industrial investigation, many professional associations and individuals contributed. The problem of commercial contracts was, according to Tabin, scarcely mentioned. Instead, vocational training was constantly discussed. (20)

As a result, in 1884 the Federal Parliament ratified the *Ordonnance fédérale concernant la formation professionnelle et artisanale*. (21) The economic thrust behind this Ordinance was underlined by the Federal Council at the end of the industrial investigation. Under the signature of the President of the moment, Louis Ruchonnet, it noted how

"one is struck by the need to do all that is possible in favour of vocational teaching in order *not to remain behind the progress which time itself brings* and to be able to sustain the struggle against foreign competition."(22, our italics)

Similar arguments led, in 1891, to an Ordinance in favour of commercial training which allowed subsidising of commercial schools. In both cases, Arts & Crafts and commerce, commissions of "experts" were established to decide the requirements the schools must satisfy in order to qualify for subsidies.(23)

Interestingly, it was four Romand Cantons (Neuchâtel 1890, Geneva 1892,

Fribourg 1895, and Vaud 1896) which set out the first laws to cover vocational training *per se*, although, according to Wettstein *et al*, these laws were fundamentally aimed at protecting apprentices rather than ensuring their training. (24)

The Confederation ended the 19th century by passing legislation permitting subsidies for agricultural training (1893) and domestic science training for young girls (1895). In the twenty years from 1884 to 1904, the number of subsidised schools rose from 43 to 318 while the amounts paid out climbed from Fr40'000 to over Fr1million. (25)

In 1908, Article 34 of the Federal Constitution was revised to allow parliament to legislate on vocational training, as well as upon the protection of craftworks and the protection of workers and employees. (26)

The first Federal law on professional training was the result of the efforts both of the *Union suisse des travailleurs* (a trades' union) and the *Union suisse des arts et métiers* (USAM) (an employers' association) which each developed a text for a law on this area.(27). These texts, the former dating from 1911 and the latter from 1918, inspired the *Office fédéral du travail* to produce its own text in 1924 and this eventually led to the Federal law being passed in 1930. (28)

Tabin tells us that:

"when the legislature elaborated the vocational training law of 1930 it was of course obliged to respect the Cantonal

legislations whilst trying to bring them together in the least constrictive manner. Thus explains why, in the Swiss system, vocational training is a classic example of executive federalism where, in spite of a strong intervention by the Confederation, the Cantons have traditionally remained charged with the execution of the law."(29)

The law has subsequently been revised twice (last time was in 1978) and apprenticeship contracts have since 1927 fallen under the Federal Code of Obligations (CO). At its last revision in 1963, article 362a of the CO laid down that:

"through the apprenticeship contract the master undertakes to train the apprentice in the exercise of profession ... according the rules of the trade."(30)

The contract is defined (article 344 CO) as a *bilateral legal act*, delimiting mutual obligations:

"The master undertakes to train the apprentice in the exercise of a profession; the apprentice (undertakes) to work in the service of the master to acquire this training." (31)

Towards the end of the 19th century end of apprenticeship exams moved progressively toward becoming compulsory. This happened under pressure both from USAM, whose first regulation dates from 1888, and from the *Société suisse des commerçants*. (32)

At least one politician proposed in the first half of this century that apprenticeship itself become obligatory for all those not entering higher education. Dusseiller, in his time as vice-president of the *Conseil d'état* of Geneva, advocated this route as a means of general social improvement and avoidance of pauperism.(33) The official reply, as embodied in the *Feuilles fédérales* (organ of the Federal Government) of 14 November 1928, was that to make undergoing an apprenticeship obligatory went:

"against the interests of the modern economic order which needs unqualified workers."(34)

There is a double irony in this standpoint: not only does it justify Marx's claim of capitalism requiring a reserve pool of labour - one of his major complaints against capitalist employment practices - (and in 1928 the effects of the struggle between socialism and capitalism leading to the General Strike were still being felt) but

"during the crisis of 1920-23, although unemployment hit hard, Switzerland had to continue to import qualified foreign labour through a lack of trained workers."(35)

This, incidentally, the country still has to do, notably in the construction and tourist industries.

The first Federal Law (16 June 1930) made professional (vocational) teaching obligatory for the first time and its organisation became incumbent on the Cantons. (36). Like its successors (in 1963 and 1978) the first Federal Law

"does not apply to training for professions concerning agriculture and sylviculture, fishing, fine arts, the sciences, education and the treatment of the sick."(37)

There was, however, a contemporary law specifically on agriculture (see later).

The Law of 1930 did not apply either to the Federal Administration or to the large state enterprises such as the PTT, Federal Railways etc. In fact, OFIAMT was given the sole competency to decide to which professions the Law applied and the task of regularly publishing the list of them.(38)

The Law of 1978

The present Law was accepted by the people on 19 April 1978; the accompanying Ordinance on 7 November 1979 and together they came into effect on 1 January 1980. The Law governs:

- "a) vocational guidance;
- b) basic vocational training and updating of professional knowledge in industry, craftworks, commerce, banking, insurance, transport, hotelkeeping and restaurantering as well as *économie familiale*;
- c) research into vocational training."(39)

Like its predecessors, the present Law does not govern professions relating to education, the care of the sick, social services, science, fine art, agriculture, sylviculture and fishing (40) though, for its part, agriculture is covered by

an analogous law.

An initial delineation of tasks between the Confederation and the Cantons is made from Article 1:

"where it is uncertain whether a training programme constitutes an apprenticeship in terms of the present Law, the cantonal authority decides."(41)

However it still falls to OFIAMT to decide to which professions the Law applies and upon which criteria to base such decisions. (42) Thus, in the case of, say, a laser technician where it is unclear whether the profession pertains to industry, science or care of sick (it in fact pertains to all three) then OFIAMT is the final arbiter as to the Law's applicability or otherwise.

Basic vocational training, within the terms of the Law, is dispensed primarily by *écoles professionnelles* (EP) which, as Article 27 states:

"give apprentices, in the framework of the compulsory part of their teaching and, possibly, in an optional part, the basic knowledge indispensable to the exercise of their profession and favour the growth of their personality by developing their general culture."(43)

The inclusion of general culture as part of the basic apprenticeship is not without its critics and, as we shall see later, has given rise to some lively debate and divergence of opinion.

More gifted apprentices may be offered places at the *école professionnelle supérieure* (EPS) (44), often in the same building as the EP. Although attendance at EPS necessitates two days' absence from work (*cf.* one to one and a half days at EP), the apprentice who fulfills the required conditions has the right to enter EPS without loss of salary. (45) Success at EPS allows the apprentice to move more readily to more demanding courses (46), including non-university tertiary education. (47)

Assimilable under the Law as EP(S) are *écoles publiques de métiers* (EPM) which provide full-time courses encompassing all theoretical and practical aspects of the trades concerned.(48)

Under the Law a Canton is obliged to provide the apprentices of companies established in the Canton with access both to EP and EPS. This obligation goes as far as the creation of EP(S) where they are lacking and/or the entering into of accords between Cantons to allow apprentices to frequent courses or schools in a neighbouring territory. (49) However, while the EP have to be created in function of the trades to be taught, the Law demands that they be insofar as possible in regional centres. (50)

Apprenticeships culminate (hopefully) in the award of the *Certificat fédéral de capacité* (CFC). Notably, in a manner similar to the Maturité, while the Confederation lays down the regulations governing the final exam and how the result is calculated (51), it is incumbent on the Cantons to organise the exam itself.(52) While the guidelines are constructed following consultation between OFIAMT and notably both the USS and USAM, it is up to the Canton to

organise the exam (and the course leading up to it) in the manner it sees fit. Exception may be made in the case of a professional association: if an appropriate case is made to OFIAMT then this former may be allowed to assume the responsibility of the exam on a regional or even a national basis. (53)

Although assimilable under the Law as EP, the EPM deserve an additional mention. According to Blanc, a large number of EPM fall into the classification of *école (à orientation) technique* which award a CFC after four years of full-time attendance. Also the best students have the possibility of prolonging their studies for a further two years to attain the level of *technicien-ET*. (54) These studies may also be undertaken by those finishing a traditional apprenticeship. This level of attainment, according to the Law, gives the holder the theoretical and practical knowledge necessary to assume the "technical tasks reserved to middle management".(55). This said, EPM of all types, be they *écoles techniques*, applied arts or couture schools, are rare and the impact, especially of the first type, on vocational training is generally small. (56)

The Law gives special mention to elementary training destined at "young people whose orientation is essentially practical" (57) and aimed at giving them a certificated training program which, at the end of at least one year, should permit them to move from one company to another.(58)

The Law also encourages professional up-dating and non-university higher education. (59). Encouragement under the Law consists of more than moral

support: depending on the financial strength of a Canton's economy, the Confederation will subsidise the application of all aspects of the Law to the tune of 22% to 47% of costs.(60) The only exception to this concerns vocational guidance where 40% of the cost of training and up-dating guidance counsellors is provided together with 50% of the cost of providing materials and documentation. (61)

These subsidies are only open to public and non-profit-making bodies and generally only if the Canton concerned gives a "sufficient subsidy of its own".(62)

The Law provides a basis for the *Institut suisse de pédagogie pour la formation professionnelle*, established by Federal ordinance in 1972 to train and up-date teachers for EP and EPS when this is not already done in university-level institutions, as well as giving it the task of setting up and maintaining the *Swiss Centre for Documentation in Vocational Teaching* and undertaking research into vocational teaching. (63)

Tabin remarks that each law carries with it the stamp of its time. In this way, he terms the 1930 Law "artisanal", drawn from a society ideologically based on the primary sector. The 1963 Law sees the emphasis moved to the secondary sector while the 1978 Law recognises the supremacy of tertiary and technocratic industries. (64)

As we can see from figure 5.2 (65), the Law of 1978 runs in tandem with the 1972 Law encouraging gymnastics and sports in *écoles professionnelles*

as well as with the 1964 Law on Industry and Labour.

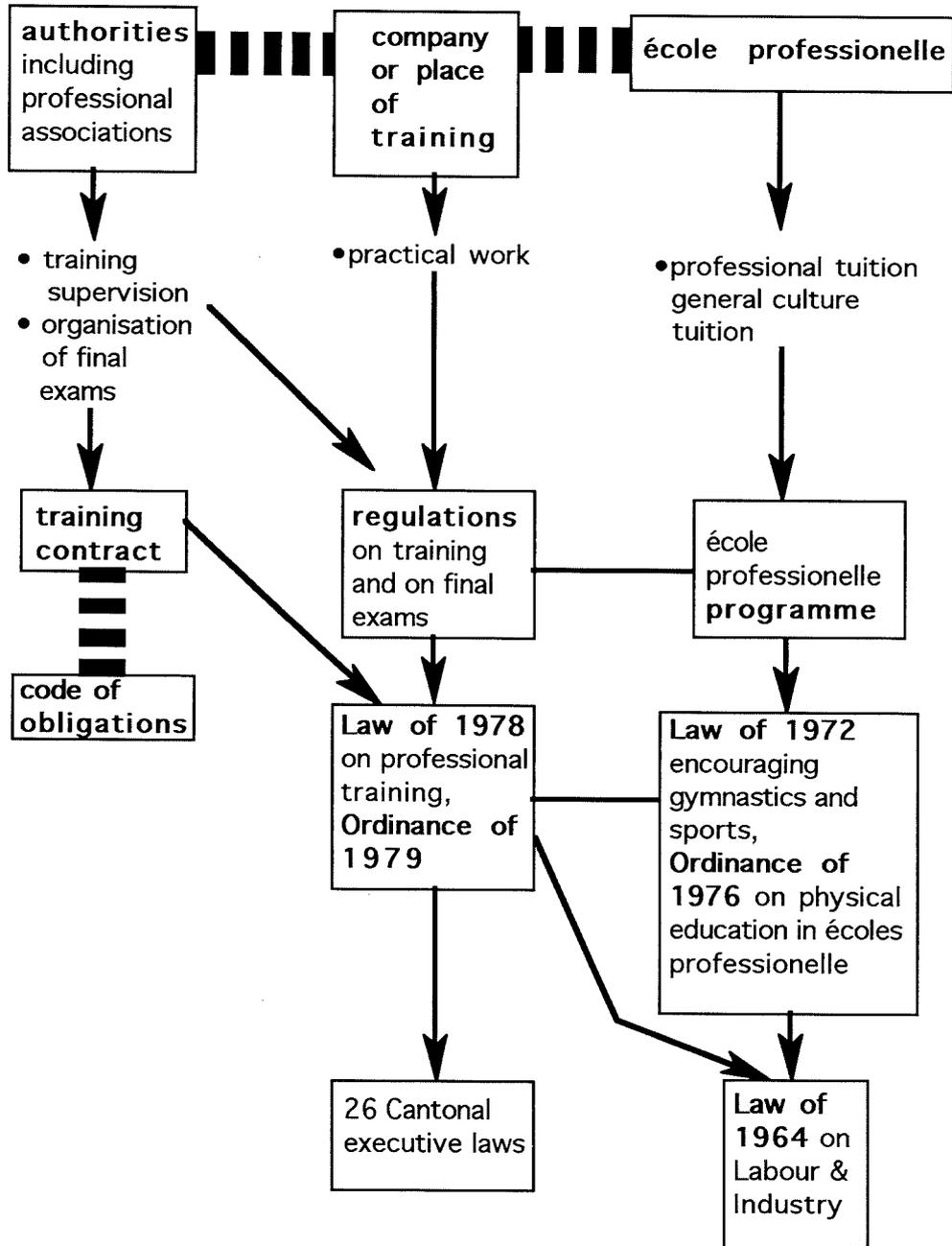


Figure 5.2 The organisation of vocational training

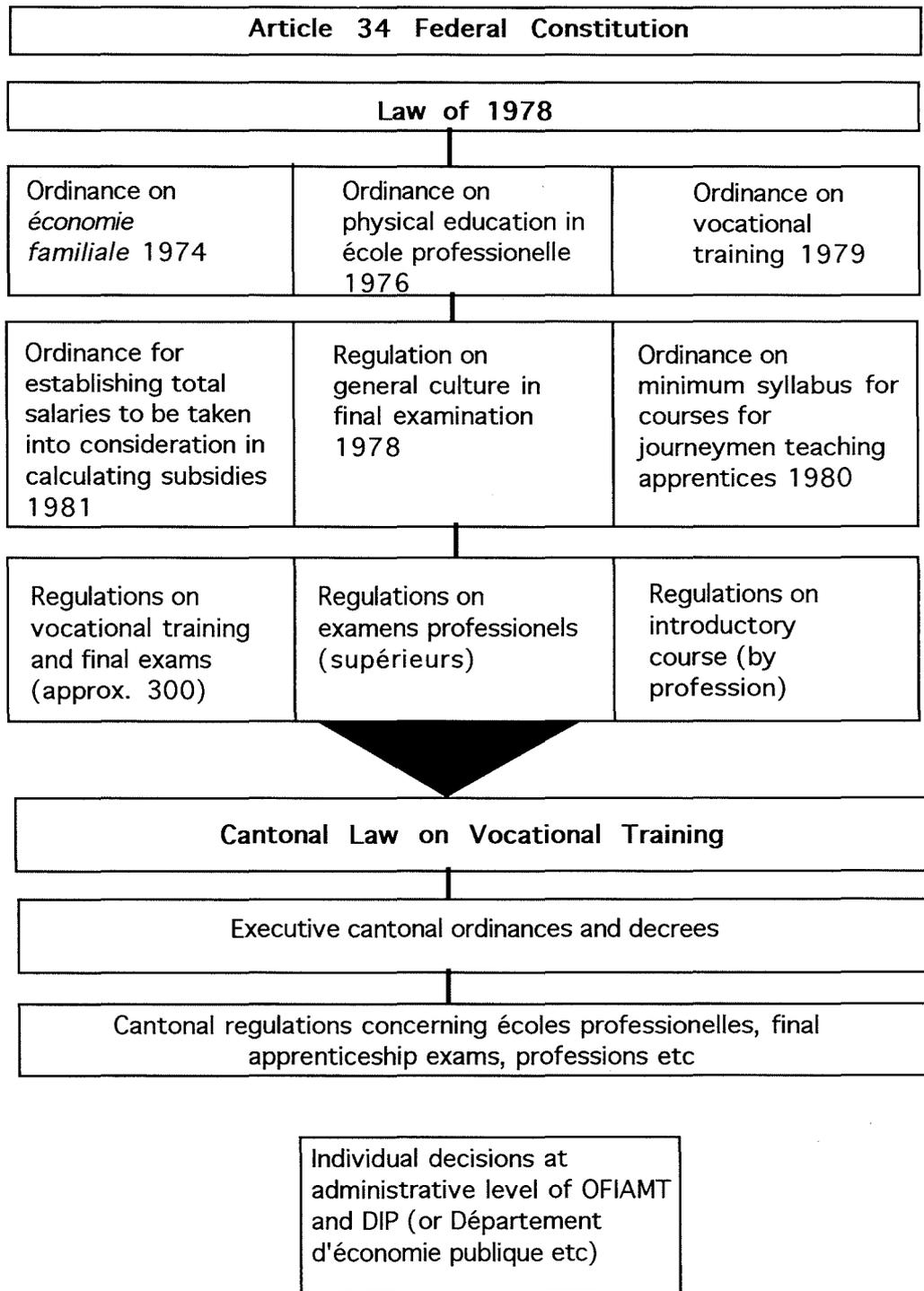


Figure 5.3 Summary of the Legal Bases

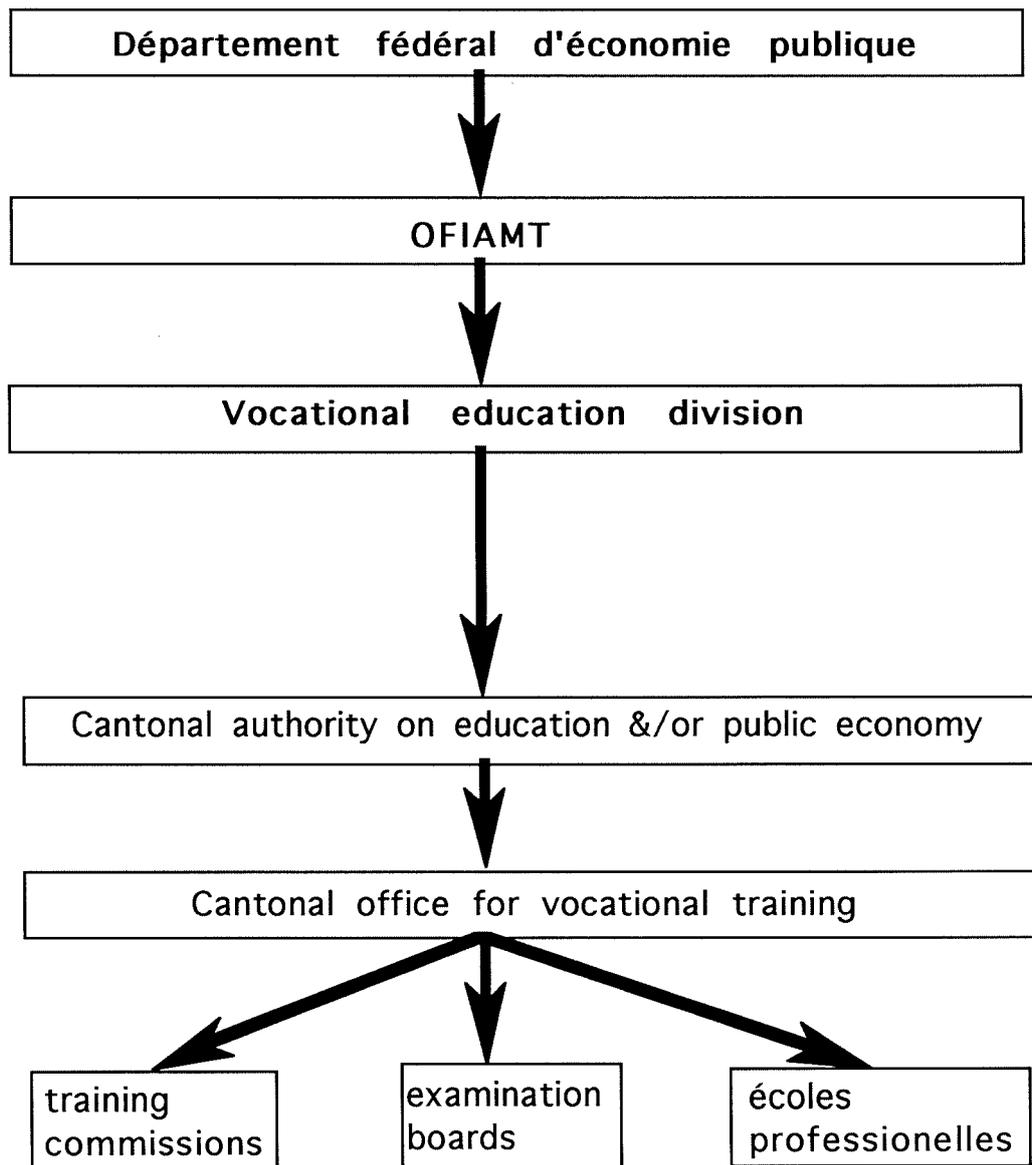


Figure 5.4 Authorities in vocational training

All these laws might be termed laws of encouragement. It is up to the Cantons to elaborate their own laws of application. Thus the legal basis reflects that of the pluralist system: imposed on top of previously autonomous cantonal structures there is central administration with cantonal execution. This is

aptly illustrated by figures 5.3 and 5.4 (66) and underlined by Wettstein *et al*:

"The écoles professionnelles must... dispense a teaching which conforms to the programs laid down by the Confederation."(67)

and

"Cantonal law scarcely contributes in any way to the material organisation of vocational training since Federal Law leaves it but little latitude." (68)

General culture

The debate over the role of general culture in the vocational curriculum is, as we saw in chapter 4 concerning the école de commerce, very much alive and kicking.

The Law of 1963 introduced general culture as part of the compulsory teaching in all those apprenticeships that it covered and gradually the ratio of general to vocational subjects settled down to roughly 3:5. (69) Oddly enough, neither this Law nor its successor in 1978 saw fit to be in any way specific as to the amount or content of general culture to be included. In fact, the only mention of content of general culture subjects in the 1978 Law and ordinance is that "professional teaching is neutral in terms of politics and confession."(70)

Dubs traces the split between general culture and vocational training to the Neo-Classicist movement in 19th century Germany where, in the goal of creating a nation out of diverse states, a bid was made to invent a national

culture. (71) This period, as we saw in Chapter 2, was marked in Switzerland by, among other things, the invention *ex nihilo* of the *Fête nationale*, the effective creation of William Tell as a folk hero, the emergence (after 1848) of the modern Swiss nation state and the triumph, in the Sonderbundkrieg, of industry over peasantry.

Nonetheless, the perceived split persists between occupationally specific subjects and those which are not. As Groux puts it:

"We have the feeling that the general culture dimension, (ie) the development of the personality and of the sense of responsibility, is rarely in the minds of practitioners of vocational training."(72)

Jaton goes further:

"Each time one pronounces the word *culture* one inevitably provokes a smile in all who do not believe in it... Go and talk about general culture; you will unleash a mad laugh (sneer?) in many listeners." (73)

At odds with this apparent cynicism is Dubs' observation that the public at large believes that "a good general culture is synonymous with a wide (general) knowledge." In subscribing to this notion, Dubs argues that in order to

"master the exigencies of life, it is indispensable to possess a baggage of fundamental knowledge as wide and as well-structured as possible."(74) (*cf* Bourdieu's notions on cultural

capital and our discussion in Ch4)

This, he says, enables the individual to assimilate novelties and innovations as they appear within existing thought structures. (75) In other words, width of knowledge is a prerequisite for the worker, of whatever variety and level, to be able to keep up with the pace of change in both the wide world and the world of work.

This is also the view of the USS and the associations of trades' unions. Besides their directly educational role in training shops' stewards and the like, the USS and the others have contributed, as one might expect, to the discussions on the structure of vocational training by demanding, among other things, an extension of the time spent on general subjects. (76) In this way, they hope to begin the process leading to "emancipation and self-realisation".(77)

Even the USAM, generally opposed to any emanation from the USS concerning apprenticeships (78), in 1970 when the *Grübel Commission* of OFIAMT looked into vocational training, argued in favour of an extension of general subjects in the EP. (79)

Two problems, at least, present themselves: how to fit in all this general culture into an already crowded timetable and, perhaps more importantly, how to convince the apprentice of the value of more general subjects which appear to bear no relation to his/her chosen profession.

As trades and crafts move forward, new technologies and techniques are

regularly introduced and must be accommodated in the theoretical training given to the apprentice. Thus, logically, if the apprentice is to receive a proper grounding in these techniques and technologies, some other part of the curriculum must be compressed or even removed entirely. One wonders in fact just how much vocational theory can be slotted into a day (or day and a half) without having to fit in general subjects besides.

For his part, Jacques Amos is:

"not convinced that the majority of apprentices aspire to more general culture, or even to more school, in any case not in the form and pedagogical style which is predominant there."(80)

Reporting a study carried out by himself, Dubs informs us that:

"if the branches of general culture (mother tongue, commercial studies, civic instruction, public economy) taught in the EP were to become optional, more than half the students would give them up. Conversely, half the students at EP are against the transformation of general culture subjects into optional subjects."(81)

This could be a reflection of the public image of general culture clashing with the apprentice's experience and perception of it. In other words, the apprentice intrinsically values general culture but if he/she had the choice then the temptation to drop it might just be too great to resist!

The problems with general culture seem however to be limited to its role in

the overt curriculum. The covert curriculum appears more able to sell general culture in a meaningful and durable manner, as this remark from M Chavannes, National Counsellor, indicates:

"In EP training for industrial trades and crafts, we have developed in a considerable manner, the library service and the lending of cassettes. If, at first, the apprentices were mainly interested in cartoon books and the adventures of Tintin and Obélix, presently, thanks to the work of the librarians and teachers, they demonstrate a very clear interest for more serious reading, scientific works, science fiction and even serious literature."(82)

Amos suggests that:

"If it is true... that a training programme is characterised as much by what it does not give as by what it gives, then we must consider as significant the marginal role which general culture plays in the training of apprentices."(83)

Perhaps equally significant are the confused nature of the apprentice's thinking over general culture and the equation drawn by the USS and others that increasing general culture will increase the cultural level and value of apprenticeships. Might it not be possible to serve all masters at once by looking first and foremost at the *quality* as opposed to the *quantity* of general culture on offer? The major bugbear of apprentices is, according to Dubs, the lack of perceived relevancy of much of general culture to the job being learnt. (84) As we have tried to show above, this does not automatically

imply that the apprentice does not place a value on wide general knowledge and culture. Chavanne's observation supports this view. But it seems that the current presentation of general culture forces the apprentice into a dilemma - knowing general culture to be valuable but disliking its being force-fed *at least in its present form*. We should not lose sight of the fact that, with opportunities for remaining at school continually increasing, growing numbers of apprentices *choose* their status instead of being obliged into it by school, family or social circumstances. They *choose* to leave the school régime to move from general culture to a vocationally-orientated course. Bearing this in mind, would it be unreasonable to expect that compulsory general culture be limited to a bare minimum (ie mother tongue) with all other branches not already possessing it being given an overtly vocational bent? For example, the same mathematics could be taught but with an essential change of emphasis to relate it directly and intimately to work applications. In this way, a subject presently viewed as general culture could be repackaged as vocationally relevant and hence "sold" perhaps more successfully to the apprentices.

The status of general culture in EP(S) is not helped by the status of the general culture teacher. Vocational training being "if not a distant then at least a poor relation of education" (85) in terms of the levels of investment made in it then it should come as no surprise that the teachers of it should occupy a little envied place in the educational hierarchy. (86) But, while the vocational teacher has his/her specialism(s), the general culture teacher seems doomed to perform as an encyclopædic generalist. Foretay feels that while the knowledge required of the general culture teacher

"no longer goes quite from chivalry to astronomy... the knowledge demanded remains very wide... How can one fail to see here the confirmation that the teacher of general subjects is a generalist - an option no doubt wanted by OFIAMT - but (also) a generalist condemned to generalities, even perhaps to inadequacy." (87)

The problem is therefore of somehow reconciling the apparently irreconcilable and in this the argument of quality versus quantity could play a major role. All agree to the need for general culture, if only for the reasons of generalising culture given in Chapter 4. However, raising its impact without alienating apprentices, overcrowding the curriculum and undermining the stated purpose of vocational training cannot be done without seriously considering the *purpose* of general culture in vocational training and hence, once the goal defined, constructing the general culture program in function of this. Regardless of the goal, unless it is to put apprentices off pursuing their own general culture, the quality of the program is crucial. If the aim is that apprentices build what is in effect a personal database from which and within which to make critical sense of the world and accommodate innovation then a program for this need not be encumbrant on the consumers, providers or timetable. Instead, a rewarding experience could be provided for all concerned.

Some apprenticeships outwith the Law of 1978

At the level of the Confederation, agricultural training depends on the Federal Office of Agriculture and not OFIAMT, even though both form part of the *Département fédéral de l'économie publique*. It is for this reason that the

1978 Law is inapplicable to agricultural training (88). Instead it is covered by the Agricultural Law of 1973 and by the Professional Training Ordinance of 1985. The *Union suisse des Paysans* (an association of farmers) participates in the conception and organisation of training (89). However very few farmers undertake any form of training (*cf* Ch2 on the multiple role of many peasants) and only about half of Switzerland's farm acreage is cultivated by specialised personnel. (90) For those that do undertake training, the structure of the program closely resembles those for professions under the Law of 1978. There is one notable difference: instead of only weekly attendance at a training school, it is normal to gain at least part of the basic training via periods of block release during the Winter. (91)

As with professions under the Law of 1978, more gifted agricultural apprentices have the possibility of following courses at EPS.(92)

Paramedical training is unique in several aspects: the minimum age for entry is 17 or, more usually, 18; the courses involved are usually under the control of the Swiss Red Cross (or sometimes the Swiss Medical Federation) (93); the teaching is usually in the form of periods of block release between periods of practical work in a hospital or with a doctor or dentist (*cf* training for professions under the Law of 1978 which is usually available in several different modes); women outnumber men in a ratio of 6:1 (94).

The type of institution dispensing paramedical courses is generally termed *école spécialisée*. Ecoles spécialisées also exist for areas such as nursery nursing, special education, fine and graphic arts, café and restaurant keeping

and just about every other conceivable domain in which employment is possible and training might be given. They may accept their students as part- or full-time, with or without an apprenticeship contract (preparing, for example, those without an apprenticeship contract for the CFC exams, where appropriate). Although *école spécialisée* tends to mean a further education establishment devoted to a narrow area of the training spectrum, as Wettstein *et al* point out, the name does not appear in the legislation (unlike *école professionnelle*) and hence can be used indiscriminately.(95)

A number of major employers (such as the State Enterprises and the Police) run their own in-house apprenticeship and training schemes with little or no recourse to outside agencies. Depending on the course, conformity to Federal directives may be required but each State Enterprise and Police force provides training in a number of professions outwith the auspices of either the Law of 1978 or the Agricultural Law. To exemplify this we look now at one State Enterprise: the PTT (postal section).

The PTT divides itself into two more or less separate sections: the Post and Telecommunications. In fact, the only real working overlap between these is that one may use the communications techniques of the other and they are billed together to the customer! In basic training also they remain separate but come together for the training of managers.

According to Stoeckli,(96) the Post only offers training programs concerned with its monopoly. He numbers four basic training programs:

a) diplomated postal functionaries;

- b) assistants in exploitation;
- c) uniformed functionaries;
- d) assistants in post-cheques.

The General Management of the PTT lays down the objectives and study plan for each of these courses and the eleven postal districts (three in Suisse romande - based in Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel) must conform to these. However, like the providers of courses under the auspices of OFIAMT, these postal districts enjoy a certain degree of autonomy in the organisation and delivery of their courses.

Stoeckli makes clear that the basic training is very short. Not being bound by the Law of 1978, the PTT are free to decide the appropriate duration. The teaching of theory in these courses is limited to attaining the basis necessary to be able to execute practical tasks.

The courses range in length from six months to three years. The former trains assistants in post-cheques and the latter diplomated postal functionaries who have not proceeded further than lower secondary school. However, more than 85% of future diplomated postal functionaries possess either a diploma from an *école de degré diplômé*, a *maturité* or a CFC in commerce. These qualifications cut the apprenticeship to 18 months but the diploma at the end is the same as after the three year course.

Although each training program is complete in itself, it is possible to climb from the lowest qualification to the highest by means of retraining and

updating programs, organised on a regional basis by the Post.

Perhaps the most striking point about basic vocational training in the Post is the way in which it has managed what, in terms of the variety of administrative skills concerned, is almost a *reducto ad absurdum*. Instead of finely dividing professions as has happened elsewhere, the Post manages to keep its options open and also those of its apprentices and employees in ways which allow upward progression, a rapid entry into "production" and a basis for later specialisation.

Some remarks on basic vocational training

Given its role in maintaining the inflow of trained labour to the workplace and the consequent effect on the economy, it is hardly surprising that vocational training for the vast range of professions under OFIAMT's jurisdiction has been the subject of much discussion since, at least, the middle of the last century. This is not to say that areas outwith the auspices of OFIAMT's Vocational Education Division are not worthy of such attention but their role in the production of wealth, for one thing, is much less. Besides, agricultural training, as mentioned above, is far from being *de rigueur* among peasants. In the paramedical professions, the hiving off of responsibility to the Swiss Red Cross and the Swiss Medical Federation (which the Cantons pay for and the Confederation subsidises since 1906 (97)) seems to have resulted in a situation in which there is no perceived need for the Confederation to interfere. There is of course no way of knowing whether this will continue but the very high reputation enjoyed by Swiss paramedics, both at home and abroad does not lead one to suppose otherwise.

As this writer can testify, Switzerland is one of the better places to be ill!

As far as the other training programs outwith the Law of 1978 are concerned, where Federal regulations do not exist, undoubtedly if there is a perceived need for them then they will eventually be introduced through, for example, specialist legislation, modification in the Law of 1978 or additional directives from OFIAMT.

Thus in this discussion we restrict ourselves in the main to apprenticeships under the auspices of OFIAMT. In any case, these occupy by far the largest proportion of the apprentice population.

The object here is not to establish some form of balance-sheet but rather to highlight and comment upon a certain number of points. Indeed to establish such a balance-sheet would be pedantic, if not pompous, in the extreme.

As we can see from figure 5.5 (98), that, while EPs are spread more widely over the country than are gymnases (*cf* Ch4), they still tend to be found in towns of some importance. That this should be so is not unexpected or even unnatural. Traditionally, industries have moved to where the people were or towns have expanded where the industries were. But the maintenance of an almost exclusive access to EPs in sizeable towns ignores two factors:

the relevance and importance of the "micro-industrial" unit;

and

the growth of industries such as tourism and hotel-keeping

Figure 5.5 Communes containing écoles professionnelles



which occupy many people, directly and through the industries, such as construction and maintenance, which they generate.

Both these groups of employments occupy large numbers of people outwith urban situations (for example, in the mountains).

Thus the urban concentration of EPs presents an immediate problem in terms of distances to be travelled in order to attend. Block release is exceptional (99) and thus an apprentice from, say, a lateral valley in a mountainous Canton may be forced into lodgings for one or two nights a week or be obliged to commute long distances.

A major problem with the CFC is the plethora of courses available. In 1986 Wettstein *et al* 400 different apprenticeships (100) recognised by OFIAMT while Blanc in 1987 counted 360.(101) The number has been reduced by amalgamating apprenticeships but one wonders how they came to be separated in the first place. The Law states that:

"Regulations of apprenticeship are only laid down for professions which present a sufficient diversity in the theoretical and practical knowledge to be acquired, (and which) cannot be learnt by a mere informing (of the differences)." (102)

In 1985 the USS proposed a qualitative modification in vocational training, consisting of a wide and general basic formation in which the number of professions on offer would be reduced to nearly 70 or even less. (103) This was the result of a long period of enquiry by trades' unions on the problems

of preparing a workforce prepared for, and capable of, adapting to an ever-changing world. As a spokesperson of the USS put it in 1980 as the inquiry was under way:

"One finds in it (the Law of 1978) professional titles such as *boulangier*, *boulangier-pâtissier* and *pâtissier-confiseur* ... One will recognise easily that these trades, just like numerous others, offer a field of activity much too narrow. To talk about intellectual or professional mobility with such a constellation of trades has almost the effect of a bad joke."(104)

The unions' demands were (and are) opposed by employers's associations which claim that since the job (and profession) changes

"do not consist most often of an abrupt cut and a new departure in a fundamentally different professional direction, but (rather) a progressive move from one activity to another" (105)

then a bit of on-the-job training would suffice to smooth transition.(106)

Allenspach (of the *Union centrale des associations patronales suisses*) refutes the unions' assertion that a broad basic training is the answer, claiming that:

"general knowledge and the ability to learn do not suffice to ensure the success of the process of conversion and updating."(107)

The USAM considers that the present apprenticeship model is that which is best suited to Swiss society and objects strongly to the unions' "meddling" in its affairs. The USAM opposes any move towards encyclopædism (as

broadening basic training might be held to represent). Unlike the unions, the USAM has played a primordial role in apprenticeship and vocational training since the start of the century. (108) It is perhaps ironical therefore that its standpoint is called into question even by OFIAMT. J-P Bonny, Director of OFIAMT in 1981, writes:

"We must concentrate on the acquisition of key-qualifications whose mastery facilitates the movement from one profession to another."(109)

The fragmented nature of the apprenticeship types is condemned by at least one director of EP: Jean-Pierre Gindroz sees as one of the limitations of the present system what he succinctly terms:

"une réglementation éclatée et parcelisée". (110)

(This renders itself somewhat clumsily into English as "regulations scattered all over the place in little bundles".)

The isolation of USAM is further emphasised by the moves taken by one of Switzerland's largest engineering companies, Brown-Boveri. As a means to training a flexible workforce, this company has reduced the number of apprenticeship types to fourteen and plans to reduce them to five. (111) It intends to do more. According to Jacques Lance, one of their directors, the company seeks to broaden basic training; to allow apprentices to gain their CFC by accumulating credits; and to adapt the length of the apprenticeship (within the limits set by OFIAMT) to the apprentice's needs and ability.(112)

In this:

"the light is put on one of the keys to understanding the Swiss political system: we are observing in effect a (relative) alliance between unions and big business against the representatives of Arts and Crafts (ie small business) and this even though their interests are not forcibly the same." (113)

Apprenticeship through gaining credits would certainly solve the problem of a rigid apprenticeship system where reorientation can be difficult, if not impossible. However, this in itself would not reduce the profusion of apprenticeship types. The recognition by companies such as Brown-Boveri that work can be divided into as few as five types gives hope that other major employers might be tempted down the same road, a road which, as we have seen, the PTT has already travelled. But what about the minor employers? These, after all, employ most of the apprentices. Perhaps a solution for them, incorporating at least some of Jacques Lance's notions, would be to modularise apprenticeship courses. In this way, an apprentice might undertake a broad introduction over the first year or two (of theory) and then specialise in whatever domain his employer specialises in. A further advantage of modularisation is that, in the case of reorientation, the work already done and the modules already passed would count towards the new qualification goal.

By means of modularisation, a worker moving across his/her field could add to his/her qualifications via existing courses instead of having to update either through specially arranged classes or on the job.

Modularisation also facilitates open and flexible learning schemes, ie through self-teaching, correspondance, occasional attendance at an école professionnelle or any combination of these. Properly constituted, modularised courses might be able to serve all masters at once. There is a snag, though: in the vastness of vocational training the number of modules would run easily into thousands. (In Scotland where most of further education is now modularised they number 2'500) So how can an employer, short of being on intimate terms with all of these, tell which batch of modules is equivalent to, say, a CFC in vehicle maintenance? Equivalences would have to be determined but if the will existed then a way would surely be found.

The cost of apprentices and competition in the job market are rarely mentioned in times of expansion but in time of economic crisis they may be at the forefront of economic thoughts. It is to this that we now turn.

The actual cost of training an apprentice is difficult, if not impossible, to quantify. Besides the cost of the training school, regardless who actually pays for it, and the apprentice's wages, there are hidden costs which make any estimate of cost little more than guesses. This is perhaps most true in trades concerned with branches of engineering (of whatever type) and in maintenance and repair.

There are the cost of repairing the apprentice's mistakes, a cost both in material and time; the cost of checking over the apprentice's work; and the cost of having journeyman teach the apprentice. Attaching an apprentice to a

journeyman may indeed add an extra pair of hands to the job but these hands, especially in the first year or so, however willing, are probably not skilled. The result may at best be a hindrance, a worst a millstone. (114)

Perhaps in retail trade, where the apprentice can be expected to quickly become independent of the journeyman in large measure, these costs are less, given the apprentice's increased capacity (over his/her industrial counterpart) to produce wealth for the employer.

With these points in mind, it is to the credit of Swiss enterprises, large and small, and also of the trades' unions that, despite various ups and downs of the economy, the cases of companies renouncing the training of apprentices are rare (115) while the unions never sought a reduction in the number of apprentices under the pretext that they would compete with qualified workers. (116) We can contrast this with the United Kingdom where apprenticeship, although now returning in some trades, is a shadow of its former self as a result, we feel, of short-sighted planning at both Government and company level. The United Kingdom effectively suppressed apprenticeship from the late 1970s until the end of the 1980s. Comparing the economies of the UK and Switzerland, is it coincidence that the Swiss invest heavily in vocational training and have a booming economy while the British do not and have not? Even if we allow for the tradition of paternalism among Swiss employers and other differing factors, such as the tradition in Switzerland of avoiding confrontation where possible, investment in training and the high value placed on it still must play a crucial role.

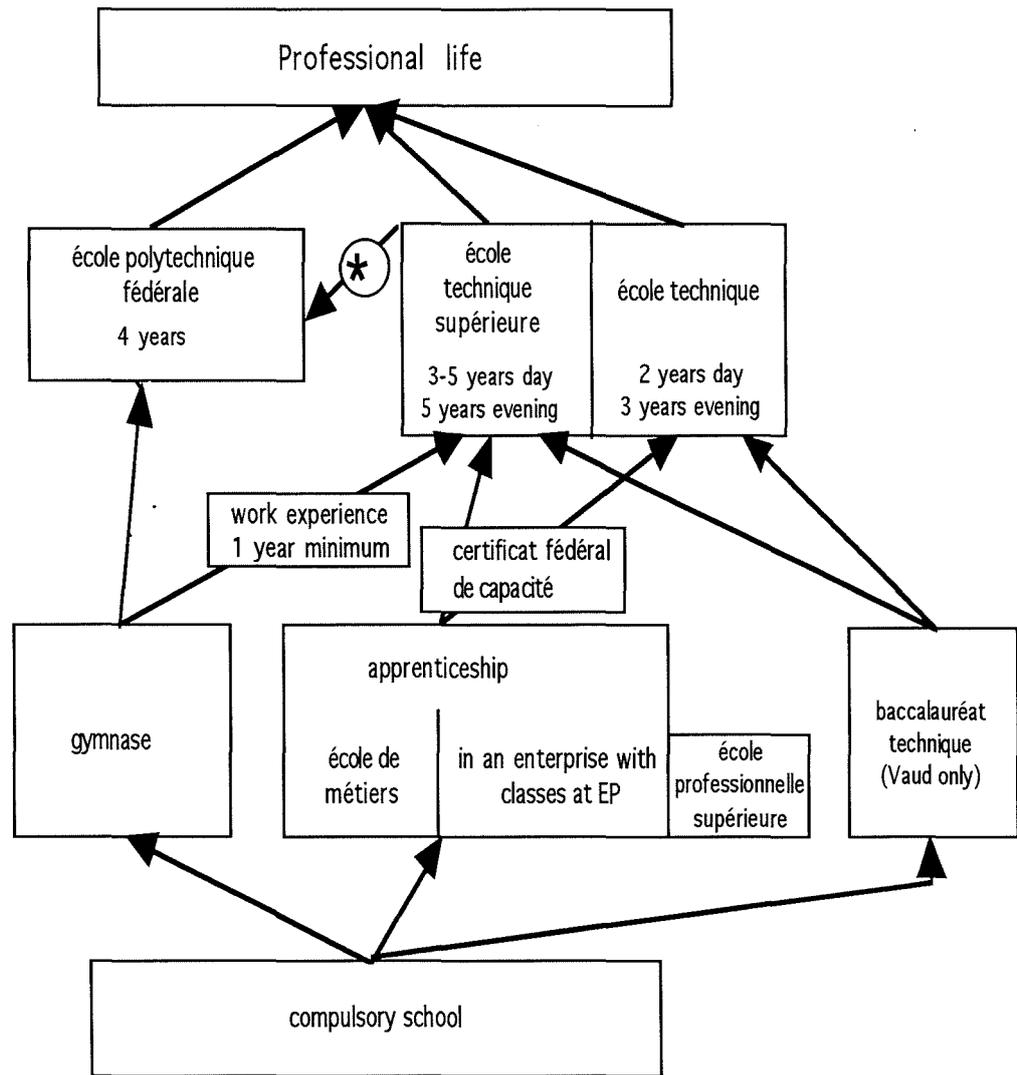
Despite its cost, apprenticeship remains the favoured form of vocational training. Customer satisfaction, both among apprentices and employers, is reported high (117) and it receives the continued confidence of employers who may continually complain about the intellectual capacities of their apprentices but who continue to recruit them. (118) The system of apprenticeship is not perfect and is recognised as such but the point is that it works, both economically and socially.

Ecoles supérieures spécialisées

There exist in Switzerland two parallel systems of non-university tertiary education. We deal here with the *écoles supérieures spécialisées* (ESS) which exist for a fairly narrow range of specialisms while in the next section we shall touch upon the *examens professionnels (supérieurs)*

Figure 5.6 (119) shows schematically the two ways of training engineers in Switzerland. Engineer, it must be mentioned, is used very widely and encompasses a much wider spectrum of professions than in the case of, for example, the United Kingdom. The Law does however allow the title of engineer to be renounced by those for whom another title is felt more appropriate, eg chemists, architect etc.(120)

These higher engineering schools (*écoles supérieures techniques* (ETS) or *écoles d'ingénieurs*) have their status enshrined, for the appropriate professions in the Law of 1978 and, in keeping with the rest of trades training in Switzerland, include general culture as part of their course. (121)



* = one year intermediate course

figure 5.6 The training of engineers in Switzerland

ETS form the so-called second road into the engineering professions - the first and most ancient being through the *écoles polytechniques fédérales* (EPF) which indeed constitute the *crème de la crème* of engineering schools and which we discuss in Chapter 7. (see figure 5.6 (122)) The majority of

entrants to ETS have gained well above a minimum pass in their CFC (or equivalent) and have also completed the complementary course at EPS. (123) However, possessors of a *maturité* (or equivalent) can, after one or two years of appropriate work experience, apply for admission. The only other way in is for holders of the Vaudois *baccalauréat technique* which we return to later.

At present there are twenty day and eight evening ETS - the former giving full-time courses, lasting a minimum of 4'200 hours, over three years and the latter part-time courses, lasting a minimum of 3'800, over four to four and a half years. (124). As we can see from figure 5.7, half of the day ETS are in Suisse romande. Unlike EP(S) which under the Law must be free to their students, ETS can and do charge fees. These range from zero (125) to Fr3'000 *per annum*. (126) In general, students resident in the Canton of the ETS pay the least and students from abroad the most.

The graduate from ETS is reckoned able to work independently and even to run his/her own firm. Additionally, they can, after a year's complementary study, enter the 3rd year at EPF. (127) In this respect, the ETS course bears some resemblance to the British Higher National Diploma which can allow entry to the 3rd year of the appropriate course at university.

A second, much smaller, group of ESS is that of the *écoles supérieures de cadres pour l'économie et l'administration* (ESCEA). There are at present ten ESCEA (128) - see figure 5.7. Like ETS, the status of ESCEA is enshrined in the Law of 1978.(129) The aim of these schools is to train business

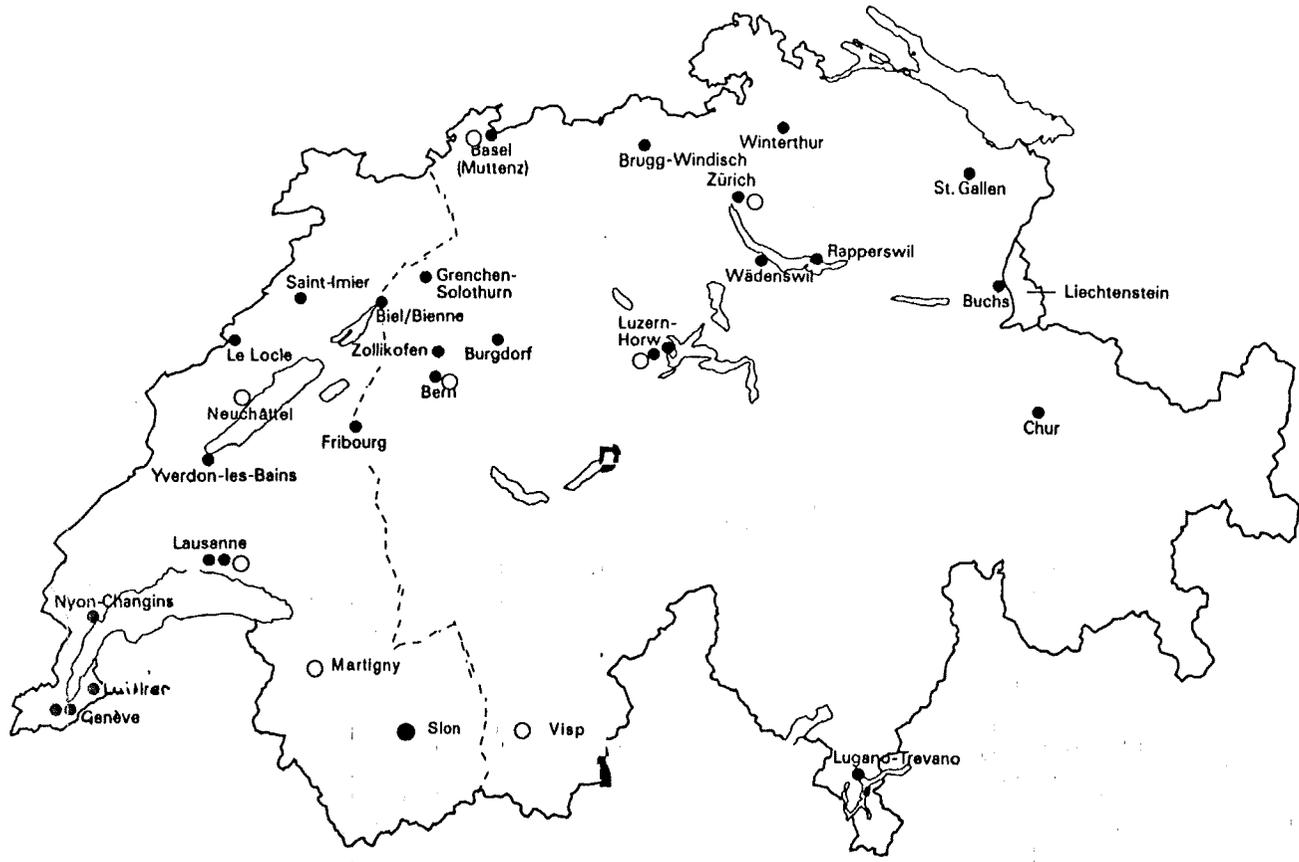


Figure 5.7 Location of ETS and ESCEA

- ETS
- ESCEA

economists in economics and administration as well as substantially broadening their general culture. (130)

In many ways ESCEA form the commercial and business studies counterpart to ETS. Just as the ETS correspond to EPF, ESCEA correspond to *hautes études commerciales*. They draw their clientèle primarily from apprentices who have completed EPS and have obtained an excellent CFC.(131) Like ETS, ESCEA can also be entered by maturité holders after a year or two of appropriate work experience.

Various other ESS exist, both within and without the cadre of the Law of 1978. These include: *écoles supérieures d'arts appliqués*, *écoles de la restauration*, *écoles d'hotellerie*, *écoles d'économie familiale* and *écoles pour le tourisme*, though these may include on the same premises schools or sections of the level of *école spécialisée*. (132)

Examens professionnels

A wider spectrum of trades than for the ESS is represented at the level of *examen professionnel (supérieur)*. These are organised by professional associations themselves though the Département fédéral d'économie publique must approve the regulation governing the exam(s).

Success in examen professionnel awards the candidate with a *brevet fédéral* while success in examen professionnel supérieur gives the candidate a *diplôme fédéral*, formerly known as the *maîtrise fédérale*. (133)

Professional associations are not obliged to organise these exams. If they choose to do so, they may offer either level or both. (134) According to Wettstein *et al*, at the present moment, the examen professionnel, where it exists, often merely constitutes a stepping stone on the way to the examen professionnel supérieur rather than an end in itself. (135) In any case, where both levels are available then the candidate must tackle the lower level at least two years before attempting the upper. (136)

The *diplôme* carries the same value as diplomas delivered by ESS (137): the *diplômé(e)* is reckoned apt to work independently and/or to run his/her own business. (138)

Notable perhaps is that while in the United Kingdom, for example, a simple journeyman can engage an apprentice, in Switzerland the master of apprentices is generally required to have higher qualifications than CFC (139). In those trades governed by the Law of 1978, they must also have received training in teaching apprentices, organised by the Cantons in concert with the professional associations. (140)

Candidates to examen professionnel (supérieur) are not obliged to attend classes, unless by their professional association. As a result, many candidates prepare on their own. (141) The *diplôme* remains however a rare and prized qualification. By way of comparison, in 1982, 58028 end of apprenticeship exams were sat but only 2871 *diplômes fédéraux* were awarded (142).

Where formal direct teaching is not required, the courses for brevet and

diplôme have an incontestable geographical advantage over ESS: not having to attend classes allows candidates in areas not adjacent to ESS to undertake higher vocational qualifications. Given just how few ESS there are and their concentration, generally, in major towns and cities, many candidates would otherwise be excluded unless they migrated, even if only temporarily. The double importance of this is in the fact that temporary migration for study purposes has an awkward tendency to become permanent.

Vocational training by Canton

Neuchâtel

In Neuchâtel the responsibility for écoles professionnelles may be passed from the Canton to the communes or to school districts which group together several communes. The Cantonal legislation also allows the possibility of mandating professional associations, enterprises and other organisations. This said, all levels of vocational training, except for agricultural, fall under the auspices of the *Département d'instruction publique*. (143)

Apprentices are trained in six centres spread over the Canton: Neuchâtel, Colombier, Val-de-Travers, Le Locle, La Chaux-de-Fonds and Cernier. By way of illustration of the multiplicity of roles in these training centres table 5.1 (144) shows the schools available in each.

Of note is that two of the ET (Le Locle and La Chaux-de-Fonds) devote themselves to microtechnology - the first 100% and the second 50% (145) It is perhaps logical that the long traditions of fine manual and mechanical dexterity so evident in watchmaking should have been continued into the new

Table 5.1 Basic vocational training in Neuchâtel

location	School type							
	école technique	école professionnelle	école des arts et métiers	école professionnelle commerciale	école suisse de droquerie	école des arts appliqués	école de couture	école d'agriculture
Neuchâtel 1 (CPLN)	●		●	●	●			
Colombier 2 (CPMB)		●						
Val-de-Travers 3 —Couvét	●							
—Fleurier (CPVT)		●						
La Chaux-de-Fonds 4 (CPJN)	●		●	●		●	●	
Cernier								●
Le Locle	●							

1: Centre de formation professionnelle du Littoral neuchâtelois

2: Centre cantonal de formation professionnelle des métiers du bois et du bâtiment

3: Centre de formation professionnelle du Val-de-Travers

4: Centre de formation professionnelle du Jura neuchâtelois

technologies the skill required in construction and assembly can be considerable. It was, incidentally, in Neuchâtel that the consortium which grew into Swatch was born. It is also notable that both the ET and ETS were original creations of Neuchâtel.

The école d'agriculture at Cernier merits perhaps a special mention. Such is its small impact (88 apprentices and students in 1988) (146) that the OECD in its 1989 report on education in the Canton of Neuchâtel forgot to include it! (147)

On the paramedical and social service fronts Neuchâtel presents a far from complete face. Only psychiatric nurses, assistant nurses, medical lab technicians and family helps are trained in the Canton, all other specialisms being imported from elsewhere. (148).

Non-university tertiary education is provided in an ETS at Le Locle and an ESCEA in Neuchâtel. The ETS operates under the aegis of the Canton (149) while the ESCEA is a communal school, paid for by the Canton, the communes and the Confederation with less than 1.5% of its income coming from fees.(150) For its part the ETS receives 1% of its income from fees.(151) As we can see from table 5.3 (152), the ETS offers courses in microtechnology, mechanical electronic and electrical (high tension) engineering. (153)

Table 5.2 Courses available in ETs in Suisse romande

school	subject area														
	chemical engineering	microtechnology	electronics	mechanics	building	restoring antique	watchworks	graphic industry	clothing	information technology	exploitation	heating, air-conditioning and refrigeration	information technology in management	civil engineering and building	electrotechnology
écoles techniques et de métiers, Genève		●	●	●	●					●			●		
école technique du soir, Genève	●			●										●	
CPJN, école technique, La Chaux-de-Fonds		●		●		●									
école technique, Le Locle			●							●					
école technique, Neuchâtel			●	●						●				●	
école technique du soir, Neuchâtel										●					
école technique, Ste. Croix				●						●					
école technique de la Vallée de Joux, Le Sentier				●											
école technique, Yverdon			●												
école technique du soir de l'industrie graphique, Lausanne							●								
école cantonale de techniciens, Bienne				●											
école suisse de gestion d'exploitation (soir), Epalinges										●					
EPSIC, Lausanne										●					
école technique cantonale d'informatique, Sierre													●		
école technique d'informatique, ESCEA, Lausanne													●		

Table 5.3 Courses available in ETS in Suisse romande

Subject area																		
telecommunications																		
thermal engineering & energy systems			•															
food & agriculture	•																	
wood		•																
architecture																		
graphic industry																		
chemistry																		
electronics																		
electrotechnology																		
packaging																		
civil engineering																		
chemical engineering																		
electrical engineering																		
mechanical engineering																		
nuclear, micro- or information engineering																		
information technology																		
mechanics																		
surveying																		
microtechnology																		
automobile technology																		
schools																		
Ecole d'ingénieurs de Sion																		
Ecole suisse du bois, Bienne																		
Ecole d'ingénieurs de l'Etat de Vaud, Yverdon																		
Ecole d'ingénieurs de St Imier, St Imier																		
Ecole d'ingénieurs du Canton de Neuchâtel, Le Locle																		
ESIG* Ecole suisse d'ing. des industries graphiques et de l'emballage, Lausanne																		
Ecole d'ingénieurs de Genève, Genève																		
Ecole d'ingénieurs de Fribourg, Fribourg																		
Ecole d'ingénieurs de Bienne, Bienne																		
Ecole technique supérieure du soir, Genève																		
Ecole technique supérieure du soir, Lausanne																		

At Neuchâtel but not of Neuchâtel is the *Institut suisse de Police* which provides theoretical courses for aspiring police officers from within and without the Canton (154). Each Canton (and, for the municipal police, each town) organises its own selection and practical training but, in general, aspiring police officers must have completed a CFC, maturité, commercial diploma, or equivalent; completed the Army's recruit school (and possibly the officer school); have a *certificat de bonnes mœurs* and be taller than minimum height. Police theory classes are nominally tertiary, given the educational level of entrants and show two notable features: they represent a classic example of synthesis in an educational subsystem - formerly autonomous subsystems have combined forces and agreed to unify their courses - while the entrance qualification of having to complete recruit school is quite clearly biased against women. Few women enter the Army (it being optional for them) while virtually all Swiss men do (as they have no choice). However, as the implications of the Constitutional amendment of 1981, which promised equality between men and women, are worked out then this discrimination should disappear.

Lastly we must mention the two musical conservatories in the Canton. Both are Cantonal schools, located in the town of Neuchâtel and on a split campus in La Chaux-de-Fonds and Le Locle. (155) The schools offer all levels of musical education from elementary to the most advanced, including the training of music teachers. Of note is that, although these are Cantonal institutions and the courses are not covered by Federal legislation, the various diplomas in which they culminate are, in common with diplomas from other conservatories, recognised throughout the country.

Fribourg

In Fribourg an agreement exists between the Cantons and communes delineating areas of responsibility in vocational training. Unlike Neuchâtel, however, the overall responsibility for industrial, commercial and craft training is not with the Direction d'instruction publique (the Fribourgeois divide Cantonal government into *Directions* instead of *Départements*) but rather with the *Direction de l'économie, des transports et de l'énergie*. Agricultural training is controlled by the *Direction de l'intérieur et de l'agriculture*.(156)

The fact that vocational training falls under a government department concerned with school or with work when it pertains to both neatly exemplifies Dubs' suggestion, mentioned earlier, that it occupies the crossroads between education and the economy. (157)

Apprentices are trained in five centres: two in Fribourg and one in each of Bulle, Morat and Posieux. Unlike Neuchâtel where the training establishments generally contain several schools, in Canton Fribourg only the Ecole d'Ingénieurs in Fribourg town contains two distinct schools - an école de métiers and an ETS.(158) This only really means that commercial training and artisanal training, for example, are dispensed by the same institution, instead of by two institutions in the same building.

The Ecole de Métiers in the Ecole d'Ingénieurs specialises in electronics, electromechanics and draftsmanship (159). This latter school allows its best

students (all full-time) to pass from their 3rd year directly into first year of ETS without having to complete the 4th and final year of école de métiers. (160)

Fribourg offers a similarly narrow spectrum of paramedical and social service training to that of Neuchâtel: only general and psychiatric nurses as well as assistant nurses are trained in the Canton. (161)

The changing profile of Fribourg from being a largely pastoral Canton, noted for rolling hills and dairy produce (eg Gruyère cheese) to one with growing industry is reflected in the fact that the Canton's ETS is not at all concerned with agriculture (162) The Canton does contribute to the agricultural ETS at Changins (VD) (163). The Fribourgeois ETS offers courses in civil engineering, architecture, mechanical engineering and chemistry as well as courses for heads of building sites.(164) For its part, the Centre professionnel cantonal in Fribourg town offers courses to examen professionnel (supérieur) in industry, craft and commerce. (165)

The apparent lack of emphasis on agricultural training in such an agricultural Canton is indicative of the low perceived need for training amongst farmers and also of the incidence of part-time farming where the farmer may simply lack the time to attend courses or may feel them superfluous to his/her needs.

Fribourg also possesses a Conservatory (of music and drama). This State school is, unlike other aspects of vocational education, under the auspices of

the *Direction de l'instruction publique*. Like its Neuchâtelois counterpart, the Conservatory caters for all levels from beginners to virtuoso, including teachers of music. (166) A notable point is the decentralisation throughout the Canton of the Conservatory's teaching which Cottier (167) feels is a major factor in attracting some 4 630 students (168) to its classes.

Geneva

In Geneva the responsibility for the *écoles professionnelles* lies with the Canton. The legislation, however, allows it to be passed to professional associations, enterprises or other organisations. (169) Most of vocational training falls under the general auspices of the *Département d'instruction publique* (170) The exception is agricultural training which is under the *Département de l'intérieur et de l'agriculture*. (171)

Just as Geneva shows the densest concentration of gymnases (see Ch4), the Canton has the greatest range of offer of vocational training over the smallest area.

Geneva contains four *écoles techniques*, accepting full-time students in five domains: building, electronics, information technology, microtechnology and mechanics. (172) Numerically one student in three stays on after CFC to complete the diploma of technician-ET. (173) A fairly new departure in one of these ET is the possibility of pursuing the diploma (in information technology) part-time (ie in evening classes). In 1989, the first of these part-time students graduated. (174)

Commercial apprentices are taught in sections of the three écoles supérieures de commerce while industrial and craft apprentices receive their teaching in one centre only. (175)

Despite possessing the third most productive vineyards in the country, with the greatest productivity for the least surface, agricultural training in Geneva has been in constant decline since at least 1978, passing from 28 apprentices in EP in 1978 to none in 1988 and no students in école d'agriculture. (176) However the Canton manages to maintain interest in its school of horticulture which trains students in floriculture, ornamental and fruit arboriculture, market gardening and landscaping in full-time classes over three years. (177)

As might be expected, Geneva presents a most complete spectrum of training in paramedical and social service professions with twelve schools devoted to these domains. (178) This makes the Canton virtually self-sufficient in these areas. Additionally librarians are trained in a school located in the *Institut d'études sociales*.

Lastly in initial training we must mention the *écoles des arts décoratifs* which trains, part-time, apprentices in interior and graphic design (179) and, full-time, students in both these areas plus jewellery, ceramics and couture. (180)

Non-university tertiary education is provided in several diverse loci: the *Ecole d'ingénieurs de Genève* (EIG), an ETS for night classes, a horticultural

ETS at Jussy (Lullier), an école supérieure in applied arts and one in fine arts. Table 5.3 shows us that the EIG is divided into eight sections while the evening ETS divides into four.

Specialising as it does in horticulture and landscape architecture, the ETS in Lullier is unique in Suisse romande. (181). It is also remarkable among Switzerland's agricultural ETS for its relatively high proportion of women students - 26% compared to a national average of 11.6%. (182)

Surprisingly, Geneva does not count an ESCEA. Instead the Canton subsidises the *cours commerciaux de Genève* to provide courses leading to examens professionnels (supérieurs) in commerce as well as cantonal diplomas and commercial training for maturité holders. (183) Also subsidised are two musical conservatories - the *Conservatoire de musique de Genève* and the *Conservatoire populaire de musique de Genève*. Only the first offers a professional music diploma and a *Prix de Conservatoire*. (184) The *Ecole supérieure d'arts appliqués* offers courses in interior design, jewellery-making, ceramics etc while the *Ecole supérieure d'art visuel*, in addition to general training in the fine arts, trains teachers of art for secondary schools. Both these schools demand a CFC or, for the latter, a Maturité for base-level entry. In addition, like schools of art in the UK, the *Ecole supérieure d'art visuel* insists that the candidate present a folio of work. (185) Finally, sections of two of the Canton's Ecoles supérieures de commerce (Malagnou and St Jean) offer professional training aimed specifically at maturité holders. Malagnou trains maturité holders (and diplomates from ETS) in software systems analysis while St Jean gives commercial training. (186)

Vaud

As in Neuchâtel, the responsibility for écoles professionnelles lies with the Communes or school districts though the mandate may be passed to professional associations, enterprises or other approved organisations. (187) However, overall auspices for most vocational training lies with the *Département de l'agriculture, de l'industrie et du commerce*. The exceptions are paramedical and social service training.

While Geneva shows the most concentrated urban offer, Vaud demonstrates the widest offer in a mixed urban/rural situation. Naturally the greatest range of offer is in the Vaudois Riviera (the north coast of Lac Léman) which contains the mass of the population but the rest of the Canton shows a wide spread of resources. Vaud contains seven écoles techniques, spread from north to south (188). Two of the ET offer their courses part-time only. Between them the seven ET offer a wide range of courses (see table 5.2): microtechnology, electronics, mechanics, graphics, information technology, management, information technology applied to management. (189)

Commercial apprentices are taught in seven centres while industrial and craft apprentices receive their training in six. Vaud counts two écoles d'agriculture, one of horticulture, one of cheese-making and one of viticulture, œnology and arboriculture.

The decline in numbers of farming apprentices in école professionnelle and students in école d'agriculture in Vaud is noticeable but is not as absolute as

in Geneva: from 1978 to 1988 the number of apprentices fell from 489 to 192 while in the same period the number of students fell from 237 to 181. (190)

Vaud offers a most complete range of paramedical and social service training. It is for example the only Canton in Suisse romande to train operating theatre technicians and orthoptists and, with Geneva, one of only two to train radiologists and midwives. (191)

An unusual course of initial training, offered only in Vaud, is the *baccalauréat technique* (BT). BT classes can only be opened in *écoles de métiers* and *écoles professionnelles* after authorisation by the Canton's *Service de la formation professionnelle*. (192) Success in BT allows the candidate to enter ETS without further examination (the BT being recognised for such entry throughout the country). The course, as in all vocational training, contains two major elements: general culture and professional training. This latter is only available in professions whose training is controlled by OFIAMT. (193) Passing the final exams not only gives the candidate the BT but also a CFC in whatever profession they have specialised in. (194) At present, four ET and one EP offer *baccalauréat technique* and it is undertaken by 240 students out of a total number of 8977 students and apprentices. (195)

Non-university tertiary education is offered in several schools: an ETS in Yverdon, two ETS in Lausanne (196), an evening ETS in Lausanne, an agricultural ETS in Changins by Nyons (197) and an ESCEA in Lausanne. Additionally the Canton runs two schools for foremen - in building and civil

engineering in Tolochenaz and in industry in Yverdon. (198) Montreux hosts a campus of the so-called European University but this we deal with later.

The ETS at Changins is unusual in several respects:

- it is an intercantonal institution, supported by Berne, Fribourg, Jura, Geneva, Neuchâtel, Valais and Vaud as well as 19 professional institutions from the public and private sectors;
- it specialises in viticulture, œnology and arboriculture;
- its courses only begin every two years. (199)

The roll at this ETS has remained roughly stable at around 30 students since, at least, 1978. (200) This low number in a country which produces vast quantities of wine is an (other) indication of the major role played by part-time farming.

Vaud counts three schools of art: an *école d'art appliqué* in Vevey, the *Ecole cantonale d'art de Lausanne* (201) and the *Ecole romande des arts graphiques* (202) which between them cover a wide spectrum of fine and applied art. The *Ecole cantonale d'art* also trains teachers of art. (203) Like the other Romand Cantons, Vaud boasts a conservatory, based in Lausanne. (204)

Lastly we must mention hotel-keeping and tourism. Vaud contains two major centres for training in these domains: the Centre international in Glion and the *Ecole hôtelière de la Société suisse des hôteliers* in Chalet-à-Gobet near Lausanne. Both offer initial training as well as advanced courses while the latter is assimilable as *école supérieure*. Their diplomas incidentally,

although given by the schools themselves, are recognised throughout the world.

Valais

In Valais the responsibility for the écoles professionnelles lies with the Canton (205). The overall auspices for vocational training lies with the *Département de l'instruction publique*.

The main centre for training industrial, craft and commercial apprentices is the *Centre de formation professionnelle* in Sion (206) while Martigny hosts a much smaller école professionnelle, catering for a narrow range of trades including laboratory workers. (207) For their part, agricultural apprentices are catered for in an école d'agriculture at Châteauneuf by Sion. (208) As elsewhere, the numbers in agricultural training have not ceased to decline since, at least, 1978, going from around 250 in 1978 to 70 in 1988. (209)

Unusually Valais romand contains no ET dealing with engineering. As we can see from table 5.2, the ET in Sierre, formerly private (210) and now cantonal, specialises only in information technology.(211)

Valais romand offers a fairly wide spectrum of paramedical training, covering most forms of nursing but few non-nursing specialisms. (212) Two paramedical professions merit special mention: dental assistant and medical assistant. What is unusual in these is that in Valais they are not trained in EP or in schools attached to hospitals or clinics but rather in the

Migros Club-School in Sion. (213) Being able to offer these courses, with the approval of the Swiss Dental and Medical Federations, is considered by the Migros Club-Schools as a major accolade.(214) The Migros Club-Schools are best known for their non-formal education activities and we deal with these in the next chapter.

On the social services front, Valais romand offers a limited range of training: only that offered to budding family helps can be considered as basic training while the other courses on offer, special educator, *maître socio-professionnel* and public health nurse, are assimilable to tertiary education by dint of the level of the entrance qualifications. The first two demand CFC, maturité or equivalent while the third is a post-diploma course for general, psychiatric and obstetric nurses.(215)

The remaining non-university tertiary education is covered in an ETS in Sion (216); an ESCEA with campuses in Martigny and Visp (in the Germanophone part) and several écoles spécialisées. Additionally, the Centre de formation professionnelle in Sion offers courses leading to examens professionnels (supérieurs). (217) Sion is also host to a campus of the European University whose subject we shall develop in the last section of this chapter.

The major role played by tourism in the Valaisan economy is recognised in the Canton being home to the Swiss School of Tourism. This école supérieure spécialisée offers its diploma in tourism by means of full-time training with practical placements and, for those with a minimum of three years experience in the field, via short courses of six weeks each (four being

required for the diploma). The School also trains to the level of examen professionnel supérieur and that of Federal Expert in Tourism. (218)

A short distance from Sion, in the village of Ecône, the splinter of the Catholic Church dedicated to "traditional" Catholicism has its international seminary. This establishment, founded by Mgr Lefebvre, is the only one of its kind in the world. (219) The seminary demands maturité for entrance and offers probably the most literally vocational training in Valais!

Valais romand contains two schools of art, both in Sion: the *Ecole cantonale des Beaux-Arts* and the *Ecole supérieure de vitrail et de création*. This former offers various courses in fine arts (220) but, unlike most others of its type, does not train art teachers. (221) The latter, despite its name, offers basic, as well as advanced, training. Its discipline is somewhat unusual: the design and creation of stained glass windows. (222)

Lastly, the Cantonal Conservatory of Music is a private, though state-subsidised, school, offering training at all levels from complete beginners to virtuosi as well as training music teachers. (223)

Jura

In the Jura it is the communes and the school districts which are responsible for the écoles professionnelles but the possibility exists for mandating professional associations, enterprises and other organisations. The overall Cantonal responsibility for EPs is written into the Cantonal constitution. (224)

Commercial apprentices are taught in two écoles professionnelles commerciales: in Porrentruy and Delémont. The same two towns host the Canton's EPs for craft and industrial apprentices.(225) The Canton's EPs offer a restricted range of apprenticeship courses with others being available in neighbouring Cantons (which usually means Berne). (226)

The Canton's Ecole de Métiers in Porrentruy is devoted to watchmaking and microtechnology. The school gives successful candidates in its final exam a CFC and the school's diploma. Unlike many other écoles de métiers, it does not offer post-CFC courses leading to the diploma of *technicien-ET*.

Agricultural apprentices receive their theoretical training in three centres: Porrentruy, Saignelégier and Courtemelon. (227) The number of agricultural apprentices has been in constant decline since, at least, 1978 (228) but the number of students in école d'agriculture has remained roughly stable over the same period. (229)

On the paramedical front the Canton presents a very limited offer. Courses are available only for assistant nurses and *aides-hospitaliers*.(230) All specialists in social service are imported from, or at least trained, elsewhere.

The Canton contains no ETS or other écoles supérieures spécialisées. This lacuna is however compensated for to some extent by means of courses presented under the ægis of the *Ecole jurassienne de Perfectionnement*

professionnel. This intercantonal organisation, based in Tramelin (BE), helps in organising not only updating and recycling courses in both the Jura and the Jura bernois but also courses preparing the candidate for examens professionnels (supérieurs).(231)

The Jura contains no schools of fine or applied art but the Canton does support a Conservatory, based in Delémont, and covering the usual range of levels from absolute beginners to virtuosi, including teachers of music. (232)

Jura bernois

As in the Jura, in Berne it is the communes and school districts which are responsible for the EPs although the mandate may be passed to professional associations, enterprises or other organisations.(233) In what follows we shall limit ourselves to describing the offer of vocational training in the Jura bernois. The reader should however bear in mind that, provided the learner's linguistic capacity is up to the task, courses in the rest of the Canton are equally available.

The Jura bernois trains its commercial, craft and industrial apprentices in six localities spread over the area (234) and hence within fairly easy reach by apprentices. Agricultural training in EP in Berne has shown a relatively small decline (about 25%) since 1978 (235) while the école d'agriculture in the Jura bernois has shown a 100% *increase* in its student numbers in the same period. (236)

The area counts three écoles de métiers: St Imier (école de métiers), Moutier

(*Centre professionnel de Tornos*) and Bienne (*Ecole cantonale des métiers microtechniques*).⁽²³⁷⁾ None of these provide full-time course beyond CFC and are not assimilable as écoles techniques. The only ET in the Jura bernois is the *Ecole cantonale de techniciens* in the bilingual town of Bienne. ⁽²³⁸⁾ As we can see from table 5.2, this school offers courses in mechanics.

The only paramedical training on offer in the Jura bernois is in St Imier where general nurses, nursing assistants and *aides-hospitaliers* are trained.⁽²³⁹⁾ As in the Jura, all social service specialists are trained outwith the area.

Bienne is host to two écoles techniques supérieures: the *Ecole suisse du bois*, offering courses in most aspects of wood production and preparation, and the *Ecole d'ingénieurs de Bienne*. ⁽²⁴⁰⁾ Both are bilingual schools. ⁽²⁴¹⁾ The latter, as we see from table 5.3, is divided into six main sections covering architecture, electrotechnology, information technology, mechanics, microtechnology and automobile technology.⁽²⁴²⁾

The remaining ETS in the Jura bernois is the *Ecole d'ingénieurs de St Imier*. It is divided into three sections: mechanics, microtechnology and electronics. An unusual aspect of this school is its willingness to accept maturité holders with no work experience. These people are instead required to follow an accelerated practical program, within the school if so desired, before embarking on the course proper. ⁽²⁴³⁾

Further possibilities for non-university tertiary education exist under the

auspices of the Ecole jurassienne de Perfectionnement professionnel. This organisation is remarkable not only for traversing a Cantonal frontier but also for the wide diversity of groups under whose ægis it operates. These range from the ETS and EPs through professional associations and trades unions to chambres of commerce. (244)

The Jura bernois contains one school of fine or applied art: the Ecole cantonale d'art visuel in Bienne which trains graphic designers. (245) The area has no conservatory.

Conclusions

As we have seen, the offer of vocational training in Suisse romande is very variable indeed. One might argue that the offer of industrial, craft and commercial apprenticeships is a function of the labour market and hence of the economy. From this we could deduce that where an apprenticeship is not offered then this is due to lack of employment in the domain in question. Besides, where a Canton cannot offer theoretical classes to a local employer's apprentices then, in those cases where it applies, the Law of 1978 obliges the Canton to arrange classes in neighbouring Canton.

In some cases where the Law does not apply the Cantons have signed agreements allowing apprentices and students to attend classes outwith their Canton of residence. Paramedical training provides two cases of this. In nurse training the student nurse is usually paid during the course and the final diploma is recognised throughout the country. Most nurse training programs in Suisse romande are subject to an intercantonal convention (246) which

allows, subject to general entrance requirements, free access to students from any Francophone areas. In other paramedical specialisms the situation is not so happy.

Switzerland has long suffered a penury in most paramedical specialisms. Despite this, the 1978 intercantonal convention on the financing of health care training, instead of widening access, effectively limits the choice of schools available to budding non-nursing paramedics. Table 5.4 (247) takes the example of the Genevan paramedical schools and shows which courses are recognised by whom.

Table 5.4 Paramedical training in Geneva and its availability to non-Genevan students

school	available to students from						
	VD	VS	FR	NE	JU	BE	TI
physiotherapy	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
chiropody	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
dietetics	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
medical radiological technician	•	•	•		•	•	•
dental hygienist	•	•	•	•		•	•
medical laboratory technician	•			•			•
medical assistant		•					•

It is perhaps not unnatural that a Canton which already pays for a school might not be too keen on its students going elsewhere (especially since the sending Canton has to pay the receiving Canton). But this problem arising from financing ignores personal choice and assumes that all schools of the same ilk are identical. The product may well be but the process leading to that

product will likely differ from place to place. The problem also ignores difficulties which may exist in travel. The geography of Suisse romande is such that it is quite conceivable that a medical assistant trainee in the west of Vaud, for example, can much more easily travel to Geneva for classes than to Lausanne. But with the present convention and the laws guaranteeing that basic training must be free of charge to the trainee then this trainee is prevented from attending classes in Geneva, even at his/her own expense.(248) As with many problems in Swiss education, this one clearly arises out of the Federal structure. The difficulty is how to surmount the problem without effectively throwing the baby out with the bathwater. Given the *national* penury in paramedical personnel, a case could be made here for the Cantons relinquishing to a national or semi-national organisation the control and financing of non-nursing paramedical training. Unlike industrial, craft or commercial training, the number of schools concerned is relatively small but, even so, could such a move be carried out without being seen as another case of Federal interference in Cantonal affairs? Paramedical training already has its outline programmes largely dictated by national and semi-national organisations. Giving these or some new, say, Romand organisation curricular and financial control would merely move more fully down the road to pluralism, if existing organisations were employed and their role expanded, or synthesism, if the Cantons themselves created the new governing body from drawing together or even merging existing structures.

The growth in access to Maturité brings with it problems for basic vocational training. Obviously where more students remain in school then fewer are available for apprenticeships and other training courses. Neuchâtel provides

an example of this. The path being tread by the Neuchâtelois has already been travelled by the Genevois, though they have yet to solve its problems, and will doubtless be so by the Valaisans and other as they expand access to and provision of Maturité courses. This is an old debate in Switzerland and is one which frequently appears to ignore an essential fact: in the past it was largely boys who stayed on to do Maturité (and also boys who entered apprenticeship). One does not have to go very far back to find a substantial proportion of girls leaving school unqualified, entering unskilled or low-skilled employment and more or less waiting to get married, upon which they ceased all employment other than those of housekeeper and mother. The present scenario is somewhat different. Increasingly, girls are able to stay on at school and opt to do so. Thus for example an increase in Maturants from, say, 15% to 30% does not automatically imply 15% fewer apprentices. It is far from impossible that the additional 15% in Maturité are girls who in the past might well have left school to effectively wait for motherhood.

A consequence of the growth in popularity of the Maturité is that Neuchâtel's EPs nonetheless feel themselves deprived of the more intellectual apprentices. As a result, the écoles professionnelles feel themselves deprived of the more intellectual apprentices who go instead to university and then, through lack of suitable employment at home, migrate. Meanwhile, a marked penury in qualified workers begins to be felt in industry and in arts and crafts. (249)

This is perhaps one of the ironies of expanding upper secondary school provision: that, so to speak, scientists abound while technicians are in short

supply. There is as yet no way out of this situation. If we take the view that the point of any education is the growth and expansion of the personality then imbalances between supply and demand are more than likely to occur. If we adopt an opposing view that education must serve the economy then to restrict choice, as would have to occur, is not only undemocratic but would require a finely-tuned crystal ball to predict to to-and-froes of the economy.

The same problem has been encountered in the Soviet Union where, unlike Switzerland, a system of quotas existed for entrance to higher education. The Swiss have so far avoided *numerus clausus* but it must be asked whether this happy situation is not due to the numbers passing Maturité. Coincidentally, while the numbers at Maturité remain relatively low there will always be students available for apprenticeship. Selection occurs, it appears, long before entrance to higher education and in a way which attempts to assure that the supply of apprentices is sufficient. The continuing increase in Maturants could force the introduction of *numerus clausus* and lead to the socio-psychological problem felt by the Soviets of "frustrated Maturity-holders who had to take up a working situation without any vocational qualification."(250) At this point it is worth mentioning, in passing, that contrary to the Soviet Union, there is no real encouragement in Switzerland for women to return to their studies after having children or even to return to work. Childcare facilities are scarce and expensive and in most Cantons the school day (with two and a half hours for lunch) militates against going back to work when the children are at school.

Part of the problem seems to arise from the long-standing education versus

training argument we touched upon earlier. As long as vocational training is viewed as less academic and less prestigious than general education then the problem will persist. It is not of course helped by the reality of vocational training being in general much less intellectually demanding than general education. The two may eventually converge as is the case with some courses at *écoles techniques supérieures* and their counterparts in *écoles polytechniques fédérales* but the public image remains, helped no doubt by the fact that the mass of erstwhile and continuing apprentices never accede to the higher intellectual echelons of their trade or profession.

A way round these difficulties might lie in an enhancement of the *baccalauréat technique* to allow holder not only access to ETS but also to university tertiary education. Having to include directly vocational courses in addition to a mass of general culture would certainly lead to a reduction in the latter. The student would not, as is the case in the present *Maturité*, be qualified for entry to the full range of university courses but he/she would have the possibility to enter some *and* be vocationally qualified. This type of course might well be attractive to those unsure about tertiary education though capable of *Maturité*. The spectre (in Swiss eyes) of *numerus clausus* would still be evident but such a *Maturité technique* would appear to have a neat niche to fill. Besides, if a thinking labour force is what is required then is this not a way of achieving it without restricting choice?

There is also a major argument in favour of encouraging apprenticeship after *Maturité* rather than instead of it. Unfortunately part of the success of the apprenticeship system lies in the low wages paid to the apprentices. Any

scheme to generalise apprenticeship after the Maturité would have to ensure that not only was credit given for the academic attainment of the apprentice but also that he/she was paid at least as much as other workers of the same age.

It may be noticed that we have made little reference to raw numbers in the domains of vocational training. In our opinion, such data is largely meaningless in a comparative context. More useful is the proportion of the population in vocational training and the proportion who pass the end of apprenticeship exams to gain a CFC. Table 5.5 (251) shows the passes at CFC as compared to the number of candidates and to the number of 19 year olds. Figure 5.8 (252) shows the correlation between these three elements and the Federally defined *degree of mountainousness* of the Cantons under

Table 5.5 Passes at CFC

Canton	passes as % of candidates		passes as % of 19 year olds	
	1987	1988	1987	1988
Berne	94.0	94	66.2	67.7
Fribourg	92.6	93	53.7	56.3
Neuchâtel	87.9	88.5	52.3	54.7
Vaud	86.1	86	57.6	60.8
Valais	89.2	83	54.4	58
Geneva	82	82.1	45.5	47.6
Jura	89.3	87.7	52.1	51.6
National average	92.7	92.6	62.4	65

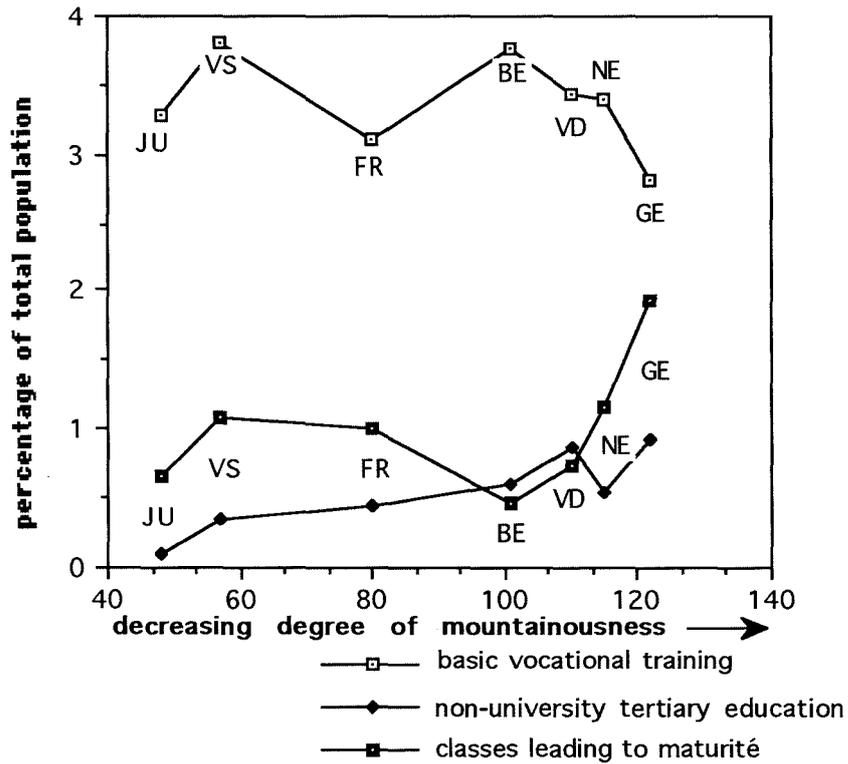


Figure 5.8 A comparison of numbers in some aspects of post-compulsory education and the Federal index of mountainousness

consideration. The general tendency is that the less a Canton is mountainous then the higher the attendance levels vis-à-vis the whole population in both Maturité and non-university tertiary education while the basic vocational training variable seems independent of the mountains. This is further confirmed by Figure 5.9 (253) which shows the correlation between the same three elements as before and the Federally defined combined index of mountainousness, rurality and economic weakness.

Possible reasons for this are not hard to find: apprentice training is often relatively decentralised and even where this is not the case attendance for one or two days per week presents fewer difficulties than has the Maturité or non-university tertiary education student attending each day.

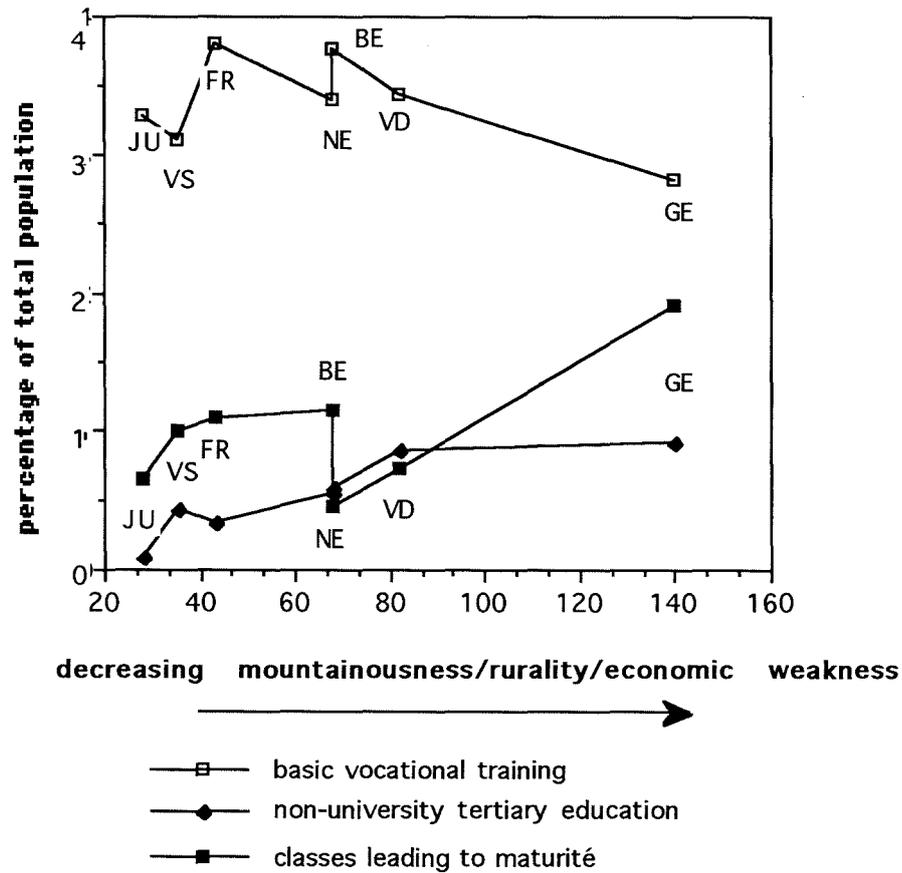


Figure 5.9 A comparison of numbers in some aspects of post-compulsory education and the Federal index of mountainousness/rurality/economic weakness

Looking at the last group, the absence of offer in some areas clearly disfavours but since these areas are the most rural and the most mountainous then the disavour is radically compounded. It is interesting to note that even in a mountainous and rural Canton such as the Valais the presence of écoles supérieures spécialisées within the Canton itself dramatically elevates the level of participation in non-university tertiary education to four-fold the level the level of the Jura where the offer is in centres in a neighbouring Canton. And yet the journey times for many Valaisan students, especially from the lateral valleys, must certainly rival, if not exceed, the time to get

from most of the Jura to St Imier or Bienne. Does the key therefore lie in cost? As we mentioned earlier, "home" students pay less, if they pay at all, than students from other Cantons. But the level of fees is low and seems unlikely in itself to be such a disincentive. It does nonetheless underline the need for greater flexibility in the rules employed by OFIAMT to decide its levels of subsidy.

Thusfar, open learning methods in vocational training in Suisse romande are noticeable by their absence. Open learning, involving as it does a combination of direct, distance and autodidactic teaching, could do much to equalise learning opportunities between rural and urban areas. It would also allow practitioners in domains often remote from training centres to apply new knowledge as and when they acquire it. Thus, the alpine tourist resorts, rural cottage industries and micro-industrial units would stand to benefit from the educational levels of their workers being raised without the workers having to leave the area or being forced to commute long distances. As Vincent and Vincent make clear (254), the rise of computer assisted learning, interactive video, and electronic mailboxes together with satellite and cable links have the potential of allowing a class to exist over a vast geographical area without the sense of isolation so common among correspondance students. We shall return to this notion in Chapter 7 when we discuss its use in a potential Romand open university. However, students at all levels stand to benefit. The question is whether the wealthier cantons who do quite nicely out of the present set-up would see it as in their interests to contribute to the doubtless high cost of establishing a state-of-the-art open learning system. An individual rural Canton, with its lower financial resources, could provide

part of the service but really to be viable all the potential partners would have to be involved.

One dimension of vocational training we have scarcely touched upon is that provided by the private sector. Private training schools exist over most of Suisse romande though their greatest concentration is on the Léman coast. They aim mainly at commercial courses and offer diplomas which may or may not be acceptable to OFIAMT. The problem with private training is that there is such a plethora of offer that classification, even enumeration, is well-nigh impossible in any meaningful manner. The problem is compounded by their nature of existing purely at the mercy of market forces. Hence, many of these schools are in perpetual state of flux.

The size of private schools varies from the very small, occupying one or two rooms, to those existing on several sites. Similarly they vary in their stated aims, from providing simple commercial courses to claiming to provide university degrees. The status of the latter type is at best questionable and has been investigated by an investigating commission established by the CDIP which further to its own study of the phenomenon commissioned a lawyer to conduct a study of the legal position of these institutions. The conclusion of this latter was that, apart from clear cases of fraud, there was little in either public or private law to prevent a body terming itself university and issuing its own degrees. (255) In this respect, Swiss Federal and Cantonal laws differ little from those of most other countries of the world: it is largely up to the consumer to decide whether or not his/her proposed course in, say, business administration (a favourite of the private universities) is indeed

worth the fees demanded for it.

The "university in name only" is exemplified by the so-called European University. This organisation, with Swiss campuses in Montreux and Sion, offers various courses in business administration. It claims in its publicity to be "officially affiliated with several leading American Universities and Business Schools" and to be "Member: American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business." (256) However, it declines to identify these affiliates or to give further information on the American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business. Further there is no mention as to whether this latter enjoys any official recognition in the USA as is the case with members of organisations such as the New England Association of Schools and Colleges which was set up by the Secretary of State for Education in order to accredit schools and colleges both at home and abroad and to verify certain minimum standards. Taking these points together, we might seriously question the European University and its claim to that title.

Taken as a unit (which it is of course only linguistically) Suisse romande offers the widest possible spectrum of vocational training. It is however hampered by regional inequalities and a rigid, over-specialised system of apprenticeship and training. This latter is slowly being reviewed. The former will doubtless have to await some political evolution. This could take some time but one never knows.

In terms of structure, vocational training in Suisse romande represents a far from simple case. The organisation of courses governed by the Law of 1978

follows a very much pluralistic pattern. The same can be said for those governed by the Agricultural Law. In each case, courses are accredited by the appropriate Federal authority and thus guaranteed recognition throughout the country. In the paramedical professions, pluralism remains but it is no longer the Confederation which acts as overall governing body but professional associations such as the Swiss Red Cross and Swiss Medical Federation. Their role may be that of accrediting agency or actual provider or both.

At the level of non-university tertiary education, autonomy returns to the fore. Other than in the according of the status of *école supérieure spécialisée*, Federal legislation plays no role in this domain. The Canton is thus free, or free to allow its schools, to decide the contents of courses. In this respect the expectation seems akin to that popularly given to universities; ie that the institution itself is capable of deciding the level of its courses in order that they are of an equivalent level to those offered elsewhere or in other institutions of the same level.

Synthesis is, so far, absent from the organisation of vocational training in Suisse romande. How long it will continue so remains to be seen. Harmonisation of curricula is slowly creeping up into post-compulsory school but whether it will cross the great divide into training is impossible to guess.

As we have seen, the Confederation subsidises vocational training but the cost to the Cantons of provision remains high. Given their national importance, is

there not a case here for increasing the role of central government in financing, especially in poorer Cantons, the provision of vocational training and education? The legislative basis for this already exists and since the various Federal laws concerned with training already permit some subsidy then amendment, rather than rewriting, of laws is all that would be required. The raising of the required finance might run into trouble but then some Cantons, such as Geneva, already have a so-called apprenticeship tax paid by all employers in order to fund vocational training. A Federal apprenticeship tax could provide funding to help equalise opportunity in, for example, non-university tertiary education and/or to encourage cash intensive initiatives such as the establishment of open learning systems. Without Federal involvement, ideas such as these risk remaining mere reveries.

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Chapter six

Adult education

- introduction
- providers of adult education
 - Migros
 - Migros and adult education
 - Universités populaires
 - Other providers of adult education
- Collaboration & legal bases
- Conclusion
- Sources and notes

Introduction

Adult education can be understood in several in several distinct senses:

“In all cases the notion (of adult education) includes all educational efforts which follow on from education within the family, compulsory and initial post-compulsory training.

In its large sense, adult education encompasses all the spontaneous and informal activities, all the meetings taking place during leisure and during professional work which serve to increase understanding in any domain whatsoever of human experience, and to encourage consciousness of action.

The essential point in adult education, taken in its narrowest sense, is that it is no longer a training acquired in some accidental or sporadic manner, but, on the contrary, in a regular and systematic fashion. Most of the time it concerns courses spread over several weeks, during which participants meet on a certain weekday. These courses may be combined with organised weekends, visits to places, television programmes, trips, etc” (1)

It is clear that should we include informal education in an analysis of adult education then the field of action is so vast and varied as to render the task impossible, except perhaps in the most perfunctory sense. On the other hand, restricting our analysis to the narrow sense suggested above implies a devaluation of autodidactics and also of the one-off lecture. This narrow sense

suggests that the social aspect of adult education is paramount. Such a viewpoint leads to the question as to whether adult education is in fact education or whether it is leisure. Or is it indeed sometimes both, depending on the circumstances? This is a point we shall return to later.

It is a moot point as to whether adult education equals merely educating adults. Such an equation might imply that there is no special pedagogy (or andragogy) dedicated to the methods and means of providing education to adult. If such an andragogy exists however then this, in turn, might imply that a pedagogy adapted to young learners is ill-adapted to the needs and aspirations of adults. This is the stance adopted by the Scottish Community Education Council (SCEC) in its consultative paper on policy *Adult Education and Continuing Education in Scotland: Then...and now?* where it states that it is good practice to provide separate adult classes, for adult returnees to secondary schools, wherever possible. (2)

In Suisse romande, the stance concerning adults returning to school-level courses reflects a similar attitude which, as we argued in Chapter 5, ignores the reality of the adult returnee to formal education: namely, that the sense of insecurity so common in debutant adult learners can be exacerbated by their being forced into an unfamiliar situation, no matter how well-adapted this might be to experienced adult students. Rather, with cognisance given to adults, the returnee might be more comfortable in a teacher-led environment, rather than one where the teacher is a resource to be tapped.

Cyril Houle, with characteristic circumspection, defines adult education as:

“The process by which men and women (alone, in groups or in institutional settings) seek to improve themselves or their society by increasing their skill, their knowledge, or their sensitiveness. Any process by which individuals, groups or institutions try to help men and women improve themselves in these ways.” (3)

The suggestion that Houle seeks to encompass all domains in which adults purposefully seek education is underlined by Houle’s definition of *education* which is identical to that for adult education except that in the place of *men and women* we see *individuals*. (4)

Houle’s definitions are certainly loose but that very looseness is perhaps a point in their favour. He goes far beyond the narrowness of the Alexander Report which claims that adult education courses are:

“voluntary leisure-time courses for adults which are educational but not specifically vocational.” (5)

He equally avoids the slant of Phillippe Fritsch who entitles his book *L’Education des Adultes* and confines his discussion to professional training and updating. (6)

These definitions and many others adopted over the last thirty or so years (7) underline the purposeful nature of adult education. It is not an accidental occurrence but a deliberately undertaken process with specific aims in mind.

The SCEC paper gives these aims as to:

“help people identify and acquire the knowledge and skills which they feel are essential to manage their lives and to take advantage of opportunities;
enable people to improve and make continuing use of their **capacity to learn**;
help people acquire **confidence** in themselves.” (8)
(emphasis in original)

But are these aims not the aims of any educative process? One fundamental point distinguishes adult education from other forms of education: it is aimed primarily as a voluntary and part-time activity at those members of society to whom society itself looks for its funding, the support of its young and for its very cohesion. As far as elderly people are concerned, these are rôles which, if they no longer share them, they will probably have done so in the past. In this respect, adult education is adults being educated.

As the members of society responsible for society (at least in theory) it is reasonable to expect that adults will be responsible in their courses. From this notion stems the idea that adults must be able to set their own course goals, as if every other age groups did not. Every school pupil has a goal and expectation of his/her course. The real difference is that the adult has a liberty to leave which the school pupil usually does not. This liberty however is not unique to adult education – any education not rendered compulsory by statute or employment (or the lack of it) leaves the student free to leave at any time.

In our present examination therefore let us define adult education in the terms proposed by Cyril Houle but with the additional proviso outlined above. To avoid unnecessary repetition of material already dealt with in Chapter 5 we shall limit our examination largely to the non-vocational domain. In this way we shall discuss two of the three classes of adult education proposed by Dominicé and Finger: namely, *animation socio-culturelle* and quality of life. Their third category concerns professional training and updating. (9)

Animation socio-culturelle is often rendered into English as community education. Unfortunately, as we have shown elsewhere, the definition and goals of community education are so full of glaring inconsistencies and uncertainties as to render it worse than useless. (10) Let us therefore stick with the original label and centre our discussion on that.

It often appears to be the case that adult education has emerged in societies which were either polarised, industrialised or both. So it was in Switzerland where, in the 19th century, the development of industrialisation was accompanied by the emergence of the bourgeoisie and the working class. (11) However, this industrialisation left large parts of the country untouched. It was primarily an urban phenomenon and was concentrated most especially in the central north of the country. This is not to say that industry did not develop in Suisse romande. It did but without the creation of large industrial complexes as in, for example, Zurich and Olten. In the Valais, for its part, there was no industry to speak of until the aluminium smelter at Chippis opened in 1914.

So, the Romand situation at the beginning of the century was characterised by a general lack of widespread industry, a relatively low extent of societal polarisation and consequently the absence of the usual stimuli for the appearance of adult education. Against this background, it is of little surprise that the models which did appear were of Alémanique origin. What is surprising is how widespread and diversified Romand adult education has become.

Providers of Adult Education

The bodies offering adult education in Suisse romande range from small *ad hoc* groups to vast regional and national organisations. We begin with the largest of the national organisations, an organisation remarkable for its youth, its funding, its diversity and the fact that it alone accounts for over 50% of adult education in Switzerland. (12)

Migros

In 1941 a Zurich grocer, Gottlieb Duttweiler, having established a successful chain of shops and travelling shops, took the decision to transform his company into a series of cooperatives. The stated aim of these cooperatives was to follow the footsteps of the Rochdale Pioneers who had established the *Co-op* in 19th century England. (13) Where Duttweiler differed from those who had inspired him was in that he had used his wealth to create cooperatives whereas the Rochdale Pioneers began with little capital and sold membership of their cooperatives in order to finance initial capital projects. Migros' membership fee was, and is, very nominal. In some respects Dutweiler's

story bears more than a passing resemblance to that of Robert Owen. We must be careful however not to pursue this too far: Duttweiler's creation enjoys considerable financial success, Owen's collapsed. Both did seek to change society: Owen by creating an alternative society; Duttweiler by working from within society to avoid societal upheaval and societal polarisation through making goods, services and *culture* available at affordable prices.

The definition of culture now taken by Migros is that provided by the Council of Europe:

“Culture is everything which allows an individual to locate him/herself with respect to the world, to society but also to his/her native heritage; it is everything which contributes to a better understanding of one's situation in the eventual aim of modifying it.”(14)

This wide definition allows Department I of the *Fédération des coopératives Migros (FCM)* to act across a very wide spectrum in order to provide access to just about every form of culture. The social and cultural activities of the Migros are held to be:

“on an equal footing with the commercial activities. They seek to serve the fulfillment of Man, the development of human relations, the improvement of the quality of life, (and) to contribute to the evolution of our society.” (15)

To the outside observer and especially to one used to purely lucrative capitalism this may seem like an odd stance, even for an organisation seeking

to follow the Rochdale Pioneers who, after all, gave away their profits to their members as a function of the money spent by the member in Coop stores. The contribution to generalising culture by the Coop was never great and has now largely ceased.

It is an almost necessary function of any commercial enterprise to make profits. How the enterprise disposes of these is another matter. The Coop's method of offering dividends to its members was cumbersome and costly to operate. On the other hand, using spare cash to offer gifts to members and to sponsor cultural events wastes much less money in administration and almost certainly gives out more benefits to the people.

Migros differs further from the old Coop in that it offers its services to the whole population, not just to its members.

The Duttweiler Theses of 1950 are:

“the expression of the personal will... of Gottlieb and Adèle Duttweiler, founders of the Migros. They legally oblige neither the Migros cooperatives nor its directors but are to be considered as directives to which members of administrations and committees of the cooperatives can always and at any time refer themselves for the defence of the spiritual heritage of the Migros.” (16)

Incidentally, under Article 34 para 1 of the 1983 Statutes of the FCM, only those “who declare that they accept the spiritual heritage of Migros and are

ready to defend it actively” may stand for election to posts of major responsibility in the FCM. (17)

The “spiritual heritage” of the Migros is encapsulated in the Duttweiler Theses of which number ten is probably the most important for our present purposes. It states:

“The general interest must always be placed above the interest of the Migros cooperatives... In view of our growing material strength, we must always be able to offer more cultural and social benefits.” (18)

The other Theses describe the social mission to which Duttweiler aimed Migros: goals include: exemplary salaries for its staff; widening the basis of the cooperatives’ committees to include workers’ unions’ representatives; women’s groups and political figures of various persuasions; fighting to protect the weak against abuses of power.

“By its cultural policy, Migros means the encouragement of the creation, diffusion and maintenance of culture.” (20)

Migros undertakes these activities through its own direct efforts and by subsidising those of others.

Thus:

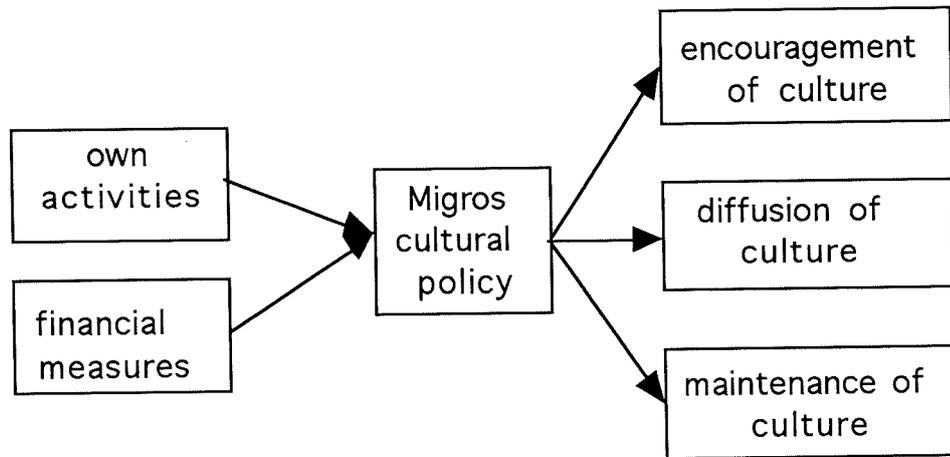


Figure 6.1 Migros' Cultural Policy

Through its social policy, Migros seeks to improve the condition of life as well as to encourage and reinforce the personal efforts of the individual and of deprived social groups. Again, this is undertaken through Migros' own activities and by subsidising those of others. Thus:

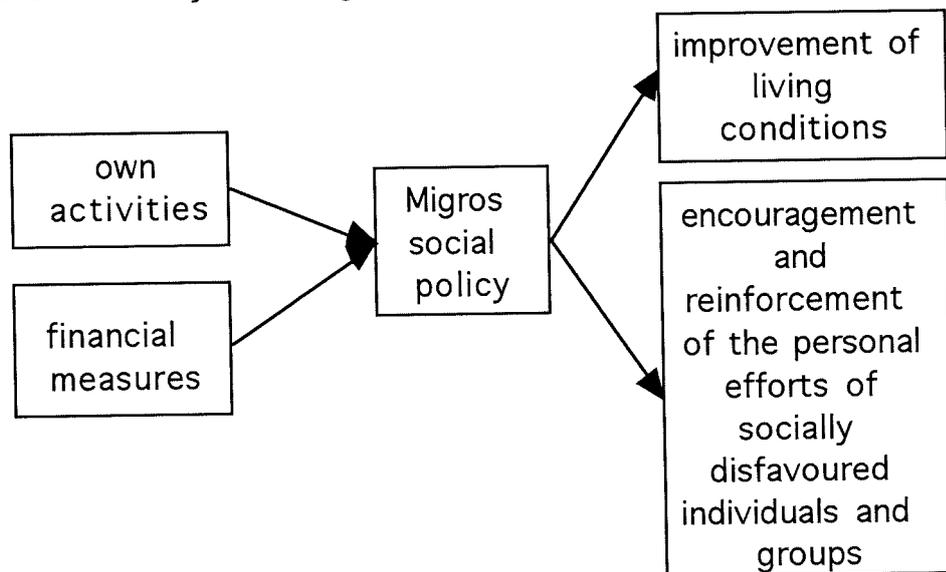


Figure 6.2 Migros' Social Policy

In both cases, Migros seeks to intervene in those areas where aid from public or other private sources is lacking.

The financial basis for Migros' cultural and social policy is the "cultural levy". This amounts to not less than 1% of the turnover of the FCM and not less than 1/2% of that of the cooperatives. The result is a considerable sum – in 1989, it exceeded Fr91 million. (22) To this must be added the cost of the free weekly newspaper which Migros distributes to each of its 1.5 million members (23) and which appears in separate editions for each language with a regional section contributed by the cooperative concerned. (24) This results in effectively fifteen editions, reflecting the twelve cooperatives of which three are bilingual. There is as yet no Romansch edition.

Migros and Adult Education

Let us now describe the direct contributions made by Migros to adult education. As a national federation, not unnaturally, most of Migros' activities are national endeavours. Some, however, are particular to Suisse romande. We begin with the smaller offerings and end on Migros' most overt vestige of adult education, the Migros Club Schools.

In the informal domains of musical entertainment and theatre, Migros assists through offering three types of activity: its own concert and theatre tours; financial aid to theatre and concert tours organised by others and by sponsoring up and coming actors and artists to improve their craft. (25)

Not far from Lausanne, at the Signal de Bougy, Migros has created a *Pré Vert* ,

a superbly furnished park and play area where, for example, cattle and wildlife can be seen from close up. The area is more than just a park or a zoo in that large quantities of information on the flora and fauna are offered to visitors in easily assimilable leaflets. A point of interest is that, other than the restaurant, there is no overt indication at the Signal de Bougy of Migros' association with the site. In fact, it is run by a charitable foundation entirely supported by the FCM. Concerts and theatrical performances (generally free) are a regular feature of the Pré Vert. (26)

Another foundation subsidised by Migros consists of a series of language schools found over much of Western Europe. Existing primarily outwith Suisse romande, these *Eurocentres* are of limited interest in the present context. Suffice to mention that Migros not only subsidises them but also offers grants to certain categories of students.

Last in this enumeration of Migros' "lesser" cultural activities are the benefits offered to its members. Apart from the free weekly newspaper, Migros regularly gives away books (such as the *Guide culturelle de la Suisse*), theatre and concert visits (free or heavily subsidised) as well as reduced fares on mountain railways etc. (27)

According to Veuthey, as the Second World War drew inexorably to a conclusion, Duttweiler became increasingly worried that there would be a repetition of the social upheaval so evident at the end of the First World War. Aware that Migros could only play a minor rôle in facilitating human relations, Duttweiler nonetheless encouraged the opening of language schools

across Northern Switzerland. The idea was that people who understand each other have less reason to fight and that understanding each others' language is a first step towards comprehension. (28)

The language schools officially became Club Schools in 1948 (29). As the Club School Valais' letterhead states:

"do you know that the Club School is the school in which one learns regardless of age, previous training, social rank or beliefs and (it is) the club where one meets with ever-renewed pleasure?"

In 1949, the first Club Schools opened in Suisse romande (in Bienne and Geneva). Since then Club Schools have spread throughout the area and are now to be found in most urban centres. (31)

"The act of founding the Club School does not depend on any particular theory of education, and does not correspond to a highly structured model." (32)

Instead the approach of the Club Schools is largely pragmatic and within the courses the structure is determined by the content and/or by the participants.

Club Schools depend directly on their regional cooperatives for their subsidy which in general covers about 30% of the total cost. (33) Nationally, these subsidies amounted in 1989 to some Fr55 705 000. (34) Figure 6.3 shows

the subsidy per cooperative and how it has changed over the last two decades.

(35) The Coordination Office of the Club Schools (*Koordinationstelle der Klubschulen Migros* or KOST) in Zurich, which takes responsibility for the preparation of courses and materials, is funded by the FCM. In 1989 this amounted to some Fr5 988 000.

According to Makosch, despite the support paid to the Club Schools and to the KOST, both need to run on business criteria. He stresses however that this is a general need rather than a strict rule and thus exceptions (in the form of, for example, more heavily subsidised courses) are sometimes allowed. (36)

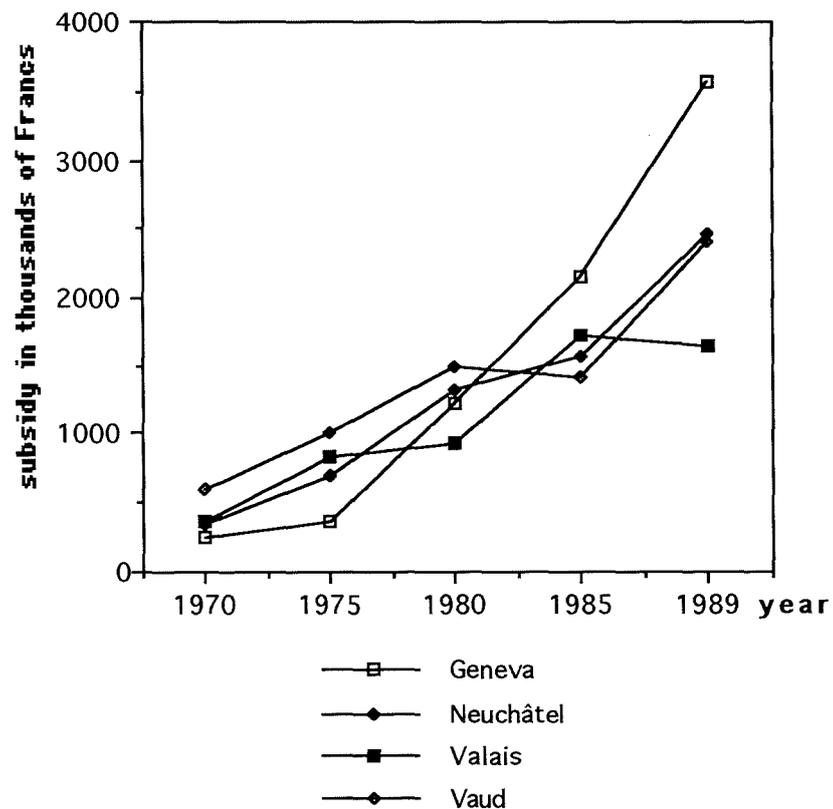


Figure 6.3 Subsidy per Migros cooperative

This said,

"the Club Schools are mentioned nowhere... in the statutes of the cooperatives, in the statutes of the FCM or in any contract... To impose on them... a commercial goal would have in the medium and long term profound consequences." (37)

The cooperatives have no statutory control over what is offered in the Club Schools, how it is taught, to whom or by whom. Instead the cooperatives are held to subsidise the Club Schools (by tradition rather than by statute or contract) as part of their cultural mission.

The Club Schools, having begun life as language schools now split their activities between initial training and updating, languages and leisure courses. The splits for Geneva, Valais and the country as a whole are shown in figure 6.4. (38)

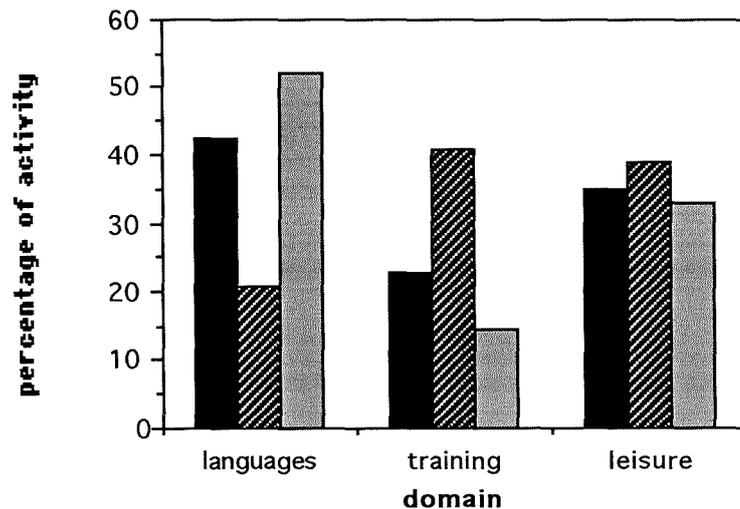


Figure 6.4 A comparison of domains of activity in the Club Schools nationally with those in Geneva and Valais

■ nationally
 ▨ Valais
 ▩ Geneva

Notable is that both Cantons fit closely the national average for leisure courses and yet deviate markedly in the other two domains. In languages, Geneva's position is perhaps indicative of that Canton's cosmopolitan nature compared to Valais' *relative* homogeneity (within its language areas). In training, Geneva, as we saw in Chapter 5 and as befits a major city, has a highly developed and diversified training system and since the Club Schools in particular and Migros' Cultural Service in general will not intervene where others, particularly the State, already offer adequate provision, we do not see Migros offering specialist training as it does in Valais.

The Club Schools do not formally analyse their enrolments. However, in March 1989, they commissioned IPSO, a market research organisation, to provide various data on the participants. Figure 6.5 shows the age/sex over the courses (39) while figure 6.6a and figure 6.6b compare the age/sex distribution with that of the population at large.(40)

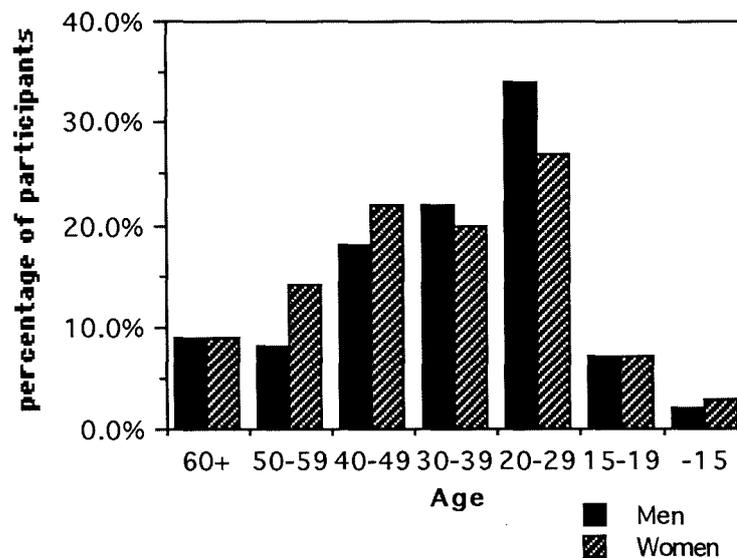


Figure 6.5 Age/sex distribution over Club School courses

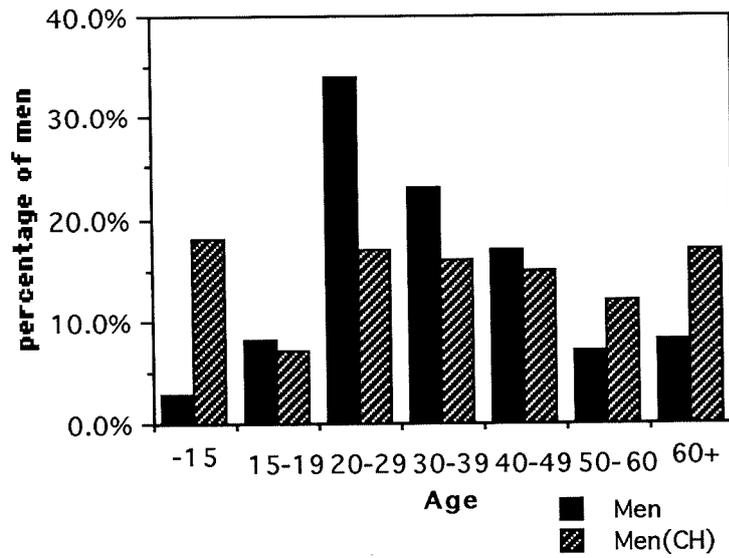


Figure 6.6a Age/sex distribution of male participants compared to population at large

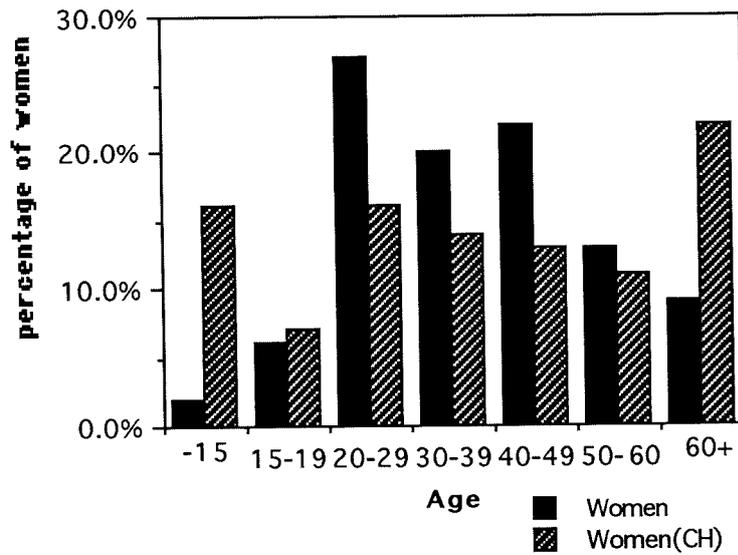


Figure 6.6b Age/sex distribution of female participants compared to the population at large

Figure 6.7 shows the age distribution of participants in Club School courses run by each of the four Romand cooperatives. (41)

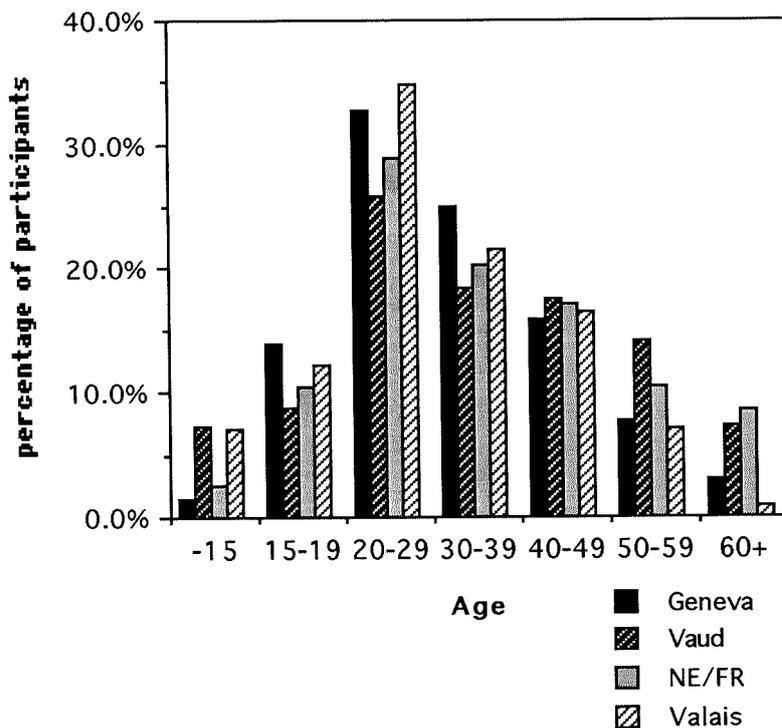


Figure 6.7 Age distribution in the four Romand cooperatives

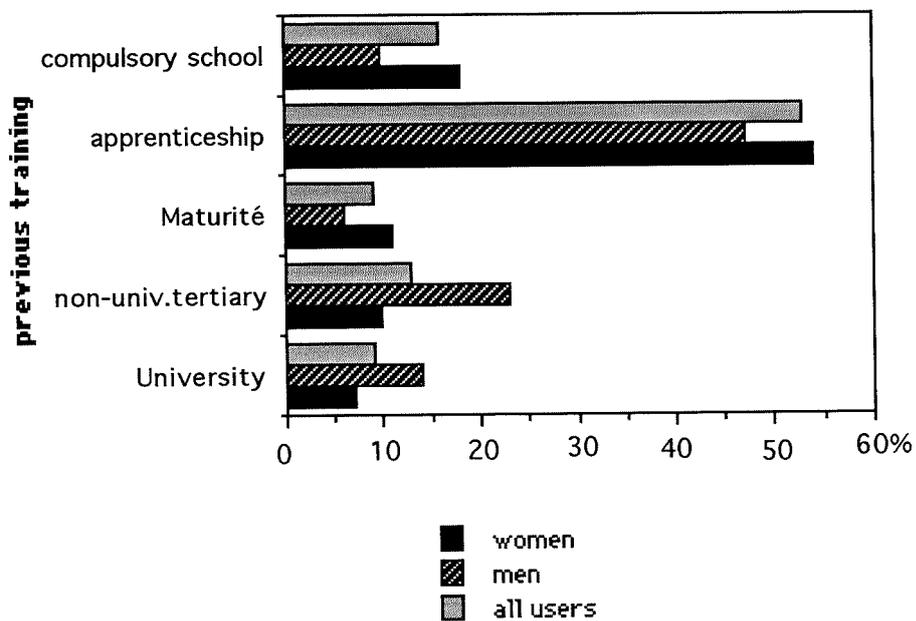


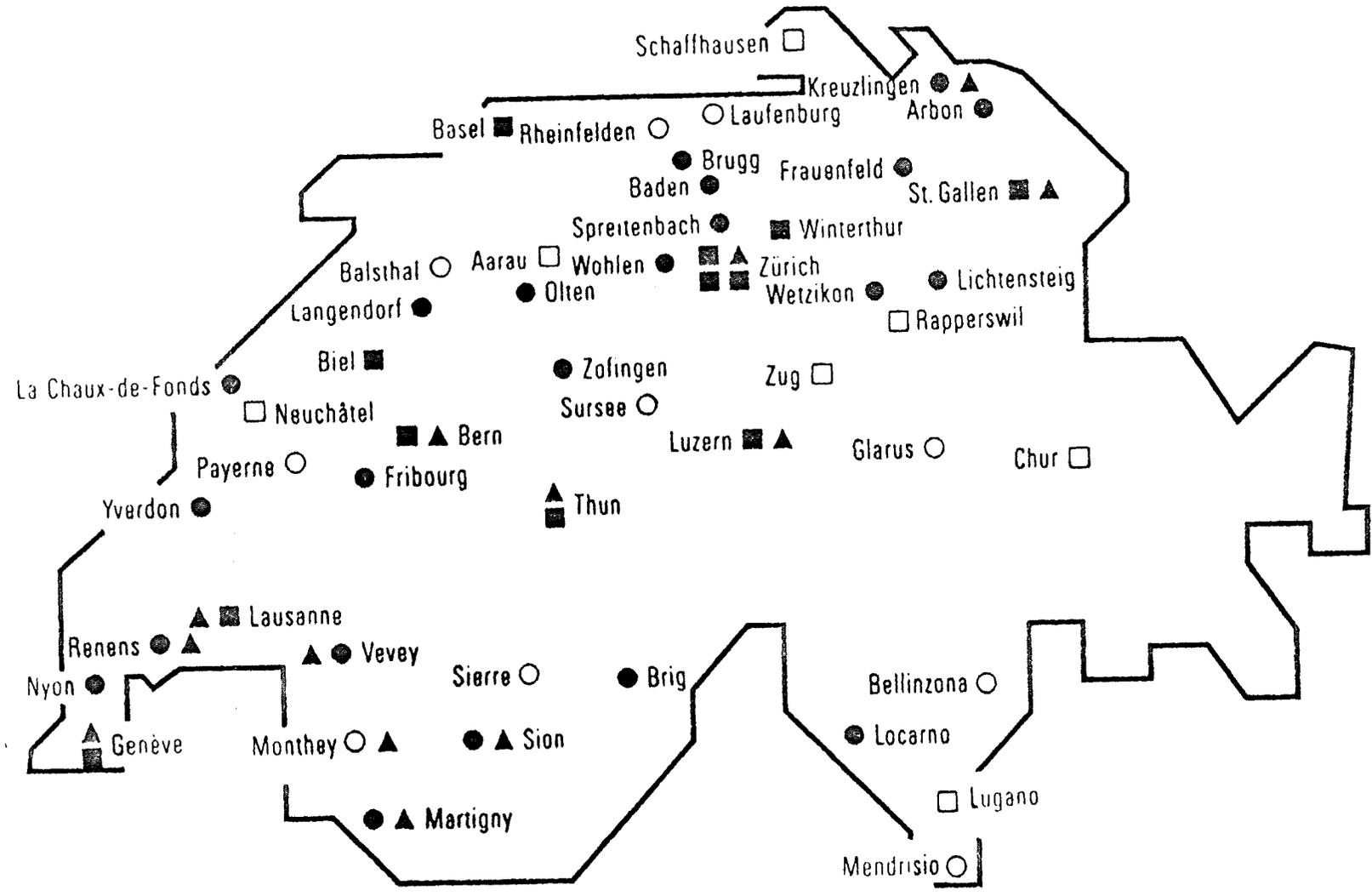
Figure 6.8 Previous training/education of participants

From figure 6.8 we can see the extent of previous training/education of participants.(42) Unfortunately no statistics are available on the participation of rural dwellers in the Club School's activities. It would however be reasonable to expect this to be somewhat less than that of urban dwellers: as figure 6.9 shows, the Club Schools exist only in sizeable urban centres. (43)

This, according to Makosch, is the result of a conscious decision to provide adult education in a situation demanding a large physical infrastructure. It was put to Makosch that Duttweiler's method of sending buses into the backwoods to provide shops could be adapted to adult educational needs: a truck and trailer, for example, housing a classroom and microcomputer suite. This, felt Makosch, would not fit the Club School's need to make an integral offer. (44) One wonders to what extent Duttweiler's buses with their half dozen or so products made an "integral" offer in comparison to their brick and mortar counterparts. The irony of the Club School's present stance on peripatetics is further shown by the illustration on page 12 of the 1988 *Concept de développement des Ecoles-Clubs* which we reproduce as Figure 6.10. (45)

The Club Schools develop to a very large extent their own materials. One of the major tasks of the KOST is to commission writers and to coordinate the construction of new programmes and the revision of old ones. An example of this is the language method *M-lingua*, developed over a five year period for the teaching of German, English, French, Italian and Spanish. (46) The object is to have courses which take into account the various motivations of adults in seeking to learn a new language and to present the material in a manner which

Figure 6.9 The locations of the Club Schools



■ more than 5000 participants per week
□ 2500-5000 participants per week

● 1000-2500 participants per week
○ less than 1000 participants per week

▲ fitness centres

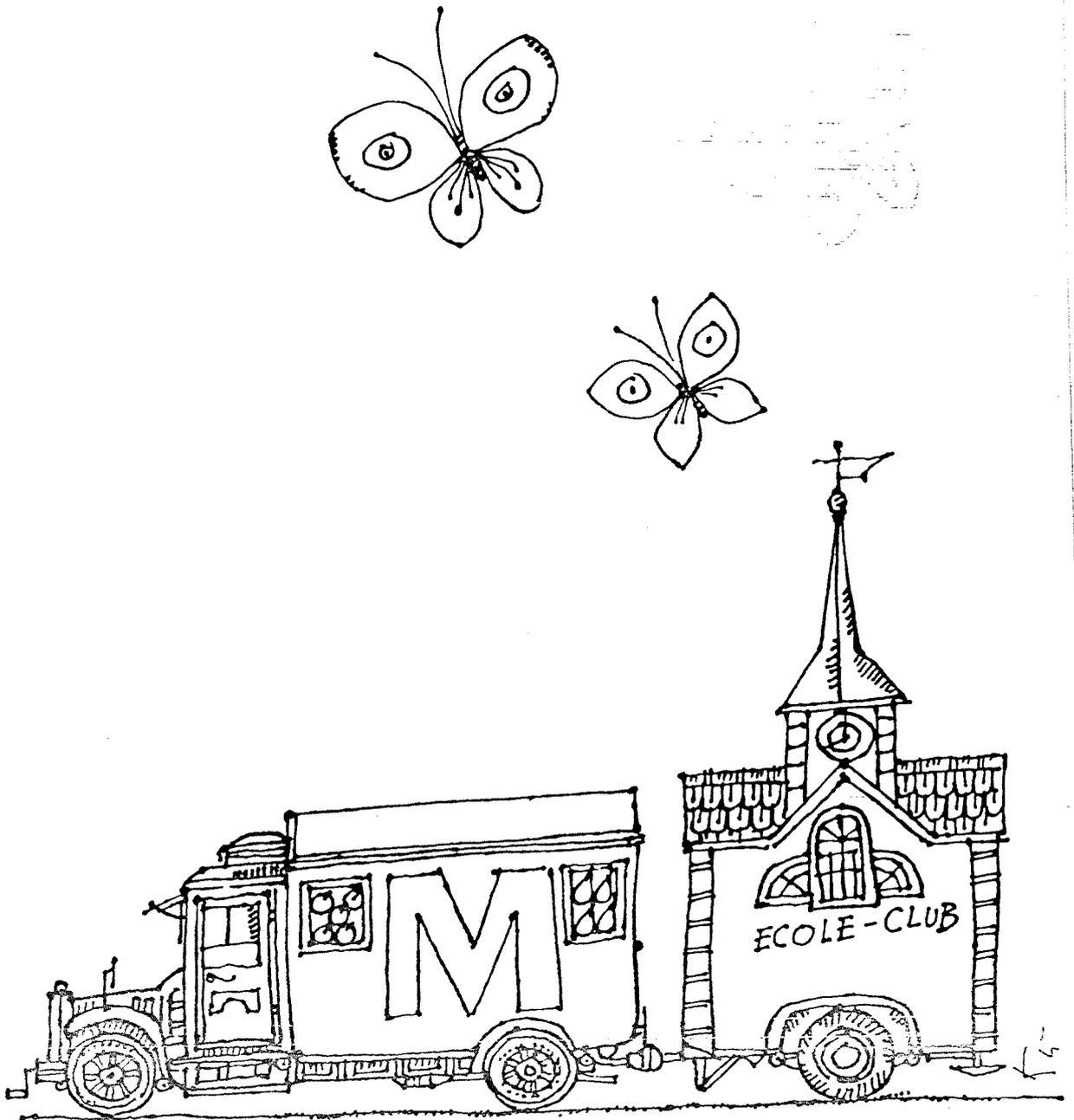


Figure 6.10 An ironical illustration

allows the adult to use it from the outset as a means of communication. (47)

Given these diverse motivations, measuring success is decidedly difficult. Suffice to say, staying-on rates are high and the popular reputation of the Club Schools as language schools is good. In common with other language schools, such as Berlitz, the Club Schools offer external certificates including those of the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicates and the Alliance française. (48)

The particular problems of teaching adults are tackled by the Club Schools in a systematic manner though use of pre-service and in-service training which teachers are required to follow. Reference materials are also furnished to teachers to support them in their andragogy. An example of this is the *Guide pédagogique du professeur animateur* which seeks to describe and discuss problems and to suggest or provide solutions. The topics tackled range from preparing a lesson to dealing with the student who refuses to do his/her homework! The *Guide pédagogique* is laudible especially for tackling head-on problems which many manuals destined for teachers at school level skirt around or ignore entirely. Obviously when an audience is voluntary, the situation is rather different from one where the participants have little or no choice in attending. This said, there is much in the *Guide pédagogique* which could well apply in compulsory or post-compulsory school.

Within their own organisation, the Club Schools show an interesting structure in terms of autonomy, plurality and synthesism. In other forms of education in Suisse romande we often see autonomous structures either growing together or being pushed together by circumstance. The Club Schools,

for their part, were created as autonomous units within a structure which is not pluralist – there is no overall governing body but instead a consultative coordination office – but rather synthetic. The Club Schools have the choice of working together or not and this extends not only to the methods employed but even as to whether or not employ a particular in-service course. Within individual cooperatives, the Club Schools demonstrate much less autonomy than between cooperatives. In each cooperative there is a definite hierarchy of command (operating insofar as possible by the favoured Swiss method of consensus) but the suppleness of courses in responding to local supply and demand shows evidence of pluralism. So, in sum, we have here an example of an educational provider whose classification as a system type depends on whether we examine it at national, regional or local level.

Universités populaires

The *Universités populaires* (UP)

"are among the oldest Swiss institutions in the domain of adult education. The various regional and local sections are linked in Cantonal associations and affiliated to the *Association des universités populaires de Suisse*." (49)

After the Migros Club Schools, the UP are the second most used provider of adult education in Switzerland. (50)

The UP differ from the Migros Club Schools in a number of important aspects:

- a) they devote much of their time to organising one-off lectures as well as touring lectures on virtually any subject;

- b) they cover rural as well as urban areas;
- c) they are subsidised primarily by Cantonal authorities (with Federal assistance). (51)

The basic conception of the UP is also different from that of the Migros Club Schools. Following Moeckli, one can perceive an adult education institution as:

- 1 "a department store: it provides everything for everyone; in all the stores more or less the same goods are sold, at more or less the same price;"
- 2 "as a boutique, linked to a specific clientèle;"
- 3 "as a traditional grocery; there one finds essentially what one needs to live each day; the clientèle can to a large extent influence the choice of articles offered by the owner; the owner knows his clientèle, each client knows the owner."(52)

In this model, the Migros Club Schools probably most resembles the department store – the perceived need for a large infrastructure reflects this. At the other extreme, the UP reflects more the grocery:

"they must function with, through and for the people. Any improvement or change is done in contact with the participants in order to provide teaching reflecting the person and the area of study."(53)

This is not to say that the Club Schools do not attempt to adapt their courses and their offer to meet the needs of their clientèle: this they certainly try to

do but having, so to speak, a large client hinterland, the task is immense and, to a great extent, well-nigh impossible in most cases – short of engaging in costly market research, how does one determine needs in the large urban areas in which the Club Schools primarily operate? The urban UP suffer the same problem. Unlike the Club Schools however, the UP activity in rural areas allows this goal to be fulfilled at least in part. As Figure 6.11 indicates, relative to total population, the UPs' activity in terms of student-hours is more or less proportional to a Canton or area's degree of mountainousness/rurality/economic weakness. (53)

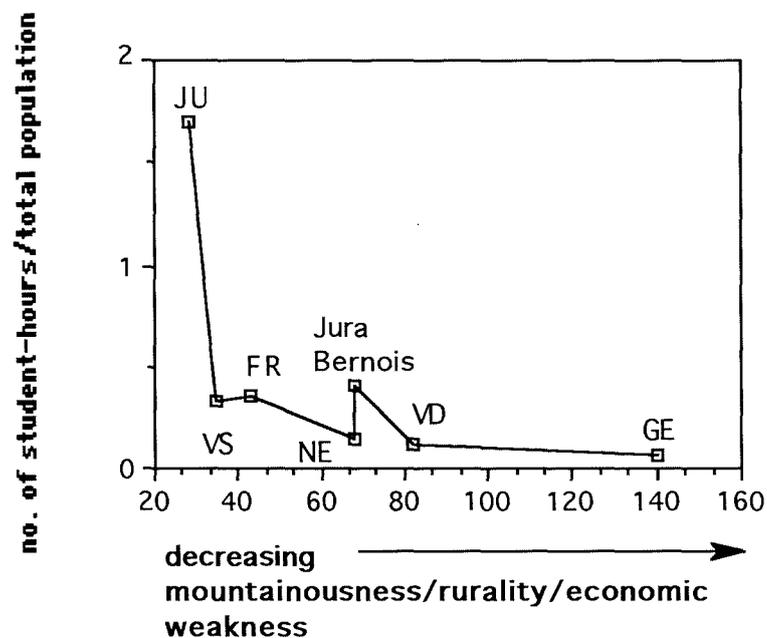


Figure 6.11 Participation in UP courses in terms of population and geographic conditions

As a means of illustrating the activities of a UP, let us now examine those in the Jura and Jura bernois. The *Université populaire jurassienne* is a federation of nine constituent UP of the Jura and Jura bernois. (55) Table 6.1 (56) compares the number of courses in each of these UP which in 1988-

1989 were held in the UP's main town with the numbers held in other towns or villages.

Table 6.1 Centralised & decentralised courses in the Jurassienne UP

Section	centralised	decentralised
La Neuveville	8	2
Erguel	8	43
Tramelan	8	-
Tavannes	14	19
Moutier	56	17
Delémont	83	75
Franches-Mont.	-	16
Porrentruy	59	40

Figure 6.12 gives us a view of the number of localities used since 1956 while Figures 6.13 and 6.14 show the change in the number of course offered and in participants since 1956. (57)

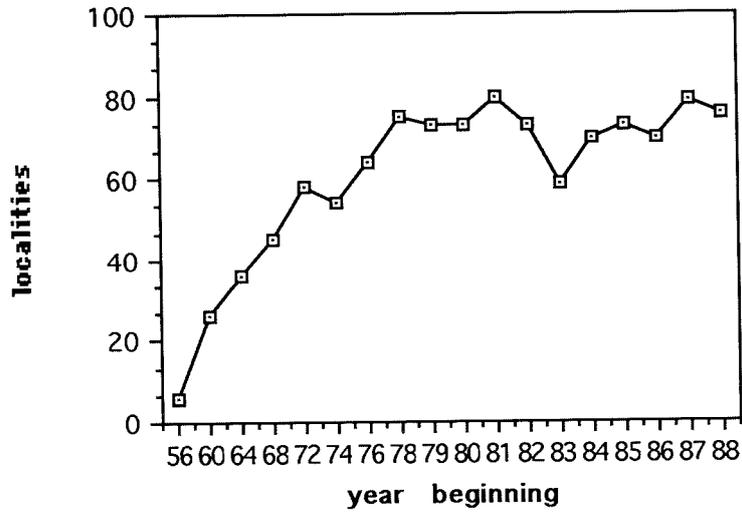


Figure 6.12 Change in number of localities served

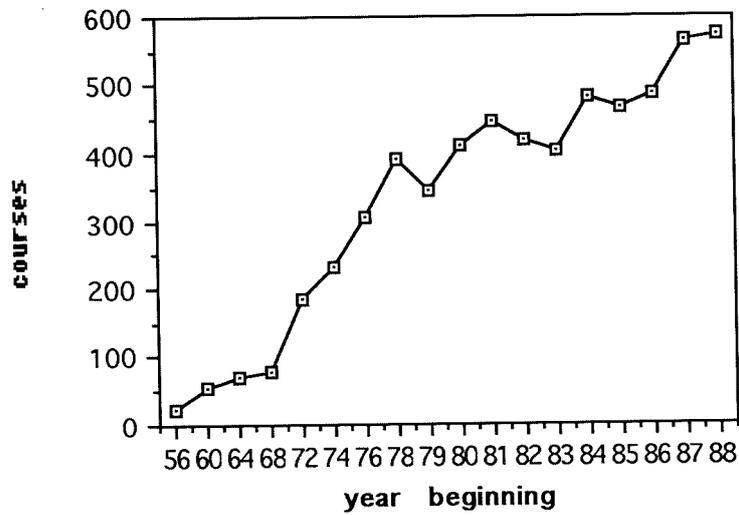


Figure 6.13 Change in number of courses offered

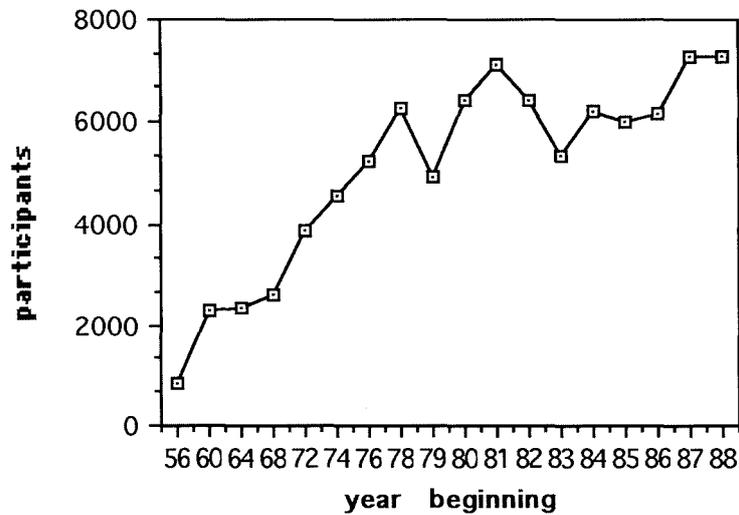


Figure 6.14 Change in participant numbers

A glance through the range of courses on offer shows much similarity with those offered by the Club Schools. There is not however the large place given to languages (56 courses out of a total of 502 in 1988-89) (58); information technology has a very small place, due no doubt at least in part to the high equipment cost in such courses. Instead pride of place is given to quality of life, ranging in the Erguel UP, for example, from car repairs through herbalism, sculpture and painting to how to fill in the income tax form (a daunting task in Switzerland) and knowing one's wines. (59)

The Jurassien UP also provides two mobile libraries or *Bibliobus* which serve 82 communes and carry a total of 30 000 texts (60). Although the UP run the bus, the costs are borne by the Cantons and those communes which have joined the scheme. (61) This is the only activity of the UP which is primarily organised by professionals – 20% of the activities are provided by

volunteers. The administration of the sections and the central office are carried out by volunteers with only the general secretary and a part-time secretary being paid. For their part, teachers are modestly paid by the hour and are, above all, people gifted with some competence which the UP asks them to share (in a similar manner to the Club Schools) but, unlike teachers in the Club Schools, in the UP only language teachers benefit from pre-service training, all others being trained solely on the job. (62)

Structurally, the UP in each Canton is autonomous and where the Cantonal UP is a federation (as is generally the case) this autonomy is continued down into the constituent sections.

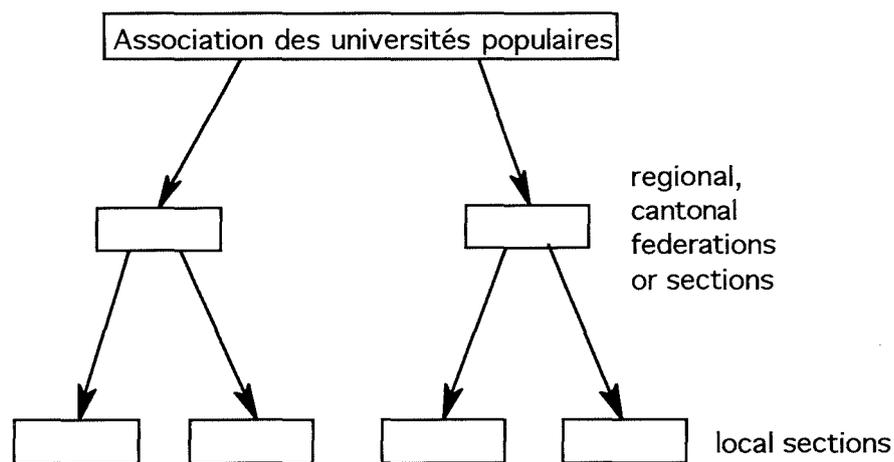


Figure 6.15 The structure of the Universités populaires

As Figure 6.15 shows, the structure of the UP demonstrate a form of two-level synthesis, though each level of grouping beyond the local sections is one of collaboration and cooperation, rather than one of control. Each local section, for its part, shows a pluralism demonstrated by its attempts at adaptation to local supply and demand – this is emphasized in the variety and

diversity of courses on offer on a decentralised basis. There is an interesting point of comparison here with the rural activities of Aberdeen University's Extra-Mural Department which operates in a similarly peripatetic manner throughout Scotland's Highland Region. (63) The Extra-Mural Department determines the courses to offer by establishing what local talent is available and distributing simple questionnaires to its students to see what areas would interest them. Like the Extra-Mural Department, the UP (in Jura and the Jura bernois, at least) see one of their functions as that of encouraging endogenous regional development. It is noteworthy that two organisations with such different origins (one being endogenous and the other exogenous) should share both *modus operandi* and a major goal. Both also enjoy considerable success. Could it be that success in adult education in rural areas is contingent on sharing these points?

Other providers of Adult Education In Suisse romande

Suisse romande contains numerous providers of adult education linked to a specific clientèle. These cover a vast panoply of interests and cater for virtually every sport and pastime one can legally practise. (64) There is little point in attempting to even enumerate these hundreds of generally very small organisations. Let us instead mention briefly some of the more important in terms of the numbers involved.

Parent education in Suisse romande (and in Switzerland in general) is available in a structured form via, among others, the various *Ecoles des parents*. These are local associations, linked in Cantonal federations and grouped into the *Fédération suisse des Ecoles de parents* and structurally

show much similarity with the UP. (65) In addition to offering courses on parenting, the Ecoles de parents, in collaboration with the private foundation *Pro Juventute*, subsidise and distribute free a series of information booklets under the general title of *Messages aux jeunes parents* which, as this writer can testify, are a wealth of useful information on childcare. Various districts of Pro Juventute offer courses dealing with problems in childrearing such as drug abuse and the approach of sexual awareness. (66) Pro Juventute also finances youth clubs and community centres as well as subsidising underprivileged young people wishing to continue their studies. (67) In addition, it subsidises and organises courses and publications for parents, educators and young people. (68)

Workers' education is a domain handled, on an almost totally decentralised basis, by the Berne-based *Centre suisse d'éducation ouvrière* (CEO). (69) The CEO concerns itself as much with sociocultural education as with political education. The CEO's public is drawn from the 16 trades unions affiliated in the *Union syndicale suisse* (USS) although nine of these unions possess their own training service. Both these services and the CEO function independently and autonomously. (70) In Geneva, the rôle of the CEO and the union training services is complemented by the *Université ouvrière de Genève* (UOG) which takes its task as "developing and encouraging popular instruction and *éducation permanente*." (71)

The range of courses offered by these workers' education groups closely resembles, allowing for cultural differences, those which the Workers' Educational Association in the United Kingdom tends to offer, ie courses for

union representatives, courses to help overcome discrimination, courses on labour laws and in general culture, especially that with an indirect labour relation. The UOG however recognises the vast numbers of non-Francophone immigrants in Geneva by its offer of French language classes aimed especially at immigrants and refugees.

Even the briefest enumeration of adult education in Suisse romande would be incomplete without mention of the *Universités du troisième âge* (U3A). These are a relatively recent apparition in the region but with the expected dramatic growth in the numbers of active retired persons one might reasonably expect their rôle to substantially rise.

The U3A is an:

"independent movement of older adults, organising itself, producing its own tutors from its own ranks, developing interesting educational methods suited to their own circumstances, (which) was born in France... In a spirit of self-help and mutual aid the University of the Third Age is beginning to use the knowledge and expertise of its members, which might otherwise go to waste, as the members learn and research and engage in their own educational gerontology."

(72)

The origins of the U3A go back to the upheavals of May 1968 in France. The re-examination of national conscience and national aims which took place brought an impetus towards lifelong learning. It was this which, in 1973,

saw the opening of the first U3A on the campus of the University of Toulouse.

"The term *Third Age* was used to denote that human life is made up of four ages: 1. childhood and adolescence; 2. occupational and wage-earning activity; 3. retirement from the 'world of work'; 4. dependency on others. The Third Age was emphasised because a good third age can minimise the adjustments and deficits, and indeed the duration, of the fourth age." (73)

The first U3A in Suisse romande was established in Geneva in 1975 when:

"course offerings were extended to include a programme for senior citizens which consists of lectures, panel discussions, films and guided tours.

The programme is organised by a committee of seventeen persons (of whom eight are senior citizens) and has the following goals: a) cultural enrichment, b) overcoming the loneliness of old age, c) introduction to new activities, d) intermixing of the generations, e) treatment of the specific problems of old age, and f) development of international solidarity." (74)

At present, three out of the four Romand Cantons with universities contain a U3A. The Genevan U3A is an integral part of the University of Geneva (75); that of Neuchâtel has most of its courses presented by teachers from the Canton's university, though external teachers often accept the invitation to

lecture (76); the Fribourgeois U3A is most closely associated with the Université populaire. (77)

The U3A are autonomous and, although they cooperate and collaborate with each other, are independent in their actions. It will be noticed however that in Suisse romande they have evolved from the original concept of Toulouse insofar as they not only use their own members as tutors but bring them in from parent and other organisations.

Collaboration and Legal Bases

Most of the organisations we have so far considered are, as we have seen, grouped into regional and/or national organisations. This still leaves, at regional and national levels, a plethora of organisations. The scope for overlapping of activities and poaching of clients is clearly vast and there is also much scope for wasting resources. With a view to aiding coordination of activities and to present a forum for discussion, the *Fédération suisse pour l'éducation des adultes* (FSEA) was founded in 1951. (78) In 1966, a Romand section was founded. This brought together those national members active in Suisse romande as well those regional members (such the *Fédération romande des consommatrices*) who are only active in Suisse romande. (79)

Article 1 of the FSEA statutes sets out its goals as follows:

"— to unite in the domain of adult education the organisations and institutions who are affiliated to it in order (to give) a fruitful collaboration to the benefit of the entire population;

- to support and encourage its members in their activities;
- to increase the understanding of the population of the goals, tasks and significance of adult education;
- to help represent the interests of its members and of adult education as a whole with regard to the public and the authorities." (80)

The contribution of the FSEA to collaboration in adult education takes several forms:

the journal *Education permanente* published four times each year is a bilingual publication with articles in French and German accompanied by a résumé in the other language (unfortunately, in our opinion, by committing itself to themes, rather than taking articles as they come, *Education permanente* radically limits the impact it might otherwise have);

information files giving bibliographical details of books, articles etc (now amounting to some 10 000 cards);

the annual report informs about the activities of member organisations, provides various statistics in adult education; on courses run for *animateurs*; on research into adult education; on collaboration, be it with the authorities, between members or with other organisations;

the annual conference dedicated to discussion of a specific problem and generally openly published at a subsequent date.

(81)

What the FSEA does not provide is any means of control or influence over members' activities. It does offer overt links whereby should, for example, a problem arise over two organisations offering the same course in the same place then this can be discussed and compromise sought. The adult education market is however so large in comparison even to Suisse romande's well-developed offer (though mostly so in urban areas) that the chances of such a problem are limited indeed. The FSEA is not an organ of cooperation but rather one dedicated to raising public and state awareness of adult education and to favouring exchange of experiences. For more direct cooperation we must look to more regional and local levels.

Throughout Suisse romande the rôle of the state in financing adult education is tending to increase. This finance may be direct, through grants and bursaries, or indirect, by providing free or nearly free school premises for adult education use. It is of course up to the course providers to accept or reject this aid or to negotiate aid in a form which they feel is more appropriate. The state's rôle must have some foundation in law and it is in the formulation of these laws that an opening exists for direct collaboration between all interested parties.

We stated in an earlier work that in the Canton of Valais the Migros Club Schools remained largely aloof from direct collaboration, outwith the FSEA,

with its fellow providers. (82) It was therefore interesting to note that the commission formed by the Valaisan *Grand Conseil* to formulate a law on adult education contained the director of the Club School Valais. (83)

To date, the Canton of Berne is unique in having a law on adult education. The other Romand Cantons, with the exception of Fribourg, have various articles and in laws and regulations on education, school, or the promotion of culture which mention adult education or allude closely to it. (84) Additionally, in the Jura, adult education is specifically mentioned in the Cantonal constitution. (85)

A major difficulty in formulating laws specifically on adult education is that of making them precise enough to be seen to be of use, yet wide enough that they will not require frequent revision. In this sense, placing adult education in a law on the promotion of culture has a major appeal: it allows the precise definition of adult education to be avoided and, if accompanied by an appropriate regulation, might more actively encourage cooperation between providers.

Conclusion

Adult education in Suisse romande is a widely developed field but, alas, one which does not always take account of the rural and mountain dwellers who make up a sizeable minority in the population. The biggest sinners in this respect are those providers who insist on the infrastructure afforded by fixed premises. Ironically, the organisation most guilty of this adherence to bricks and mortar is also the biggest single provider of adult education in the region.

Yet, as we have shown, the tenacity of the Migros Club Schools in refusing to venture out of the town runs contrary to the practice of their very founder. Perhaps in the future there will be a rethink on this subject and Club School centres might develop an additional rôle as bases from which forays into the wild might be made. As the *Concept de développement des écoles-clubs* (86) shows, the Club Schools are capable of deep self-examination and self-criticism and therefore such a rethink is far from inconceivable.

Structurally the organisation of the larger providers seem, by and large, to follow the synthetic/pluralist model offered by the Club Schools and the UPs. What is absent is any real synthesis *between* organisations at *any* level. Despite the forums which exist at local, regional and national level, there is little collaboration between providers, except in a few, very specific, cases. This does little to permit or to encourage providers to learn from each other. Being, as they are, largely private benevolent organisations, there is no need for jealously guarding experience or expertise. As Dominicé and Finger put:

"Knowledge of adult education is modelled on particular demands and seems to be reinvented in each context." (87)

There is a patent need for codification of andragogical practices and for new structures of cooperation which would bring together the various organisations concerned, if only to appraise past experience and to widen the basis of reflexion to include all those who contribute, in their various ways, to its development.

Concomitant with adult education are notions such as lifelong learning and

éducation permanente. If adult education widened its appeal to include the entire population, if seeking adult education became the perceived norm, what happens to those who cannot afford it? And to those who can?

If adult education is the perceived norm then there is clearly an essential need for major subsidy of those who cannot pay the fees. Otherwise adult education will serve as further reinforcement of economic stratification as equivalent to cultural stratification. The better-off have access to most culture (by dint of having more cash to pay for it, by generally having more education with which to appreciate it), but should this necessarily be so? Is there not a rôle for adult education in offering cultural openings to those whose purse strings cannot usually stretch that far?

However, fine as this is in theory, in practice it means the poorer student having to submit to some kind of means test to decide the fee to be paid. At this point one can appreciate the attempts by the Club Schools to use higher fees in some courses to permit lower fees in others (though they rarely could be qualified as cheap).

For those who can afford courses there are the dire warnings of Ohliger and Dauber that:

"concomitant to lifelong education is lifelong students,
condemned to perpetual inadequacy."

This brings us to our next point: is adult education a leisure activity or an educational activity? If the former, then he/she who cannot partake of it for

whatever reason may not perceive the loss or lack as so great as if it is the latter. The danger is that in attempting to raise the value of adult education its providers, especially to secure funding, may downplay the leisure side with the concomitant risk of creating a sort of education addict, forever driven from course to course by an insatiable appetite whetted and fuelled by inadequacy. If such became generalised through attendance in adult education becoming the perceived norm then how much more inadequate will be those denied access?

On the other hand, if adult education is perceived as leisure then not only is its social value decreased but it is seen as nothing more than an optional extra, as a luxury to which only some may be expected to aspire. As a leisure activity, it loses any moral *right* to funding which an educational activity may claim.

A solution to the dilemma might be found by pitching adult education as a form of educational leisure. As leisure, those who cannot partake in it for whatever reason have some defence against inadequacy; after all, undertaking one leisure activity rather than another does not make one any less valuable as a person. As education, the value of adult education is raised on both public and participant eyes and providers may reasonably hope for consideration for public funding.

As long as adult education is seen as leisure *or* education it is doomed to remain lost in search of an identity. The problem is to find such an identity which can comfortably perch on both stools without alienation, inadequacy or

undervaluation entering the scene.

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Chapter seven

Universities and higher education

- **historical introduction**
Geneva
the Calvinist and Jesuit colleges
the other hautes écoles in Suisse romande
- **higher education today**
courses on offer
entry into higher education
some comparisons and comments
on entry
finance
access to higher education
- **training for export**
- **an open university for Suisse romande**
- **conclusion**
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Historical introduction

The emergence of Europe from the Dark Ages and the rediscovery of ancient texts, coupled with the slow but steady growth of the merchant class, brought with them an interest, albeit limited to the Church and the rich, in developing study beyond the basic rudiments of reading and writing (arithmetic, especially multiplication, remaining quite esoteric until the Arabs invented the zero in the late Middle Ages). It is to this move beyond the trivium and then quadrivium that the appearance of that ancestor of the university, the *studium generale*, is usually associated. (1)

The *studium generale* distinguished itself from the school by three things:

- (i) it took students from outwith its immediate locality;
- (ii) it offered teaching in at least one "higher" faculty (theology, law or medicine);
- (iii) it was administratively autonomous. (2)

One thing which appears to have elevated a *studium generale* above its peers was the seeking of

"wider recognition through a Papal Bull which granted the masters of the university the *ius ubique docendi*, the right to teach anywhere." (3)

However a Papal Bull was insufficient in itself. It served a validatory function but nothing more. How many universities actually received the Bull is open to question. For example, Curtiss' assertion that Oxford received its Bull in 1254 (4) is flatly denied by Verger who claims that Oxford never in

fact got the Bull at all. (5) Oxford however remained an academic and physical organism, Bull or no Bull.

Geneva

The lack of power of the Bull to create an institution or to provide the impetus for the creation of one is aptly demonstrated by Geneva. The Emperor Charles IV granted a university charter to create a *studium generale* with four faculties in 1365 (6) while Pope Martin V granted a Bull in 1418. Neither decree acted on an existing structure and, as universities are "bâties en hommes" (7), nothing happened.

In 1429, thanks to the generosity of François de Versonnex, a leader of the bourgeoisie, the *Collège de Versonnex* was founded in Geneva. This institution sought to teach "grammar, logic and other liberal arts." (8) This Collège may or may not have taken on the role of *studium in artibus*, depending on whether we believe Galiff or Fazy. Certainly this latter's research supports the conclusion that the Collège was more akin to a combined primary and secondary school than to a university. (9)

With the adoption of the Reformation by Geneva's General Council in 1536, the Collège de Versonnex was replaced by the much less ambitious *Collège de Rive* which, as a purely grammar school, lasted until 1559 when the *Collège de Calvin* began to see the light of day. (10) During its short life the Collège de Rive counted various Reformers among its teaching staff, including Sonier, Cordier and Castellion.

Calvin, according to Borgeaud, saw the Collège de Rive as existing too independently from the Church and failing both to sufficiently raise the level of culture among the Genevans and to prepare the new ministers which the Reformed Church so badly needed. (11)

Although in no sense a university, the Collège de Rive seems to have acted to maintain a teaching body upon which future developments might be based. More importantly, this teaching body contained people not only able to criticise existing structures and expound their own theories but also able to muster political support for their ideas.

Whether or not the Collège de Calvin would ever have come into being without the impetus provided by the Reformation is open to question. Suffice to say that when the city finally promulgated the *Leges Academiae Genevensis* in 1562 a structure existed upon which this new departure might build, together with the incentive brought by political and religious reforms. The *Leges* stipulated the creation of a college of seven classes and an academy with chairs in Theology, Hebrew, Greek and Philosophy. 1564 added chairs in Law and Medicine. (12)

Once the Academy was established Théodore de Bèze undertook to publicise its existence throughout the Protestant world. (13) Thus the Academy quickly sought students from outwith its immediate locality. From the outset it offered courses in at least one "higher" faculty. In this way it fitted two of Verger's conditions for a studium generale. It was not however administratively autonomous since it was under the authority of the Church

and remained thus until 1834 when a Cantonal law laicised the *Direction de l'instruction publique* and removed totally from the Church any authority over academic teaching other than in Theology. (14)

"In the XVIIth century, the Genevan Church weighed heavily on the School. In the XVIIIth century, the Genevan School, emancipated, reacted against the Church, made it (the Church) participate in (the School's) evolution and imposed upon it toleration." (15)

The *Siècle des Lumières* set in motion the process leading eventually to the Church's loss of power and authority. The process was painful and intimately linked to the various episodes of civil unrest which rocked Geneva throughout that century.

The *Edit de Pacification* of 1782 which attempted to calm the populace included taking of the right by the city's Grand Conseil (under Article 41) to transform the Academy into a university. (16) It is unclear, even from Borgeaud's monumental *Histoire de l'Université de Genève*, what, other than lack of independence from the Church, prevented the Academy from being considered a university from its inception in 1559.

If administrative autonomy is the hallmark of a university then how many institutes of higher education, even today, actually fit the bill? Universities need the freedom to pursue research for its own sake but to do this they usually depend on outside agencies for money. We must ask just how many of

these agencies are gifted with the disinterested philanthropy necessary to prevent them meddling, however indirectly, in a university's affairs. Autonomy is, of course, relative. The freedom today to discuss philosophy and theology in whatever terms one pleases would have been much envied by Mediaeval academics who lived in perpetual fear of the Inquisition, ever on the look-out for any

"mind that played too freely about a proposition (and) might easily fall into heresy."(16)

Yet these same scholars often belonged to "autonomous" universities. As Haskins says, by:

"accepting the principle of authority as their starting point, men did not feel its limitations as we should feel them now."

(17)

So, if direct interference in curricula through threats of violence does not prevent an institution being administratively autonomous then what does? And why was the Collège de Calvin and/or its Academy not classed as a university? The most simplistic answer has a certain ring of truth about it: Calvin's creation was not termed a university simply because that was not its name! Historically there has been a most complete lack of rigour in considering an educational establishment as a university: a studium in artibus might gain a "higher" faculty, term itself studium generale, acquire a Bull and call itself university. Obviously, in the case of the Collège de Calvin, the Bull was out of the question. Therefore perhaps the **choice** was made not to term the establishment *university* in order to, if not underline its

Protestant origins, then to at least dissociate it in some way from overt links with the Papacy, even if these might only be in a name. By 1872 this possible objection had evaporated and the Academy changed its name to university.

Yet the structure and form of the Collège de Calvin and the other Romand Académies is strangely similar to that of the Jesuit Colleges.

The Calvinist and Jesuit Colleges

Any account, however brief or restricted of the development of higher education from the time of the Reformation would be incomplete without some mention of the comparisons between the Jesuit and Calvinist Colleges.

The Jesuits are commonly held to be the product of the Counter-Reformation - a concept itself created by 19th century German Protestant historians

"whose polemical intention (was) to underline the overt struggle of the Catholic Church against the adepts of the Reformation."(18)

This suggests that the Counter-Reformation and all that goes with it were an effect due to the cause of the Reformation and were thus mere reaction to it. The reality is somewhat more complicated.

Chronologically, the Reformation and Counter-Reformation occurred at more or less the same time. One could even argue that, by dint of reformers such as Erasmus who did not want to split the Church, that Counter-Reformation

began first!

In terms of pedagogy, the spiritual father of both the Calvinist and Jesuit Colleges is, according to Boyd, the Flemish Reformer Sturm. (19) For Sturm, the aim of education was to produce piety and to this end the student had to acquire both the knowledge and the power of expression upon which a worthy piety might be grounded. (20) Compare this with Calvin:

"The Word of God is ... the foundation of all learning, but the liberal arts are aids to the full knowledge of the Word and are not to be despised." (21)

And compare also with the Jesuit Father Antoine Possevino:

"Eloquence and science (are) first of all servants led by the religious to the City of God." (22)

Calvin taught for a time in Sturm's College in Strasbourg and there is said to have had his ideas on young people's capabilities brought sharply down to earth. (23) Where Calvin differed from Sturm was in his abandonment of Latin as the sole medium of instruction and the adoption (increasingly as time went on) of the French vernacular. (24)

For their part, the Jesuits, as an international organisation, did their best to stick to the international *lingua franca* of Latin. (25), perhaps indicative of the intransigence which contributed to the Society being banned in 1773. This said, however, it was far from unknown for the local vernacular to be

used though Latin retained pride of place.(26)

"Like the Protestants, the Catholics used the argument of moulding soft wax: the good Christian society depended upon the proper education of the young, for they, like soft wax, easily took on the desired form."(27)

As we have seen, the Collège de Calvin was divided into a lower (ie school) level and a higher (ie university) level. (28) The Jesuits divided their Colleges into two similar units but added a third which taught only theology.

"The (Jesuit) schools provided a curriculum, *studia inferiora*, not very different from that of the great Protestant schools of the day; some of the Jesuit schools provided also higher or university studies, *studia superiora*. Among these higher studies was a course in pedagogy for those members of the order who were intended for teaching." (29)

Where the Jesuit College departs most radically from its Calvinist counterparts is in that:

- a) no attempt was made to teach rudiments such as reading, writing and counting;
- b) the Jesuits did not even pretend to be open to all. (30)

The Calvinist Colleges took their pupils from an early age and taught them a complete programme beginning with basic numeracy and literacy. The

Calvinists adopted the adage of Erasmus: *de pueris instituendis*. The Jesuits took *non omnia omnibus*. As Loyola wrote:

"To teach the ignorant to read and write would be a work of charity if the Society had enough members for all its tasks; but through a penury in personnel, we do not normally undertake this."(31)

Jesuit Colleges were free but, as Margolin puts it: what poor family could have done without the income (however modest) of the work of young boy? (32) The Jesuits, from the outset, sought to change society by changing society's social élite. The Calvinists saw themselves as egalitarian in their Colleges but yet how many poor *Protestant* families could do without a boy's income?

The Jesuits openly tackled society from the top, from those echelons who held the power. The Calvinists aimed at serving all levels, directly and at once. It would be interesting to examine a detailed analysis, especially of the higher courses, to see which group in the end was more democratic.

The time of this activity, the 16th century, was notable for the public burnings and religion-inspired executions, both on the Catholic and Protestant sides. The animosity that existed makes the following comment by Sturm all the more remarkable:

"I rejoice in the Jesuits' work, for two reasons: firstly because the Jesuits assist us in cultivating the humanities, (the) object of all our pains and (also) our great passion. In fact, I

have seen the authors they explain, the exercises they practise, and their method of teaching which is so close to ours that it seems to well from our springs ... And here is my second reason for joy: they force us to greater zeal and vigilance, through fear that they might be taken as working with the greater zeal and training more scholars and *literati* than us."

(33)

In Suisse romande, however, the economic strength was on the side of the Reformers and so, while they and Jesuits borrowed much from each other, it was the Reformers who established the most durable vestiges of higher education.

The Other Hautes Ecoles in Suisse romande

"Early in 1539, Antoine Sonier, banned from Geneva, took refuge in Lausanne ... (and) occupied himself actively with the organisation of studies." (34)

In 1547 the *Leges Scholae Lausannensis* established ordinary chairs in Theology, Hebrew, Greek, Moral and Arts. (35) However, in 1559 the Academy was effectively decapitated with

"all its professors and a good number of students emigrating to Geneva where, in one blow, the prosperity of the Collège which Calvin had founded was assured." (36)

"The coincidence of the two events let it be thought that this

foundation (the Collège de Calvin) ... was the result of a set-up by the Genevans." (37)

For his part, Borgeaud believes this supposition to be gratuitous and that the mass emigration from Lausanne to Geneva was due to an inability of the Bernese to understand their Vaudois subjects coupled with a fortuitous opening in Geneva for disgruntled staff and students. (38)

Despite these setbacks the Académie de Lausanne survived and in 1708 saw the creation of a lay chair in Law and History. Expansion continued slowly into the 19th century and in 1837 the Academy was relieved of many of its ecclesiastical functions. In 1853 the *Ecole spéciale de Lausanne* was founded as a private institution and associated from 1869 with the Faculty of Science of the Academy. When the Academy changed its title to university in 1890 the *Ecole spéciale* became *Ecole d'ingénieurs*. In 1946 the *Ecole d'ingénieurs* and the *Ecole d'architecture et d'urbanisme* (founded 1943) joined forces under the name of *Ecole polytechnique de Lausanne*. In 1969 the responsibility for the polytechnique was transferred to the Confederation and its name was changed to *Ecole polytechnique fédérale de Lausanne* (EPFL). (39)

Neuchâtel's peculiar state as Swiss Canton and Prussian Principality allowed Friedrich Wilhelm III, King of Prussia, to establish in 1838 an *Académie de Neuchâtel*. This was closed in 1848 following the republican revolution. The *Seconde Académie* opened in 1866 with faculties of Law, Literature and Natural Sciences. In 1909 the Academy became the University of Neuchâtel. (40)

Fribourg is alone among the Romand universities in being both bilingual and Catholic. The University was first established in 1763 as a Law Academy. In 1827 two other chairs were given to the Jesuits who occupied them until 1848 when, following the Sonderbund War, the Order was banned from the country. In 1882 the Academy changed into an autonomous Faculty of Law under the auspices of the State and in 1889 the University of Fribourg was founded with two faculties: Arts and Law. From the outset the teaching was done in both French and German, though by a teaching staff who were largely foreign. (41)

According to Rüegg, it was the reform of the Alémanique Academies on the model of the Humboldtian University of Berlin which gradually provoked the Romand Academies to follow a similar path. It is interesting that Rüegg remarks that it was only with the help of the Catholic Church that Fribourg was able to found its Academy and then University as a sort of partial counterbalance to the Protestant Universities in Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel. (42) That the Church's help was so needed is perhaps indicative of this Canton's economic weakness at the time.

As we saw in Chapter 2, prior to their expulsion in 1848, the Jesuits had taken in hand responsibility for higher education in Valais. With their departure such initiatives came to an end. The area which now forms Canton Jura was served to some extent by Berne whose University provided some courses in French for its Francophone citizens.

The idea of giving the Confederation a role in the area of higher education

dates back to before the Helvetic Republic. In 1758 Urs Balthasar put forward plans for the creation of national institutes for the formation of statesmen. These were reiterated by Albert Stapfer under the Helvetic Republic but to equally little avail. This scenario was repeated throughout the first half of the 19th century with various thinkers and statesmen putting forward their ideas for the establishment of a Federal university. However, as Rappard puts it, where there was the taste for and the need of higher education the cantonal universities blocked the road; elsewhere both the need and taste were lacking. (43) Finally in 1848, with the general revision of the Constitution following the Sonderbund War, the Confederation gained the "the right to establish a Swiss university and a polytechnique school." (44) This right eventually gave birth to the Federal Polytechnique in Zurich and allowed the basis for the Confederation taking over the EPLF. To date, however, there is still no Federal university as such.

Higher education today

Courses on offer

Table 7.1 shows the main areas of study on offer in the four Romand universities, the four Alémanique universities and the two institutes of Theology while Table 7.2 shows the areas of study available in the two Ecoles polytechniques fédérales. Figure 7.1 shows the location of these institutions.

The four Romand universities are distinguished from each other not only by size (from 2 000 students in Neuchâtel to 12 000 in Geneva) but equally by the range of faculties and institutes in each.

Table 7.1 Main areas of study in Swiss universities

City	Faculties														
	lettres	economics, politics & social sciences	human medicine	dentistry	veterinary medicine	science	pharmacy	theology	scientific policework & criminology	law	interpreting & translating	PE teacher	architecture	secondary school teacher	tertiary education teacher
Bâle	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Berne	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>				<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fribourg	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>						<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Geneva	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lausanne	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>				<input type="radio"/>
Neuchâtel	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>						<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Zürich	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>						<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
St Gallen		<input type="radio"/>								<input type="radio"/>				<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

only possible to complete part of the course in these institutions

Table 7.2 Main areas of study in the Écoles polytechniques fédérales

Section	EPF																	
	architecture	civil engineering	electrical engineering	chemistry	information technology	rural engineering/surveying	materials science	physics	mathematics	microtechnology	electromechanical engineering	silviculture	agronomie	food technology	natural science	military science	mechanical engineering	pharmacy
Lausanne	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>							<input type="radio"/>	
Zürich	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>		<input type="radio"/>						<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

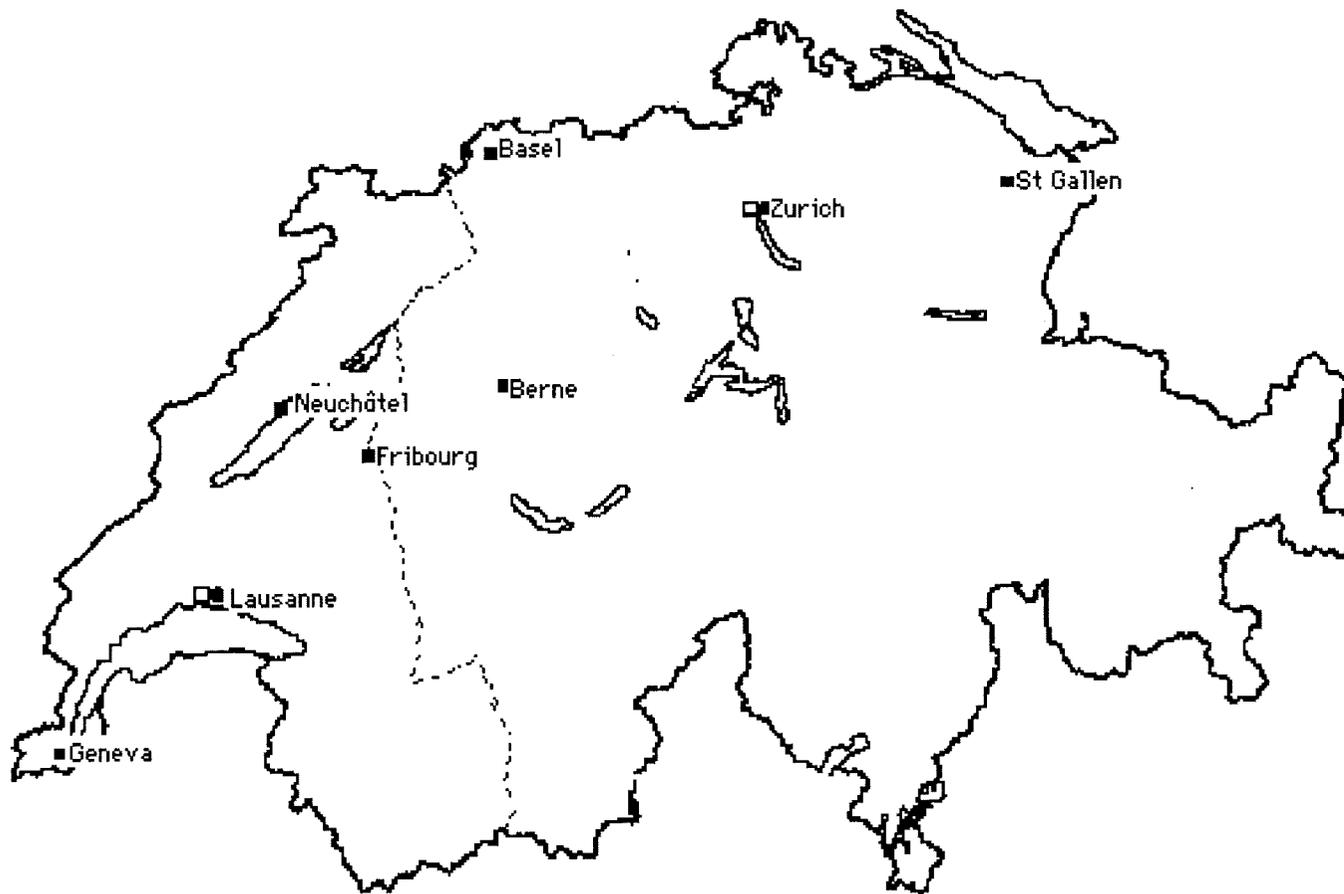


Figure 7.1 Higher education in Switzerland

- universities
- écoles polytechniques fédérales

Neuchâtel boasts four faculties (*Lettres*, Sciences, Theology, and Law and Economic Sciences). (45) To these must be added what might be termed sub-faculties of Medicine and Pharmacy. As we see from Table 7.1, it is only possible in Neuchâtel to study part of the courses in Pharmacy, dentistry and human and veterinary medicine. These specialisms are subject to Federal rationalisation of resources and as such their provision is subject to restrictions not noticeable elsewhere.

To its 5 000 or so students Fribourg offers five faculties (46) - Law and Economics being separate faculties and Science containing sub-faculties of natural science and medicine (47) with only part of medical courses being offered in Fribourg. Students are admitted from other universities to complete their basic scientific (ie non-clinical) training while the Cantonal Hospital collaborates with the Medical Faculties of Geneva and Lausanne in providing clinical training. (48)

Lausanne provides for around 7 000 students (49) with ten institutes and faculties. These include an *école des hautes études commerciales* (dealing with areas such as marketing, management, etc), a school of pharmacy and, unique in Switzerland, an institute of scientific policework and criminology. (50) Lausanne provides the entire medical and dental courses using primarily the facilities of the city's immense *Centre hospitalier universitaire vaudois*.

With its 12 000 students, Geneva is Suisse romande's largest tertiary education establishment and nationally is second only to Zurich (with around 20 000 students). (51) Geneva counts eleven faculties and institutes though

one, the *école d'éducation physique et de sport*, had no students in 1989-90. Geneva is the only Swiss university to offer a school of translation and interpretation and is also unique in that "psychology and the sciences of education" are considered important enough to merit their own faculty. (52)

Associated with the University of Geneva are five autonomous institutes: the *Institut universitaire de hautes études internationales*; the *Institut universitaire d'études du développement*; the *Institut universitaire d'études européennes*; the *Centre d'études du proche-orient ancien*; the *Institut œcuménique de Bossey*. (53) In addition to offering their own courses and, in conjunction with the University, supervising doctoral students, the institutes collaborate in appropriate courses not only with the University of Geneva but also in some cases with universities throughout the world.

The last establishment in this brief enumeration is the *Ecole polytechnique fédérale de Lausanne* (EPFL). With around 3 500 students in a purpose-built campus just west of Lausanne (the University's campus is literally next-door), the EPFL is a sizeable technical university. It contains ten departments while students are grouped into ten engineering sections, an architecture section and one for those following the pre-matriculation mathematics course. The EPFL's mission does not limit itself to purely technical aspects of the engineer's or architect's trade. It also includes language courses and general culture (which explains in part its possession of a professor of pedagogy). One interesting course on offer invites the student to examine the role and situation of his/her chosen profession in the world of today. This is tackled first via a taught course and then through

personal research. (54)

Entry into higher education

The usual route for entry into higher education is via the Maturité. In principle, possession of any Federal maturité gives the holder the right to matriculate in any faculty of any university or Federal polytechnique. There is as yet no centralised admissions procedure, except for medicine (*cf* the Universities Central Council on Admissions in the United Kingdom) and so the prospective student must apply directly to the faculty of interest. It is then up to the faculty to set any additional conditions. The most common of these is to insist that students holding Maturités which do not contain Latin or Greek but who wish to study courses on Old French or Theology take a supplementary course in the first year. Table 7.3 summarises these conditions. (55)

Life is not so clear-cut for holders of Cantonal maturités. As we saw in Chapter 4, these are generally artistic or commercial in nature though some Cantons still discern pedagogical Maturités to their budding Infant and Primary school teachers. Unfortunately for this last group, possession of the pedagogical Maturité may, by dint of its being Cantonal, retard their entry into university study, even the study of education. It will shortly become clear why the pedagogical maturant's entry is only delayed. Commercial and artistic Maturités give access to some courses in some universities and access under special conditions to others. Precluded are all forms of medicine while in pharmacy the holder may complete the course but will not be allowed to sit the Federal Pharmacy Examinations. (56)

Table 7.3 Conditions of entry to university for holders of Federal Maturité

Maturité				
A	B	C	D	E
classic	literary	scientific	languages	economics
<i>lettres</i>	<i>lettres</i>	<i>lettres</i>	<i>lettres</i>	<i>lettres</i>
economics, politics, social sciences				
medicine	medicine	medicine	medicine	medicine
science	science	science	science	science
pharmacy	pharmacy	pharmacy	pharmacy	pharmacy
theology ^b				
psychology	psychology	psychology	psychology	psychology
law	law	law ^d	law ^d	law ^d
interpreting/ translating ^d				
PE teacher				
secondary school teacher*	secondary school teacher*	secondary school teacher*	secondary school teacher*	secondary school teacher*
tertiary education teacher*	tertiary education teacher*	tertiary education teacher*	tertiary education teacher*	tertiary education teacher*

explanation of symbols:

- a) complementary exam in Latin or another classical language during the course (depending on the choice of subjects)
- b) depending on the faculty, complementary exam in Greek or Hebrew during the course;
- c) At Lausanne and Bâle, complementary exam in Latin during the course;
- d) test of linguistic aptitude;
- e) test of physical aptitude;
- *) depending on the choice of subjects, complementary exams as the faculty decides.

This last preclusion is indeed a strange prohibition which seems to defy all logic. Surely if a candidate has the intellectual capacity, drive and determination to complete successfully a university course in pharmacy then he/she could presumably have passed a Federally recognised Maturité? Therefore, to use non-possession of a school certificate to effectively limit a university graduate's career, at least *five* years after finishing school, seems to unjustly condemn the adult for a childhood choice whose consequences should have long been left behind. Incidentally, any foreigner, regardless of entrance qualification, is barred from the Federal exam and is entitled only to the university's own diploma in pharmacy. (57) For its part, medicine simply does not admit foreign students. (58)

The EPFL will admit holders of Cantonal Maturités provided there is sufficient overlap with one of the Federal Maturités and/or, depending on the Maturité, the holder spends a zeroth year upgrading his/her mathematics. This same mathematics course is undertaken by holders of recognised Maturités whose mathematics is weak. (59)

The second road into higher education is for holders of the *diplôme-ETS* and those of other *école supérieures spécialisées* (ESS). Like the holder of a Cantonal Maturité, a diploma holder from an ESS wishing to change orientation can enrol in some courses in some universities, medicine being precluded and pharmacy limited to the university's own diploma. A *diplomate ETS* can matriculate into the first year of EPFL, provided he/she passes an exam in French and a foreign language at the end of the first year. Those, however, with very good grades from ETS have the possibility of

matriculating into the 3rd year on condition that they have followed a special year-long course in the EPFL and have passed the 2nd year exam. (60)

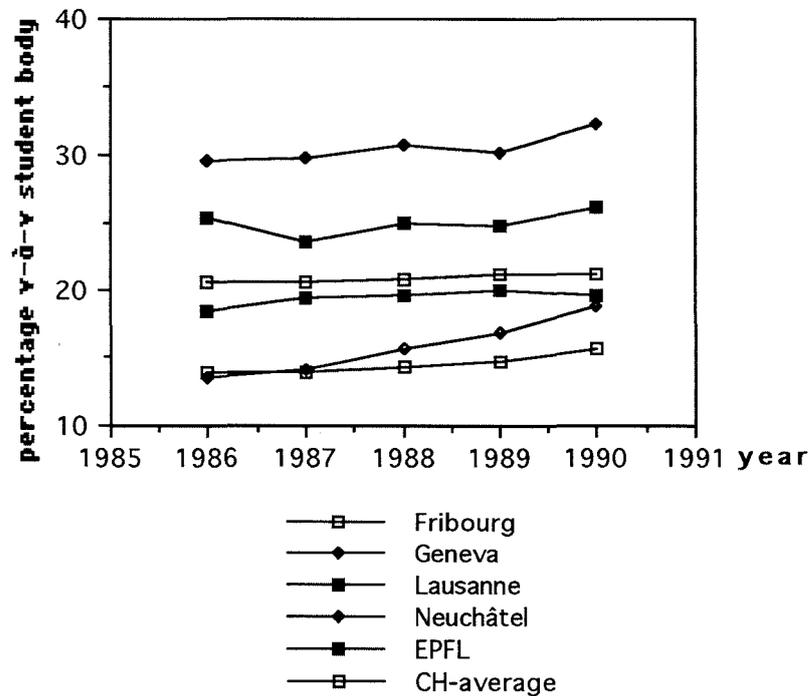


Figure 7.2 Foreign students in Romand higher education

As we see from figure 7.2, Romand universities and EPFL attract a high proportion of foreign students. Many of these are likely to have Switzerland as their home (around 16% of the population are foreigners) but many come to the country to study. To this end the universities have devised a panoply of equivalencies which cover virtually every school certificate in the world. Students with certificates from outwith Western Europe are generally required to sit the *Examen de Fribourg* which is held twice a year. This exam covers written and oral French, mathematics and oral history together with two subjects appropriate to the course envisaged. One failure is allowed and a second eliminates the candidate. Most holders of certificates from non-

Francophone countries in Western Europe must undertake an exam in French. The object of these tests is to ascertain whether the student has the knowledge and ability equal to that of a maturanant. The result is some strange equivalencies. We must underline that these concern school level certificates and that, as such, they lie outside the various European (especially EC) initiatives concerning equivalences in university qualifications and courses.

One of these oddities is that students from England with three A-levels and three GCSE are judged on a par with those from Scotland with three Higher Grades. Even the most chauvinistic of Scots would find such an equivalency hard to sustain since in terms of workload a Higher equates to about half its A-level counterpart. Were students with only Highers required to have completed either a year at a Scottish university or to possess, say, two Certificates of Sixth Year Studies then their level of qualification would be more like that of their English colleagues. It is of note here that in some Scottish universities a student with a sufficiently good A-level may be credited with having passed the first year course in that subject (this of course only applies to courses where there is a choice of subject and therefore excludes courses such as medicine, dentistry and veterinary medicine).

It is arguable that the width and depth of each subject in three A-levels compensates for the narrowness of a curriculum limited to three subjects and hence makes for a sort of equivalence with the width of subjects in Maturité. The same cannot be said for Highers.

As is common outwith the Americas, American High School diplomas are simply not recognised unless complemented by, for example, A-levels. One would hope that credit would be given for College Board Advanced Placements which, depending on the subject, cover a standard up to that which this writer has seen tax even the most able of A-level students. Unfortunately, Advanced Placements are little known even in the United States where they are often regarded as an attempt by Federal Government to interfere in educational matters where it has no Constitutional right. As it is, American students are required to possess a university first degree though credit may be given for some of the passes it contains.

The remaining way into higher education is for those without university entrance qualifications. The Universities of Geneva, Lausanne and Fribourg each have schemes to allow non-holders of Maturité (or equivalent) (known as *sans-matus*) to enter certain faculties. The conditions which the *sans-matus* must satisfy vary considerably from place to place and from faculty to faculty. (61) For example, the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences in Lausanne admits holder of any vocational certificate or diploma obtained in Switzerland to enter its admission exam. (62)

The oldest scheme for admission of *sans-matus* is that of Geneva. Since the others have taken their lead from this it is on Geneva that we shall concentrate as a means of illustrating this unusual method of university entrance.

In Autumn 1977 Geneva first opened its doors to *sans-matus* in a bid to make

the University more adult. (63) The original regulation allowed students in from more or less anywhere. As a result, in 1977, 69% of these students came from Geneva and 20% from Vaud with Valais and Suisse alémanique accounting for the rest. (64) In January 1978 however the University Senate decided to limit the zone of recruitment of sans-matus to Geneva and the Francophone regions of the Cantons without a University (ie Jura and Valais romand). (65) This was later modified to allow Ticinese students to apply. (66) An exception was made for Romand teachers who did not have a Maturité. (67)

According to Adda-Lémaire, the present regulation is as follows:

the candidate must:

- a) be Swiss or holder of an annual work permit for at least five years or holder of a "permanent" work permit; except for Genevan citizens, be resident for at least a year in Geneva, Ticino, Jura or Valais romand;
- b) be at least 25 years old;
- c) have, in principle, exercised a professional activity for at least three years or have undertaken an equivalent activity;
- d) show that he/she has the required aptitude as measured by the entrance criteria of the faculty or school (this is measured by means of a dossier, an interview and/or exams).

Admission to the pedagogy section of the Faculty of Psychology and Education remains open to teachers without Maturité. (68)

Figure 7.3 shows the fluctuation in numbers of sans-matus matriculating for the first time. (69) As we can see, pedagogy and economics have exerted the most consistent attraction. Not surprisingly, many sans-matus have aimed for courses having some rapport with their former courses. Figure 7.4 summarises these statistics for the first five years of this alternative route. (70)

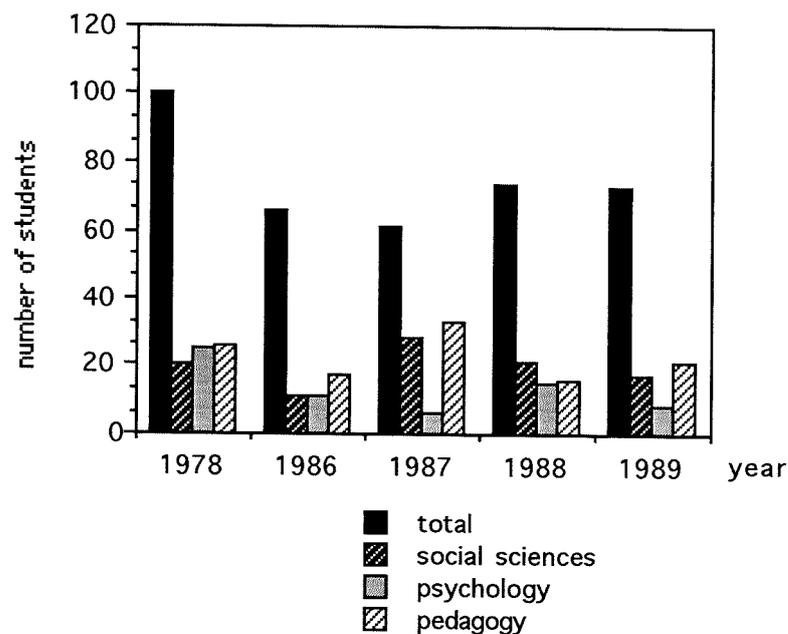


Figure 7.3 Number of sans-matus first matriculating

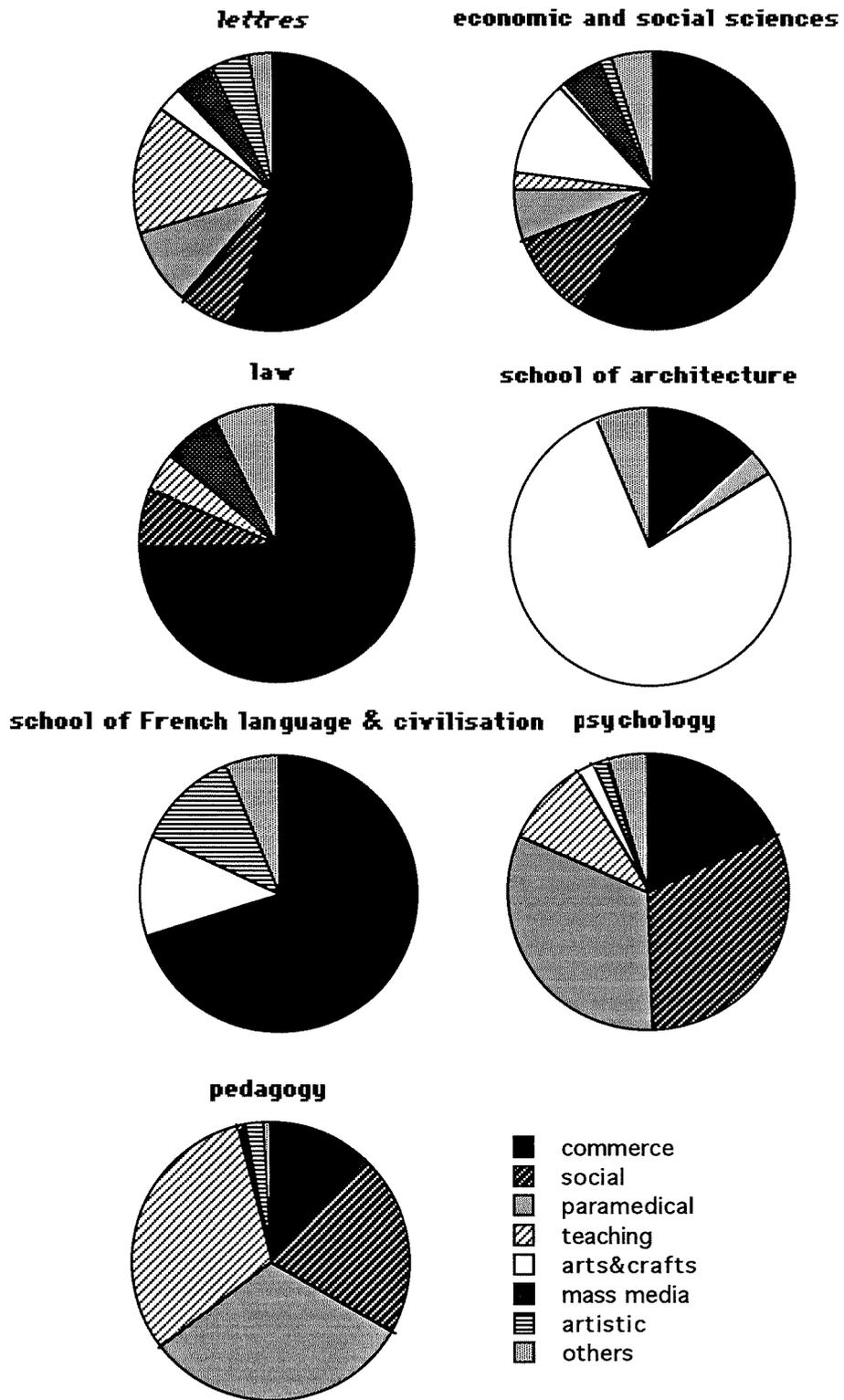


Figure 7.4 Social origins of the sans-matus for the first five years of the scheme

In 1981 Bo noted that the drop-out rate among first year sans-matus was twice that of other students. He further noted that those who manage to stay the course exit with results that are generally well above the average. (71)

The reasons for dropping-out are not hard to find. First and foremost is finance: many of the sans-matus are over 30 years of age at first matriculation and so are excluded from obtaining a grant. Family circumstances are also important - more than 2/3 of students in the period 1977-81 had at least one child. Add these problems to the usual difficulties of adjustment to student life (made more severe for the sans-matus for having been out of formal education for varying long periods) and the merit of those sans-matus who succeed in completing their course is clearly shown. Of the courses open to the sans-matus (ie everything bar medicine and pharmacy) education seems most adapted to their needs by operating a system of credits. This allows the student, in theory at least, to undertake university without having to give up his/her trade. (72)

Despite the length of time since Geneva first admitted sans-matus, this mode of entry is still not finally accepted by the other universities. For example, the University of Zurich has been known to refuse to recognise the degrees gained by sans-matus from Geneva. With Switzerland now part of ERASMUS and moving in many ways towards the EC, the scene is very similar to at least one in the UK. UK Open University courses are recognised internationally under ERASMUS but not always intranationally. This seems, just as in the case of Geneva's sans-matus, to stem largely from the lack of necessity for formal qualifications prior to matriculation.

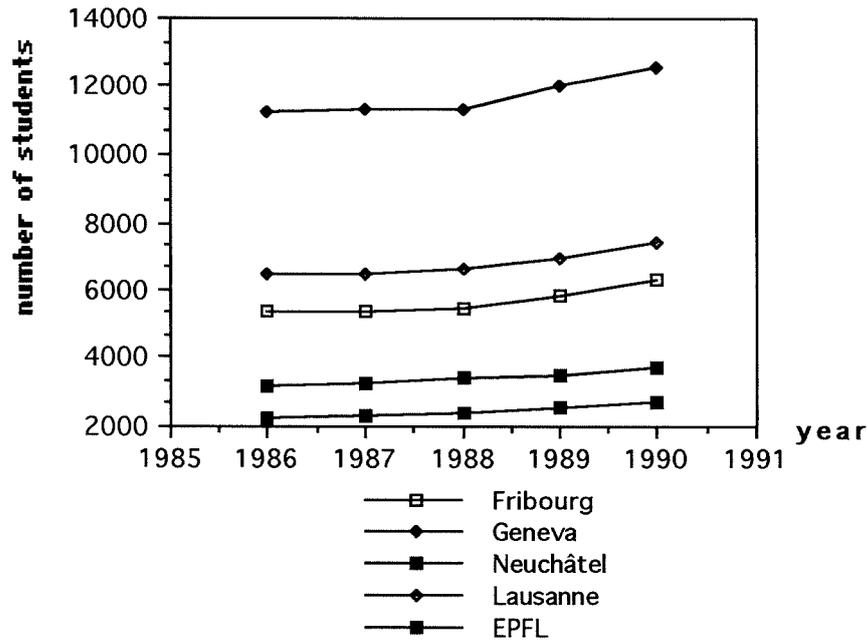


Figure 7.5 Growth in student numbers

As we see from Figure 7.5 (73), the number of students in higher education is in more or less constant growth. Despite this, the *numerus clausus* has so far been avoided. Indeed, Garke tells us that the Federal policy on universities has as its major thrust the avoidance of measures restricting access to university (74) while all those interviewed on this subject were in agreement that the room for expansion in Swiss higher education is large. Even in subjects such as medicine with a limited number of places there have so far been no restrictions on entry by those who fulfill the basic requirements. However, these students sometimes have difficulty in obtaining places for their clinical work and they may have to travel some distance to attend.

Some comparisons and comments on entry

The apparent simplicity of the higher education entrance procedure in

Switzerland stands in direct contrast with the USA. While the Swiss student depends on his/her academic qualifications, the American student requires teachers' reports, covering not only academic prowess and progress but also the student's character and social interests. The student may waive the right to see these reports but some who have not have been known to sue their teachers when their desired college has rejected them.

The USA is remarkably bereft of home-grown terminal external exams or externally validated exams. The only exception is the College Board's Advanced Placements which we mentioned earlier. The same College Board runs Scholastic Aptitude Tests and Achievement Tests which a student may take up to several times in the course of the final (and sometimes penultimate) year of school. The continuum that is American colleges and universities is reflected in the scores in these tests that an institution may demand. The more prestigious institutions demand the highest scores as a necessary (but not sufficient) condition of acceptance while the least prestigious (such as the community colleges) may take all-comers. College entry in the USA is not the affair of a minority. Few leave school before 12th grade and most 12th graders graduate from high school and go on to some college. College is regarded as a prerequisite for any job above the menial. The irony is that at least one job which demands neither college training nor indeed any formal qualifications can command a salary five times that of a college-trained teacher. Paid at minimum union rates, a carpenter in New York State in 1985 could gross \$60 000 *per annum*. At the same time Brooklyn was offering teachers \$12 000 *per annum*. Few, however, seem to notice this and, while students queue to fill the colleges, the carpenters'

unions have bother filling their apprenticeship classes.

The Soviet Union suffered from the problem of too high a success rate at the level of Maturity. Thus the possession of the Attestation of Maturity was a necessary but not sufficient condition for admission to higher education. Despite steady falls in the numbers aspiring to higher education (75), there were still far more aspirants than places.

Numerus clausus was strictly applied by means of the higher education entrance exam (oral and writtten) conducted by the institution to which the application has been made. (76) The exam served the dual function of deciding higher education admission and of verifying in some way the standard obtained in the Maturity exams. The result, as mentioned in Chapter 5, was the socio-psychological problem of "frustrated maturity-holders who must take up a working situation without any vocational qualification". (77) It is self-evident that the demise of the Soviet Union will have an effect on the education system and on the articulation between school and higher education. Soviet education was overtly politically motivated since the Revolution and, given its role of training future Communist citizens, then the recent political shifts will have their effect on education. The form that any future changes will take is open to conjecture but as conjecture these will remain for some time then we shall leave them.

Between them the Soviet Union and the USA demonstrate paths the Swiss could be forced towards if Maturité becomes as generalised as educational planners wish it to be. Both are cautionary tales whose moral is clear to see.

Closer to the Swiss both in terms of size and generalised standard of living are the Swedes. The traditional entry to higher education in Sweden used to be the *studentsexamen* (78), very similar in content, style and standard to the Maturité. Until the Swedish U68 reforms (in force since 1978), possession of studentsexamen allowed the holder the right of entry to Arts and Science, though medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine and some branches of engineering remained selective. (79) U68 brought a scheme of total selectivity with quotas from various categories of intending student. The system works on points and a student may apply under more than one category. What is interesting in the Swedish system is that university entrance is centralised and computerised. (80) This stands in direct contrast to the admission systems of both the USA and USSR where an atmosphere more akin to chaos seems to reign.

As in the old Swedish system, the Germans apply *numerus clausus* only to more sought-after faculties and courses. The French, for their part, are still trying to limit it as much as possible. (At the moment only the *Grandes Ecoles*, Medical Faculties and technology schools operate selective entry). Unfortunately, with their vast numbers reaching baccalaureat, together with that qualification's traditional right of entry to the classical universities, the scene is set for a totally chaotic admissions' procedure. Switzerland, by dint of fairly small numbers seeking entry, has so far avoided the long queues and general timewasting that French students have to endure.

It is interesting to note that while those interviewed in the course of this

research generally dismissed the possibility of an eventual *numerus clausus* as being extremely remote the *Conférence des Directeurs cantonaux de l'instruction publique* (CDIP) considers this possibility as sufficiently real as to merit two clauses in the Intercantonal Agreement on the participation in the financing of the universities (1993-1998). Clause 7 para 1 states that:

"if it becomes necessary to limit access to study, the students and intending students from all the signatory cantons will benefit from the same rights as those from the home canton of the university touched by this measure." (81)

For its part, clause 8 paras 1 and 2 state:

"Students coming from cantons which have not adhered to the present agreement cannot take advantage of the same rights as the other students.

They may only be admitted to a university when the students from the signatory cantons have matriculated." (82)

These clauses stand in apparent contradiction with Clause 2 para 2:

"The cantons with universities undertake to avoid the introduction of limits of access to study." (83)

This, however, is the theoretical position which the cantons hope to maintain. Clauses 7 and 8 show a recognition that at some future date this may no longer be possible. As Clause 1 puts:

"The Agreement has as an objective to ensure *insofar as possible* free access to the cantonal universities." (our italics) (84)

In an ideal world or in one in which students numbers are small it is quite feasible to avoid *numerus clausus* and give to a qualification such as *Maturité* the right for its holder to matriculate into any faculty. Goldschmid estimates growth possible from the present 12% or so of the 20-24 age group to at least 15%. (85) But, if numbers at *Maturité* grow beyond this (and, as we have seen, this is the desire of the Romand Cantons) then there are certainly going to be more students wishing to matriculate than there might be places available. This gives rise to several problems:

- a) how to accomodate these increased numbers and/or how to finance the necessary expansion of higher education;
- b) how to discourage students from entering courses to which they are wholly unsuited.
- c) how to employ the resulting graduates.

The French "solution" of interspersing periods of vastly overcrowded classes with periods of frenetic construction of new institutions and expansions of existing ones is at best faulty. That is, unless we want a return to the *cours magistral* and an exponentially increasing anonymity of the student body.

The present Swiss situation of allowing matriculation into any course means that a student who had manifestly failed, say, mathematics, could enrol in a first year class in that subject. How long he/she would survive is not at issue but if resources are being squeezed, does it make sense to count all *Maturités*

as alike? The advent of *numerus clausus* could at least be delayed if intending students were required to possess, in addition to *Maturité*, minimum grades in those subjects pertaining to their proposed course of study. This would, of necessity, complicate the admissions' procedure but if criteria were announced beforehand then entry would only be competitive in the sense that these criteria had to be attained.

The present Cantonal basis of most of Romand higher education complicates not only expansion of these institutions but also any introduction of centralised admissions' procedures. Not unnaturally, Cantons with universities want to encourage their students to attend the local university whenever the desired course exists there. Whether this will remain a plausible option as student numbers increase remains to be seen. A centralised system would allow, say a Fribourgeois student to be allocated a place in Lausanne if no place were available in Fribourg. This presupposes some sort of *numerus clausus* though as long as this is avoided then local admissions' procedures can continue.

Expanding higher education brings the spectre of graduate unemployment. The quandary is that if manpower planning is employed in planning course provision then *numerus clausus* becomes *de rigueur*. Avoiding *numerus clausus* allows graduates to take their chances on the labour market. Also, as more and more students enter higher education then fewer able students enter vocational training. The scene is thus set for situation in which graduates are on the dole while there is a lacuna in skilled craftsmen (*cf.* Chapter 5). These dilemmas are part and parcel of any expanding open system. Resolving them

is another matter. However, there is a financial brake on entry to higher education in Switzerland and we shall later reconsider the problems of expansion in the light of this.

In sum, Swiss higher education entry is generally meritocratic in a liberal democratic setting and leaves the student responsible for choice of course and prediction of the labour market. Selection occurs at school and entry to higher education is based in criteria which, as we have argued, are probably too simple and open to misorientation. This more or less open entry for those with the base-line qualification is a luxury which will not last forever. But while it is there it brings out Shaw's adage from *Man and Superman*: "Liberty means responsibility; that is why most men dread it." (86) In competitive entry systems the student can, to some extent, pass the buck for mistakes in orientation. In a system, such as in Switzerland, although student advice services are well-developed, the responsibility cannot be shirked.

Finance

In the Constitution of 1874 the Confederation took:

"the right to to create, besides the existing polytechnique, a Federal university and other higher education establishments or to *subsidise establishments of this type.*" (87) (our italics)

It is on this basis that the present Federal Law on Aid to the Universities was formulated in 1969. This Law is supplemented by the Federal Law on Research (effective from 1983) whereby the Confederation encourages,

through subsidy, virtually every type of academic research. (88)

In terms of these Federal Laws the Confederation shares to some extent the responsibility for the universities which are otherwise directly Cantonal institutions. Federal involvement in universities takes two main veins:

firstly, through subsidising plant and running costs; and, secondly, with regards to "Federal" courses such as medicine and pharmacy where full national qualification depends on success in Federally validated exams.

Plant subsidies vary, depending on the project and Canton's financial strength, from 35% to 60% while running cost subsidies are usually around 20%. (89) Thus in Neuchâtel in 1987, for example, out of a total cost of Fr43 million, the Confederation contributed Fr11 million and the Canton Fr27 million with the remainder coming from gifts, fees etc. (90). Additionally the Federal Law on Aid to the Universities allows the possibility of exceptional subsidies such as those aimed at "increasing noticeably, in the shortest time, the number of places a university has on offer." (91) This option has also been exercised to encourage the "creation of centres of excellence bearing a national interest" (92) as well as to encourage an expansion of information technology and engineering. (93)

The Federal Polytechnique Schools are entirely financed by the Confederation.

Financing a university is a major drain on Cantonal resources. In a bid to spread the load somewhat between Cantons, an agreement is in force whereby

when a student attends a university outwith his/her home Canton then the sending Canton pays a subsidy to the receiving university. In 1993 the subsidy per student and *per annum* amounts to Fr8 500. In subsequent years this will rise with the cost of living index. The subsidy entitles the migrating student to be enrolled on exactly the same financial terms as those from the university's Canton. In this way, in 1988, Fribourg received some Fr14 million and paid out some Fr3 million. (94) Foreign students, resident in the country, are also subsidised but they may have slightly higher fees as do foreign students arriving for the purpose of study.

Access to higher education

The question of access to higher education is not only thorny but multifaceted. In itself it would merit a volume the size of this one. It is an issue which is very much in both the political and educational limelights in Switzerland where, as we have seen, the relatively local political basis of much if higher education combines with geography and cultural traditions to render the situation somewhat involved and complicated.

The *Conseil suisse de la Science* (CSS) is an advisory body to the Federal government on matters concerning higher education and research. As such, it devotes a considerable amount of its time and energy to studying the question of access and the ways of equalising access or at least attenuating some of the inequalities. Thus, this section draws much upon material produced by, for and in association with the CSS. The conclusions are, of course, our own.

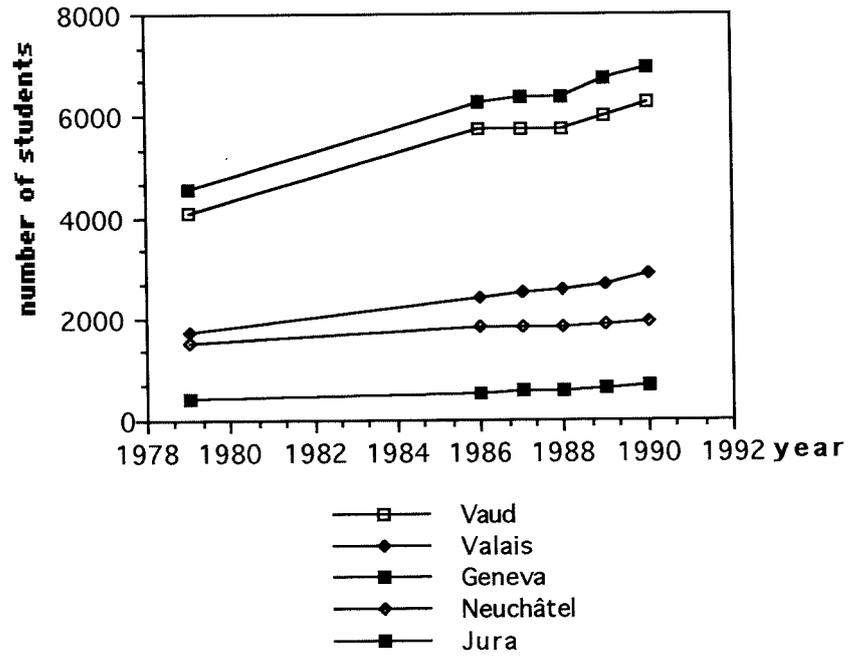


Figure 7.6a Students numbers by Canton of origin

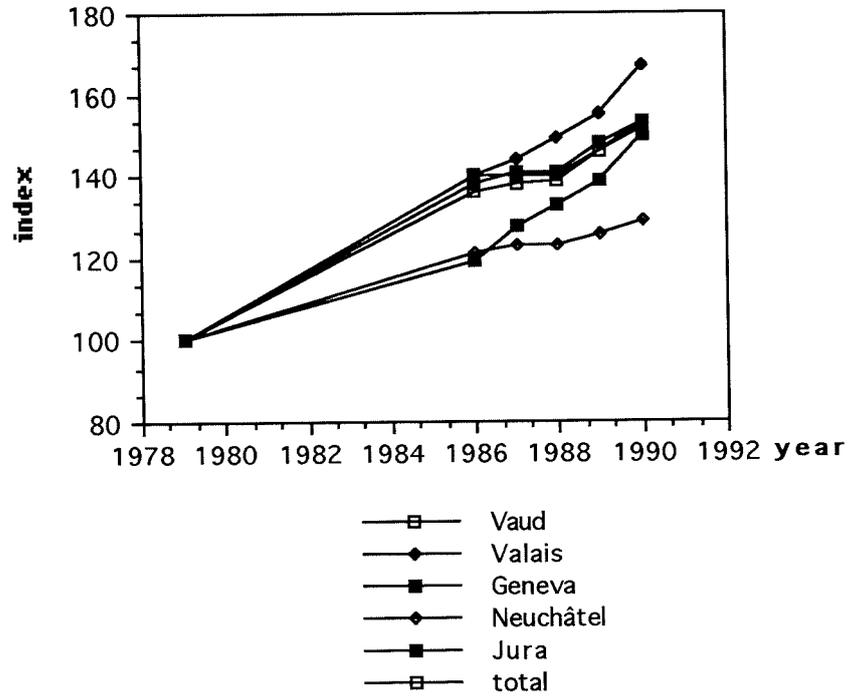


Figure 7.6b Students numbers by Canton of origin (index: 1979 = 100)

As Figures 7.6a and 7.6b (95) show, the numbers from Suisse romande entering higher education is in more or less constant increase (this is indeed true of the whole country) and as yet nothing indicates that this trend will not continue into the foreseeable future. But as Gottraux states:

"This greater opening of the doors of the *hautes écoles* does in no way mean that we have sorted out the inequalities which existed before between people and social groups as to their chances of being able to study."(96)

It is rather the case that numerous discrepancies persist, for example:

between men and women;
geographically (between rich and poor cantons, the mountains and the plain);
with regard to the student's social origins;
between Swiss nationals and second generation immigrants.
(97)

In its access to higher education, Switzerland maintains a relatively restrictive entry system though, in contrast to countries such as the UK, selection occurs at school. Nationally only 12% of the 20-24 age group enter higher education compared with an average of 20% in the rest of the OECD. Women make up 32% of the student body (45-50% in the rest of the OECD). The absolute numbers of students from humbler origins have risen but their proportion has not noticeably altered.

As we have seen, access to higher education in Switzerland is decided almost

exclusively by possession of the Maturité. Other modes of access (such as for the sans-matus) are very much marginalised (98) and only affect a small number of entrants. This indicates another area of discrimination and we return to this later.

We saw in Chapter 5 how the Maturité pass-rate as a percentage of 19 year olds was in a more or less linear relationship with the Federal Index of Financial Capacity. Given the Maturité as the usual prerequisite for entry to higher education, we should expect a similar relationship between the rate of frequentation of higher education and a canton's financial capacity. Unfortunately, Gottraux, who provides the data, does not make clear with respect to what age group he calculates his *taux de scolarisation universitaire* (rate of university entry) (the most usual group is that aged 20 -24 years, which effectively ignores older students) but his results are still useful for comparison between cantons.

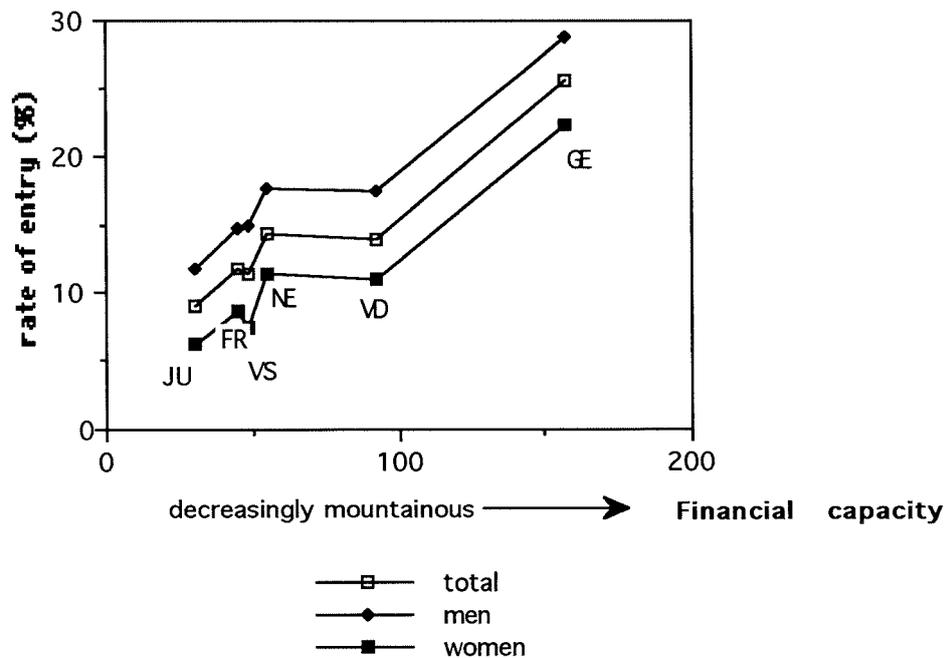


Figure 7.7 HE entry vs. financial capacity

Figure 7.7 (99) shows our expectation to be fulfilled. Similarly restricted through lack of information on data calculations but equally revealing in comparative terms are the other graphs in figure 7.7 (100) where we see as separate curves the rate of frequentation of higher education for men and for women.

However, not only do women matriculate less often than do men, as they proceed through their studies the proportion of women drops continuously. (101) This phenomenon is due to any combination of several possible causes:

- a) an expectation that a woman's role is primarily that of homemaker while a man's is that of breadwinner; ie the woman's possible revenue is less important since it is secondary;
- b) an innate fear of being educated out of one's sexual social class. It is recognised that the working class do less well at university than do the bourgeois and that fear of being educated out of their social class plays a major role. On a similar basis, let us propose a hypothesis for some social psychologist to confirm or deny: given that fewer mothers than fathers have received higher education, might it be (in Switzerland at least) that daughters perform less well than sons through fear of being alienated from their mothers? If the working class person is inhibited in his/her studies through fear of loss of his/her horizontal peer group, might a similar logic not apply to a daughter who fears loss of what might be termed her vertical peer group?

Gottraux assures us that the situation is improving for women: from 1975 to 1985 the proportion of women students went from 25.3% to 34.6% (102) and by 1988 had reached 36.7%. (103) Within individual cantons or even districts within cantons there is much variation. We see the intercantonal comparison most clearly in figure 7.7 (104) where the *taux de scolarisation universitaire* (in 1985) for women is compared with that for men.

Unfortunately, due to an absence of data it is largely impossible to compare objectively on an intracantonal basis. The little data there indicates that the national tendencies are mirrored on the intracantonal plane - ie the more economically strong and/or less mountainous an area is then the higher the probability of its inhabitants going to university while the proportion of women going to university seems also to follow this tendency. (see figure 7.8)

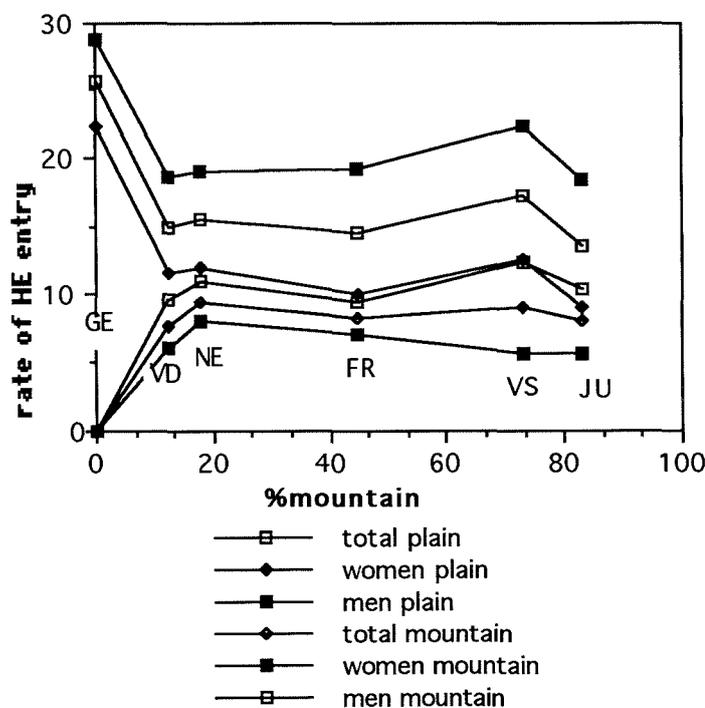


Figure 7.8 HE entry in the plain and in the mountains

These geographical inequalities persist and show little sign of improving.

Poglia (105), writing in 1983, asserts that these geographical inequalities are the *cause* of the lower participation rates in higher education among mountain dwellers. As we saw in Chapter 4, he claims the same inequalities as the cause of lower Maturité pass rates in the mountains. In his interview, Poglia was asked to reply to our assertion that, given the high rates of university entrance in the Highland Region of Scotland, his results, through their lack of transferability, are somewhat simplistic. In reply, he suggests the following expansion of his 1983 hypothesis:

Mountainous areas of Switzerland are generally financially weak in comparison to the richer, flatter areas but there is still very little unemployment. It is possible in most mountainous areas to find work without moving out of one's home area. In Highland, unemployment is rife and therefore the only way to get on is to get out. (106)

This explanation is fine as far as it goes but it ignores the relative youth of Switzerland's almost negligible unemployment rate. It also ignores that fact the various mountainous areas of Switzerland knew mass emigrations, famine and hardship brought about by the forces of nature (while those in Highland were exacerbated and often actually caused by unscrupulous landowners). And yet Highland has always sent a higher proportion of its population into higher education than has the rest of the UK while the Swiss mountains have sent a lower proportion than has the rest of that country.

So we must look beyond recent history to find some fundamental difference which might have helped engender the expectation in one area of acceding to higher education and the lack of that expectation in the other area. Scottish Calvinism is often cited as a reason but, alas, this only reached the Highlands in the 18th century and even after this the Highlanders remained as culturally alienated from the Lowlanders (who had all the universities) as did the alpine peoples from their urban compatriots (or allies, depending the case). In fact, the more we look at the comparison, the more it becomes clear that there is really only one major difference which might explain the difference in higher education expectation: the system of landownership. Could it be that the clan system where loyalty was to an large extended family stimulated a desire for higher education (to better serve the family?) while the Swiss mountain system of each family owning its own little patch of ground did the opposite?

An understanding of the mechanism at work would doubtless help in the devising of schemes to modify its effects as seen today and go some to providing keys to the appropriate stimuli needed to encourage the Swiss mountain people to accede to higher education in greater numbers.

It must be said that the Highland Region represents an unusual case. Indeed, according to Richardson, the international literature reveals three major trends:

"Firstly, participation in higher education is greater amongst inhabitants of metropolitan centres and large towns, and in

general there is a direct relationship between community size and educational participation. Second, and *a fortiori*, participation in higher education is greater in urban communities than in rural ones. Third, participation in higher education is greater amongst the inhabitants of communities which have relevant institutions in their immediate vicinity."

(107)

As it is, in Switzerland as a whole, the chance for a mountain dweller to enter higher education is roughly half that for a city dweller. (108) In this light, we shall shortly question whether the traditional university is the form of higher education best adapted to the needs of the mountain dweller.

While geographical inequalities are relatively easy to determine, social inequalities open up a whole new minefield. To start with: in order to determine social inequalities one must divide the population into groups or classes. But on what basis does one do this? The usual basis is that of profession with the ostensible index being a somehow defined ratio of manual to cerebral work; the issue is further confused by the upper echelons being "educated" while the lower are "trained". There seems to be an expectation that the educated will ascribe more readily to certain values than will the trained. Similarly, the cerebral worker is expected to adopt these values more quickly than the manual worker. However, as soon as we look closely into this scenario it is revealed as an arbitrary mess. A medical practitioner works manually using a wide personal skill base; so does a plumber. But which is rated as occupying the higher social class?

If profession is a cover for attitudes (ie certain attitudes with certain professions) then where do we put the streetsweeper who reads Molière or the lawyer whose literary heights are the sensationalist tabloid press? Revenue is no guide either. As skilled workers become more and more scarce so their salaries overtake those of many "professionals". We mentioned earlier the case of the New York carpenters. This is just one case among countless.

So, in the final analysis, the division of society into classes seems totally arbitrary if we take social class to imply social culture. However, it does remain that society ascribes positions in a hierarchy to various professions and, equally, ascribes attitudes to the practioners of these professions. From this comes a societal expectation that members of the "higher" classes will breed members of the "higher" classes.

We mentioned in Chapter 4 Walo Hutmacher finding in his work on immigrants' children at school that, in Geneva, in general, the higher social classes perform best. Given therefore that the higher classes get the most Maturités and that the Maturité is the usual ticket into higher education, it should come as no surprise that the higher classes are over-represented in the universities (and, conversely, under-represented in vocational training). (109)

Once the student from humble origins has made it into higher education the odds may still be stacked against him/her.

Firstly, student grants are extremely variable. The CSS quotes two very illustrative cases: the student who has a two hour journey from home to university and whose annual grant amounts to Fr6000 plus Fr4000 in loan may take his place beside a student living next to the university in somewhat easier circumstances but who receives a grant of Fr16000 *per annum*. (110) As Poggia makes clear (111) the level of grants is rarely sufficient to allow the student to live without part-time work or some parental support. It goes without saying that worries about money do not often make efficient intellectual stimulants. (112). The cash crisis may be exacerbated by the reported method of some Cantons to calculate the level of student grants. In the course of our research we heard tell of well-off students from particular cantons receiving grants vastly superior to those given to poorer students. These reports, which are unsubstantiated at any official levels, are borne out by the experience of this writer's wife and several of her colleagues. In the Cantons in question, it seems that the more a parent pays in taxes and/or the higher his/her social status then the higher their child's grant. Yet this is not a hard and fast rule. We know of a case where two sets of parents, living in the same apartment block, had the same job and same income and yet their children received vastly differing grants.

The generally unlivable level of grants which implies part-time employment for those students whose families cannot support them also means that poorer students are inclined more towards courses which they hope will permit such part-time employment. Thus, they shy away from medicine and engineering and tend more towards the arts and social sciences. This, as Gottraux states

and as the CSS is encouraging, should at least push the Cantons towards some harmonisation of the grant system. (113) The CSS would also like to see a revision of the Federal law on subsidies to Cantons for study grants as well as an increase in the level of subsidy paid to economically weak Cantons. (114)

A second and very important factor which influences the chances of success of the student from humble origins lies in his/her social culture. We have mentioned in several contexts the notion and fear of the working class student of being educated out of his/her class - higher education being often perceived in the West as a bourgeois pursuit (and let us not forget the suspicion in the old East Bloc of the *intelligentsia*). This leads to a sense of insecurity from the outset: the working class student tends to feel that he/she is stepping out of his/her native pond yet views the bourgeois student as swimming in a familiar sea. Gottraux illustrates this insecurity by reference to reaction to exam failure: the working class student tends to internalise blame while the bourgeois projects blame onto all and anything but him/herself. (115)

Clearly one reaction is as faulty as the other but which leads to more rapid recovery of self-esteem and, consequently, increases chances of passing the resit? Recovering from internalisation of blame demands restructuring part of one's world view while dealing with blame one has projected merely implies learning to play the game by modified rules but with an intact worldview. It is perhaps worth mentioning here that this writer's experience of teaching young people over a span of many years (dividing almost equally between schools for the ultra-rich and schools in areas of multiple

deprivation) fully supports Gottraux' view.

Second generation immigrants show much variation in their rate of entry to university: German immigrants send around 16% of their children into higher education while Spanish and Italian immigrants send barely 4% (*cf* 12% for the whole Swiss population) (116) However the social makeup of the immigrant group is revealing: nearly 80% of the Italians and Spaniards are in the lower social classes (and they in 1980 constituted some 68% of immigrants' children aged 16-20 and therefore most likely to be educated in Switzerland). While the under-representation of these groups in higher education is not surprising (in view of the situation of Swiss natives of humble origins), the extremity of this under-representation is. Unfortunately, possible reasons, while easy to find, are difficult to confirm or deny. Is the problem one of cultural attitude or simply that otherwise potential students see no reason to enter higher education since they do not know whether university studies will be of any real use should they ever return to their parents' area of origin? Whatever the reason(s) finding it or them will be long and involved.

The CSS neatly sums up the question of access:

"One can consider it a true miracle ... that the daughter of an immigrant, coming from a mountainous area, succeeds one day in getting a university degree."(117)

Training for Export

One of the sad facts of any region without a higher education facility is that most of those students it has sent to university will not, generally, return. The question at present is not whether they *want* to return but whether or not jobs exist for them. In fact, Fournier and Morand found that 71.4% of the Valaisan students they questioned wanted to be able to eventually return to work in the Canton while only 8.1% expressed no desire to ever return. (118) How many of these students ever do return is another question and one which is impossible to answer with anything near certitude.

However if none or very few return then, as far as the home Canton's economy is concerned, the financial investment made in the higher education students is effectively lost. Therefore, what is the key figure of returnees which, through stimulus of local industry, paying of taxes etc, will allow the Canton to break even in the long term? Here the two authorities who had an answer to this question differ so radically that, on the face of it, their replies appear valueless.

According to Poggia, the Jura's investment in direct and indirect grants to students can be more than recouped if only 10% of students sent into higher education actually return to the Canton. (119) According to Fournier, the Valais can recoup its investment if around 40% of its higher education students return to the Canton. (120) This discrepancy is made all the more spectacular by the Jura having just about the higher grants in the country and also being among the economically weakest Cantons.

There are two points which go some way towards providing an explanation:

- a) As a very poor Canton the Jura is subsidised in sending its students into higher education by the Federal government. This subsidy vastly exceeds that accorded to the less economically weak Valais.

- b) The Valais is currently investing heavily in the creation of university institutes in order to attract graduates into the Canton. According to Fournier, it actually matters little where the graduates come from as long as they come.

Valais' aim in creating university institutes is that by financing and stimulating them then they will have a positive knock-on effect on the economy. As we noted in another work (121), Valais' economy is very polarised and therefore any attempt to broaden the economic base (through scientific promotion leading to technical promotion leading to economic promotion) can only be welcomed. (122) The Jura, for its part, has none of these facilities and whether or not the will to create them exists is immaterial: the cash needed is simply not there.

There are doubtless other factors determining the wide divergency of these estimates of the percentage of returnees needed for viability, but estimating with any accuracy is well-nigh impossible. Even more impossible is to try to guess whether a Canton is breaking even.

An Open University for Suisse romande

"We must discuss ... the possibility of creating in our country

open universities, aiming at a public much wider and more heterogeneous than the traditional public of the universities. This extension of continuing education ought to be seen as cooperative between the different teaching institutions liable to participate in it." (123 our italics)

In Switzerland, as elsewhere, the growth of the world's various open universities has been watched with great interest. However, each country developing an open university adds its own touch to an existing model or develops one unique to itself. The result is a confusion of models which renders all the more difficult the choice of which model to adapt in adopting or which features to copy if developing one's own model.

Our first step here is to summarise the models available in the world. There are however so many that it is quite likely that at least one or some will refuse to fit our typography.

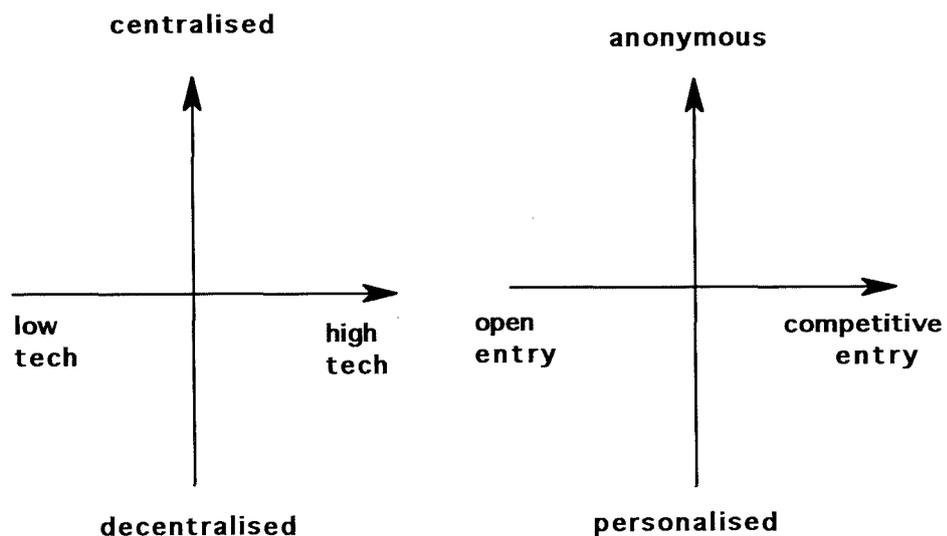


Figure 7.9 A typography of open universities

To our knowledge, all the models currently in use have each a single set of coordinates with respect to these four axes. We could probably add more axes to deal with assessment, course choice, student support etc. However, four dimensions is already one beyond what we can readily conceive of. Six, eight or ten would just confuse the issue altogether. This is not to say that these other elements are not important. Indeed they are as vital as any other but it might be argued that they are, at least in part, not independent variables, as are the four on the axes, but depend to a greater or lesser extent on these four.

The forefront of any distance teaching method is technology. As Peraya and Ostini remind us, the birth of correspondence courses in 1840 was contemporary with the invention of the postage stamp. (124). In 1922, the year in which the organisation that would become the BBC began broadcasting, an American magazine was already predicting a university of the airwaves which would have a larger student body than of all the other American universities put together. (125)

The advent of widespread television reception after the Second World War revitalised the idea and saw both the USA and the USSR developing distance-learning techniques. Interestingly, it was with educational television that the first serious predictions began to be made of the future demise of the teacher in front of thirty or so students. From the fifties onwards, television viewers have regularly been regaled by inventive tales of how, in some near future, schools and universities will no longer exist (except at most for laboratory

facilities) and everyone who wishes to learn will do so at home. This technologised version of Ivan Illich may have a certain idealistic appeal in terms of a Learning Society but in most industrialised societies it would virtually cause a revolution if ever tried out. This is not out of some sudden high regard for the Socratic method which, as Lange says, places high regard upon student-student communication (126) but rather due to the loss of daytime childminding facilities for younger children coupled with a general and widespread impossibility to believe that television viewing can be anything more than passive entertainment.

The prediction of the impending demise of the teacher has been repeated (though in increasingly muted tones) at each major advance in communications and information technology. It is indeed curious that as computer-aided learning (CAL) develops increasingly the ability to become less Skinnerian in its packages and consequently much more open-ended, the interest in CAL as a generalised learning method, rather than as an adjunct or supplement, declines except in a few specialised cases.

The techniques now available for distance learning cover a range and sophistication which even a couple of decades ago were the strict domain of science fiction. The relative paucity of methods apparent in the seventies is now exploding into a panoply which widens almost daily. Not only are new methods developed but old ones are enhanced. The potential is therefore increasingly available to create a distance learning institution dominated by gadgetry and electronics in which the medium is the message rather than its servant. The possibility is also there to ignore innovation and pretend that

nothing has changed in communications since the invention of the postage stamp.

Let us now turn to Suisse romande and, by glancing in turn at the two main models of open university, discuss how they might function in the Romand situation. We shall also discuss the pros and cons of importing a foreign model.

Europe contains several centralised, high technology open universities. Generally considered as architypical is the United Kingdom Open University (UKOU), dedicated from its first planning stages to examine every method of communication and every method of pedagogy to see how they might serve the University (127) as well as to using course teams to prepare printed, broadcast and computer-based materials and assessments. (128)

The UKOU offers its courses in what might be termed seven modes:

- 1 undergraduate (BA) courses;
- 2 associate programme;
- 3 education: in-service training, diplomas and MA;
- 4 community education;
- 5 Open Business School;
- 6 fabrication and computing in commerce and industry;
- 7 higher and post-graduate degrees. (129)

The keynote of UKOU courses is flexibility and most courses leading to a qualification are composed of credit units; this is true even of higher and post-

graduate degrees, including degrees by research.

The Associate Programme is perhaps the most exemplary of the flexibility of the UKOU. The Programme allows students to choose *any* course they wish from the BA programme or from the courses offered only in the Associate Programme, with the exception of general introductory courses. BA courses taken within the Associate Programme result in a certificate which can then count towards an eventual BA. In this way, it is possible to have undertaken level two courses without having undertaken any of level one. (130) On the down side, the Associate Students enter their courses with no guidance as to their suitability for the course in question. The result is that those students with the least experience of education suffer an immense failure and drop-out rate while those with experience of higher education and who are using the Programme to fill in gaps in their education perform best. As Bell points out however, as far the UKOU is concerned the Associate Programme can be a serious money-spinner: since the students pay the full fees (BA students are supported in part by government grants to the University) there are no restrictions on their numbers. There is thus no waiting list and the University can recruit as many as make the demand. It is clear however that the lack of pre-enrollment counselling offered to would-be Associate Students is a major debit in what could be otherwise a very laudable programme. (131)

The UKOU situates itself at an extreme end of the entry axis: the only condition for entry is that the student be over 18 years of age. Beyond this, it is first come, first served.

The University offers an interesting range of student support services:

- 1 Each first level student is assigned a tutor-counsellor who is responsible not only for offering guidance to a group of level one students but also for the face-to-face teaching of at least some aspects of their course and for the correction of a part of these students' assessments. The tutor-counsellor also offers guidance to a group of post-level one students.

- 2 Post-level one students are attached to a tutor who is responsible for correspondance, face-to-face and telephone tutoring. As a growing number of courses have only a feeble student population scattered the length of the country, an appropriate form of group teaching which has revealed itself is the one day or half-day school, never more than three or four times in a year, which takes place on a Saturday in a location central to one or several OU Regions (there are thirteen in the UK - the largest is the whole of Scotland!). In the case of the sciences, these schools are often spent in laboratory work. (132)

- 3 The UKOU has organised throughout the United Kingdom a large number of local study centres. These vary in size and in the services they offer but all contain seminar rooms and are open several evenings per week throughout most of the academic year. As time goes on, the University hopes to have established, where numbers merit it, study centres throughout the European Community (and possibly into the old East Bloc.

This last point underlines the extent to which the UKOU has moved away from the original notion of a "University of the Air" as formulated by Harold Wilson in 1964. (133)

A major problem experienced by the UKOU in rural areas (especially in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland) has been access by students to study centres and also to a reliable communications network. In Suisse romande, telephone links are excellent and virtually every household possesses a telephone. Also notable is that few villages risk the isolation experienced by many Highland communities as soon as the first snow falls. In this respect, the UKOU system of using study centres and various open learning techniques could function very well provided the centres were put within easy reach of that part of the population which has no other access to higher education, ie those dwelling in the most rural areas. A major criticism made of the UKOU is that it is effectively an urban-orientated organisation. Study centres may be easy to reach from within or near a city but what of those living in isolated areas? Suisse romande certainly has good communications but is this a reason for the country dweller to be automatically expected to make the trip into the city. In our opinion, an open university can only be so if it is open and accessible to those with the fewest alternative opportunities. This is not the case where those areas with the least alternative facilities are given the least new facilities. Such is the case in Scotland where we see study centres with limited resources almost exclusively in the Highlands and Islands where the lack of other sources of reference and other material is such that it would seem only logical to make these the best stocked centres instead of the

poorest. On the broadcast media front, all Swiss national television channels can be received clearly throughout Suisse romande and the three main public radio stations are clearly audible on FM.

In terms of structure the UKOU could certainly be adapted to the Romand situation and would certainly fill a tertiary education gap but only if the lessons so far ignored by the UKOU in rural Scotland are heeded.

A second large scale, high technology centralised model is that of the German *Fernuniversität von Hagen* (FernU). The FernU differs from the UKOU in several important aspects:

- 1 It is not an autonomous university but rather a state institute directly run by a Land.
- 2 Admission is not open to all but rather depends on the same criteria as those applied in other German universities - ie possession of Abitur or equivalent.
- 3 FernU admits 10% of its students as full-time, 50% as part-time, 10% on transfer from other universities and 30% on invitation.
- 4 Unlike the UKOU which has made important innovations in the structure and construction of its programmes, FernU appears more to be a traditional university adapted to distance learning.

Like the UKOU, FernU runs study centres and will consider the adoption of

every available method of communication. (134) Also, like the UKOU, FernU is currently expanding across frontiers, most notably into Austria, Hungary and the Germanophone Eastern end of Valais. (135)

The UK Open University and FernU illustrate the two main types of centralised distance university. (136) In the first case, totally non-selective entry allow the institution to be truly open in its admissions policy but can lead to problems in having courses taken at the OU recognised elsewhere. FernU, by its insistence on Abitur or equivalent, does not have this difficulty but, by adopting the procedure so widespread in Europe where selection of students occurs before the students seek matriculation, FernU effectively excludes that large mass of people who through circumstance or whatever have not undertaken or cannot undertake upper secondary school studies. The experience of both the UKOU and the sans-matus shows that the school of life can prepare as adequately for higher education as can any high school course. (This is not to ignore the need in some cases of refresher courses or access courses where the required prior knowledge for a course is highly specialised) On this basis, if the goal of a Romand open university were to offer higher education to that mass of people who, instead of proceeding to Maturité, undertook an apprenticeship (for example) then it is clear that open entry is the only approach to adopt. Failing this, the target population would be so limited that in an area of only two million people, such as Suisse romande, it would be difficult to envisage any economic viability.

Centralised distance universities distinguish themselves by their use of

generally expensive media and by the style and construction of their courses. The two are intimately linked and we shall treat them together.

The multimedia approach of the FernU and the UKOU implies a tightly coordinated approach to course construction. There are also evident areas in which the expertise of the academic may be lacking, such as TV production. Account must also be taken of the high cost of producing the materials of the course and the need to ensure a quality sufficiently high that the course will have an economically viable length of life.

To these ends, course construction becomes the task of team comprising academics and media specialists. Naturally, the more cooks in the kitchen then the slower the broth is to make. Each member of a team must not only be aware of the parts every other member is concerned with but must be able to coordinate and articulate with them. Here we are far removed from the traditional academic who can write his/her lesson a few hours before the class and then modify it at will, even while it is being given. The dynamism possible in the cours magistral or seminar gives way to a carefully planned but fixed presentation

The cost of course tems is such that, as the UKOU's first Vice-Chancellor Walter Perry states, it

"can only be justified in economic terms when the number of students concerned is sufficiently high as to reduce the cost per student to an acceptable level."(137)

There are however major advantages in the course team approach:

- 1 individual teacher's idiosyncrasies are eliminated;
- 2 there is no place for the teacher who mumbles in front of the class or who scribbles illegibly on the blackboard;
- 3 "there is no longer any place for the lesson which puts the students to sleep." (138)

In other words, many of the potential pedagogical drawbacks of the traditional university class are reduced, if not removed altogether. It worth mentioning in passing the work in the domain of university pedagogy of Professor Marcel Goldschmid in the EPFL who, as director of the Chair of Pedagogy and Didactics, has for years campaigned for what amounts to teacher training for teachers in formal post-school education. Goldschmid takes as his starting point the notion that the medium determines the impact of the message and that poor pedagogy is the most notable factor in university failure. To this end, he and his colleagues have prolifically published studies and run innumerable in-service courses for their peers both within and without the EPFL. (139)

The course team approach, despite its disadvantage of slowness and the rigidity of the final course, has led to the production of high quality materials and courses. The international recognition of this quality is shown in the adoption of, for example, UKOU courses in original and translated versions in a growing number of institutions and throughout the world. Unfortunately

both slowness in production and the rigidity of the product are such that even the highest quality cannot over-ride them.

Removing the idiosyncrasies of the individual teacher also removes the flexibility of the individual teacher and produces rigidity in at least two major ways:

- 1 Centrally constructed, tightly defined courses cannot rapidly incorporate novelties. For example, how many years will have to pass before the massive recent changes in Eastern Europe can ever be mentioned? In a traditional university setting, the teacher can at least comment on these, more or less, on the spot. In the centralised distance universities, tutors whose task it is to undertake face-to-face, telephone and correspondance teaching must work strictly within the confines dictated by the course team. In other words, the tutor's job is that of interpreter and explainer of a course which allows no room for adaptation to circumstance.

It is clear that events or discoveries which can send a course into instant obsolescence are rare indeed but, as the previously mentioned example shows, they can and do happen. In a traditional setting where the person responsible for the teaching is also responsible for the course, the teacher can quickly accomodate these changes. In the centralised distance university, for simple reasons of economics, one is obliged to wait until the next revision of the course.

- 2 In adult education, the adult is often recognised as being responsible for his/her own education and recognised as being capable of defining the goals he/she seeks to attain in a course. The centralised distance university, once the course are chosen, effectively removes from the student room for further choice. This is a direct effect of the course team approach as used until now.

In constructing course for use elsewhere, one has a choice of at least two possible approaches. One can define tightly the course content and adopt an almost Skinnerian manner wherein the student, once embarked on the course, is steered rigidly from one element or learning outcome to the next. In this approach the course content is defined right down to the most minor detail. This creates an authoritarian framework which seems to this writer to be totally out of keeping with the main philosophical thrusts of adult education. If adults are responsible then responsibility must be given to adults. We accept that for a considerable part of any distance university's target population the last formal educational experience was probably in a more or less authoritarian school setting. On this basis, it makes sense to *begin* the distance university's courses in a manner which cocoons the student and steers him/her to a greater or lesser extent. However, beyond level one courses, what *general* case can be made for close definition courses?

Indeed, closely defining courses, even to the extent of *creating* course texts, restricts the activity of the student by reducing the extent to which he/she might read around the subject or into associated subjects by simply coming across them whilst looking for something else.

An alternative approach to course construction consists in creating an outline programme which, while dictating the main areas to be covered, leaves the details to the tutor or even to the student. In this version, multimedia materials become supports for the tutor/student's interpretation of the course. This approach does massively increase both the tutor's workload and level of responsibility and renders assessment a very local affair. But it allows changes in course material to be rapidly and fairly painlessly assimilated and allows courses to be adapted to take account of students' circumstances and interest. In such a scenario there is no place for, for example, the Anglocentrism of which the UKOU are so often been accused.

The second main model of open university is the small scale decentralised model such as used in Sweden, Australia and British Columbia. In this model, rather than a unique organisation, operating in tandem with broadcasters, being responsible for the entire range of courses on offer, the open university is more often an umbrella organisation, acting to coordinate contributions from various existing tertiary institutions. This has important consequences in terms of the costs involved in establishing the open university but, by working within existing structures, runs an increased risk of continuing preconceptions and sometimes poor pedagogy on the part of the teachers involved.

The small scale model presents an opportunity for direct contact between the teacher responsible for the course and his/her students. This in turn implies direct feedback from course consumer to course creator and the consequent

possibility of modification/remediation as the need arises. The personal teacher in this model is not cast in the role of interpreter of a detailed plan worked out elsewhere but rather in a role similar to that of a traditional university teacher though working at a distance.

As in the traditional university, the teacher in the small scale model may be responsible for the entire course or may employ, say, video or software supports or even use a course outline developed by a third party. None of these factors prevents the course from being effectively his/her baby and from giving the students direct access to him/her.

Where the small scale model comes apart is when student numbers are so large that the teacher can no longer cope with them all. Where student numbers remain small then the teacher can maintain contact with each individual student and through being receptive to opinions modify or adapt the course to better suit student circumstances. However, this moves rapidly towards the impossible as students numbers pass into double figures.

Given the level of responsibility borne by the teacher (*cf* the UKOU or FernU tutor), the small scale model needs must pay its staff more. There is clearly a great difference in the time spent preparing a seminar based on a detailed course compared with the time spent working out one's own course from scratch. This implies an elevated cost per student for personal tuition. The small scale model might save on course teams and specially conceived multimedia supports but do these saving balance the elevated costs elsewhere? Unfortunately this is an impossible question to answer. Between differing

models too many other factors differ. It does nonetheless serve to underline that the small scale model is not necessarily cheaper than the large scale.

Any open university adopted, developed or adapted in Suisse romande will have to be able to function within widely varying urban/rural situations spread over a relatively small geographical area. This smallness, while attenuating transport problems, does not eliminate them entirely. Transport and communications links are such that the problems of the UKOU in Highland and Island Scotland are not so much of an issue in Suisse romande and in this respect the area is ready for any open university be it based on study centres, electronic mail or whatever combination of these and other learning devices. The questions to be answered are thus more concerned with entry criteria, the scale of the model and, perhaps most importantly, whether to use a foreign institution.

We have already argued that adults should be allowed responsibility to decide whether or not they are capable of higher education. Obviously they should be counselled and, if needs be, offered remediation. We are however convinced, and the experience of the UKOU bears this out, that totally open entry, within limits on numbers, will unveil much previously hidden talent and human potential - talent and potential which would remain hidden if the individuals concerned were required to possess the Maturité. Besides if Maturité were required to enter a Romand OU then this would merely serve to perpetuate into another domain the inequalities between the town and the mountain. Mountain dwellers have the lowest Maturité rates and consequently the lowest university entrance rates. Adult colleges only exist in towns. Thus, for a

Romand OU to exist to help to equalise chances, the only possible course is to have open entry.

The scale of the model is a rather more awkward problem. Each variety has its advantages, each its disadvantages. Many of the problems of the large scale model come from sheer size. But would this be such a problem in Suisse romande with only two million inhabitants? Given, in fact, the relatively small target population, is there not a case for a combined model? This would be one which employed small or large scale models depending on which suited best - a criterion for decision might be student numbers. We can ask whether there is any point in a heavyweight course team approach to a student body of a few dozen, as would be the case on many courses.

All this of course presupposes a home-grown open university, either as a new institution or as a consortium of the five existing Romand higher education institutions. Such a home-grown product might well employ programmes and materials developed elsewhere but would, we hope, adapt in adopting, pressing into programmes the appropriate cultural stamp. Such can clearly not be the case when a foreign institution is sole responsible.

Importing wholesale a foreign model implies importing the culture and perspective that go with with it. Having a common language is insufficient justification for such an importation. As we mentioned earlier, the Valais is currently experimenting with FernU in the Upper Valais. In the Lower Valais a project is afoot to employ the University of Grenoble in a similar venture. Both moves are laudable insofar as they show that a Canton which has most to

gain from distance universities can take the initiative. Both experiments are testbeds and are subject to evaluation around the mid-decade.

Given our area of concern, let us look at the Lower Valais and the link with Grenoble.

The national culture portrayed by the French contrasts sharply with the very local culture of the Swiss. Therefore in which subjects are there sufficient cultural similarities to permit Grenoble's presentation not to be foreign to the Valaisans? Even in a subject as apparently accultural as mathematics there are substantial differences between the Romand and French approaches, especially at the lower end. In the humanities, how much space can a French institution give to the Valaisan dimension? Probably not very much.

In May 1987, the European Parliament adopted a report on open universities in the EC which recommended a European open university. (140) The transfrontier initiatives we see at present are in some respects a manifestation of the birth of a pan-European open university. Such a beast as an umbrella organisation could be beneficial in reducing development costs of media supports but as an institution in itself, how could it take account of local dimensions? In this vein, we would argue that in any region (in the EC sense) or collection of regions the adoption of an open university must include adaptation. Otherwise, instead of reinforcing the native area as one which can be seen as an intellectual base, we risk seeing case studies and perspectives which are totally foreign and which further diminish the

intellectual value of one's home area. The UKOU is a classic case of this: it is notorious for underusing the Scottish dimension and for going as far to appear to ignore in its courses the need to make them relevant to the entire target audience, not just those living south of Manchester. This occurs in an organisation which is supposed to be national to the UK. To what greater extent will this occur when a large open university crosses the frontier into a small neighbouring country?

Conclusion

Many of the strengths and weaknesses in higher education in Suisse romande in particular and in Switzerland in general have their roots in the Cantonal structure. Viewed as a system, higher education, is a series of autonomous units which exist more or less independently from each other, except in cases such as medicine, pharmacy and psychology. Here we are far from the growing synthesis evident at lower levels of formal education. This is typified by the lack of immediate and mutual recognition of degrees and diplomas. The refusal, for example, of Zurich to automatically recognise the degrees gained by Genevan *sans-matus* is a case in point: rigid traditionalism standing in the way of more liberal approach. Yet on what basis? The *sans-matus* depart from the tradition of selection taking place at school and are condemned by Zurich for this. It must be asked how long such policies can be pursued, especially in the face growing Europe-wide (and not just EC) demands for student mobility and Switzerland's membership of ERASMUS. The problem is how to overcome resistance without directly or indirectly threatening autonomy. This leads directly to the question as to whether higher education should be autonomous, to what extent and in which areas of their activity. As

we stated earlier, autonomy is relative. Would higher education establishments be any less autonomous if required to recognise each other's degrees? Already they recognise foreign courses as of equal value to their own. It is not a far step to recognise the value of each others'.

Meanwhile, liberty brings a freedom to be bloody-minded and a responsibility to avoid being so. This responsibility extends to judging, for example, a candidate's aptitude for higher degree study on the basis of his/her degree(s), not how the candidate gained entry to his/her first degree course. The same logic applies to entrants to the Federal Pharmacy exam. There is no rational reason behind denying entrance to this exam to those candidates who entered university without a Federal maturité.

It is in some sense an asset to universities that their funding does not come from a single major source (unlike for example the universities in the United Kingdom, each of which are primarily funded through one of the four University Funding Councils). This allows a Rector, who so desires, to virtually play one funding body off against the other in order to secure the highest level of support. On the down side, however, the massive financial burden on the Cantons with universities and the situation of the Cantons without universities illustrate a powerful case for centralising the funding of higher education. This argument is further enhanced by the major discrepancies in financial aid to students. Already the Confederation steps in regularly to offer subsidies for plant and running costs together with special subsidies such as those to widen staff and student access to computer technology. Couple this with the increasingly empty Cantonal coffers and it

becomes just conceivable that at some future date funding might be centralised, be it Federally or through a body such as the CDIP.

Access to higher education remains severely restricted by OECD standards and calls out to be widened beyond its actual clientèle, to include more mountain dwellers, immigrants (of first and second generation) and more women together with more students from humbler origins (clearly these groups overlap). Will simply allowing more candidates through to Maturité suffice to widen this access? It might well. On the other hand, it might just increase the numbers of the same clientèle as now. Widening access means more than just increasing numbers. It means, firstly, selling the idea of university as an attainable goal. Secondly, the basis for university entry must be widened, without creating second-class students of those entering without Maturité or other conventional university entrance qualifications. Also, institutions offering courses permitting matriculation must be accessible, both in terms of geography and time to the widest possible population. Lastly, the financial and social conditions attached to, or required by, university study must not be such as to handicap this wider clientèle or its families. In other words, grants must be at a level to allow the student to live without being a financial strain on his/her family while university has to be seen as more than a male-dominated urban bourgeois pursuit which females, rural dwellers and proletarians enter at their peril.

Sadly this particular scenario is not limited to Suisse romande or even Switzerland. To within a few exceptions, middle-class urban men dominate most higher education over most of the world.

Redressing the balance in order that all those with sufficient talent find the means and the motivation to enter and succeed in higher education will involve more than tinkering at the edges. The problem is so monumental since, in addition to the financial questions which stand in the way of widening access, there are questions of attitude which could take generations to substantially modify.

In Switzerland the will exists in the Federal government to improve access. When this will translates itself into the vast financial investment necessary and also into the willingness of the Cantons to accept increasing Federal involvement remains to be seen. In this respect we can take heart from Fabien Dunant's observation that wherever Berne seeks to extend its influence it can manage to do so. (141)

Creating an open university *could* go a long way toward redressing the balance but only if widening access is one of its *raisons-d'être*. This would clearly not be the case unless such an open university were to offer open entry and be as dedicated to reaching the single parent trapped on a low income in a flat and the mountain dweller out of reach of conventional higher education as to reach the urban person who wishes to study part-time while continuing in paid employment. Merely offering part-time higher education on the usual entry criteria would increase the present discrepancies by providing more opportunities to the same groups who benefit most in the present situation.

An eventual open university for Suisse romande will have to contend with a philosophical problem with immediate practical implications: will it be a form of adult education or a form of higher education or partly one and the other, depending on the student and/or the course? This problem is far from a dry debate: traditionally higher education is heavily subsidised from public purses while adult education, although subsidised from public or private sources, draws most of its funding from the pockets of its students. How this question is finally resolved will in itself do much to determine the nature of the student drawn to this institution.

Mention of adult education brings us to the rôle of private providers in an open university. Private providers, as we saw in Chapter 6, dominate non-formal adult education and have wide experience in delivering learning packages. One might hope that organisations such as the Migros Club Schools (MCS) might see for themselves a place in an open university consortium - the MCS have, after all, centres, albeit in urban areas, conceived with adults in mind, which are flexible *and* superbly equipped. Alas, at the level of the MCS's coordination office in Zurich, the notion that they might contribute to such a venture is dismissed out of hand. (142).

The demographic shift, coupled with increasing numbers at Maturité and attempts to widen access are inevitably leading to a re-examination of higher education and its rôle and function in Romand (and Swiss) society. What these will eventually lead to one can only guess though it will certainly be slow in coming. In this, the relative dynamism of the Valaisan initiative with regard to FernU and Grenoble are to be praised for the stimuli these might bring to

the rest of the scene.

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Chapter eight

Conclusions

- introduction
- structure and autonomy
- access
- finance
- planning and investment
- final comment
- Sources and notes

We stated in Chapter 1 that the aims of this thesis were three-fold: to describe and discuss, to analyse and criticise post-compulsory education in Suisse romande; to situate the various elements of post-compulsory education in Suisse romande in the three models of education systems which we proposed in Chapter 1; and to see what lessons might be drawn for or indeed from the European Community in their emerging confederation from the educational experience of the Swiss in general and the Romands in particular.

This concluding chapter will have as its purposes to draw together the various threads we have spun in the rest of the thesis and to fulfill the third aim outlined above.

Structure and autonomy

The structures of education in Suisse romande follow, more or less, the contours of the Federal system from which they developed. We have seen how the previously total autonomy of the component parts has, in many cases, been eroded and this has generally happened through economic necessity. The result is not uniformity or indeed anywhere near it, except perhaps in the primary schools where the programmes of study are common. These programmes are however, like most other programmes agreed to by the Cantons or offered to them by bodies such as OFIAMT, outlines which the Cantons and communes must pad out. Even at the level of primary school autonomy still exists and exerts itself, there being no general agreement as to what actually constitutes the primary school!

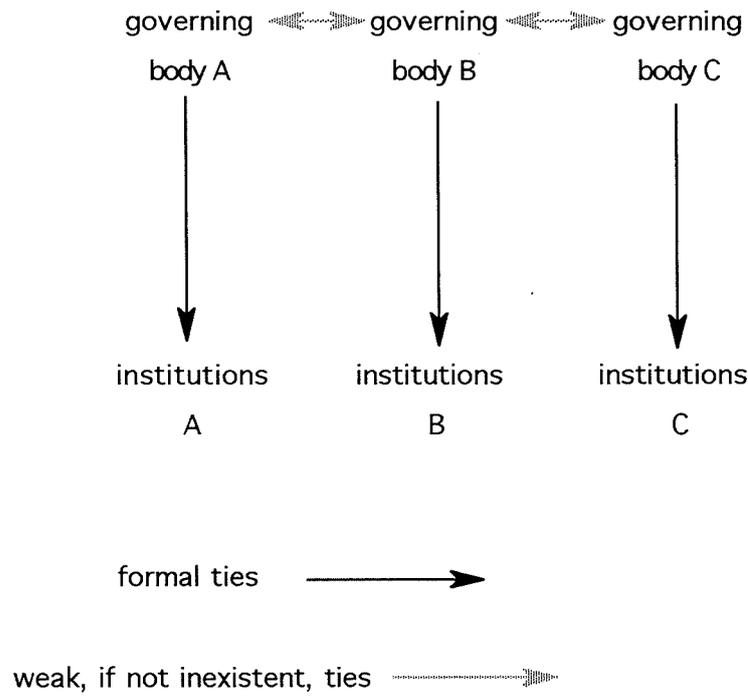


Figure 8.1 Autonomous systems in Suisse romande: universities, EPF, teacher training curricula and structure; lower secondary school structure; structure of Maturité schools.

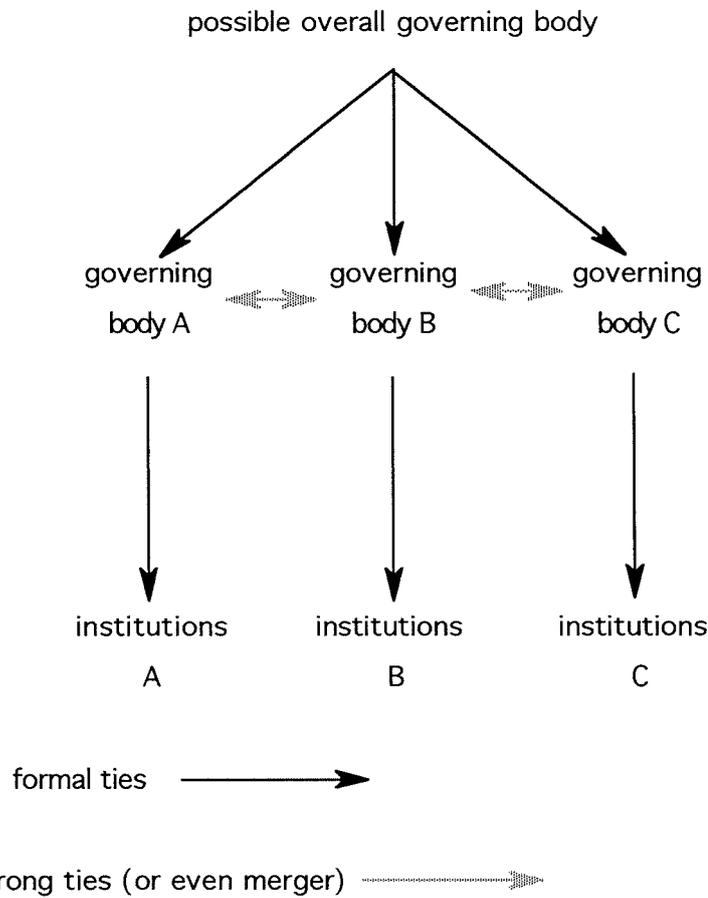


Figure 8.2 Synthetic systems in Suisse romande: primary school (insofar as there is agreement as to what constitutes primary school); national organisation of the Migros Club Schools; national and cantonal organisation of the UPs; some university courses; increasingly, Ecoles de degré diplôme.

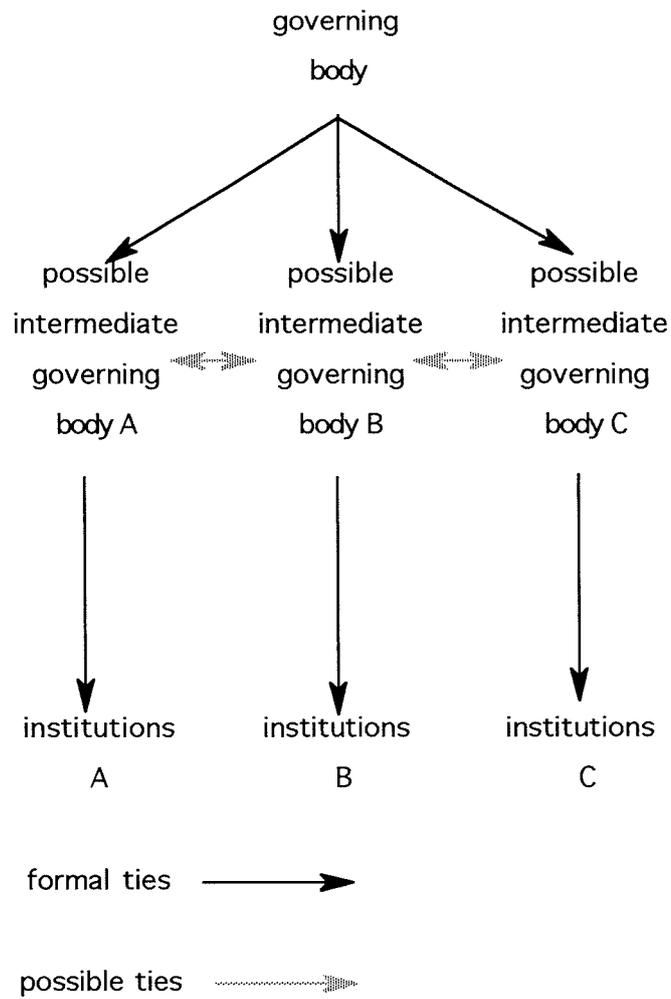


Figure 8.3 Pluralist systems in Suisse romande: initial and advanced vocational training; cantonal organisation of Migros Club Schools; curricula of Maturité schools.

Figures 8.1 to 8.3 attempt to recapitulate the situation in Suisse romande concerning synthesism-pluralism-autonomy throughout formal education. The tendency is clear that institutions and Cantons are moving or being moved away from previous total autonomy. The CDIP's efforts concerning the Concordat on harmonisation of the school, both in terms of structure and

content, are slowly bearing fruit while in vocational training the need for national recognition of diplomas and certificates has brought its own need for overall governing bodies such as OFIAMT, the Swiss Red Cross etc

This last is a major point which has emerged from this study: universities and teacher training apart (and these will soon follow the same path), the certificates delivered, be they *diplôme de culture générale*, CFC, Maturité or whatever, are generally recognised throughout the country. The details of a particular course may differ but within core subjects, which occupy the greater part of any Romand course, the same minimum standard will have been attained. At the levels of post-compulsory school and formal further education, the overall governing body lays down outline programmes which the Cantons interpret and expand upon. The result is a scenario which does not lend itself to student mobility but rather to professional mobility **after** the course. Unfortunately professional mobility is often dependent on being able to easily transfer one's children from one education system to another. This, in itself, would seem to us a sufficient case for an increased drawing together of educational programmes, at least at the levels of upper secondary school and initial vocational training where the student might reasonably be expected to live with his/her parents.

Leaving the Cantons their present level of autonomy in education leads to the basic unfairness of requiring students in one part of the country to do more or to spend more time on a course to achieve a certificate of identical value to that achieved by their colleagues in another part. Why, for example, should Valaisan maturants have to spend five years on their course while the Vaudois

spend three? We are neither saying nor seeking to imply that one course is somehow better than the other (by being more brief, more thorough or whatever) but rather that the explanations offered for these discrepancies lack substance and validity. It must be said that these problems are not without their critics in Switzerland and it is to be hoped that any Federal Commission which might examine the Maturité will not only define more precisely the content of the course and/or the level of difficulty but also lay down time limits over which the course should normally be offered.

The present impetus of the Swiss towards directly comparable certificates is one which the EC could do well to examine. The Swiss, while maintaining Cantonal autonomy to a very high degree, have managed to develop a great panoply of nationally recognised certificates. Course length and content may vary, depending on local circumstances, but the **value** of the courses and their certificates is tending rapidly towards national uniformity. The presence of overall governing or guiding bodies, such as OFIAMT, is crucial in this scenario. Indeed one could reasonably postulate that had bodies such as OFIAMT been given their present role much earlier than the present situation of synthesism and pluralism could have been achieved much sooner.

Despite the overt moves by the EC towards harmonisation of so many aspects of life in the Community, the provisions for educational union in the **Treaty on European Union** appear slim indeed. We reproduce the relevant chapter below:

TREATY ON EUROPEAN UNION (EXTRACT)

Chapter 3: Education, Vocational Training and Youth

- "1 The Community shall contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging cooperation between Member States and, if necessary, by supporting and supplementing their action while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organisation of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity.
- 2 Community action shall be aimed at:
- developing the European dimension in education, particularly through the teaching and dissemination of the languages of the Member States;
 - encouraging mobility of students and teachers, *inter alia* by encouraging the academic recognition of diplomas and periods of study;
 - promoting cooperation between educational establishments;
 - developing exchanges of information and experience on issues common to the education systems of the Member States;
 - encouraging the development of youth exchanges and of exchanges of socio-educational instructors;
 - encouraging the development of distance education.
- 3 The Community and the Member States shall foster cooperation with third countries and the competent international organisations in the sphere of education , and in particular with the Council of Europe.
- 4 In order to contribute to the achievement of the objectives referred to in this Article, the Council shall adopt:
- in accordance with the procedure in Article 198b and after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: incentive measures, excluding any harmonisation of the laws and regulations of the Member States;

- acting by qualified majority on a proposal by the Commissions' recommendations."

Three points merit underlining:

- 1 Academic recognition of diplomas and periods of study is already being done under ERASMUS and includes countries such as Switzerland which are outwith the EC;
- 2 Harmonisation of laws on education is specifically excluded;
- 3 A Member State's sovereignty in education is specifically protected.

In this last point we have distinct echoes of the Swiss Constitution which, as we saw in Chapter 4, leaves the Cantons sovereign in education. However, sovereignty does not preclude effects of economic factors or the effect of financial inducements to encourage particular reforms.

Inducements, in the form of Federal government grants and Federal recognition of diplomas achieved according to Federal guidelines, have accomplished much in harmonising especially non-advanced post-compulsory education in Suisse romande. One could easily imagine similar in the European Community although national pride and a desire to maximise autonomy on the part of some Members could well result in a pan-Community set-up with one or two members absent.

An essential point here is that in Switzerland Federal government intervention in education has, for the most part, remained relatively low-key. Instead of a direct legislative approach which would have required an amendment to the Constitution, a policy of encouragement, both moral and

financial, has been adopted at Federal level. Since the policy on harmonisation is low-key and largely non-legislative then progress towards harmonisation has been slow. Nevertheless, progress has been achieved and this without a generalised feeling that power and control of education has slipped from the hands of the Cantons.

Let us now envisage a similar approach applied to the EC.

An implied goal of the Treaty on European Union is that what amounts to one nation will eventually emerge. The road which the Community has chosen to follow is one where harmonisation, or indeed uniformity, seems the order of the day. Paradoxically, while the Community insists on devolution of power and control in as many matters as possible to the Regions, it exercises sufficient power and finance of its own, especially through the European Commission, to ensure that in many domains the Regions will be doing the same thing.

The Community therefore has at its disposal mechanisms whereby harmonisation, for example, of post-compulsory school might be encouraged. If these mechanisms are kept non-legislative then this encouragement could take the form of financial inducements and guarantees of recognition of diplomas and certificates. The Treaty of Union guarantees free movement of labour. Yet how is this to be achieved with more than fifteen systems of vocational qualifications (there being some Member States with more than one)? The situation is bad enough in Scotland where employers get lost in finding equivalencies between SCOTVEC modular certificates and industrial

training board certificates, the former being the newer system. How can one realistically expect an employer to be *au fait* with an international panoply of certificates when he/she has grave problems with his/her own country's systems?

In this writer's opinion therefore the only recourse available to the Community, if it seriously wants free movement of workers, is to devise a Community system of non-advanced qualifications covering all levels from the end of compulsory school. No Member need be compelled to adopt these courses but inducements as mentioned above could be available to those that do. How Member States interpret the Community guidelines could be left to the Members themselves, or indeed to the Regions, to decide. Some might insist only on the minimum programme; others on larger programme. Each could choose to deliver courses in the manner(s) which seem(s) most appropriate. The Swiss experience in non-advanced qualifications shows us that there is no real contradiction between maintaining a large degree of autonomy while synthesising systems through accepting or developing a governing body charged with laying down outline programmes and with maintaining minimum standards. Each Canton puts its own individual stamp on its courses. So it can be for Community's members or Regions. We would hope however that the Community's version of this would endeavour to avoid the inequalities in course difficulty or length evident at some levels of non-advanced post-compulsory education in Switzerland.

We saw in Chapter 5 how general culture plays a central role in all Romand (and indeed Swiss) formal education and we argued that this notion effectively

generalises culture. Clearly the Swiss attitude to general culture is the fruit of a long heritage and as such would appear difficult to copy in as culturally stratified a country as the United Kingdom. It is heartening therefore to see that the 1992 report by Howie *et al* **Upper Secondary Education in Scotland** (1) advocates the abandonment of the relatively narrow Scottish Higher Grade, taken in one to six subjects (though increasingly rarely in more than four) in favour of a Scottish Baccalaureate and a vocationally-orientated Scottish Certificate, both of which are generalist in nature. Unfortunately the proposed 5-14 reforms for the lower end of Scottish schooling (which will have to become 5-15 if the report on upper secondary is accepted), while proposing a common though differentiated course for all in no way attempts to generalise culture in any but a half-hearted manner. Instead pupils are presented with a sort of hotch-potch which, while fine in its own way, does not prepare the pupil for life beyond 5-14. All is presented as "fun" and in contrast to the "work" of upper secondary shows how poorly the Scots appreciate the need for articulation between levels not only in terms of content but also in terms of presentation and pedagogy. We return to this theme later.

As long ago as the 1930s, Antonio Gramsci recognised that in order to create a more equal society it was essential to give every member, or as many of them as possible, a large baggage of general culture. Pierre Bourdieu's ideas on cultural capital follow a similar path. In fact, whether or not we agree with the politics of these two writers, it is difficult to deny that the echelons of society most in control, of themselves and their destiny, are those with the widest and weightiest cultural baggage. Are we to assume therefore that

Scottish curriculum planners (and this excludes Howie *et al* since their report forms a *recommendation* and nothing more), by their generally limp efforts, wish to aid continuing social stratification?

There is an important political point here which is neither left or right wing: equipping citizens with a large and wide cultural baggage, irrespective of income or employment, removes a major class barrier and heightens social cohesion. This represents, of course, an ideal condition and we would not begin to pretend that all Swiss carry the same cultural baggage but all have been exposed to a system which leads to the workers speaking the same language as the bosses. They may disagree but they know upon which point lies the disagreement.

Of course the long history of compromise in Switzerland has aided the acceptance of a community of culture and this stands in stark contrast to the politics of confrontation in evidence in some other European countries and of these most especially the United Kingdom. There is perhaps a more fundamental reason for its acceptance in Switzerland: the micro-industrial unit and the notion of *padre padrone* upon which the modern industrial Swiss nation was built allow the acceptance, or even the expectation, that worker must **think**. If he/she is to think then is it not best for the bosses that he/she espouse similar values as the boss? Concurrently, having thinking workers leads to the raising of the esteem of their training. Obviously there is little prospect of a return to the micro-industrial unit in Europe and the notion of *padre padrone* is certainly patronising but surely thinking workers ought to be encouraged. The Swiss are far from unique in recognising the

value to any production process of encouraging criticism and creativity among the workers: the Japanese and the Swedes have been doing this for quite a while and building powerful industries as a consequence.

Access

The question of access to post-compulsory school is a thorny one which in Suisse romande, as elsewhere, is far from being resolved. As we saw in Chapter 7, the seriousness of the problem is such that a major Federal government advisory body, the Conseil suisse de la Science, has encouraged various research projects not only into how the Swiss might tackle the problem but also into solutions attempted by other countries. (2)

The question of access is rendered all the more complicated by the intertwining of the various sub-problems of ageism, sexism, social attitudes, training for export, means of finance etc. Additionally, solutions risk being undermined if they are overtly perceived or presented as compensatory and hence patronising. Indeed, compensatory solutions, such as allowing certain social groups to enter higher education on the basis of lower qualifications than those demanded of the rest of the population, can serve to lower the often faltering self-esteem of the student.

The perceptions and expectations associated with post-school education certainly do much to influence the sectors to which students direct themselves. However physical access is also of paramount importance.

It is, in our opinion, not unnatural that post-compulsory schools be sited in

centres of population: simple economic constraints dictate that a school, particularly at higher levels, requires an adequate student hinterland to render it viable. Nonetheless, account must be taken of journey times and the discouraging effect this doubtless has on many potential students, particularly those of younger age. In this we have a major case for decentralising at least the lower parts of post-compulsory school, to create a situation where, even in the most rural areas, no student beginning post-compulsory school is faced with long journey times or the need to board. Here there is perhaps a need to rethink the function of lower secondary schools which are already decentralised over much of Suisse romande: to expand them to also cover, for example, the first year or two of Maturité. Indeed the demographic decline is creating spare accommodation in lower secondary schools and this could be used for just such a purpose. Potentially the most contentious aspect of such an idea concerns the teachers involved: it is common for gymnase teachers to be more highly qualified and more highly paid than those in the lower secondary schools. If the lower secondary schools were to serve courses at Maturité or diplôme de culture générale then it would be reasonable that the teachers would want an appropriate adjustment in their salaries. Clearly this is not a problem without solution.

Increasing access to Maturité will certainly have a knock-on effect on the rate of entry of young people to higher education but will do nothing for adults wishing to enter. We have seen how Geneva in particular introduced its university entrance scheme for sans-matus and it is certainly laudable that the Romande universities give value to the school of life. However, adults require more than open doors. Depending on the course, preparatory work

can be essential, not only to bring the adult's knowledge of the subject up to date and up to that of school-leavers but also to avoid dropping the adult in at the deep end.

The *Collège pour adultes*, where they exist, certainly serve to prepare adults for higher education but it is questionable as to whether the Maturité represents the best preparation for an adult undertaking higher study and this for, at least, two reasons:

- a) Maturité effectively requires full-time or near full-time attendance in a formal education setting;
- b) it demands a massive time commitment but this without the adult having the status of student and any support that goes with it.

Consequently university entrance for adults via Maturité is more or less limited to town dwellers (ie near a centre teaching to Maturité) with appropriate personal circumstances. This widens access to higher education only by a very small extent.

It is appropriate at this point that we look at an access scheme which has been running in Scotland for a few years now and seems to succeed in its task.

The **Scottish Wider Access Programme** (SWAP) is conceived as a means of permitting entry to tertiary education by adults who have no formal qualifications, whose qualifications are inappropriate or who require updating of their knowledge. SWAP employs various means of delivering its courses: attendance at a college of further education (comparable in some

respects to an école professionnelle except that the former traditionally also provides courses linked to school-leaving certificates), home study packs, flexible learning etc. Its courses are separated into modes covering subject areas such as Science and Technology, Modern Languages etc and tertiary education institutions are generally able to *guarantee* places to SWAP students upon successful completion of the one-year SWAP course. In other words, SWAP students do not have to compete with students entering via the normal procedures.

SWAP courses are usually self-paced modular packages but, perhaps most importantly, the level of the courses goes beyond that required for higher education entry though the student may find that some basic elements are missed out. An example of this occurs in the case of mathematics where topics covered in courses leading up to Higher grade are missed out from the access course while topics beyond Higher grade are included. (3)

SWAP has helped establish what it terms *franchising* arrangements whereby a student may be able to begin a higher education course in a further education college. This means, for example, that students in regions without higher education provision (such as the Highlands and Islands) can test how well-adapted they are to higher education without having to uproot and move to the Lowlands or Aberdeen where all of Scotland's universities lie.

Scotland does benefit from the Open University but beginning one's higher education via a SWAP franchise does possess major advantages over the OU:

- a) courses are much more personal;

b) if full-time, they qualify the student for a grant from the government.

Additionally, given the OU's well-developed system of credit transfers, the SWAP franchise student can always transfer into an OU course, assuming an appropriate course exists.

Clearly not all courses can be franchised - equipment cost, scarcity of appropriate personnel may preclude a franchise - but further education college staff should be able to tackle at least first or second year university level classes.

SWAP is far from being a panacea. It has yet to develop strategies which work to attract particular under-represented groups to particular modes (eg women into Science and Technology, men into Caring; ethnic minorities (especially women) are very under-represented as are single parents. It has however managed to appeal to members of the lower social classes, helped in this respect by a major grant from the European Social Fund. As Brian Knights, who heads SWAP in the West of Scotland, says, it can only try to convince potential students of their worth. Whether or not they choose to accept this offer is their decision. (4)

Let us now look at how a system such as SWAP might be applied to the Romand situation.

In Suisse romande it is the écoles professionnelles which fulfill many of the functions of the Scottish further education colleges. Like their Scottish

counterparts the EPs enjoy a relatively high degree of decentralisation and are found more or less all over the area. Consider therefore an agreement between Cantons, universities and Federal government whereby students undertaking access courses at EP might be guaranteed entry to a particular course. The involvement of the Federal government is necessary in order that "Federal" courses such as medicine and pharmacy be open to these students and, despite the absence of *numerus clausus* in Switzerland, to offer a guarantee of a course place to a successful access student would play a major part in raising not only the esteem in which the course is held but also, and most importantly, the student's self-esteem.

Any access course, to be worthy of its name, must open itself to all those sections to whom the opportunity to reach their educational maximum has been denied and also to those who have had the opportunity but failed. Therefore it must address itself as much to the parent bound to the home by young children; to the rural dweller, far from any formal educational provision; as to the town dweller who has worked for some time and feels in need of some intellectual challenge. To accommodate all these groups the courses need must be flexible and able to cater as much for those who can attend class every day as for those who can rarely come. Each group has its own problems and, in order to equalise opportunity, each must be treated differently. It is however for the students, on the basis of proper and appropriate advice, to decide how they ought to be treated - assigning treatment would be patronising and would simply result in another situation where the would-be student would be denied responsibility for his/her actions.

Commitment to a course demands commitment in time, energy and resources. It is therefore crucial that commitment to an access course be supported by a student grant adequate to cover the student's basic needs, including childcare if needed. Adult access to higher education should not be perceived as a leisure activity. Rather, it is an investment in the future by student and State.

One major obstacle to be overcome by access students is the attitude of some universities to alternative entry routes. We have seen the refusal of Zurich to recognise degrees gained by *sans-matus* in Geneva. It is hard to imagine Zurich's attitude being much different when faced with former access students. However, it is not impossible that Federal Government, if as committed to wider access as one reads in the publications of the CSS, could exert any requisite pressure by means, for example, of financial threats or financial inducements. Indeed, any resistance by a university to recognition of a degree gained by an access student is, to say the least, without foundation: the access student's degree is no different from that gained by a traditional entrant. For the access student, it is not the goalposts which have moved, merely the dressing room.

Finance

Perhaps one of the biggest problems of any education system as localised as that of Switzerland is that of finance. Basically it consists in deciding who pays for what and how much each should pay. This is exemplified in the vastly variable levels of teachers' pay, together with those of student grants, and also in the financial burden of Cantons which are effectively training for export.

The discrepancies in teachers' pay have not had as large an impact as might otherwise have been the case since the very teaching qualification has been, and still remains at most levels, Cantonal. However the road to harmonisation will inevitably include reciprocal recognition of teaching qualifications and the very real possibility of teachers seeking employment where the salaries are highest. In theory this could stimulate a penury of teachers in shortage subjects, especially where the higher paid area juxtaposes the lower. The practice remains to be seen.

Clearly a way around this would be to agree national or at least Romand pay scales but this brings the need to balance the financial positions of the Cantons. An argument therefore exists in favour of centralising funding or at least agreeing the proportion of Cantonal income which should be used for teachers' salaries in particular and school in general. If the latter option were taken then Cantons could be subsidised centrally up to the same *per capita* level or to one which took account of urban/rural/mountainous situations. Each of these scenarios would certainly be met with resistance, especially by the wealthier Cantons, but it must be recognised by the urban, economically strong Cantons the extent to which they benefit from the rural, economically weak Cantons. The former gain from the investment of the latter. Why therefore should they not help pay for it?

Centralising funding of formal education or subsidising Cantons up to the same *per capita* level (preferably taking account of the rurality/economic weakness/mountainousness) could also be used to eliminate the vast

discrepancies in student grants and loans but only if the means employed for deciding grant/loan levels were made uniform.

The tradition of Cantonal autonomy in education and in its funding fails to take account of the general benefit to the country of raising as far as possible the educational levels of as many people as possible. Put simply, everyone benefits so why not have everyone pay? In this way, those who train for export are not subsidising those who import. The lesson offered by the Highland Region of Scotland is one worth considering: despite economic weakness and virtually no indigenous higher education (5), it manages to send a higher proportion of its young into higher education than does any other British region. Highland benefits from central government funding of student grants and of higher education which means that, however tight-fisted central government may have become in recent times, Highland Region does not have to stretch its already tight budget to finance students of whom very few will ever return.

Planning and Investment

The rate of change in Swiss education is, at all levels, extremely slow. Indeed to the casual observer (and indeed to many closely involved in the domain), the systems may seem almost paralysed. However, examined from another perspective we see systems where change is never undertaken for its own sake or simply to be *à la mode*. Indeed proposed change is carefully studied, put out where possible to pilot schemes, evaluated and re-evaluated before *possibly* being generalised. As a result, changes are few and when they do occur they appear well-conceived and form a coherent whole with the other

parts of the system. This contrasts markedly with the "bolt-on" curricula so prevalent in the United Kingdom. In the UK a distinguishing characteristic of school curricula is lack of articulation between levels, made worse by fragmentation from about age 14/15. The UK is also an outstanding example of school systems which seek to set fashions, often without any real regard for possible consequences. One case will suffice to illustrate this.

The advent of cheap micro-computers and the so-called silicon revolution brought calls across the UK for the introduction of computing courses for all, especially secondary school pupils. Consequently, schools throughout the country have been equipped with micro-computers; time has been taken from other subjects to release first and second year (secondary) pupils for computing and yet what do these 11 to 13 year olds do as an introduction to computing? Primarily they play games, games which they might find in an arcade or on a Nintendo.

The outside observer might well be impressed by the quantity of computing equipment in UK schools - for example, French politicians such as Jack Lang have called for an emulation of the UK's approach. The inside observer might well be appalled at what passes for computing.

To date, Swiss schools are low on computers and information technology in general. However curriculum planners are watching other European countries to see what they have done in this domain. One can be reasonably sure that when information technology is generalised in Swiss schools it will form a cohesive part of a integrated whole rather than a segment bolted on to

the curriculum with no concern for appropriateness or cohesion.

Another effect of slow and meticulous planning is that when innovation is enacted it can be done swiftly and efficiently. Consequently there is minimum disruption and stress for staff. Contrast this with the Scottish experience of introducing piece-meal Standard Grades to replace Ordinary Grades done from age 13/14 to age 15/16; followed by piece-meal introduction of reforms affecting the 5-14 age group which allow pupils to achieve Standard Grade levels by age 14 and yet suggest no provision for these pupils from age 14 to age 16. The situation is compounded by the Upper Secondary recommendations in which we see 5-14 extended to 5-15 to facilitate the introduction of a Scottish Baccalaureate and Scottish Certificate. Additionally, existing secondary school courses are in an almost constant state of flux. The result is a confused population, both at large and in schools, and a teaching profession suffering from increasing demoralisation in the face of what it sees as disjointed change for the sake of change.

The UK is not of course the only innovative European country - they all are to some extent. The UK is however one with a propensity for trend-setting and one which is studied more than many others. Perhaps the apparent abandon with which curricula in the UK are rebuilt, refurbished, revamped and replaced gives the impression that those who decide the various curricula in that country know what they are doing. This writer is inclined to think that if they did then there would be far fewer changes. Logically therefore the trend-setter and principal object of study should not be the wild alterer but the plodder who does make mistakes, who can take a long time to see them but who

looks very carefully before even a little hop, and contemplates almost interminably before any leap but who in the end produces cohesion and change which is generally for the better.

Final Comment

At the time of writing, Switzerland has, with the other members of the European Free Trade Association, tightened once more its links with the European Community through the treaty which creates the new European Economic Area. Political opinion in the Swiss government and in the national parliament is moving markedly toward favouring entry to the Community. Indeed many politicians are reported as favouring the opening of membership negotiations *before* the Federal referendum on the European Economic Area. This would have the double effect of not only simply beginning the process but of doing so at the same time as other EFTA members such as Norway. (6)

Slowly but surely Switzerland is moving into the Community, whether or not it ever formally joins. In this light it will be interesting to see if the Community ever examines this small Federal state for ideas in domains such as education and training. It would be nice to imagine that the EC could be humble enough to look to experience elsewhere for lessons or cautionary tales. The Swiss certainly have both, some too closely personal to serve elsewhere, some with meaning and use for all. Unfortunately the EC has yet to learn even the first lesson of the Swiss: when contemplating change then slow is beautiful. Instead there is a headlong rush in the EC toward a destination which seems to change continually. In this stampede there is little time or desire to look to a small Confederation for its experience. Still, perhaps the

attitude of the EC politicians will change. One can but hope.

Sources and Notes

- 1 Howie, John M *et al* (1992): **Upper Secondary Education in Scotland** (Edinburgh, HMSO)
- 2 see for example: Matheson, David (1992): **Profil et analyse de l'Open University britannique** (Berne, CSS)
- 3 Thanks are due here to Stephen Bird, former access student, who shared his experiences both of the access mathematics course and its appropriateness to first year mathematics at the University of Glasgow.
- 4 Brian Knights, Development Officer, SWAP - interviewed: 23/4/92
- 5 Thurso College and Inverness College of Further and Higher Education offer a few degree level courses such as those leading to Graduate Membership of the Institute of Chemists.
- 6 As reported on **Infopile** 9 am ECT Radio Suisse Romande la Première 14/5/92

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