Social and professional integration of young adults with a mental handicap after leaving a specialised institution

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Abstract

This article presents the results of a study on the social and professional integration of young adults five to ten years after they have left an "Institut Médico Professionnel" (Medical and Professional Institution) (IMPro). After a brief presentation of the context and the method used, we show that, despite a high percentage of employment, social integration and access to autonomy remain problematic for many of them. Moreover, quantitative and interview analyses demonstrate that employment in a regular context or in sheltered surroundings corresponds to different modes of socialisation and contributes to the creation of a social identity. The issue of the relationship with the handicap proves to be decisive.

Key words: mental handicap, integration, follow-up

One of the main conclusions one can draw today from the information and scientific knowledge concerning the "handicapped" population in France doubtless is that the data available lack precision. Thus, this population is estimated at between 1.5 and 5.5 million individuals, according to whether one refers to the statistics produced by the ministries (where a narrow conception of the handicap dominates) or to the broader interpretation of the decennial health enquiry (Béraud-Caquelin & Derivy-Plard, 1999; Mormich, 1996). Likewise, the recent report by the general inspection of the central education authority and of social affairs underlines the difficulties of a proper statistical assessment of social integration of children (various practices concerning integration, inaccuracy of quantitative data, various duration and procedures).[1]

Knowledge of the destiny of handicapped young adults seems even more limited. We may roughly estimate the number of handicapped people in France and the distribution of the adult handicapped population from the point of view of professional integration (Blanc, 1999) but longitudinal surveys of the processes of integration of that population are rare, and even more so with regard to the mentally handicapped.

In France, the medico-social sector, the most significant, numerically speaking, is the one which provides care and education of handicapped children and adolescents, when their handicap requires global help. Medical and educational establishments or special education bring together different institutions structured around a type of handicap that determines the orientation, in other words: the children or teenagers admitted to an establishment present the same main deficiency. There are three types of institutions: the institutions for spastic or severely handicapped children or with multiple handicaps, the re-education establishments spe-

cialised in the education of children who have severe behaviour problems and the medical and educational institutes (IME) for mentally deficient children. The IME are the most numerous: they take in two thirds of the handicapped children (Langouët, 1999). They include the IMP ("instituts médico-pédagogiques") and the IMPro ("instituts médico-professionnels"). The former provide care and general and practical education adapted to children aged 6 to 14. The latter follow the IMP as they take in mentally handicapped children aged 14 to 20 who receive a general education and a professional training adapted to their handicap.

At their coming of age, the young adults who are able to work can benefit from the status of handicapped employee, which enables them to obtain a premium for handicapped adults (AAH) and allows them to get a reserved post in "regular" professional surroundings (in a company, an association or an administration) or in a "sheltered" context. The sheltered workshops[2] propose activities adapted to handicapped employees, reconciling labour with protection. These institutions, reserved for handicapped employees, function like regular businesses either as independent producers, or as sub-contractors benefiting from state subsidies and control. Alongside professional activity, medical and social help is offered to the employees in these establishments.

A survey conducted in the Rhône region at the end of the eighties by M-T. Espinasse and C. Merley (1989), on the professional integration of young handicapped employees two years after they have left the institution, shows that while nearly all youngsters having left an Institut Médico-Professionnel (IMPro) are oriented towards employment (93.2%), a significant number of them has not found a stable job two years later. The comparison with a second sample seems to indicate, according to the authors, a drop in the access to employment, whether it be in regular or in sheltered surroundings.

National statistics, furnished by The Technical Commission for Orientation and Professional Resettling (Commission Technique d'Orientation et de Reclassement Professionnel – COTO-REP) indicate a strong increase in the number of requests for the status of handicapped employee (+ 11.4% per year). The number of places in the Centres d'Aide par le Travail (CAT), most of which are occupied by mentally handicapped adults, has also increased significantly, however there are large differences between regions (Borrel & Gosselin, 1997).

Starting from that observation a survey conducted in an Institut Médico-Professionnel (IMPro) of the Paris area intended to answer the following questions:
• What becomes of the youngsters a few years after their stay in a specialised institution?
• What kind of social and professional integration have they achieved?
• What do they say about their experience and their present lives?
In order to answer these questions, three studies have been undertaken. The first consisted of an analysis of the characteristics of the youngsters, their families and the care they were given in the establishment, so as to relate them with elements of their future. The second study, a longitudinal survey, investigated short and medium term results. The third approach was more comprehensive and aimed at clarifying the different paths shown in the second phase.

Method

Context

The selected IMPro take care of 77 youngsters (boys and girls) aged 12 to 20 "presenting intellectual deficiencies with serious academic under-achievement and possible personality and behaviour disorders, but with capacities that permit to envisage that they may acquire suffi-

cient autonomy for socio-professional integration in a regular or sheltered environment".[3] The establishment's main objective is caretaking. Its organisation, close to that of a school, is composed of two main levels: on one level, academic and technical training (in workshops) are predominant; on a second level, progressively extended participation in professional apprenticeships, is an essential part of care. Jointly with this "framework" of learning, the establishment proposes, in a more individualised manner, a variety of therapeutic or re-educational aid (orthophonetics, psycho-motricity), as well as workshops aimed at the children's social life and autonomy. Since 1982, an "integration service" the premises of which are outside the institution, finishes the job by organising apprenticeships with businesses in the region and facilitating the professional integration of youths leaving the institution. A period of care in the integration service is therefore clearly proposed with the objective of integration in regular surroundings.

Procedure

As we have pointed out, three studies were undertaken between November 1999 and May 2001. In the first study, starting from the file and various elements provided by the institution (administrative and psycho-social and educational data), a document concerning each of the 100 youths who had left the institution between 1991 and 1995[4] allowed to characterise the subjects of the sample according to three key dimensions:
- the characteristics of the youth: age, sex, place of birth, rank among siblings, health problems;
- the characteristics of the family: social and economic status, family structure (biparental, monoparental, reorganised), relational dimensions (quality of parent/child relationship) and particular events (deaths, handicaps, etc.);
- the characteristics and the evolution of the youth when admitted to the specialised institution. Two main dimensions were selected, the "learning" dimension (academic level in class and workshop, number of apprenticeships, assessments of apprenticeships) and the "relational" dimension (characteristics of temper, relationships with other youngsters and with adults).

The second study, central to our project, concerned the psychological and social future at medium term and supposed to come across as many as possible subjects of the first study. The relevance of this longitudinal approach is clear. More reliable than retrospective approaches, it avoids difficulties related to the distortions of "ulterior recollections". We sent all the youths concerned in the first study[5] a letter presenting our project and a questionnaire that the person could fill out alone or with help. The limits we met were the usual loss of research subjects who could not be contacted or mobilised. A 54% answer rate was obtained for the population studied.

The proposed questionnaire is organised around seven themes, corresponding to a double dimension:
- Socio-professional integration (lodging, professional situation, financial resources),
- Social resources (family, friends, health, satisfaction).

This approach is based on the theoretical proposal of Castel (1995) to situate an individual in the social sphere along two axes: integration in the professional world and integration in a social and family network. As to these two dimensions, the results of previous studies justify particular attention to certain points:
- Professional integration: the evolution of the socio-economic context and current knowledge of the integration of young handicapped people compel us to go beyond the simple distinctions "active/inactive" and "sheltered surroundings/regular surroundings". The analysis of integration must be extended not only to the changes in professional situations but also to the characteristics of these situations (type of contract, type of working time, etc.).

- The issue of the social resources that are available to individuals has been a subject of interest for several years among both public authorities and researchers in the field of human studies (Degrenne & Lemel, 1999). This concept of social assistance is all the more important for researchers and social workers involved in so-called "populations in difficulty" (Corbillon, 2000; Gracia & Musity, 1997). As to handicapped people in particular several authors, in the seventies and eighties, have shown to what degree mentally deficient subjects find it difficult to establish and maintain interpersonal contacts, not only with non-deficient people but also with their mentally handicapped peers (Kaufman & Alberto, 1976; Bates, 1980). The development of the eco-systemic perspective has, moreover, drawn particular attention to the importance of social relief networks for people with a mental handicap (Dunst et al., 1986; Burke & Cigno, 1997).

The third study consisted of a series of encounters with seven "old boys" in the form of interviews. This approach proved especially fruitful, the analysis and comparison of the interviews allowed to detect possible patterns of integration that gave feedback by shedding light on the quantitative data produced in the previous phase. The objective was not to "select" youths who were statistically representative of a pattern of integration after a stay at the IMPro, but to propose "variations on a theme" (Lahire, 1995), that of social integration. It were therefore variations of what was possible that were looked for, to better understand, through each particular situation, the explanatory elements of these possible patterns.[6] The project here consisted in moving from a statistical reflection on the relationships between different variables (studies 1 and 2), to a more "microscopic" consideration of the processes and means of social integration of young adults. Focusing on particular cases, was a way of grasping what the language of the variables ignores or can only presuppose: the explanation of events by the subjects themselves.

Results: Children, their families and their stay in IMPro

In accordance with the national data on children in establishments for the mentally handicapped (Langouët, 1999), the youths admitted to IMPros are mostly boys, born in the Ile-de-France region. They are, most often, the elder children of larger than average families. As other studies have shown, boys usually have "weaker" or more negative ratings than girls. Whether it be from the point of view of mood, relationships with others or behaviour in class, contact is deemed more problematic and they appear to be less cooperative.
The median age of admission (which splits the sample in two equal parts) is 14 years and 9 months, the youngest were 12 (10 youths) and the eldest 17 (7 youths) if we except a case of admission at 19. The boys are admitted at an earlier age (35% were admitted at 12-13 years old) than the girls (12%).

The relational attitudes both towards "others" (adults and youths) and towards admittance are characterised by a relative stability of the assessments formulated, even though one must note, in 25% of the cases, the transition from a rather negative attitude at the beginning of their stay to an attitude regarded as positive at the last assessment.
Academic acquisitions (in class and in the workshops) are also characterised by a relative constancy. The youths are distributed more or less evenly in the three categories constructed (weak, average, strong) and if one notes a positive evolution for a fair number of them (19%), there is no great "revolution" during the stay regarding their academic results.

Concerning family characteristics, the most significant elements are, on the one hand, a high proportion of unemployed mothers, an element that can be linked to the fact that having to

look after a child requires extra attention and/or to a higher proportion of large families (28% include four children and more), which limits the professional activity of mothers. On the other hand, we can note with regard to the parents of our sample, a rather high rate of mortality as well as of health problems or multiple accidents.[7]

Assessment by professionals of the relationships between parents and children shows that to a significant extent, these relationships are considered to be difficult (father 43%; mother 54%).[8] We can also note that absence of relationships is more common with the fathers (17,5%) than with the mothers (6%), which is no surprise, even though the percentage is particularly high, because at their admittance to the IMPro, nearly two youngsters out of ten no longer have any contact with their father.

We can point out two results concerning the orientations after the stay: on the one hand, very few are the youths who leave the establishment without any orientation, on the other hand, in a majority of the situations studied, the proposed orientation aims at a professional integration in regular or in sheltered surroundings, which confirms the match between the population taken care of and the pedagogical project of the establishment, as well as its capacity to propose that type of orientation (without anticipating the actual integration that will take place in the years after leaving the institution, which we examine in the second study). Logically enough, the youths with the best assessments in the workshops and especially in apprenticeships are oriented towards the Integration Establishment. These results confirm that apprenticeship in businesses do indeed constitute a key moment of the stay in the establishment. For the adolescent, it is a first contact with the technical and relational demands of the company, and, conversely, constitutes for the professionals a strong indicator of the youths' capacity to fit into regular business surroundings. When reading the accounts of meetings concerning the orientation of a youth, one can see that the assessment by the team of social workers combines two axes of observation: the behaviour and the capacities of the youth at the IMPro, on the one hand, and the behaviour and the capacities of the youth during apprenticeships, on the other hand. The situations where the assessment (and the orientation proposition) proves to be most difficult, are those when the two "pictures" of the youth do no match, as for example when the assessment of the training periods proves to be very positive, demonstrating skills that were not shown in the establishment. Nevertheless, such "surprises", good or bad, are fairly unusual, and most of the time, there is a concordance between the assessment in the workshops,[9] during apprenticeship and the orientation.

The "length of stay" variable allows us to differentiate the youths on several points. Those who stay less than two years have more positive assessments concerning both their relationships with adults and their academic results, their behaviour in class is more dynamic and the assessment of training periods is more positive. These youths are more often oriented towards regular surroundings. Conversely, for youths leaving later, one notes more psychological problems in childhood, less positive academic evaluations at the IMPro, but also less family problems and better relationships between parents and children. How to interpret such results? The length of stay is linked to the age at admission. Two factors distinguish the youths on admission:

- sex: girls arrive at a later age and we have seen that both in terms of behaviour and of academic results they obtained more positive assessments;
- the previous establishment: one can schematically contrast youths who came from a specialised institution and those who were enrolled previously in a State school (Education Nationale) and who arrive at a later age at the IMPro. These latter youths generally obtain better academic results and better assessments for their apprenticeships.

One can thus tentatively draw a few profiles of the youths according to the three dimensions selected: the characteristics of the youth, the characteristics of the family, the characteristics of the institution where he/she is looked after. One can identify youths who were diagnosed earlier[10] to have psychological and/or intellectual difficulties and who are generally oriented

earlier towards specialised institutions. These are often boys, which could be explained partially by school being less tolerant of "disturbing" behaviour in comparison with symptoms that are less visible and less disturbing from a social point of view (for example, withdrawal attitudes are more frequent among girls). It is tempting on the other hand to relate these differences to the social, cultural and relational characteristics of the family, by contrasting youths with an important "social" deficiency to those who have a more pronounced "intellectual" deficiency. Even if certain elements support this hypothesis (the youths whose difficulties have been detected earlier are those who have less family problems and better parent-child relationships), it is not possible, bearing in mind the results, to defend this absolutely. On the one hand, the age at admission and the establishment the youths come from are not significantly linked to the social surroundings. Families who are living in precarious conditions are, as we know, followed more closely by medical and social services and therefore the detection of symptoms and the orientation takes place earlier. On the other hand, the families' educational strategies need to be taken into account, as certain families, mainly in "higher" socio-cultural milieus, attempt to maintain their child as long as possible in regular schools.[11] In the end, family background, whether in social or relational terms, does not appear to be a variable that can, on its own, enable one to distinguish the orientation when the youth leaves the establishment.

Social integration: a limited autonomy

In most cases (87%), an orientation is explicitly proposed by the institution at the end of the stay at the IMPro. The integration service (41%)[12] and the establishments of employment in sheltered surroundings (42%) are the most frequent actual orientations. The other orientations in regular surroundings are shared between employment, training and military service.
Five to ten years after leaving the IMPro, 13% of the young adults are out of work, 8% follow some form of training, 10% are in a situation of "rupture" with regard to employment (medical care centre, jobless...) and 69% have an occupation.
This last result can be interpreted as a positive one considering the rate of unemployment of young Frenchmen who have left the educational system without a diploma.[13] One must note however that in our sample, 66% of the employed youths work in sheltered surroundings. On another level, going beyond the criteria "employment/un-employment", an examination of the professional story after the departure from the IMPro enables us to distinguish fairly clearly the firm stability of the integration in sheltered surroundings from a greater autonomy, but at the same time a greater precariousness, of those youths who are in regular surroundings. It is in this latter group that one finds the indicators of a greater autonomy: higher wages for those who have a job, a driving licence and/or a car, personal lodging (even if that remains rare).
This is understandable: in regular surroundings, young adults, like anybody else, face the necessity of developing and exploiting their technical and relational skills, regardless of the support they receive from their family or professionals. Conversely, as the name indicates, sheltered surroundings are characterised by a shielding dimension (whatever the demands for production might be) which, while it offers guarantees, limits the choices and the responsibilities the youths need to face in regular surroundings.

Whatever their professional surroundings, because of the low wages corresponding to their qualifications and job profiles[14] the young adults have meagre or very meagre financial resources: nearly 80% have less than a monthly income of 762 euros. Even if the explanation is incomplete, this variable must be associated with the housing situation: only 8% of the sample lives in its own home. It is obvious that the low level of financial resources seriously restricts access to this form of autonomy. To have a home of one's own is one of the projects that is most frequently cited among the young adults interviewed.

Within the limits of this article, we shall only sketch the links between the present socio-professional situation and elements of the past. Generally speaking, let us observe that the most significant correlations essentially link indicators of integration to aspects of the stay in an institution. More than the academic level, it is the apprenticeships during the stay in the IMPro that appear to be most discriminatory. The young adults who show autonomy indicators (employment in regular surroundings, driving licence, living on one' own) completed all their apprenticeships in regular surroundings and have secured positive assessments. Most left the establishment before they were 18, were oriented more towards the integration service than towards nonsheltered surroundings. With regard to that last issue, let us point out that transitions from one employment sector to another prove to be rare: only four youths work in sheltered surroundings after having worked in regular surroundings and none have followed the opposite path.

Relational integration

Five to ten years after they have left the IMPro, a majority of young people (65%) still live with their parents. This is partly linked, we have said, to the low level of income. The family sphere is essentially composed of the parents and the siblings who form the main sociability and support "reservoir". Encounters with other members of the kinship system are far less frequent. The parents are the first source of emotional support and of help in daily life.[15] This element can be related to elements of the past and to social characteristics of the family. The youths who consider their family to be the first source of support live in families of a "higher" socio-economic level with little or no social or health problems at admission to the IMPro. In that period, the relationships between parents and children were considered to be positive. Interviews with the youths confirm the place of the family as the main source of exchanges and support. It is obvious that, in a tautological effect, the cause produces the effect, and that this limitation of contacts outside the family engenders restrained possibilities for friendly or romantic encounters. From one situation to the other, this objective dependency on the parents produces more or less dissatisfaction. Whatever satisfaction or "benefits" the youth finds in the family's proximity and in the help provided, it is important to note that for all the youths encountered who had no home of their own, access to an autonomous lodging constitutes the most important project. Further, less than 4% of the young adults who filled out the questionnaire form a couple and only two persons have a child.

Concerning friendly sociability, two elements stand out: even though the youths declare they have no friend, most of them say they have one or several, on whom they can rely or in whom they can confide. These friendships are characterised by their stability since, for 70%, this friendship has lasted for over three years. Concerning available support, friends are the second source of help mentioned (by 31% of the subjects) before the social workers (25%). Friendly sociability can be linked to elements of the past: those who have most friends today are those who had the best relationships with youths and adults during the stay in the institution, which suggests a continuity in the skill to develop and maintain friendly relationships. But although the majority of youths who were interviewed say they have friends, one notes that they are seldom involved in social activities. Nearly 75% of the young people does not participate in any group or association, be it athletic, cultural or religious.

The importance of the identity dimension in the integration pattern

The objective of the present study was to reconstruct, on the basis of the interviews, in a comprehensive way, different types of integration patterns. In this perspective, where issues of occupation and professional integration are predominant, the differences between integration in regular surroundings and integration in sheltered surroundings are obvious.

For the young adults in the course of integrating into regular surroundings, the route is characterised, as for the less qualified part of the "young" population, by precariousness, a succession of apprenticeships and employment with a pre-determined duration. For the youths who are integrating into sheltered surroundings (here in CATs), it is obvious that this type of choice produces stability. This, in itself, seems neither surprising nor original. What is more interesting on the other hand is that the account given by the youths of their integration route enables us to understand the importance of the surroundings in engendering different socialisation modes. This means that integration in regular surroundings or in sheltered surroundings cannot be reduced to a simple issue of degrees of protection but concerns rather the form or nature of the protection, each of these surroundings producing manners of proceeding, of thinking of acting that the youth acquires and internalises.[16] Thus admission to a CAT produces a specific form of integration which is not a simple, better sheltered counterpart of regular work but organises and reinforces the issue of the handicap. The specificity of this mode of socialisation and integration in sheltered surroundings and the "severing" from regular surroundings stands out particularly in those situations where the youths refuse this attribution and claim their "normality": *I couldn't... I had capacities, I had skills I couldn't use over there (at the C.A.T)... at the time of the ex-director, I drove the vehicles, I made deliveries. With the new director... I could no longer drive... I knew how to do some things but I couldn't do them because compared to the others, compared to the workers, I would have been superior to them because of my abilities, and for them I would have replaced the social worker, and therefore the social worker would no longer have been credible, and so I had to...*

This distinction between sheltered surroundings and regular surroundings, though it sheds light, nevertheless remains sketchy and cannot account for the diversity of routes. As we see it in the different patterns proposed, the professional position (having a job or not, precarious or stable) but also the type of family relationships and especially the parental choices that influence or modify the integration routes play an important role.

These social routes, chaotic or linear, contribute strongly to the development of the young adult's social identity. Through the relationships they have, linked to the place they occupy in the social sphere, modes of being impose themselves, manners of (re)presenting oneself, which, though they are never totally determined, nevertheless prove determinant. The extent of the deficiencies and personal capacities of course plays a major role in the future integration possibilities; however, as we tried to demonstrate, if the issue of the handicap assumes a most acute resonance here, it is also because of the importance this socially constructed "difference" assumes in the biographical route of the youths. The handicap is understood here, not in its medico-social meaning (the reference of which is the definition provided by the World Health Organisation, on the basis of criteria supposed to be precise and measurable) but in its sociological meaning, where the handicap appears as a stigma, a set of negatively connoted data, used in social relationships to characterise certain people or certain groups.[17] We wish to underline to what extent facing this question proves to be essential in the creation of an identity by these young adults: whereas access to the status of adulthood is gained by autonomy (social, economic, relational), lack of adaptation and the handicap refer to the status of the child as "incompetent".[18] The socio-professional integration a youth must achieve on leaving

the IMPro therefore constitutes a new phase of socialisation, which poses the question of the recognition or the refusal of the stigma, according to the sketchy opposition between sheltered/regular surroundings. As a manner of counter-example, one portrait will prove to be quite interesting in order to show the importance of the social surroundings in the social production of this stigma. For one of the youths we met, living in familial and social surroundings where the difference is not pronounced, the issue of the handicap "disappears" from the identification process. The question of socio-professional integration is posed, and the social identity is then formed in a manner similar to that of the group of peers in the neighbourhood. Conversely, another youth strongly expresses the suffering that is generated by the confrontation between identity and lack of adaptation.

Conclusion

Five to six years after leaving the IMPro, though the majority of young adults have a job, the picture of their social adaptation appears to be far less conclusive. Despite a satisfactory professional itinerary, most of the young adults seem to have limited autonomy. The vast majority depends on their families and/or on a specialised institution. Rare are those who have secured personal lodgings or who possess a vehicle. Even rarer are those who live or have lived as a couple. Few take part in cultural, athletic or leisure activities.

The use of quantitative and qualitative methods has led us to pay special attention to the different forms of social integration produced by the professional surroundings that refer not only to types of employment but also to different modes of socialisation. The object was not to choose between the advantages and drawbacks of these two modes of socialisation but to understand their social and personal consequences. The interviews enabled us to bring out the central theme of the identity issue. This issue is recurrent in the youths' testimonies. On the one hand "youth" – that period of gradual autonomy, of entree into the world of adults – modifies the status and roles one has and that one can/wants to have. On the other hand, this identity reshuffling assumes a particular resonance for these youths faced with the issue of the handicap. On the basis of the theoretical proposal by Goffman (1963) one understands that the difficulties, the distress and, for some, the suffering are caused not by an integration into regular or sheltered surroundings but rather, taking into account these surroundings and their constraints, by the disjunction, the possible mismatch between identity for oneself and identity for others. We can also perceive how structural elements (the "total" organisation[19] of the CAT, the relative precariousness of the employment situation...) and relational elements (the relationship with the handicap and the stigma) enter in line with or in conflict with personal identity dimensions.

Notes

1. *Rapport sur l'accès à l'enseignement des enfants et adolescents handicapés (Report on access to education of handicapped children and adolescents)*, ministry of Employment and Solidarity, Ministry of Education, March 1999.
2. There are three different types of institutions for sheltered work: the *CAT ("Centre d'Aide par le Travail"), the AT* (and far rarer the Centres de Distribution de Travail à Domicile (CDTD)" (Centres for the distribution of work at home). The number of establishments and of places for handicapped adults has risen sharply in the course of the last twenty years, from 57286 places for 871 institutions in 1983 to 97112 places for 1666 institutions in 1996. The CAT take more than 85% of the places in institutions for handicapped adults (Blanc, 1999).

3. The institution's project, January 2000, p. 2.
4. There are several reasons for this temporal choice: to allow a sufficiently long period of time to account for the possible changes that may have taken place since leaving the establishment and simultaneously, not to take a too long period so as to limit risks in terms of loss of elements of the sample.
5. Except for four who were withdrawn from the sample: three of them because the control committee deemed that making contact could cause damage, and one youth died.
6. If the sample is not statistically representative, the choice owed nothing to chance. These youngsters were selected according to four criteria: sex, place of residence, situation with regard to employment, status concerning the handicap (benefits or not from a premium for a handicapped adult (AAH)).
7. On that subject, the data are nevertheless of relative value because the data collection was based on files drafted by social employees. For example, concerning psychological disorders, if they appear far more frequently with the mothers, it is presumably partly because it is more likely they will be observed by the professionals the mothers are in contact with. Moreover, several studies (Boutanquoi, 2001; Le Poultier, 1990) have shown that the helping relationship and the professional "scrutiny" by social workers contribute to an over-evaluation in terms of the assignment of psychological disorders. All depends of course on the criteria that are selected.
8. The same remark as above applies here.
9. The "academic" plays a less discriminatory role, except reading.
10. Partly, no doubt, because they proved to be more important but also for reasons linked to the institutional organisation of the "early detection" of disorders and to family characteristics.
11. The reading of admission interviews showed differences in parental representations concerning the deficiency.
12. After they have been in the integration service, less than 10% of the youths are oriented towards an establishment of "sheltered work". One must underline however that for the majority, inscribed in the non-sheltered sector, the youths must continue their integration process by assimilating qualifying syllabuses, or apprenticeships and do not immediately find a job.
13. In 2000, 30% of young Frenchmen who had left the education system for 5 to 10 years without a diploma, were unemployed (INSEE, 2000, p. 167).
14. An employee in a Centre d'Aide par le Travail (CAT) has no professional contract and receives, in direct salary, only 5 to 30% of the minimum wages allowed in France, that is between 50.6 Euros to 30.5 Euros per month.
15. 66.5% of the young adults mention their parents as the first source of daily help.
16. What we can call a "secondary socialisation" according to the phrase of P. Berger and T. Luckmann (1966).
17. One cannot conclude that because the notion of handicap is a social construction, the psychological and physical deficiencies do not require a specific and adapted type of care. Here we come to the core contradiction of the term of 'integration', around a double movement where difference and resemblance are mingled. As J.-S. Morvan notes (1999, p. 101), "to that extent, the etymology of the term 'integration is enlightening; it is a matter of associating, of forming a body, of becoming alike, and also to render whole, to remake, to repair. The ambiguity is due to the fact that at the same time both acceptance of the difference and the elimination of that same difference are implicitly sought for."
18. One example of this social representation is given by regional or local newspapers, their captions of the photographs showing adult handicapped people at work are "Roger at work...", "Mireille at her post..." The valorisation of work coexists with its minimization by infantilisation. The entire name is not given and is not preceded by the polite title of "Miss, Mrs, Mr".
19. In the meaning of Goffman (1961).

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