Case Studies on Employment of People with Disabilities in Small and Medium Sized Enterprises

Spain

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CASE STUDIES ON EMPLOYMENT OF PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES IN SMALL AND MEDIUM SIZED ENTERPRISES

SPAIN

by

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SUMMARY

This study provides a general picture of the social integration and employment of people with disabilities in Spain, including the main aspects of the position with regard to legislation, the economy and relevant associations, before analysing the way in which three particular people with disabilities have been integrated in companies on the ordinary labour market. Specifically, a large company in the service sector, a medium-sized one in the commercial sector and a small company in the industrial sector were chosen. The first two cases are in Barcelona, the capital of a prosperous autonomous community (Catalonia), while the third is in Guadalajara, belonging to a less developed autonomous community in inland Spain (Castile-La Mancha). In accordance with the criterion of choosing relatively "exemplary" cases, all the situations studied involve various forms of *supported employment*, in one case promoted by the local government (Barcelona City Council), in another by an association for people with disabilities (Guadalajara) and in the third by a private enterprise (Aura Project, Barcelona).

Successful integration at work in the cases studied has come about thanks to the convergence of many factors and agents. These played a greater or lesser role in each case, but a favourable combination of all or, at least, the majority of them was always needed. In this way, the main agents linking labour supply and demand, in all cases, were the supported-employment organisations, but the latter had to rely on the positive attitude both of the *contracting enterprises* and of the *people with disabilities* seeking employment. Furthermore, other agents/factors such as *families, teachers and professional workers* in health and social services or *"assistance" provided by the local government* (by means of subsidies, exemptions, vocational training, public funding of supported-employment organisations, etc.) also made their own contribution to successful integration in working life.

On the part of businessmen and personnel managers, the motivation for employing people with disabilities falls into three categories: the desire to present a good social image; defending equal opportunities for job seekers, without discriminating against them because they have some disability and providing that they are suitable to perform the task required by the enterprise; and the expectation of reducing wage costs and social security contributions by means of taking on a disabled worker. The first two reasons are more applicable to the two large companies in Barcelona, which are solvent and competitive, the third applies to the small industry in Guadalajara, under pressure from other larger companies in the sector and encountering financial difficulties.

With regard to work colleagues, experience in the cases studied is that the disabilities of the worker in question give rise to specific limitations - varying depending on the type and degree of disability - in relation to the ideal model of a worker (efficient, intelligent, multi-skilled, etc.), but that this is not, in their opinion, an obstacle to the employment of such people because the criterion of *labour efficiency* must be combined with the criterion of *facilitating the employment of people with social disadvantages* (whether it be for philanthropic reasons or because all citizens have the right to work). These positions, which are different from those put forward by employers, indicate ideological differences which it would be useful to study in more depth using appropriate methodology.

From the more general point of view, the main conclusion of this study is that, in the case of Spain, it would be better to promote a policy directed at the rehabilitation and integration of

people with disabilities within the ordinary labour force (only 30% of men and 10% of women of working age have paid work on the normal labour market), rather than disability pensions and sheltered employment (which currently take the major share of State expenditure on disability issues). With regard to the policy of integration at work, the cases studied allow a very positive assessment to be made of the system of *supported employment*, whether it be promoted directly by the local government or managed by associations for people with disabilities or by enterprises in the private sector. Without being the only way of achieving access to employment and integration at work for people with disabilities, it is proving, in the case of Spain, to be the most effective and should be supported to a greater extent both by the government and by the main economic agents (employers and trade unions).

Furthermore, amongst other suggestions for facilitating integration at work, particular mention should be made of those relating to the vocational training and rehabilitation of people with disabilities who are seeking employment and measures directed at dispelling the prejudices of economic agents and, at the same time, making them aware of their social responsibility to contribute actively towards full employment in Spain, a society suffering massive structural unemployment (which above all affects certain socially disadvantaged groups such as those which are the subject of this study).

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0.1 Legislative framework

The policy and legislative framework in Spain with regard to people with disabilities have their origins in the 1978 Democratic Constitution which, in Article 49, acknowledges their "right to full personal fulfilment, with the necessary assistance and protection". This constitutional principle was developed in the Law on the Social Integration of the Disabled (LISMI, 1982), whose approach was inspired to a large extent by the recommendations of the United Nations and the World Health Organisation. Amongst other concrete measures developed on the basis of the LISMI, some refer explicitly to integration at work:

- 1. Priority to employment on the *ordinary labour market*, with a view to establishing various forms of support and incentives:
 - compulsory setting aside of 2% of jobs in enterprises with more than 50 employees;
 - subsidies and discounts on social security contributions for enterprises who employ people with disabilities on full-time, open-ended contracts;
 - discount of 75% on social security contributions for people with disabilities on temporary employment contracts;
 - facilities for apprenticeship contracts and on-the-job training given to workers with disabilities.
- 2. Regulation of *sheltered employment* by means of Special Employment Centres, with employment contracts partly subsidised by the State and with substantial discounts on social security contributions. The protected market also includes lottery-ticket sellers from the ONCE (Spanish national organisation for the blind), since such employment is based on a monopoly granted by the State which provides employment opportunities for the members of that organisation.
- 3. A complementary system of assistance and pensions, both contributory and non-contributory, for people of working age affected by disabilities. In 1997, there were more than one million people of working age receiving such pensions (4% of the Spanish population between the ages of 15 and 64).

Finally, it should be stressed that, in Spain, most powers relating to people with disabilities and handicaps have been transferred from the central government to the 17 autonomous communities, which has given rise to various developments in the legislative field¹.

0.2 People with disabilities in Spain and their employment situation

When seeking to obtain a general idea of the numbers of people with disabilities in Spain, we have two types of sources available: statistics and records which supply quantitative information about the group; and studies which tackle their position and problems. In the statistical field, the 1986 *Encuesta sobre Discapacidades, Deficiencias y Minusvalías*

¹ For details of Spanish legislation - passed by central government and the autonomous communities - within the framework of European legislation, see Muñoz, Santiago and De Lorenzo, Rafael (Eds), *Código europeo de las Minusvalías* [European Law on Disability], Escuela Libre Editorial, Madrid, 1996.

(EDDM - Survey of disability, impairments and handicaps), despite its relative age, marks a turning point in the state of knowledge in Spain about this sector of the population². Apart from data concerning the distinctions drawn between disability, impairment and handicap³, the EDDM covered many other issues relating to the social and geographical environment, family situation, educational level, employment, rehabilitation and welfare benefits of people with disabilities and we shall refer to the data later on. The EDDM was very positively received both in Spain and abroad, especially by international organisations and the WHO itself, which held it up as a model for the application of its categories (impairments, disabilities and handicaps).

The second important source in determining the statistical profile of people with disabilities is the files on people registered at the Centros Base ["base centres"] throughout Spain as suffering some "handicap". The management of these centres has been transferred to the autonomous communities, but a unified computer system was set up in 1992, co-ordinated by the INSERSO, which is still in the experimental phase and whose use is rather limited, since the decision to register as a person with a handicap is a matter of free choice for those involved or their families and, therefore, the register does not cover those who, despite suffering a situation of social disadvantage as a result of their disability, prefer not to put their names down⁴.

Another source of some interest is the statistics supplied by the Ministry of Labour on assistance to people suffering invalidity or handicap. Contributory and non-contributory invalidity pensions stand out in numerical terms, since they provide economic support for more than one million people under 65, as do subsidies and tax exemptions given to promote the employment of disabled people.

As a whole, research into the situation and problems of people with disabilities in Spain provides a substantial mass of information which, despite its scattered nature and variable quality, gives a fairly accurate picture of the immediate circumstances on which integration in social and working life depends: types and degrees of impairment which lie behind the disability and possibly the handicap; educational level and vocational retraining; use of subsidies, pensions and other official forms of assistance; jobs most frequently offered and applied for; institutional dependency of enterprises (including the Vocational Centres and Special Employment Centres, which deal to a larger extent with people affected by mental

² The EDDM was conducted by the Instituto Español de Estadística (Spanish Statistical Institute), with technical cooperation from the Instituto Nacional de Servicios Sociales (INSERSO - National Institute of Social Services), amongst a sample of 74 166 households making up a total of 256 337 people.

³ The concept of *discapacidad/disability* is used in both Spanish and English to refer to the second series of effects of illness (*incapacité* in French) as well as to the three series taken together (*handicap* in French). In English and Spanish, unlike French, this introduces some ambiguity in the use of the term which must be resolved on a case-by-case basis, bearing in mind the context in which it is used. The other two series of effects of illness have their own concepts in the three languages: *deficiencia/impairment/déficience* and *minusvalía/handicap/désavantage*.

⁴ The majority of surveys conducted at the level of the provinces and autonomous communities over the past few years, as we shall see further on, use the records of the basic centre or centres in their constituency as a basis for drawing up their samples, meaning that they suffer from this limitation.

disorders); behaviour and attitudes of the employers and institutions most directly concerned; attitudes and opinions of families and society in general in relation to handicaps, etc.⁵

According to the 1986 EDDM, there were 5.7 million people with some form of disability in Spain, which suggests that 15% of the Spanish population in that year were suffering from functional disorders or limitations as a result of some impairment. This proportion was much higher than the estimates made before that date and it is likely that it has risen over the following decade: "increased life expectancy together with the prevalence of chronic illnesses inevitably imply an increase in the number of disabilities. Fewer children die at birth and older people are living longer, but a substantial number of them will be affected by illness or impairment during their lives"⁶. The upward trend in the numbers of disabled people is having an impact, *inter alia*, on the concept of health, which is less unilaterally focused on the acute treatment of illnesses and increasingly directed at prevention, rehabilitation and maintaining the quality of life of the millions of people who are suffering the permanent after-effects of some illness, trauma or disorder of whatever type (the sphere of impairments, disabilities and handicap as delineated by WHO).

Table 1 gives an overall view of the prevalence of disabilities and handicaps amongst the Spanish population in 1986. While almost 15% suffered some functional impairment, only 6% acknowledged that this affected their ability to go about their daily lives like the people around them.

⁵ See Annex for bibliography on studies available in Spain, which include their technical details, methodology used and main results.

⁶ J. M. García, *Conceptos de deficiencia, discapacidad y minusvalía* [Concepts of impairment, disability and handicap], INSERSO document, Madrid 1996, p 2.

	0-14 years	15-64 years	65 and over	Total
Spanish population	8 643 894	25 139 026	4 690 411	38 473 332
• Women	4 204 118	12 601 702	2 789 439	19 595 259
• Men	4 439 776	12 537 324	1 900 972	18 876 072
People with disabilities	200 883	2 647 001	2 895 407	5 743 291
• Women	78 901	1 364 269	1 802 200	3 245 370
• Men	121 982	1 282 732	1 093 207	2 497 921
People with handicaps	83 369	1 147 763	1 077 992	2 312 124
• Women	31 019	519 299	697 064	1 247 382
• Men	55 350	628 464	380 928	1 064 742
Prevalence of disability	2.32	10.52	61.73	14.93
• Women	1.88	10.82	64.61	16.56
• Men	2.75	10.22	57.51	13.23
Prevalence of handicap	1.00	4.56	22.98	6.01
• Women	0.74	4.11	24.99	6.37
• Men	1.25	5.00	20.04	5.64

 Table 1: Prevalence of disabilities and handicaps amongst the Spanish population as a whole (by sex and age bracket)

Source: Drawn up by the IOE Collective from the survey on impairments, disabilities and handicaps (National Statistical Institute, Madrid, 1987) and the Municipal Register of Inhabitants, 1986.

While people with some form of disability formed 15% of the overall Spanish population, this proportion amounted to 10.5% (2.6 million people against a total of 25.1 million according to the 1986 register) in the age bracket corresponding to the population of working age (15-64 years of age). Within this age group, the most striking thing is the extraordinary increase in the prevalence of disabilities after the age of 45, rising from 4.2% of the population between the ages of 15 and 44 to 22.8% from that age onwards. The most frequent types of disability were physical (6.5% of the population of working age, amounting to 1.7 million people), sensory (3.1% or 786 000 people) or mental (1.2% or 313 000 people) in origin, with a much smaller proportion of disabilities of a mixed nature (0.05% or 13 000 people). While sensory impairments affect both sexes almost equally, mental impairments affect 14% more men and physical impairments 13% more women.

For every ten people with disabilities of working age identified by the EDDM, four (43% exactly) stated that they were seriously restricted in performing those activities which would be "normal" in accordance with their age, sex and other socio-cultural factors, that is to say that they were handicapped in the precise sense given to that term by WHO. On average, each of these people suffered two handicaps, of which the most important was the *employment handicap* which affected 84% of the group, with hardly any variation in relative terms between men and women or between those under and over 45 years of age. At every age between 15 and 64, the fundamental reason for the failure of men and women with handicaps in Spain to achieve normal social integration was that they could not work under normal conditions.

As Table 2 shows, in 1986 paid work provided an effective outlet for only 21% of people of working age with disabilities, especially men; 31%, the vast majority of them women, were engaged in domestic work; and 33% had withdrawn from the labour force (as a result of permanent incapacity, early retirement and so on). The unemployed ("job seekers") made up 7.7% of the total of people with disabilities in 1986 (in numerical terms, somewhat more than 200 000, of whom four-fifths were men). In the strict sense, the unemployment rate reached 27% in a year when the overall rate for Spain was 21%. Nevertheless, these rates can be misleading, both for the general population and for people with disabilities, due to the lack of documentation on two situations which do not show up in either the Working Population Survey or the EDDM: undeclared employment and the hidden unemployment of housewives. With regard to undeclared employment, we do not have specific data available on the population with disabilities, but we do know that in 1985 the rate of irregular employment for women throughout Spain amounted to 42% of the total of employed women (1 480 000), whereas the rate for men was $19\% (1502\ 000)^7$. With regard to *hidden unemployment*, we are referring specifically to housewives who would like to work outside the home but are not seeking employment because they have no expectation of finding it or because other circumstances prevent them from doing so; according to various sources, between 50% and 70% of Spanish housewives miss having a job outside the home, but only a small proportion of them are actively seeking one⁸. If we counted all women who would like to work as a "labour pool", the number of unemployed women would increase by at least two million and, in the case of the group of women with disabilities, by around 400 000 people.

If we compare the previous data with the general distribution of the Spanish population of working age in 1986, the main difference is the huge weight of people unable to work within the group we are studying (33%). Moreover, the gender differences in the overall population are accentuated in our case: men are more likely to be engaged in paid work outside the home (31.8% as against 10.6% of women), while the majority of women are engaged in domestic work.

⁷ Juan Muro, José L Raymond, Luis Toharia and Ezequiel Uriel, *Análisis de las condiciones de vida y trabajo en España* [Analysis of living and working conditions in Spain], Ministry of Finance and Economics, Madrid, 1988, p 122.

⁸ See IOE Collective, *Tiempo social contra reloj* [Social time against the clock], Institute for Women, Madrid, 1996, pp 160-61.

Activity	Peopl	e with disat	oilities	Spanish population				
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total		
Working population	186 281	571 360	757 641	4 276 300	9 464 600	13 740 900		
Activity rate	13.65	44.54	28.62	35.28	79.36	57.15		
• Employed (paid)	145 562	407 908	553 470	3 150 200	7 649 900	10 800 100		
Employment rate: working population	78.14	71.34	73.05	73.66	80.82	78.59		
Employment rate: total	10.67	31.80	20.91	25.99	64.14	44.91		
• Unemployed	40 719	163 452	204 171	1 126 100	1 814 800	2 940 900		
Unemployment rate: working population	21.85	28.60	26.94	26.33	19.17	21.40		
Unemployment rate: total	2.98	12.74	7.71	9.29	15.21	12.33		
Inactive (unpaid)	1 177 988	711 372	1 889 360	7 841 600	2 205 600	10 047 200		
• Domestic work	829 065	8 264	837 329	6 081 200	0	6 081 200		
Rate of domestic work	60.77	0.64	31.63	50.18	0	25.29		
• Incapacity, retirement	279 833	595 308	875 141	546 900	983 200	1 530 100		
Incapacity/retirement rate	20.51	46.40	33.06	4.51	8.24	6.36		
• Others	69 080	107 799	176 879	1 213 500	1 222 400	2 435 900		
Total	1 364 269	1 282 732	2 647 001	12 118 000	11 925 300	24 043 300		

Table 2: Activity rate of people with disabilities of working age (15-64 years) and
comparison with the total Spanish population

Source: Drawn up by the IOE Collective from the survey on impairments, disabilities and handicaps (National Statistical Institute, Madrid, 1987) and the Working Population Survey covering the third quarter of 1986. The EDDM and Working Population Survey data cover the ages 15-64 and 16-64 respectively.

We can go a step further and look at the nature of the jobs of the half million people with disabilities who were working in 1986. Because of their relevance to our investigation, we use the EDDM data per type of impairment (Table 3) and then compare them with the occupational distribution of the overall population according to the 1986 Working Population Survey, distinguishing the cases of people with disabilities depending on whether or not they suffered handicaps.

	Both sexes (15-64 years)						
Occupation			Per type of impairment				
	Total	%	Mental	Sensory	Physical	Mixed	
Employers and professionals	18 610	3.36	2.75	4.22	2.79	0.00	
Self-employed (no employees)	113 217	20.46	13.71	17.20	23.53	0.00	
Executives and senior managers	22 071	3.99	1.45	4.62	3.76	22.71	
Skilled workers	159 525	28.82	17.61	32.07	27.80	5.46	
Unskilled workers	198 383	35.84	52.35	35.36	34.33	62.88	
Others	41 664	7.53	12.13	6.53	7.78	8.95	
Total in work	553 470	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	

Table 3: Professional category of people with disabilities in paid work, per type ofimpairment

Source: Drawn up by the IOE Collective from the Survey on impairments, disabilities and handicaps (National Statistical Institute, Madrid, 1987).

This table shows that two-thirds of people with disabilities participating in the labour market are employees, with more unskilled (36%) than skilled (29%) workers. Next are self-employed workers (in business with no employees), who make up a fifth of the group and, finally, executives and senior managers (4%) and employers and professionals (3.3%). There are substantial differences for the various types of impairment.

If we distinguish between people with disabilities depending on whether or not they say they are suffering a handicap, those who are not are employed in the higher categories, in quite similar percentages to the overall distribution of the Spanish population in work (see Table 4). On the other hand, 41% of those in work with a handicap are doing unskilled jobs and only 4% have jobs in the higher categories (as against 9% of people with disabilities but no handicap). On the basis of these data, people with disabilities who suffer from social disadvantage or handicap not only have access to paid work in much lower proportions than those who do not suffer in this way or the Spanish population in general, but in addition their jobs are less skilled and, most probably, worse paid.

	People employed in Spain (WPS 1986)		People in work with disabilities				
Occupation			Without handicap		With handicap		
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	
Employers and professionals	425 000	<i>3</i> .88	16 098	3.95	2 512	1.72	
Self-employed (no employees)	2 537 000	23 15	84 425	20.71	28 792	19.75	
Executives and senior managers	591 000	5.39	18 961	4.65	3 110	2.13	
Skilled workers	3 846 000	31.80	122 188	29.97	37 337	25.61	
Unskilled workers	3 772 000	34.41	139 145	34.13	59 238	40.63	
Others	150 300	1.37	26 861	6.59	14 803	10.15	
Total in work	10 961 300	100.00	407 678	100.00	145 792	100.00	

 Table 4: Professional category of people with disabilities in work according to whether or not they suffer handicap and comparison with the employed population in Spain

Source: Drawn up by the IOE Collective from the Survey on impairments, disabilities and handicaps (National Statistical Institute, Madrid, 1987) and the Working Population Survey covering the fourth quarter of 1986.

In concluding this section, it is worth highlighting the great diversity of situations which arise in the group of people with disabilities who gain access to paid work. As the Economic and Social Council points out, in the conclusions of a study on this topic, "the quantitative and qualitative levels of employment are not uniform within the population with disabilities. The information available shows that people with sensory disabilities are less affected than people with physical and mental disabilities when it comes to finding and keeping a job and that age and sex also have a bearing on the chances people with disabilities have of participating in the labour force. Although it has not been possible to confirm this with any data, many other factors, such as the age at which the impairment was sustained, the cultural level and level of family income, also influence their employment position"⁹.

On the basis of the analysis conducted so far, we shall outline a classification of the Spanish population of working age (16-64) with disabilities, on the basis of the differences which occur in their *level of integration in society*. In general, it can be said that the social integration of people of working age who have a disability is achieved through their incorporation into three interrelated systems: *paid work, domestic work* and *pensions*. Each of these systems provides people who belong to it with legitimacy and recognition within their family unit, as individuals able to bring in the resources to supply the necessities of life. Pensions, which currently cover something over one million people of working age who have a disability, represent the most

⁹ Economic and Social Council, *Informe sobre la situación del empleo de las personas con discapacidad y propuestas para su reactivación* [Report on the employment situation of people with disabilities and proposals for rehabilitation], Madrid, 1995, p 30.

common and characteristic system used by the group we are studying, but at least a further 800 000 rely on domestic work and around 600 000 on paid work. Sometimes, the same individuals may take part in two systems, or even all three, and in other cases they may not be involved in any of them, meaning that they necessarily have to depend on other people, either because they are continuing the socialisation process after reaching the age of 16 (students) or because they are waiting to get a job or pension, which applies to at least a quarter of a million people. In comparing the situation of people with a disability with the norm, mention must be made of their low rate of labour force participation (10% of women and 30% of men of working age) and, as a counterpoint, the large pockets of official and hidden unemployment (behind domestic work and the pensions system).

As this study is to focus on monitoring people who have more or less successfully achieved integration at work, we shall now break down the most common employment situations in the Spanish context into three major categories, qualifying the profiles of each one:

1. *Employment in the primary sector of the ordinary labour market:* This involves slightly under half of all people with a disability who are in work (some 280 000), with a predominance in absolute and relative terms of men rather than women and people without rather than with handicaps. With regard to types of impairment, there is a prevalence of those which are less disabling from the employment point of view (physical and sensory) and, within this category, of those which are less severe in degree (although information sources do not provide much detail on this point). There are four different occupational categories, the first two relating to people working for themselves and the others to people working for someone else:

a. *Employers and professionals* (some 20 000). Relative prevalence of women and people with sensory impairments. Majority without handicap.

b. *Self-employed workers* in the primary market, in other words those who have some professional qualifications and economic stability (an estimated 80 000 people). Absolute and relative prevalence of men with physical impairments and without handicap.

c. *Company executives and senior managers* (some 25 000). Prevalence of people without handicap and with sensory impairments. Same relative prevalence of men and women.

d. *Skilled workers with permanent contracts* (some 160 000). Absolute and relative prevalence of men, people with sensory and physical impairments, with or without handicap.

2. Employment in the secondary sector of the ordinary labour market: Some 300 000 people with a disability are placed here (slightly over half of those in work). Although there are more men than women, the latter predominate in relative terms and the same applies to people with a handicap, although the number of those who do not suffer a handicap is more than double in absolute terms. Per type of impairment, the greatest relative incidence concerns those with mental and mixed impairments, the majority of whom are concentrated in jobs requiring less skill and/or with worse working conditions. In terms of occupational category, the majority (some 200 000) are unskilled employees, three-quarters of whom work in the service and industrial sectors, and a quarter are agricultural labourers. An estimated further 40 000 are unskilled self-employed workers with a limited economic infrastructure which does not ensure continuity of work. Finally,

at least 50 000 people are found on the margins of working life, employed mainly as family labour and casual and/or part-time workers who usually contribute nothing to the public purse and, therefore, form part of the underground economy.

3. *Employment on the sheltered labour market:* Slightly over 10 000 people with an officially recognised handicap are employed at Special Employment Centres, representing a very small share of the total of those with a handicap who are in work (7%) and an even smaller proportion of those with a disability in general who are in work (2%). The majority of workers at these centres are men with congenital or childhood mental impairments, this being related to the greater difficulty these people encounter in finding employment on the ordinary market. Their academic training is often limited and was provided at special educational facilities. The sheltered market also includes the ONCE lottery-ticket sellers mentioned earlier. Lottery sales provide employment stability and income which, although variable, is quite a lot higher than the minimum wage; this leads the majority of people blind from birth and childhood (as well as some of those who have become blind during their working lives) to get jobs as sellers, thereby distorting other potential employment options.

0.3 The Spanish labour market

Between 1980 and 1986, the number of paid jobs in Spain rose by 1.3 million, but the working population rose by 3 million, reaching over 16 million in 1986. The consequence of this was to double the unemployment rate, which rose from 11% to 22%. This unemployment rate is higher for women (30%) than for men (17%) and mainly affects young people¹⁰ and the less developed regions¹¹.

In contrast to what was happening 15 years ago, during the 1990s the majority of new jobs have been of fixed duration, to the extent that the ratio between fixed and short-term contracts in 1996 was 1/23 (96% of the almost 9 million contracts registered in that year were of a temporary nature). Another important indicator of the increasing precariousness of employment in Spain is wage polarisation, which is due to a large extent to the temporary nature of contracts. According to a study based on all income declarations for 1992, the 1.3% of employees with the highest incomes received almost twice as much as the 27% on the lowest incomes, who were getting less than the minimum wage¹².

The high rate of unemployment and increasingly precarious nature of unskilled jobs have at least two effects on the potential labour force participation of the group of people with a disability. On the one hand, competition for the jobs being created has rocketed (any offer of employment receives an impressive response); on the other hand, other types of social participation, such as pensions or domestic work for women, are becoming comparatively more attractive.

¹⁰ 33% of men and 46% of women between the ages of 20 and 24 are unemployed.

¹¹ In 1996, recorded unemployment was 33% in Andalusia and 27% in Extremadura.

¹² Carmen Anido, Consuelo Diaz and Francisco Melis, "Nueva estadística de Empleo, Salarios y Pensiones en las fuentes tributarias en 1992 y los estudios de desigualdad" [New statistics on employment, salaries and pensions from tax sources in 1992 and studies on inequality], in the magazine *Igualdad*, Fundación Argentaria, No. 11, 1994, p 11.

From the point of view of the main economic agents, the trade unions are on the defensive against the neo-liberal, deregulatory stance of the employers who, in principle, are against regulating and hindering the market with fiscal burdens, labour regulations and protective measures for various groups, including the "handicapped". As a result, the majority of enterprises do not comply with the legal minimum of 2% (and the labour inspectorate does not impose the corresponding sanctions either), while many of them are not even aware of this legal obligation. According to a survey conducted amongst 734 enterprises in Barcelona employing more than 50 people, 80% had no workers with a handicap at the time of the survey (74% had never had one) and more than half were completely ignorant of the legal requirement to have at least 2% of workers with disabilities on their staff. Furthermore, despite the fact that the survey method tended to soften the responses giving an opinion on these topics, large percentages of employers considered that people with disabilities had specific disadvantages in comparison with other workers: "they are difficult to handle" (34%), "their physical appearance is a handicap" (50%), "they have not received the same training as the other workers" (49%), "society's view of them is a problem" (51%), etc.¹³

0.4 Associations for people with disabilities

Associations for people with disabilities were traditionally little concerned with promoting paid work for their members. In addition to cultivating personal links between members by means of exchange of experience, mutual aid and shared leisure, their main objectives lay more in restoring health, special education and, above all, providing information on how to gain access to contributory and non-contributory pensions, grants and other specific forms of assistance. Nevertheless, there seems recently to have been an increased desire on the part of unemployed people with a disability to find work. This is leading a growing number of associations, although they are still in a minority, to respond to this concern. The tendency is to set up an employment section or department, sometimes called an "employment exchange", whose purpose is to help unemployed members to get a paid job, whether in sheltered workshops (which are sometimes managed by the associations themselves) or on the open market. These sections take very varied forms, depending on many factors, including the size and infrastructure of the association and the type and degree of disabilities they cover¹⁴.

To begin with, the "employment exchanges" were organised informally and the few cases which arose were sorted out among members, their families and companies known in the vicinity by means of direct personal relationships. In other cases, the objective was to succeed in creating a vocational workshop or special employment centre within the association. Later on, the arrangement was modernised with assistance from professionals, by means of information and training systems for candidates and more thorough investigation of the job market. The main tasks are usually as follows:

1. Identifying and contacting people with a disability within the association who are seeking employment, assessing their abilities and deficiencies, as well as their expectations and

¹³ Emilia Moreno and Sergi Valera, Actitud de l'Empresa Privada davant la integració laboral de persones amb disminució [Attitude of private enterprise towards the employment of people with disabilities], Municipal Institute for the Disabled, Barcelona, 1992.

¹⁴ See Grupo ATED, "La gestión del empleo en las asociaciones" [Employment management within associations], No. 21, monograph in the magazine *Cuadernos ATED*, Madrid, 1994.

the support they require in order to gain access to potential employment. The usual method of achieving this objective is to establish a personal file on each candidate (very often computerised, thus facilitating processing).

- 2. Finding out the previous work experience of candidates, which is frequently non-existent and means that a training course must first be planned, at the expense of the association or other agencies. Furthermore, in the case of some types of impairment (such as mental handicap), it is necessary to involve close relatives in order to ensure, amongst other things, that candidates learn those practical and social skills which foster their independence and sense of self-worth.
- 3. Investigating potential openings on the local labour market and contacting agencies and enterprises which might facilitate the hiring of candidates.
- 4. Providing the resources needed to gain access to training and to function properly in a job (specific techniques for those with impaired hearing or sight, etc.).
- 5. Channelling a maximum of information on vacancies to job seekers and assisting them, where necessary, in the selection process and eventual adaptation to the job.

A formula applied recently in Spain is known as "supported employment", which originated in the United States¹⁵ and is becoming increasingly widespread in the European Union¹⁶. Basically, this consists in offering people with a disability who are seeking paid work a structured system of support in order that they may find, learn and keep a real job in a company on the open market. This is a formula which has proved to be very useful with those types of disability which require more intensive support in the process of getting used to work, as in the case of the mentally impaired.

The majority of jobs obtained through the formulas used by the associations are rather precarious (temporary in nature, poorly paid, etc.). Even when they do comply with the legislation in force, they sometimes come up against excessively rigid standard regulations which are very difficult to adapt to the particular situation of people suffering from certain types and degrees of disability. In this respect, the employment sections of associations have been putting forward proposals to adapt the rules and existing forms of official assistance to the specific, variable circumstances applying to the different types of impairment.

¹⁵ T.H. Powell, (Coord.), Supported employment. Providing Integrated Employment Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities, Longman, New York and London, 1991; and S.I. Moon et al, Helping Persons with Severe Mental Retardation Get and Keep Employment: Supported Employment Issues and Strategies, Paul H. Brookes Publ. Co., Baltimore, 1990.

¹⁶ Of the 1542 programmes funded by the HORIZON programme up to 1995, more than half were directed at helping people with a disability into work, the "supported employment" formula being one of the most common and appreciated owing to its innovative nature. In Spain, 2031 jobs were created, of which 64% involved working for someone else on the open market, 34% sheltered employment and 2% self-employment. HORIZON Programme Support Unit, Spain, *Informe de valoración sobre el desarrollo de la iniciativa comunitaria de recursos humanos HORIZON* [Assessment report on the development of the Community human resources initiative, HORIZON], INSERSO, Madrid, 1995, p 25.

CHAPTER 1

METHODOLOGY

The three chosen cases of employment fulfil, with some qualifications, the general requirements laid down in the European project, as well as the proposal approved for Spain. To be precise, the main characteristics are as follows:

- The three enterprises form part of the private sector of the ordinary labour market. One of them belongs to the service sector (a charity run by a leading financial institution), another is a subsidiary of a multinational in the industrial/commercial sector (producing, selling and repairing sports equipment) and the third belongs to the food industry, in the confectionery branch.
- Two of the companies have a staff of more than 50 (the minimum number required to impose the legal quota of 2% of workers with a disability), 300 in one case and 100 in the other, while the third is a small enterprise, with ten employees, five of whom are wage earners and the others members of the employer's family.
- The companies are located in two autonomous communities, one of them more developed economically (Catalonia) and the other less (Castile-La Mancha).
 Furthermore, the first two companies chosen are expanding, while the third is contracting, in the latter case owing to the crisis in small-scale production in the food processing sector (although this still plays an important role in Spain).
- In the two companies with more than 50 employees, there are various workers with a disability and, although they still do not make up 2% of the staff, company policy is moving along these lines, attempting to encourage the integration of handicapped people but without abandoning, at any time, the criterion that the jobs must make sense financially.
- The types of disability chosen are mental in two cases (Down's Syndrome and borderline) and sensory in the other (hearing-speech impairment)¹⁷. Obviously, these three cases are not representative of the great diversity of situations in which people with a disability find themselves (with very different sets of problems). Nevertheless, as we have noted in the introduction, the three cases chosen refer to situations of particular interest, whether because of the special difficulty in achieving satisfactory integration at work (Down's Syndrome), statistical frequency (deafness) or being at the boundary between impairment and normality (borderline cases).
- With regard to the age and sex of the cases studied, one is very young (22 years of age, case no. 1), another is beginning to take his place in adult life, with the intention of getting married and establishing a household (31 years of age, case no. 2) and the third is in an intermediate position between the other two (27 years of age, case no. 3). In all cases they are male, which is in accordance with the greater incidence of paid

¹⁷ After doing the two case studies in Barcelona (mental and sensory impairment), the intention was to choose a case of physical impairment in Guadalajara, but this was not possible owing to the last-minute refusal of the intended candidate.

employment amongst men, while women rely to a larger extent on domestic work to achieve social integration¹⁸.

Following the instruction to choose relatively exemplary cases of integration at work, which might suggest effective ways of ensuring the employment of people with disabilities who suffer social disadvantage, the chosen three cases have in common the fact that they used the "supported employment" methodology as a way of entering the ordinary labour market. Furthermore, employment has resulted in all cases from the cooperation of a large number of social agents, to varying degrees in each case, the public administration, associations for people with disabilities, professionals and the enterprises themselves (on the part of both personnel management and work colleagues, committed to helping the person with a disability to fit in with the job).

Characteristics of	Cases studied	Interviews conducted				
the company		Workers with a disability	Staff at the company	Professionals		
<i>Case No. 1</i> Barcelona Service enterprise 300 employees (2 with a disability)	Person with Down's Syndrome on a fixed contract (22 years of age)	E1 Worker described	E2 Manager E3 "Guardian"	E4 Psychologist from Aura Project		
<i>Case No. 2</i> Barcelona Industrial/commercial enterprise 100 employees (3 with a disability)	Person with hearing/speech impairment on a temporary contract (31 years of age)		E5 Manager's assistant E6 Head of section	E7 Municipal social worker		
<i>Case No. 3</i> Guadalajara Industrial enterprise 10 employees (1 with a disability)	Borderline case on a temporary contract (27 years of age)	E8 Worker described	E9 Employer	E10 Job placement officer E11 Trainer		

Table 5: Interviews conducted in the three cases of employment

¹⁸ In this case the expected assignment of the case of a female employee also fell through at the last minute.

In each case, we conducted various interviews with the main parties involved and collected the documentation available about the company and the social context in the area. Eleven interviews were conducted in total; they were recorded on tape and subsequently analysed, as shown in the chart above.

CHAPTER 2

DESCRIPTION OF THE CASES STUDIED

2.1 Case No. 1: Young person with mental disability in a service enterprise

Methodology

This study came about as a result of links with a private mediation agency receiving public funding (the Aura Project in Barcelona), which specialises in promoting access to employment for people disabled by Down's Syndrome. Using a list of the companies with which the Aura Project had worked, we chose one which specialised in the service sector and was associated with a financial institution of considerable standing in Barcelona and throughout Spain.

Four key informants were chosen: 1) a psychologist working for the mediation agency (Aura Project); 2) the enterprise's personnel manager; 3) the young worker with a mental disability; and 4) the young disabled employee's "guardian".

Background information on the enterprise

The service enterprise selected was set up in 1990 for the purpose of handling the charitable work of a major financial institution in Catalonia. In 1997, it has a budget of 15 000 million pesetas, which allows it to manage a broad range of museums and cultural centres, as well as to promote cultural, recreational and research activities on matters of social concern. According to the enterprise's annual report, in 1996, seven million Spaniards took part in more than 2500 activities in 638 locations, from large cities to small villages throughout Spain.

The enterprise has 300 workers, 60 of whom are on temporary contracts. So far, only two of them are suffering from some handicap, in both cases a mental handicap, although they do intend to take on new workers with disabilities in the future, in order to reach the 2% laid down in Spanish legislation.

Company personnel policy

According to the enterprise's personnel manager, staff are hired as in any other company. When there is a vacancy for a job, the profile of the worker required is determined and three methods may be used to fill the post: advertisements in the media, looking through curricula vitae (they have more than 1000 on file, sent in spontaneously) and, in some cases, resort to companies specialising in finding and selecting staff.

With regard to candidates with some form of disability, two criteria are used: firstly, they must match the required profile; secondly, they are given priority over other applicants because the enterprise wants to reach the 2% stipulated by the legislation. Although other companies do not comply with this regulation, they should do so because they are a "charity" and must demonstrate "awareness".

There are very few cases of people with a disability who respond to the enterprise's job advertisements or who have left their CVs on file as "disabled people". For this reason, the enterprise has to rely on the mediation of organisations such as the Aura Project, which helps to find candidates and settle them into work at the enterprise. The National Employment Institute (INEM), a State body responsible for facilitating the hiring of workers, is considered to be lacking the resources and preparation to carry out the task of mediation required to get people with a disability into work, at least in cases where the impairment arises from a condition such as Down's Syndrome¹⁹.

The enterprise's practice in a specific case

The case study concerns a young man of 22 with a mild form of Down's Syndrome, who was placed in the enterprise in 1994 on a temporary contract. After three years, following a positive assessment of his work performance, he was given an open-ended contract.

The young worker was born in a suburb of Barcelona to middle-class parents (his father was a school teacher). He studied at a State school until the age of 16, completing the normal course of basic general education (he had difficulty with some subjects, especially mathematics). He then spent three years preparing for employment at the Aura Project, where he attended classes, meetings and leisure activities with other people sharing his disability.

At the age of 19, he was put forward by professionals at the Aura Project as a suitable candidate for a job advertised by the enterprise: office assistant in the department dealing with photocopying, filling envelopes, etc.

In order to make an in-depth study of this case, we need to examine two processes: the "supported employment" approach developed by the Aura Project and the role played by the enterprise which employed the individual concerned:

A. The role played by the Aura Project (supported employment)

The overall objective of the Aura Project is to enhance the level of social and vocational autonomy of young people with Down's Syndrome. It is a professional initiative incorporated in Barcelona in 1989 as a non-profit-making body, subsidised by the government of the autonomous community of Catalonia (Labour Department of the Generalitat). Since 1992, it has been part of the HORIZON Project of the European Social Fund, although it currently has some funding problems²⁰.

Young people with Down's Syndrome may gain access to the Aura Project if they meet the following conditions: being over 18 and registered as people with a "mental handicap"; having

¹⁹ Reference was made to "other cases", particularly a person with a serious physical disability but full mental capacity, who does not require the help of professionals but for whom adaptation of the physical working environment and equipment will be necessary.

On the general approach of the Aura Project and results obtained over the first years of operation, see Gloria Canals and Montserrat Domènech, *Proyecto Aura. Una experiencia de integración laboral* [Aura Project. An experiment in integration into employment], Ed. Milan, Catalan Foundation for Down's Syndrome, Barcelona, 1991.

clearly stated their wish to work; and showing interest in becoming independent and mixing with other people.

As far as the Aura Project is concerned, work makes sense if it is part of a plan to live an adult life. The aim is not just to place the young person in a job on the ordinary open market, but also to help him or her in the whole process of becoming personally mature, which does not end when employment is obtained. The project works on the premise that "it is never too late to learn". Training can never be considered to be finished and this growth process requires great effort and places many demands on everyone (those affected by disability, family members and professionals).

The undertaking of the parents of the young person with Down's Syndrome includes the following aspects: belief in their child's potential; treating him/her as an adult; making him/her responsible for doing things on his/her own (personal hygiene, outward appearance, travelling, domestic responsibilities, etc.).

To begin with, the novelty of work is in itself the best stimulus for these workers, but in the medium term being able to do what they like with their wage is the most important incentive, meaning that people with mental disabilities must be mainly responsible for spending their wage, although this may include giving a share to the family for their keep.

Since the idea is to help the young people to function as adults, it is understood that problems will be resolved directly between them and the Project's professional workers, referring back to their parents only for certain specific matters.

Those in charge of the Aura Project act as mediators with companies to get young people with a disability into work. To this end, they are developing a scheme of providing direct information to companies about the supply of workers, guaranteeing that integration in the job will be facilitated by the Aura Project itself, with no additional cost to the company. This involves a professional accompanying the young person to work (initially every day, then one day per week and so on), together with individual monitoring by the Aura Project headquarters, by means of a "work-experience monitoring" questionnaire, which the company's personnel officers must complete and which must be endorsed by the professionals.

In the case with which we are concerned, all these steps were followed. During the first two months of work, an instructor from the Aura Project accompanied the new worker throughout the working period (four hours, three days per week) and travelling to and from work. In addition, on another day each week, the young person went to the headquarters of the Aura Project so that they could assess how work was going and provide further training on particular aspects as necessary. Later on, he was accompanied for only one day per week and then not at all. Only after a few years, when the worker was able to manage on his own, did he cease to be assessed in writing by means of the monitoring questionnaire and acquire full independence like the other, non-disabled workers.

B. The role played by the service enterprise

Access to the job was negotiated between the enterprise's personnel department and the professionals of the Aura Project, once it was felt that the job and the people with whom he would be working were suitable for the candidate with Down's Syndrome.

The enterprise chose a female worker to be the "guardian" of the worker with a disability, to stay close to him, help him and facilitate his dealings with other colleagues. This guardian took over the function which had initially been performed by a professional from the Aura Project. The opinion of this person is that her function is very important, both for the worker with a mental disability and for other employees. The guardian provides a reference point to be consulted when some problem arises (which often happens in the cases studied).

Amongst the most important ways in which the candidate must develop in order to achieve successful integration in an ordinary work situation are being able to accept the hierarchical order within the company and to mix with work colleagues, leaving aside aspects not related to work (family, personal problems, demonstrations of affection, etc.).

A team of 45 people work at the Cultural Centre of the enterprise involved in our case. Only two of them have a handicap and they occupy two different jobs, between which they alternate on a weekly basis (photocopying and the documentation centre). Experience has shown managers that Down's Syndrome workers like to change jobs regularly, even when all the tasks carried out are simple and repetitive (making photocopies, filling envelopes, sticking labels on documents, etc.). In so far as they do very routine work which is not very motivating, a periodical change in occupation is very stimulating for them.

The relationship between the two Down's Syndrome employees presents specific difficulties: mutual jealousy, annoyance and small quarrels, etc. For this reason, it was thought better to place them in different jobs, avoiding having them do the same activity together for very long.

Their relationships with other employees are good, although there are times of tension owing to the fact that workers with various handicaps are involved and sometimes irritate their "normal" colleagues through delay in providing urgent photocopies, repetitive gestures and movements, or difficulty in pronunciation or verbal expression (they have to be asked to repeat what they have said because they cannot be easily understood, etc.).

Work efficiency is slightly less than that of a worker without a disability, but there are great differences between the two cases: in the case chosen for this study, the person's performance is 90% and what he does is finished off to a high standard, whereas the other worker is less efficient and less good at adhering to working hours (sometimes arriving late after talking in the street or failing to complete an assignment in order to attend to personal matters which normally would not be settled during working hours). In any event, the guardian acknowledges that these are workers who "cannot integrate like other people" and require a certain degree of patience and understanding on the part of those working alongside them.

The worker with a disability feels very comfortable in the enterprise and plays a large part in the occasional parties and meetings organised by the workers.

Opinions of those interviewed

According to the enterprise's managers, the professional mediation of a "supported employment" organisation like the Aura Project is *essential* for potential workers with Down's Syndrome, in facilitating both access to employment and integration at work during the first weeks or months. In Spain, this function could be performed by the National Employment Institute (INEM), but in practice it is very far from providing personalised assistance to workers with a mental disability.

The enterprise's personnel manager has misgivings about the idea that *public funds* should be used to encourage the hiring of people with a disability (subsidies, exemptions from social security contributions and so on). In his opinion, workers with a disability should do work suited to their potential under the same conditions as other workers; doing them "special" favours comes down to treating them as inferior, in other words making them subject to discrimination.

The foregoing does not mean that employers and work colleagues should not be "aware" when they hire, or share work with, a person with a disability like Down's Syndrome. If this "social awareness" is not present, the employer will never hire such people. Lack of awareness is thought to be due to a mixture of *prejudices* (which cease when the people affected are known personally) and "*not wanting to think*" about problems which any of us could have and towards which a supportive attitude should be taken.

In contrast with the manager of the enterprise, the guardian responsible for assisting the young man with a disability thinks that people with Down's Syndrome cannot be integrated into a firm "like anyone else". In her opinion, firms should take on all sorts of people and not be governed exclusively by the logic of profit and competitiveness.

Overall assessment of case no. 1

Generally speaking, this case demonstrates "*exemplary*" *progression* for a person suffering from Down's Syndrome. In the first place, he was able acceptably to complete primary education at a normal State school and, after undergoing three years of vocational training at a specialised private centre with public funding (the Aura Project), he succeeded in gaining access to a company on the ordinary labour market and, after a three-year trial, was taken on on an indefinite contract. Currently, his working conditions are so good as to enable him to achieve a high degree of independence vis-à-vis his parents (in whose house he lives) and even to manage to establish a new family (probably with another person sharing his disability whom he met amongst his circle of friends at the Aura Project).

Special mention should be made, amongst the parties responsible for the success of this case of integration at work, of the Aura Project professionals who designed a plan for the social integration and employment of young people with Down's Syndrome and, furthermore, set in train an effective procedure for liaison between companies in Barcelona and job seekers with that mental disability. They established a network of contacts, information and training with companies and, with job seekers, a system of personal development, vocational training and work monitoring in ordinary companies.

Nonetheless, various other elements were involved in achieving success in this case: the person's *parents* and his *teachers* at the State school, who fostered favourable attitudes towards his social integration under normal conditions; *public funding*, in this case through the Generalitat of Catalonia and the European HORIZON programme, which enabled the employment-promotion activity of the Aura Project, a private organisation, to be funded²¹; the service enterprise which hired the person with a disability, at the level of both the personnel department and his own work colleagues and, in particular, his guardian, appointed by the enterprise to mediate between the worker suffering from Down's Syndrome and the other parties involved.

On the part of the enterprise hiring the worker, the main explicit motivation is its position as a charity: it not only acknowledges the legal obligation to fill the 2% quota, but feels it should give an example of "awareness" to other companies. Nevertheless, these arguments sound a little demagogic if we consider that the enterprise has now been in operation for five years and only two of the 300 employees have any handicap (0.6% of the staff).

For the enterprise's personnel department, the prerequisite for hiring people with a disability is that they should have a normal level of work efficiency (in other words, like that of other people who have no disability) in relation to the job they are going to do. In our case, the manager thinks that the worker with Down's Syndrome performs as well as other potential candidates in the ancillary job he holds (photocopying, filling envelopes, sticking on labels, etc.). On this point, the guardian and, according to her, his immediate work colleagues do not share this opinion, but believe that such workers do have some specific limitations in comparison with most people without this form of disability, making them, overall, less efficient at work. In particular, they are more easily distracted and require quite continuous and sympathetic (paternal) assistance or support from all their colleagues and, above all, from one of them explicitly entrusted with the task (in our case, the guardian). As far as colleagues are concerned, such support should not be an obstacle to hiring such people, because they understand that work performance should not be the only criterion taken into account in access to employment. When they are pressed to indicate what other criteria should be put forward, the response is very general: having "social awareness". This expression, which was used by both the manager and the guardian, reveals an attitude of pity or support for people suffering social disadvantage, rather than an acknowledgement of the right of all citizens to work, irrespective of their degree of efficiency.

On the basis of the above parameters, the relationship of case no. 1 with his work colleagues is to some extent asymmetrical: before he took on the job, employees were warned that they had to treat him with particular kindness, understanding and patience, these being virtues which, according to the instructor, were necessary to achieve his proper integration at work. Nevertheless, there was a symmetrical relationship between case no. 1 and another employee who came in at the same time as him with the same congenital impairment (Down's Syndrome). Jealousy, disputes and competition soon arose between the two workers, who initially worked together, leading those in charge of the Cultural Centre to decide to separate them.

²¹ The Aura Project is currently in a position of uncertainty with regard to its public funding, since neither the Generalitat nor the HORIZON programme provides long-term assistance, it being necessary to reapply every year.

2.2 Case No. 2: Adult with hearing disability in an industrial/commercial enterprise

Methodology

This case was selected with the help of the employment consultancy and integration team (EAL) of the Municipal Institute for the Disabled of Barcelona City Council, from the register of companies in the city who have people with some disability on their staff²². The enterprise selected was operating internationally, with factories and outlets for its own products in various European countries. The establishment involved here is a hypermarket where goods are sold and which also has workshops for after-sales adjustments to and repair of products.

Three informants were chosen: 1) a professional from the mediating organisation (the Municipal Institute for the Disabled); 2) a management representative from the enterprise; and 3) the supervisor of the unit in which the person with the disability is working. No interview was conducted with the worker himself owing to his specific problems in communicating (deaf mute and illiterate, although able to read the lips of people speaking to him and to say a few words).

Background information on the enterprise

This is a multinational company, of French origin, specialising in sports products. In Spain, it has various production units (although the majority of its products are imported) and 15 large shops handling sales and repairs. The Barcelona centre at which our case study was conducted has an average of 100 employees, although this rises to around 150 at peak selling periods.

The staffing structure consists of a manager with two assistants, various section heads and, at the lower level, sales personnel and workshop technicians. The majority of the latter are university students, aged between 20 and 22 on average, who work 20 hours per week (5 hours/4 days) and are not permanent staff but hired on a temporary basis for a few months. Their incomes are low (Ptas 40 000 per month or Ptas 400 per hour), but there is great demand for the jobs amongst students. There is a works council which represents the workers and negotiates collective agreements, but the major trade unions (Comisiones Obreras and Unión General de Trabajadores) are not represented.

Company personnel policy

For the minority of workers with a high level of responsibility, the profile of the post to be staffed is defined in advance and advertisements are placed in the press, in order to choose the most suitable candidate. With regard to the majority of workers (sales staff and workshop technicians), placing an advertisement in the window of the shopping centre and "word of mouth" among students (both male and female) are sufficient. Each head of section is responsible for selecting his/her team, with the subsequent approval of management; candidates

²² In 1992 this Municipal Institute commissioned a study on companies in Barcelona with more than 50 staff, one of the purposes of which was to establish a register of companies, indicating the opinions and practice of each of them in relation to workers with a disability. Of the 1472 companies of this size existing in Barcelona, information was obtained on 734.

are normally expected to know the product they are going to sell. For example, if they are to sell tennis racquets, they should play and enjoy tennis.

The company has its own training scheme for employees which is currently based in France, but it is planned to set up a new training centre in Spain. The scheme deals with aspects of merchandising, technology involved in the company's products and knowledge of the company in general. Furthermore, at management level, the participation and joint responsibility of the employees is encouraged and, to this end, a monthly meeting is held in each section at which everyone expresses a point of view and makes a contribution. In view of the low average age of workers, there is an atmosphere of camaraderie and friendship amongst them.

Most of the workers do not expect to continue to work for the company, with the exception of a few who hope gradually to become full-time workers on fixed contracts and then rise to management positions.

With regard to workers with a disability, there are currently only two, in both cases with hearing and speech impairments. There was another, who had epileptic fits, but this person left the job of her own accord soon after starting. Management is currently proposing to hire several other workers with physical disabilities, as they have seen that these can be suitable workers and they wish to achieve the target of 2% of jobs for people suffering from handicaps.

The enterprise's practice in a specific case

The case study involves a man of 31, with a hearing disability. He obtained the job less than a year ago within the framework of a "job seeking" course organised by the EAL; this course consisted of 100 hours in the classroom and 200 hours of work experience, which in this case took place within the industrial/commercial enterprise we have described. These 200 hours, at a rate of four hours per day, were worked without any form of payment, but they were decisive in allowing the company to get to know the candidate's aptitudes and subsequently to hire him on a temporary contract for 20 hours per week, on similar terms to the other workers (sales staff and workshop technicians). As the worker with a disability is very aware that work is important to him, he is very responsible and has a great desire to learn and better himself in the tasks entrusted to him. To begin with, he went through a phase of training in the job he was to do (adjusting and repairing sports equipment), which was a great strain for him. According to his workshop manager, he became worked up precisely because he wanted to do things properly from the start, which was not possible, and this made the learning process more complicated. Subsequently, as time went by, he mastered his work and currently he carries out basic tasks correctly (albeit rather slowly, but this is due to the personality of the worker rather than his handicap).

In view of the age of the worker (31) and his wish to get married and set up a home, his expectations are very different from those of most of his colleagues (aged 20, and thinking only about having fun and immediately spending what they earn from work on their hobbies). Because the enterprise's managers know that the person in our case study is interested in continued employment with longer hours, they are considering giving him a new contract with longer hours.

The social background of the person concerned is middle/lower class, from a town in the industrial belt of Barcelona. He is the eldest of three brothers and his widowed mother works in the cleaning sector without a contract (underground economy).

With regard to schooling, he received primary education at a special centre for deaf children, obtaining the basic school certificate. He then undertook vocational training for two years (first level), specialising in electronics, in this case attending a public vocational training centre.

Prior to his participation in the EAL, he had worked as an apprentice in a carpentry workshop and then as a builder's assistant for four years. Finally, he was taken on for six months at a Special Employment Centre, a sheltered scheme, as explained in the introduction. This centre specialised in assembling cables for SEAT cars and the working conditions were very tough: operating on a piecework basis, with low pay, etc.²³

In order to understand how access to employment was gained in this case, it is necessary to look at the role played by the employment consultancy team (EAL), of the Municipal Institute for the Disabled, and by managers and work colleagues at the enterprise, as described below:

A. The role played by the employment consultancy team (EAL)

The Municipal Institute for the Disabled in Barcelona is an autonomous body within the City Council, which runs activities aimed at the care and advancement of people with physical, mental and sensory disabilities, with the purpose of improving their quality of life and social integration, based on the principles of normalisation and recognition of difference.

Under its statutes, all activities are conducted in accordance with an overall plan, which seeks to achieve maximum social gains, bearing in mind the various types and degrees of disability and the various spheres of activity in which intervention is necessary in order to achieve these.

In 1985, the Institute set up the employment consultancy and integration team (EAL) to promote access to the ordinary labour market - private and public-sector companies and government - for those people with a disability residing in the city of Barcelona who retained sufficient capacity for work. The EAL is the first service with these features to be set up in Catalonia and in Spain as a whole, so it has served as a reference point for the establishment of further teams with the same orientation. Between 1988 and 1995, the total number of employment contracts obtained by the EAL was 876, of which 88% were within private enterprise and 12% in government and the public sector. The EAL has taken part in various European projects such as COMBAT, ESPOIR-HERMES and HORIZON.

Eleven professionals provide the EAL's services, as follows: assessment and guidance of candidates; legal advice; training; employment; and support (instructors). In our case, the person with the hearing disability took full advantage of all these services and the result was his apparently successful integration within an ordinary enterprise.

²³ There are two Special Employment Centres of this nature in Barcelona Province, which were set up by a businessman with the aim of attaining the greatest possible profitability, taking advantage of subsidies and tax breaks obtained by hiring people with a handicap who needed to find work. According to our informants, workers at the Centres are people with no training who cannot find any other job opportunities.

The final step was a "job-seeking course". This type of course consists of 300 hours, including 100 hours in the classroom and 200 hours of on-the-job training. The methodology employed is active and dynamic, with plenty of trips to employment bureaux, the use of street guides, job centres and computerised information on vacancies, with simulated interviews filmed on video for the purposes of subsequent analysis. Between 1993 and 1996, these courses were attended by 80 people with disabilities, achieving an average rate of employment in ordinary companies of $51\%^{24}$. In the opinion of EAL's managers, while the contracts obtained are of a temporary nature, they have so far had a very high rate of continuity.

In the case with which we are dealing, the EAL signed a cooperation agreement with the industrial/commercial enterprise in which the latter undertook to work with the EAL on a training/employment programme for the student and potential employee and to take him on subsequently, if he met the required conditions. Training took place at the enterprise itself and all the practical work involved the job for which he was being trained, namely within the section dealing with the technical adjustment and repair of sporting products. During such courses, the figure of the EAL instructor is of vital importance, providing the necessary support to reach the working level required; his/her presence diminishes as the student becomes more familiar with the job content. This is when the company itself (supervisors and colleagues) takes over to facilitate the candidate's integration. Nevertheless, during the first few years, the new worker periodically attends EAL headquarters in order to evaluate the integration process with the monitoring officer (in our case, he does this every fifteen days). Furthermore, there is relatively frequent telephone contact between the head of section (sometimes called the "sponsor") and the EAL monitoring officer.

B. The role played by the enterprise

In 1996, the enterprise took the decision to hire people with "handicaps" until the 2% target set by Spanish legislation was achieved. The initiative came from the manager of the shopping centre, who was, according to our informants, especially "aware" in this area (for unspecified "personal reasons")²⁵. The other managers accepted the proposal and, in view of the lack of applicants with a disability, as they had not come forward spontaneously to seek work, the enterprise contacted various disability organisations. In addition to the Municipal Institute for the Disabled, contact was made with ASPACE (the Federation of associations caring for people with cerebral palsy) and the Aura Project.

On the basis of the contacts established, three recruits came forward from the EAL (Municipal Institute) and it was planned to bring in two more from ASPACE. One of the three placements from the EAL did not proceed, owing to the employee's failure to work regularly (this was an apparently normal person who had periodic epileptic fits). The two who stayed were a young man of 22, for whom the work would provide a little extra for leisure activities, in a similar manner to most workers of his age, and the case we have studied, a man of 31 wishing to obtain settled employment and set up a new home.

²⁴ The company which took most part in these courses was McDonald's, which took on twelve workers with a disability through the EAL in only three years.

²⁵ An additional reason, which was in the minds of many of the enterprise's employees, was the pleasant memory of the Paralympic games held in Barcelona (1992), where it was demonstrated that the willpower of people with disabilities can more than compensate for their functional limitations.

It was thought that, in view of the type of hearing and speech impairment involved, it was better to find a job which did not involve meeting the public, namely that of workshop technician. The main problem which arose was and continues to be communication, not just with the public but with colleagues and managers. Apart from his difficulty in hearing and speaking, he was a shy and initially suspicious person (unlike the other person taken on with the same hearing disability). Nevertheless, he gradually gained confidence with colleagues and it became increasingly easy for everyone to communicate with gestures and a few words.

Work performance: he is very responsible in his tasks and he carries them out well and in an orderly manner, in so far as they do not involve changes or complicated adaptations, in which case communication difficulties constitute a substantial barrier. In other words, this is a worker who is able to work very steadily, but has difficulty in adapting himself flexibly to changes and new situations which involve introducing new information. This problem is exacerbated by the employee's low academic qualifications, which make it difficult for him to express himself in writing (he writes in "pidgin" and with noticeable difficulty) or to understand written language, computer-generated messages and so on. The workshop manager has to spend quite a lot more time than he would with other workers in teaching him new tasks or passing on information relating to the work he has to do. In any event, the employee's responsibility and attitude and his attempts to better himself mean that, in general, he carries out his tasks well and the enterprise considers him to be an acceptable worker.

According to the head of section, the worker with a disability came in with a very poor record both in academic terms (he was almost illiterate) and in employment terms, since his experiences of work had been very negative (with no company structure or proper employment contract, no job title, etc.). To begin with, he suffered a complex in his relations with colleagues, his self-esteem was exceptionally low and he had no confidence in his ability to do anything. Nevertheless, his attitude was very receptive and now he knows very well what his role and abilities are, he shows initiative and so on. The only obstacle, in this sense, is the communication difficulty to which we have already referred, which prevents him from exploiting some of the worker participation channels available at the enterprise. At the beginning, he attended his section's monthly review and planning meetings but, as he understood almost nothing, he decided to stop going. On the other hand, the co-ordinator patiently passes on information to him, in writing and verbally (he can partially understand spoken language, when the person speaking to him is close by and exaggerates their diction), but he can only do this to a certain extent and it is not possible to achieve in some circumstances, for example in section meetings, where many people speak from different places and on complex topics which our man is not really able to assimilate.

Opinions of those interviewed

The management representative we interviewed considered that the person in question has two features which distinguish him from the rest of the staff (sales personnel and workshop technicians): firstly, his low level of academic and vocational qualifications, which limit him in many respects (for example in coordination functions or in working with the computer); and, secondly, his employment expectations which, in view of his age and desire to form a family, are geared towards employment stability and working longer hours in order to ensure an adequate income. This point worries the enterprise's managers, who are looking into various ways of giving the hearing-impaired worker a new contract of employment with more hours

(perhaps as store co-ordinator, where communication with the public would not be required, but for which greater mastery of computer language would be desirable).

In the opinion of the section head (the guardian or "sponsor" of the person involved), there are many factors which depend on the characteristics of each individual worker: level of skills, personal attitude to work and colleagues and so on, but in relation to people with hearing and speech impairments there is an "additional difficulty" which must be recognised: "let us not deceive ourselves, communication with them is not the same... In order to explain something to them, I have to spend much more time with them than with others who hear well and can clearly express their doubts...". In this case too, the guardian feels that firms and work colleagues should make an extra effort to integrate those persons who, as a result of specific problems, require greater commitment and/or understanding.

Overall assessment of case no. 2

This case is representative of the most common experience of integration into society and employment for people with a congenital or perinatal disability: coming from a family with limited resources (a widowed mother working in the underground economy), he received primary education at a special centre (for deaf children) and, after studying for two years at a public vocational training centre, he went through various precarious jobs on the ordinary labour market (carpenter's apprentice, builder's assistant) before getting a job at a Special Employment Centre, in this case organised with the aim of exploiting the workforce to the maximum. Having reached this point in his career, our subject did a course with the EAL, a team specialising in supported employment, and came into the ordinary enterprise where he now works.

The working environment in the new enterprise is satisfactory, but the income is very low for an adult wishing to settle down professionally (Ptas 40 000 net per month, 20 hours' work per week). In this context, the worker is at a decisive stage in his life, seeking to ensure settled employment in order to get married and set up his own home, independent of his parents. This means that he approaches his work with a great feeling of responsibility and a wish to do it properly and to the satisfaction of those in charge. For this reason, he is always prepared to work overtime, even on Sundays, and to cooperate in whatever is asked of him. As far as the enterprise is concerned, this clashes with the employee profile in relation to which our subject was hired (sales staff and workshop technicians on part-time, temporary contracts, jobs which are usually filled by university students of around 20 years of age who are working to pay their personal expenses and/or for their studies). Nevertheless, in this case, the enterprise has adopted an open-minded attitude and is looking into the possibility of giving him a more permanent contract with longer working hours, which would mean changing his employment status to that of the minority of the employees with open-ended, full-time contracts, a qualitative change more in accordance with his expectations.

Amongst the agents involved in this case of integration into employment, special mention should be made of *the leading role played by the enterprise* which, at a given moment, adopted a specific policy of hiring some people with disabilities, with a view to reaching at least the 2% target set by the law. This decision was prompted by the manager of the shopping centre, not by the company at multinational level, and the reason put forward by the interviewee (the manager's assistant) was that the manager had "special awareness" in this area. Consequently, as there were no job applicants with handicaps, the enterprise sought out organisations who could provide them and, for this purpose, it got in touch with the Municipal Institute for the Disabled (employment consultancy team), the Aura Project and a federation

for people with cerebral palsy (ASPACE). Three people obtained jobs through the EAL and two are about to obtain them through ASPACE. What could the enterprise's motivation have been for adopting this explicit policy of hiring people with disabilities? Apart from the possible "personal" motives of the manager, which we do not know (perhaps he has somebody in the family with a disability), one of the theories we find most plausible is an *attempt to gain legitimisation and a good social image* on the part of an enterprise whose profitability is primarily based on employing, for the most part, a casual, low-paid workforce (young students who receive an amount close to the minimum wage).

With regard to the productivity of the employee, we found a difference of opinion similar to that detected in case no. 1: while the representative of the enterprise's management insisted that the employee *worked efficiently* and, from this point of view, fully justified his integration in the company, the section head who acts as "sponsor" or guardian for the person concerned stresses the specific limitations that a hearing/speech impairment imposes, inasmuch as it makes *communication* more difficult, thereby reducing the *flexibility* to do new work or introduce changes to customary procedures. This consideration does not imply a negative assessment of the worker, but recognition of some specific limitations in relation to the ideal model of a competitive worker. However, in addition, we have in this case the limitation of the *low level of education* (another common characteristic of people with disabilities in Spain), which cannot be attributed directly to the disability, but which reinforces and aggravates the problem of communication (great difficulty in written language and using the computer terminals that the enterprise has introduced into all sections).

With regard to his relationship with colleagues, the initial communication problems have gradually been overcome and the worker with a disability can now address himself to any of his colleagues (with signs and mumbles), with no need for the mediation of the sponsor as happened initially. Nevertheless, as also occurred in case no. 1, there is a degree of *asymmetry* inasmuch as our employee has been marginalised/has marginalised himself from the usual channels of participation and management of his section in the enterprise (regular meetings at which everyone expresses a point of view about the enterprise's progress, makes proposals and so on). After attending a few of these meetings, his difficulty in following the content of debates led him to cease attending them, which accentuated his position of "dependency" vis-à-vis the decision-making processes set in train by his colleagues. Furthermore, this situation enhances the importance of the guardian or "sponsor" charged with mediating personally between the employee with a disability and the rest of the company.

2.3 Case No. 3: young person with a mental disability in manufacturing industry

Methodology

The profile of case no. 3 was established jointly with an independent consultancy (Gabinete Professionales y Proyectos, Pro & Pro [Professionals and Projects Consultancy, Pro & Pro]), commissioned by an association of families and professionals dealing with care, social integration and employment promotion for people with disabilities (Asociación Las Encinas, Guadalajara), which specialises in using the *supported employment* formula to implement its objectives. Within the range of companies in which the supported employment formula had been adopted, a manufacturing industry in the food sector was chosen.

There were four key informants: 1) job placement officers from the consultancy specialising in "supported employment", who had located the company and promoted the recruitment of the individual using the supported employment formula; 2) a trainer from the consultancy, responsible for the vocational training of the candidate and for adapting the workstation; 3) the owner of the industry employing the individual; and 4) the young worker with a slight mental disability.

Background information on the manufacturing company

The manufacturing company was set up at the end of the 1970s. From the start, it has been a small family business, which has continued to employ four or five permanent staff, in addition to relying on the work of various members of the family at particular times. It belongs to the food industry sector, in the confectionery/patisserie branch.

The city in which this food industry is located is Guadalajara, with some 60 000 inhabitants, a provincial capital involved in farming and services, in view of its closeness to the major city of Madrid. The traditional confectionery sector requires manual work and the introduction of technologically advanced machinery is not possible, contrary to what has happened in the major food and patisserie industries. Proximity to the large urban nucleus of Madrid and the ever greater penetration of large food-producing enterprises (bakeries, industrial patisserie production, etc.) are reversing the process of the 1960s, when it was thought that Guadalajara could become the service provider for Madrid. In practice, the major food industries are taking over the market even of small cities, such as Guadalajara. This means that the sector of traditional hand-produced food, and especially confectionery, is on the wane, giving way to large industries from outside. Over the last twenty years, the sector has apparently shrunk to less than a quarter of its former size, and remains as a traditional rump. The owner himself, who took over the business from his father, says that he does not want his children to go on working there. The sector is in decline.

Company personnel policy

As this is a small family business with a staff of four or five permanent employees, personnel policy has been quite stable over the past two decades. On the one hand, the nucleus of workers employed has shown great continuity - the majority of them have been moving towards retirement in the company or have been there for some years - and, on the other hand, the participation of members of the family (the owner's wife or children) at peak times (like Sunday mornings or during local festivals) is guaranteed as in any other family business. The most significant change, from this point of view, was the owner's decision to stay and work on a permanent basis some fifteen years ago. The conclusion he draws is that nowadays, with fewer or the same number of employees as a few years ago, he manages to produce more, given his presence in the industry and sales outlet. The basic problem with this type of work is the unsocial hours (they start at six in the morning and work Saturdays and Sundays, although Mondays are free and there is a half-day closure on Wednesday)²⁶. In view of this and the continual effort required in the manual work involved, with hardly any mechanical assistance, it is considered an unattractive job for young people.

²⁶ The labour agreement in the patisserie sector sets weekly working time at 40 hours, but does not stipulate how this is to be organized.

There have been two cases of people with disabilities working at the company: the current one, with which we shall deal later on, and an earlier one, involving a handicapped person known to the owner's family who worked in the industry for six months some years ago until he found another job with better hours. As he had adjusted well to the work, the employer concluded that this sector is a fall-back used when there are no other job opportunities at times of unemployment or restriction in other sectors. This situation implies that people who come to look for work in this sector have no skills, including skills in the food or confectionery industries. In the first case where a handicapped person was hired (according to the employer), the hiring followed the usual channels with regard to working conditions, tax, etc.; the employer did not take up the tax advantages and subsidies for employing that person, owing to the short time he was there and to ignorance of them. This situation differs from that of the case we are studying.

The company's practice with regard to case no. 3

Case no. 3 concerns a young man of 27 with a slight mental disability, taken on in the food industry with a contract using the "supported employment" formula; the employer enjoys a partial reduction in social security contributions and a substantial subsidy (one million pesetas) if the contract becomes open-ended.

The young disabled person was born in another Spanish province but, owing to family circumstances (the death of his parents), he came to live in and receive training at special schools until his arrival in Guadalajara. His social background is lower class and, being an orphan and living away from the village where he was born, he does not maintain many links with his family, who remain there. He was trained at vocational centres and special schools until completing the basic cycle, with some delay. He spent several years at the Special Employment Centre of the Labour Project, a private enterprise which reinvests its profits in creating new jobs for people with disabilities, depending in its turn on the Asociación Las Encinas (association of families and professionals dealing with people with disabilities). At the Special Employment Centre, he was trained in various fields (community services: cleaning, gardening, carpentry; handling food and cooking: with a view to restaurant work); the training covered both theory (attending courses on catering, gardening, etc.) and practice (he worked for more than a year as a kitchen porter at the Special Employment Centre). To date he has been living in a sheltered housing scheme, "Salud", run by the Provincial Social Welfare Department of the regional government of Castile-La Mancha, which takes in single disabled people, with no age limit, until they get a job and are in a position to arrange their own housing as a result.

Two months ago, he was put forward by professionals from the *Pro & Pro Consultancy* and the Asociación *Las Encinas* as a suitable candidate for a job, at the request of the confectionery company, once the employment agents had provided the latter with information about the advantages of hiring a person with a disability.

The process of integration into social and working life in this case is essentially the result of the work done by the Asociación *Las Encinas* and its institutional structure, and of the *Pro & Pro (Professionals and Projects) Consultancy*, whose joint aim is the prospect of supported employment.

A. The role played by the Asociación Las Encinas

The Asociación Las Encinas, formed by people with disabilities and their families and professionals in the sector, is incorporated in Guadalajara as a non-profit-making body and manages a vocational centre, as well as running a Special Employment Centre through the Labour Project, which comes under the HORIZON programme. The aim is to provide integration into employment through the creation of both ordinary and sheltered employment, based on suitable basic and vocational training (developing skills: professional attitudes and qualifications) in order to provide personalised support in the training/production process. Areas of professional qualification are catering, community services (cleaning, gardening, etc.) and the food processing industry.

The strategy used is supported employment, which means providing assistance to the disabled person in social and economic integration both when seeking employment and in the whole process of preparing and monitoring integration into working life (including adapting the workstation, where necessary). The final stage in the process is the possibility of independent living for the disabled person, having used access to employment as the basic strategy.

B. The role played by the Pro & Pro (Professionals and Projects) Consultancy

The work of mediation with companies is not done by the Asociación Las Encinas, although it does provide basic vocational training for people with disabilities. Mediation, with regard to aspects such as seeking suitable companies and job profiles for people with disabilities, informing employers of the advantages of hiring such people and preparing the worker in terms of the acquisition of skills and preparing the workstation (equipment, space, furniture, etc.), where necessary, is a matter for the Pro & Pro Consultancy. This is a private agency which has a commercial contract with the Asociación Las Encinas to promote the social integration and integration into employment of people trained at the Association's Special Employment Centre.

Once the company has been selected and informed of the advantages of hiring people with disabilities (the slogan used is "Our work is your solution"), a task performed by the *job placement officers*, if the employer asks for a worker, the *trainer and socio-psychologist* take over. The latter prepares the individual profile of the potential candidate and compares it with the profile required for the job offered by the employer, putting forward the best candidate. The trainer considers the requirements of the job, working conditions and the actual task to be performed in order both to prepare the candidate him- or herself and to suggest, where necessary, adjustments to the workstation (space, machinery, equipment, etc.) and the subsidies which may be available for this.

Once the job interview has taken place in the presence of the trainer, employment conditions, which are made known to and accepted in advance by the candidate, are fixed and the latter starts work. The trainer carries out daily monitoring of the job and the worker until he or she is able to manage on their own.

In case no. 3, there is a specific difficulty, mentioned by the trainer, employer and worker, which is *difficulty in remembering work instructions* (for example, filling square cakes with chocolate and round ones with cream, while the long flat ones must be coated with egg white; remembering to clean a particular work implement, when this is not done regularly, etc.). This

difficulty is being resolved using the technique with which the worker was familiar in the kitchen of the Special Employment Centre, when he worked as a porter, that is to say getting the specifications in writing and keeping them in front of him.

The short time he has worked at the food company (less than two months) and the relative novelty of the work, for which the worker had not received vocational training, although he had been trained in related fields such as handling food and kitchen work with similar equipment (dishwasher, cold chambers, etc.), mean that the worker is still in the practical-experience phase and under the supervision of the trainer. According to the latter, he is settling in well and now requires virtually no supervision; for his part, the employer also thinks that integration has been smooth and stresses the initiative shown by the worker in some areas (such as cleaning tiles, floors and materials) with which he was already familiar owing to his prior experience at the Special Employment Centre.

With regard to relationships with work colleagues, there has been no negative reaction from any side, at least not displayed openly. On the one hand, the employer is quite clear that the presence of the disabled worker requires a *degree of special attention*, but that it does not involve a change in the pace of work and that, at the same time, it provides him with a *medium-term benefit* in the shape of reduced social security contributions and a job subsidy if he goes on to give the worker an open-ended contract; on the other hand, the other employees are older than case no. 3, which means that they treat him with a degree of *paternal condescension*. The employer thinks that perhaps family businesses are more willing to take on such people than large companies, in which the production line allows no time for contemplation. The worker himself says he is happy with the work and his gradual integration into it: he began with simple tasks and since then, in view of his willingness and interest, the employer has been suggesting other, more skilled tasks which might enable him eventually to upgrade his occupational status. At the present time, he is an assistant (the next categories are labourer, second journeyman, first journeyman and foreman); advancement in the company is a matter not of seniority, but of skills.

Work performance, in the employer's opinion, leaves something to be desired in terms of ability clearly to understand or grasp tasks, but the worker's motivation and willingness make up for this. Nevertheless, in the opinion of the trainer and the person concerned, productivity is within the usual margins at his level (assistant).

Opinions of those interviewed

The *employer* thinks that the traditional hand-made food sector (including cakes and confectionery) is a sector in decline which is tending to be swallowed up by the major industrial production plants (bakers, patisserie companies, etc.) on the one hand and, on the other, by the hypermarkets, which impose very harsh payment conditions (90 days) and demand enormous quantities of production on a very variable basis (which cannot be accommodated by a small low-technology industry). This decline means that there is not much thrust towards job creation; those who were there before are kept on. In addition, because of the unusual working hours, requiring a very early start and having to come to work on Saturdays and Sundays, the jobs are not attractive to young people.

With regard to large food industries, it is thought that small ones can offer a more homely environment for workers with disabilities. Like the former, the latter need to be profitable, but they maintain a more human side. In any case, the employer states openly that he took on the worker because of the social security advantages and the possibility of a job subsidy. He does not think it a great disadvantage to lack qualifications if someone is really interested in performing their task. In small firms, trust is more necessary as they have no control systems like large firms do. In his opinion, case no. 3 has more motivation at work than some of the other employees ("he has a different mentality") but, in the final analysis, if he finds something better he will leave the sector, just like the other employees. To sum up, it is a fall-back and, possibly, transient employment sector even for the disabled person himself.

In the opinion of the job placement officers and trainer from the Pro & Pro Consultancy, the process in case no. 3 has been exemplary: moving from a vocational centre to a Special Employment Centre, that is from initial, therapeutic training to sheltered work and from there to employment in an open environment, using the supported employment formula. The worker is said to have responded well during the various stages and is currently very well motivated.

The result was made possible by both the preparation of the worker and the motivation of the employer. The worker received good basic training and, in particular, a professional qualification in handling food which made him suitable for this job; in addition, the experience acquired in his previous work in the kitchen of the Special Employment Centre had been an appropriate transit point to working in an open environment. The willingness of the employer to hire the worker stands out, although in fact it was not the first contact between them, since students from the vocational centre were already working by agreement for other enterprises run by members of the employer's family.

One particular aspect highlighted by the job placement officers was the indiscriminate competition they are beginning to see in the city on the part of the recently created temporary employment agencies. In Guadalajara, a small city, the large multinational companies in the sector (Agio, Alta Gestión, Umano, Adecco, etc.) have set up offices over the last year, claiming to tackle the issue of people with disabilities but, according to them, not doing so effectively. The supply of labour using the supported employment formula is apparently becoming subject to great competition, especially owing to the lack of knowledge of it on the part of employers, who may tend to accept offers from temporary employment agencies in order to avoid problems for themselves. In order to get over this difficulty, the Asociación Las Encinas and the Pro & Pro Consultancy have put in a request for SIPE (sickness information centre) status as a centre co-operating with the INEM in job placement, as applies to the ONCE Foundation (National Organisation for the Blind) and associations for the physically disabled.

In the opinion of the trainer, a substantial obstacle in the process of achieving independence in case no. 3 is his low level of training and poor self-esteem as a worker. Inasmuch as he has begun a process of overcoming these two obstacles, he should be able to take the next step: living independently by setting up a new family unit (he currently lives in sheltered accommodation).

When interviewed, the *disabled worker* said that the step he took in leaving the Special Employment Centre to work in an open environment was a large one and he is happy about it, but that the next two steps are even more difficult and he does not know if he will succeed. One is living independently (to date he has been living in sheltered accommodation for people with disabilities) and the other is to establish a stable relationship. With regard to

accommodation, the basic problem is the high cost of housing in the city, but he is not afraid of having to do all the work required to keep an apartment (cleaning, cooking, etc.). On the other hand, with regard to the possibility of establishing a stable relationship as part of a couple, he finds himself in a very delicate position: he has a relationship with a young disabled woman, living in the same sheltered accommodation as himself, but her family are totally opposed to this. Going to work outside and having the possibility of getting a place of his own keeps up his hope that the girl's family will change their minds. If that does not happen, he will have to adopt another strategy or possibly "look for another girl out in the street" ("the street" means people who are not in the institution).

The interviewee is comfortable in his current work, but he would prefer another activity in which he could develop broader personal relationships. In this regard, the interviewee is currently taking driving lessons in order to get a licence and be able to work as a delivery man (either for the patisserie business or another company). With regard to other activities, the interviewee feels that he would not like to work in gardening, an occupational sector for which he had trained by following a course at the Special Employment Centre.

Overall assessment of case no. 3

This case represents, to a greater extent than case no. 1, an *exemplary process of integration into social and working life* of a person with a great social disadvantage, not just because of a congenital mental disability (borderline intelligence), but because he was orphaned very young and cared for by the public welfare system for homeless children. After going through various special education centres and completing primary education with difficulty, he began his training at a vocational centre and then moved on to a Special Employment Centre under the auspices of the Asociación Las Encinas. At the Special Centre, he was initiated in various occupations, including that of kitchen porter, which acted as a platform for him to move on to his current employment on the ordinary labour market as a worker at a patisserie enterprise, where his job category is that of "assistant". He is still living in sheltered accommodation for single disabled people, but his plan, which he hopes to achieve, is to get his own accommodation and then get married, once he overcomes his current problems with his girlfriend's family. The key to success in this career plan is keeping his current job and earning an adequate wage.

Amongst the players involved in this case, particular mention should be made of the rapprochement between a voluntary-sector agency dealing with disability issues (Asociación Las Encinas) and the public administration (with its system of assistance and protective measures: sheltered accommodation, subsidies for special schooling and to the vocational centres and Special Employment Centres and, finally, tax exemptions and subsidies for the employing enterprise). On another level, it is also necessary to stress the financial support provided by the HORIZON programme which facilitated the commissioning of an agency specialising in personnel selection and supported employment.

From the point of view of the enterprise taking on the worker, a combination of motives was involved: firstly, *the suitability of the candidate for the job* as an "assistant" and, secondly, the *lower economic cost* of hiring the worker owing to his handicap: exemption from a substantial share of social security contributions and one million pesetas for the employer if he signs an open-ended contract. These advantages were not present, for various reasons, in cases 1 and 2 (large and medium-sized enterprises) and acquire much greater relevance in case no. 3, a small enterprise in a sector in crisis which is in great need of capital.

With regard to work colleagues, case no. 3 is the only one in the assistant category, which places him below and at the service of the other workers. They adopt a "*paternal*" attitude towards him which is a result both of the age difference and his disabled status, together with some specific problems in performing the work which are attributable to difficulty in remembering things, but which are probably related to his low level of intelligence and understanding of the instructions he receives. Nevertheless, these are minor problems which do not substantially affect the performance of the tasks he has to carry out.

OVERALL ANALYSIS OF THE THREE CASES (CONCLUSIONS)

In order not to repeat the analysis already presented in the preceding chapter, we shall indicate briefly the results which emerge in relation to the factors considered most important in the broad outline of this investigation (Draft Guidelines, March 1996).

- 1. Generally speaking, the factors encouraging the employment of people with disabilities in the three examples studied varied, with some weighing more heavily than others in each case. As far as the enterprises were concerned, in cases 1 and 2, the desire to present a good social image as model enterprises with regard to hiring staff carried great weight, for various reasons: in the case of the service enterprise associated with a financial institution (case no. 1), because it was a "charity" which was supposed to set a good example to other companies; and, in the case of the industrial/commercial enterprise (case no. 2), because hiring some employees with handicaps could help to legitimise their overall staff policy, which was based on resorting mainly to temporary, precarious employment. In these two cases, the assistance and subsidies granted by the government for hiring people with a handicap carried very little weight (the manager in case no. 2 considers that this is discrimination which "degrades" the worker). In contrast with these two cases, the main motivation of the employer in case no. 3 was the reduction in the social security contributions he had to pay for the worker and the expectation of collecting one million pesetas when the latter was given an open-ended contract. With regard to the legal obligation for 2% of the employees of companies with more than 50 employees to be people with a disability, employers are fully aware that this commitment is not worth the paper it is written on, since virtually no employer meets the standard and this has no consequences, but they use it as an additional argument for strengthening their "model" policy of hiring some workers with disabilities (who in no case make up 2% of the staff).
- 2. In the three cases studied, people with disabilities were hired through the mediation of organisations specialising in the supported employment of people with disabilities. According to the employers interviewed, it is very unusual to find candidates coming through the usual employment channels (advertisements in newspapers or in the company's window, CVs on file, etc.) who explicitly mention their handicap (many of them do not use these normal channels and, when they do, they conceal the matter of their disability). In our three cases, access to employment came about on the basis of a previous link between the enterprises and the supported employment organisation; the latter were ultimately the ones who put the candidate forward, accompanied him during the first stage of settling into the job and undertook to take the employee off the company's hands if he did not meet the expected standards of performance and good behaviour. In none of the three cases was there an official policy of promoting employment for people with disabilities, although in both case no. 1 and case no. 2, the enterprise did make an unwritten decision to hire people with disabilities until they reached the target of at least 2% of their staff. In both cases, they greatly appreciate the role played by the supported employment organisations, which helped them to carry out

this policy with a maximum of guarantees from the point of view of the enterprise's interests.

- 3. Specifically, in case no. 1, the initiative came from the supported employment organisation the Aura Project, which has established a vast network of connections with various companies to inform and instruct employers with regard to the advantages of taking on people with mental disabilities for particular jobs. In case no. 2, the initiative came from the enterprise itself (especially its manager, although it was subsequently taken up by the rest of the management team) and it was the enterprise which sought out the supported employment organisations (it is negotiating with three at the same time, one public, one private and the other under the auspices of an association for people with disabilities). Finally, in case no. 3, it was the supported employment organisation which responded to a job offer from a small enterprise and convinced the employer of the advantages for him of hiring a young person with an officially recognised handicap (who would do the expected work but would be cheaper thanks to the exemptions and State subsidies for people with a handicap).
- 4. On the basis of the cases studied, it is obvious that organisations specialising in *supported employment* are an appropriate channel for information and negotiation enabling employers to get in touch with potential employees with particular disabilities. The most striking case is that of the Employment Assessment and Integration Team, reporting to Barcelona City Council, which has files on the majority of companies in the city with more than 50 employees, having systematically surveyed them to find out their practices and opinions in relation to hiring people with disabilities.
- 5. Although, in general, all the people consulted - and the survey conducted in Barcelona which we have just mentioned - allude to the common prejudices of employers in relation to people with disabilities, we did not come up against this amongst the employers and work colleagues of the three individuals studied. On the contrary, in these cases there is an opposite "prejudice" on the part of the employers and high-level management in the sense that they overvalue workers with disabilities and consider them equal to or more efficient than the other workers. This attitude is qualified in the case of work colleagues (and the guardian/trainer or "sponsor" responsible for assisting the person in question on a day-to-day basis), in the sense that they more clearly appreciate the specific limitations which each type of disability entails. In our case, these limitations are described as problems of "distraction from the task", "difficulty in communication" and "poor memory", with reference to those affected by Down's Syndrome, deafness and low IQ (cases 1, 2 and 3 respectively). These limitations vary in type and degree in accordance with the types and degrees of impairment, but they are "obvious" to immediate colleagues; nevertheless, they are not emphasised by the owners and managers of large and medium-sized enterprises (cases 1 and 2), who defend the principle of equal efficiency of these workers and, to this extent, try to bring in the suitability of the worker for his job from the point of view of labour productivity as the main (sole?) criterion for hiring staff. In other words, the policy of hiring handicapped people on the part of the representatives of large and medium-sized enterprises we interviewed is based on the premise that they must perform as well as other workers in the jobs for which they were hired. This argument is put forward in the same terms by the professional mediators of the supported employment organisations, but it is not shared by immediate work

colleagues, for whom the disabilities give rise to specific limitations which vary in each case according to the type and degree of impairment.

- Cases 1 (Down's Syndrome) and 3 (borderline intelligence) may be considered as 6. examples of "good practice" inasmuch as they cover positive experiences of integration into social and working life. Good practice in these two cases is not simply the result of the policy of integration of some enterprises, but of the convergence of many agents and factors, including supported employment organisations, the financial and occupational support policies of the government and the European employment programmes (HORIZON in these two cases), the cooperation of the families and self-help associations and, above all, the positive attitude and desire to work of the people with disabilities themselves. Cases 1 and 3 feel personally satisfied with the access they have gained to employment and hope to be able to achieve, by means of their work and wages, the goals of personal emancipation which they have not yet reached (getting married and having a home of their own, independence from their parents and State guardianship). In case no. 2, access to employment has brought only partial satisfaction, because the income level (Ptas 40 000 net per month) and the precariousness of the contract (of three months' duration) do not provide a sufficient basis for setting up a home (the main expectation of the worker with hearing problems).
- 7. In the three cases, the employers did not need to remove architectural barriers, since the types of impairment did not require this; in their opinion, nevertheless, many employers are reluctant to hire candidates with physical disabilities because of the high costs which alterations involving building work entail (assistance available from the government is said to be limited and complicated to arrange). In cases 1 and 2, the enterprises prepared the staff to give a good reception to the disabled candidate and they then appointed an employee as "guardian" or "sponsor" of the disabled worker in order to keep an eye on him and liaise with the rest of the enterprise and with the supported employment organisation (whose cooperation is much valued by enterprises, even several years after taking on a disabled employee). For the rest, it was not necessary to alter tasks or working methods in the cases studied.
- 8. In strict cost-benefit terms for companies, the overall result in the cases studied is that workers with disabilities are "profitable" only in case no. 3, a small industry in a crisis situation for which the limitations on the candidate's work performance (his lack of memory/intelligence) are offset by the exemptions and subsidies associated with his handicapped status. In cases 1 and 2, the limitations of the workers are offset by the improved or cleaned-up image they give the enterprise; this argument does appear in the enterprises' employment policies, but it is not explicitly acknowledged by the people interviewed (personnel manager and manager's assistant), who insist on the equal efficiency of the person with a disability as the primary motivation for hiring such people and defend their right to equal opportunities and non-discrimination in relation to other job seekers. With regard to work colleagues, they recognise the specific - and different limitations of people with disabilities in comparison with the "ideal employee" (intelligent, flexible, multi-skilled, etc.), but they do not see this as an obstacle to the hiring of such people, since they understand that employment should not be seen only in terms of profitability and the efficiency of the worker, but also in terms of awareness/social justice. This latter argument was not greatly developed in our interviews, but it falls within a broad range of ideological justifications from the "right to

work" that should be enjoyed by all citizens (an argument found more amongst trade unionists and the left in general) to the paternalist attitude of *"helping the needy"*, which is found more in rural/traditional settings and which, in our case, was found amongst the work colleagues of case no. 3. These last reflections indicate various ideological positions which underlie the attitudes displayed by the various players involved in the employment of people with disabilities. These positions need to be studied in more depth using appropriate techniques.

9. With regard to concrete proposals in respect of social policy aimed at facilitating the labour market participation of people with disabilities, the main conclusion of this study is that rehabilitation in the ordinary labour market of people with disabilities (in Spain, only 20% of those between the ages of 16 and 64 are employed) should be encouraged to a greater degree and less emphasis should be placed on the policy of pensions and sheltered employment (special employment centres, monopolies for the selling of lottery tickets, etc.). In particular, we would highlight the following concrete measures to encourage labour market participation: boosting the basic training and vocational rehabilitation of unemployed people with disabilities; developing specific campaigns designed to raise the awareness of the main economic agents (employers and trade unions) of their responsibility to contribute more actively towards bringing about full employment in a society suffering massive structural employment, as in Spain (which affects the most vulnerable groups above all, such as people with some form of disability); finally, the three cases studied are conclusive with regard to the positive role played by supported-employment organisations, which should receive greater support from both the legal and financial points of view.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE INTEGRATION INTO SOCIAL AND WORKING LIFE OF PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES IN SPAIN

Paper	Methodology	Results
Javier Albor (Ed.) Minusvalía e inserción laboral (en la Comunidad de Madrid) [Handicap and access to employment (in the region of Madrid)], Instituto para la formación [Training Institute], Madrid, 1995. Promoted by the regional government and the ONCE Foundation to encourage labour-market participation.	Survey of a sample of 1107 cases based on the registers of the Centros Base of Madrid region. 11 group meetings with handicapped people. 4 group meetings with employers.	Results of the survey and group meetings, with brief comments. Special attention to employment pathways, from childhood to adulthood.
 Txema L. Alonso La exclusión laboral del disminuido físico: etiología y políticas de superación [Exclusion from employment of the physically handicapped: aetiology and remedial policies], Departamento de Bienestar Social de la Diputación Foral de Bizkaia [Social Welfare Department of the Autonomous Delegation of Vizcaya], Bilbao, 1992. Promoted by the Delegation to encourage labour-market participation. 	Secondary sources. Survey of a sample of 341 cases of physical handicap based on the registers of the Centros Base of the Vizcaya Delegation. Interviews with some employers.	Analysis of the situation has led to an integrated action programme to promote employment for the group.
AMAT La deficiencia mental en Cantabria [Mental impairment in Cantabria], Government of Cantabria, Santander, 1985. Promoted by the regional government and the AMPROS Association to study the problems and resources of the group.	Survey of a sample of 775 cases of mental handicap based on a file of 3828 cases recorded at the INSERSO, town councils and associations. Interviews with agencies, centres and associations.	Characteristics of the group and families, as well as the resources available. Concludes with a quantitative comparison of needs identified and resources available.

Paper	Methodology	Results
CALEIDOSCOPIA Factores personales y sociales de la integración laboral de las personas con discapacidades [Personal and social factors in the integration into employment of people with disabilities] Real patronato de Prevención y de Atención a Personas con Minusvalía [the Royal Board for the Protection and Care of People with Handicaps], Madrid, 1997. Promoted by the Royal Board to encourage integration of the group on the labour market.	In-depth interviews with 19 people with physical or sensory impairment, 19 with mental impairment (of these, 7 with family members), 15 professionals and 9 employers. 5 discussion groups with disabled people, their families and employers.	Aggregate presentation of the manifest opinions prevailing amongst five groups: people with physical/sensory and mental disability, families of the latter, employers and employment professionals.
Adonina Calzón Orientación profesional del deficiente mental [Vocational guidance for the mentally handicapped], INSERSO, Madrid, 1993. Doctoral thesis on the working conditions of people with a mental handicap at Special Employment Centres.	Secondary sources (legislation, foreign experience, etc.). Survey conducted amongst workers in 67% of the Special Employment Centres in Spain.	Concrete proposals made to tackle the problems identified. Emphasis on continuous training and reorienting occupations towards the ordinary labour market.
Luis Salvador Carulla et al Evaluación Psicosocial del retraso mental [Psychosocial assessment of mental handicap], INSERSO, Madrid, 1995. HORIZON project (University of Cádiz, INSERSO and CITRAN Foundation) to assess psychosocial assessment techniques applied to the group.	Collation of secondary sources. Application of a battery of psychosocial tests in a labour-market integration programme (PROMI).	Adaptation to the Spanish context of psychosocial tests used abroad. Empirical assessment of the reliability of some of the original tests in the PROMI labour-market integration programme.

Paper	Methodology	Results
Consultores Asociados Estudio prospectivo sobre el empleo de las personas discapacitadas en La Rioja [Market survey on the employment of disabled people in Rioja], INSERSO de La Rioja, Logroño, 1994. HORIZON project promoted by the Provincial INSERSO office to encourage labour-market participation.	Survey of a sample of 391 cases based on the records of the Centro Base of Rioja. Information meetings with associations, enterprises and trade unions. Secondary sources.	Results of the survey and interviews with brief comments. Proposals for action in the fields of training and labour-market integration in Rioja (HORIZON project).
Edis, La población invidente en España [The blind population in Spain], Editorial Popular, Madrid, 1986. Promoted by ONCE to ascertain the overall position of the blind and study their drinking habits.	Survey of a sample of 1498 blind members of ONCE.	Detailed profile of ONCE members in 1985. Data on alcohol consumption and opinions of the group itself on the subject. Proposals for a campaign against alcohol abuse.
Samuel Fernandez (Ed.) Integración laboral de personas con discapacidad [Employment of people with disabilities], INSERSO/University of Oviedo, Oviedo, 1996. Promoted by the University of Oviedo, with support from INSERSO, to design standards for employment of people with disabilities.	Application of the Delphi technique to experts, employers, heads of associations and government officials.	Drafting of standards or optimal criteria for the integration of people with disabilities on the labour-market.

Paper	Methodology	Results
Fundosa Social Consulting Minusvalía e inseción laboral en la Comunidad Valenciana [Handicap and employment in the region of Valencia], Escuela Libre Editorial, Madrid, 1996. Promoted by the ONCE Foundation with support from the European Social Fund to encourage labour-market participation.	Survey of a sample of 1013 cases based on the registers of the Centros Base of the region of Valencia. 10 group meetings and 12 interviews with handicapped people. 4 group meetings with employers.	Results of the survey, group meetings and interviews, with brief comments. Detailed aspects of training requirements.
Gabinete Técnico de Estudios Sociales (in conj. with IOE Collective) LISMI y empleo en el sector Servicios. Estudio de casos en el sector financiero [LISMI and employment in the service sector. Case studies in the financial sector], FEBASO-UGT, Madrid, 1993. Promoted by the UGT trade union to assess the application of LISMI and encourage the participation of the disabled on the labour-market.	 18 semi-structured interviews with representatives of private and public financial institutions. 6 discussion groups with employed and unemployed handicapped people, non-handicapped employees and trade unionists. 	The failure to fulfil LISMI in the financial sector is explained by the convergence of economic, legal and ideological rationales.
 Benjamín García Las personas con discapacidad ante el reto de la integración laboral en Andalucía [People with disabilities and the challenge of finding work in Andalusia] Instituto Andaluz de Servicios Sociales [Andalusian Institute of Social Services], Seville, 1996. HORIZON project promoted by the regional government and the ONCE Foundation to encourage participation on the labour market. 	Survey of a sample of 1108 cases based on the records of the Centros Base of the region of Andalusia. 10 group meetings and 12 interviews with handicapped people, 11 interviews with experts, 4 group meetings with employers.	Results of the survey, group meetings and interviews, with brief comments. Proposed action guidelines for Andalusia.

Paper	Methodology	Results
Carmen Macías and Matilde Fernández-Cid Las minusvalías en el municipio de Villaconejos [Handicaps in the municipality of Villaconejos], Madrid, 1996 (unpublished).	Survey of 39 people with handicaps and 12 in-depth interviews.	Comprehensive overview of handicap situations in rural areas, highlighting the role of the family and local community (organic solidarity).
Promoted by the Servicios Sociales de la Mancomunidad de Las Vegas [Social Services of the Community of Las Vegas], Madrid, funded by the Mapfre-Medicina Foundation, to identify the needs of people with handicaps and to plan resources.		
Emilia Moreno and Sergi Valera Actitud de l'Empresa Privada davant la integració laboral de persones amb disminució [The attitude of private enterprise to the employment of people with disabilities] Institut Municipal de Disminuïts [Municipal Institute for the Disabled], Barcelona City Council, 1992. A study promoted by the Municipal	Survey/census of 734 enterprises in the city of Barcelona (from a total of 1472 enterprises).	Detailed information collected on the attitudes and practices of employers with regard to recruiting people with disabilities. The survey was also used to set up a database on the enterprises at the Municipal Institute for the Disabled.
Institute for the Disabled and the Bosch i Gimpera Foundation to discover the attitudes and practices of enterprises in Barcelona with regard to the employment of people with disabilities.		

Paper	Methodology	Results
María de Carmen Ortiz (Ed.) La integración sociolaboral de las personas con minusvalía en Castilla- León. Situación actual y alternativas [The integration into social and working life of people with handicaps in Castile-Leon. Current situation and alternatives], University of Salamanca, Salamanca, 1992. Promoted by the University and INSERSO to encourage the labour-market participation of the group.	Survey of people with handicaps working at special employment, vocational and training centres. Semi-structured interviews with handicapped people who are working.	An alternative proposal was drafted for labour-market integration along three main lines: information, training and placement (support teams).
María Pallisera Transición a la vida adulta y vida activa de las personas con discapacidad psíquica [Transition to adult life and working life of people with mental disability], EUB, Barcelona, 1996. On the basis of a doctoral thesis, criteria are suggested for consideration in facilitating the inclusion of the group in education and working life.	Study of secondary sources: history, legislation, educational systems, etc. Participatory observation.	Concludes with a proposal for general strategies to improve training and employment schemes for mentally retarded people.
Manuel Pérez (Ed.) Estudio sobre minusválidos en edad escolar de Alicante ciudad [Study of school-age handicapped children in the city of Alicante], ICE and Alicante Teachers' Centre, 1989. Promoted by teachers in general basic education, belonging to a standing committee to promote the educational and social integration of children with disabilities.	Secondary sources (legislation, resources, etc.). 3 surveys (not sample surveys) of handicapped children and young people, their parents and the institutions involved.	Forum for debate and action (standing committee). Collection of wide- ranging documentation on the situation of those affected and the resources available in the city.

Paper	Methodology	Results
Secretaría de servicios sociales Necesidades sociales de las personas con minusvalía física [Social needs of people with physical handicaps] Departamento de Bienestar Social de la Diputación Foral de Álava [Social Welfare Department of the Autonomous Delegation of Álava], Vitoria, 1994. Promoted by the Delegation to encourage participation on the labour market.	Access to computerised files held at the Álava Centro Base and survey of a sample of 1193 cases. 4 group meetings with physically handicapped people.	Concludes with precise proposals on information, resources, barriers, training, employment, income, free time and voluntary associations.
Ramón J. Soria, La percepción que tienen los empresarios de los discapacitados psíquicos como trabajadores [Employers' perceptions of the mentally handicapped as workers], ANDE Foundation, Madrid, 1995. Promoted by the ANDE Foundation to encourage participation of the group on the labour market.	Secondary information and 30 in-depth interviews with personnel officers and owners of small and medium-sized enterprises.	Provides a general picture of prevailing attitudes in the business sector.

INTERVIEW SCRIPT

Topics

- Type of enterprise. Production activities, economic and labour-market context, future prospects.
- Number of employees, job characteristics, presence of disabled people.
- Personnel strategy, access to employment (selection procedures). Which factors are generally more important?
- Who took the decision to hire people with disabilities, who has a (formal or informal) influence on the decision-making process? Are there bottlenecks preventing the access of people with disabilities?
- What motivates the employer to hire people with disabilities.
- Is there any written documentation on personnel policy in relation to socially disadvantaged groups?
- Are people aware of and do they take advantage of statutory support in hiring people with disabilities (benefits for employers and handicapped people)? What is the influence of these policies on employers and the disabled people themselves? Opinion on existing legal measures and any suggestions.
- Opinion on the role of trade unions, disability associations, careers guidance services, temporary employment agencies, etc.
- If it is a model enterprise, with "good practice", describe how that operates.
- How can employers be informed that candidates with disabilities are available? What support is most effective in facilitating the access and subsequent integration at work of people with disabilities?
- Is there any discrimination against people with disabilities on the part of employers and work colleagues respectively?
- Are reasons such as "they are ultimately very expensive, are a waste of time, are not liked by colleagues" frequently put forward? How do these considerations influence personnel selection?
- Where do the prejudices come from and how could they be overcome? To what extent do stereotypes influence personnel decisions? What role could an information policy play? What could be done to overcome prejudices?

- Opinion on people with disabilities in general and on cases the interviewee has known (or on the basis of personal experience): cases of congenital disability (types) or acquired disability (people who may perhaps already have been working in the company). What factors help or hinder their employment? What is the influence of new technology on this?
- Opinion on: architectural barriers, alterations to the workstation (special equipment); roles which need to be restructured or altered because of the presence of people with disabilities.
- Has a cost-benefit analysis of the work of people with disabilities been conducted?
- Is staff selection assessed? Is the performance of people with disabilities assessed? Are there problems with flexibility, multi-skilling, capacity for continuing training? Relationship with managers, colleagues and clients.