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The contribution of socio-history towards the understanding of the treatment of learning difficulties and of disabled pupils within French school system (1904-2013)

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Abstract:

The idea that there exists a link between the discussions on the educational future for disabled children within the bourgeois commission of 1904 and the adoption of inclusive education as a guiding principle for the public education service in 2013, may seem incongruous. Indeed, what common point remains between the dual school system of the early twentieth and of that of 2013, massified and formally unified until the end of secondary schools? Is there still a connection between the ways of assessing abnormality and that of the special educational needs of the pupils? If so, do they have any other interest than documentary's? In other words, can their analysis enrich our understanding of the current situation of treating pupil's academic difficulties and the situation of those recognized as being handicapped? We wish in this case to document answers to the first two questions in order to indicate lines of thought to answer the third.

Key-words: school policies, integration and inclusion, socio-history, learning difficulties, students with disabilities

A problematisation at the service of a renewed hypotheses

Linking disability and school failure in the same approach may seem counter-intuitive because of the respective autonomy in France of the social policy of disability and school policies. However, the social importance of school sanctions on student learning has made the school a determining historical role in identifying possible deficiencies or developmental delays. In doing so, it convened and / or caused the intervention and expertise of many medical and paramedical professionals interested in promoting the need for alternative educational institutions and alternative methods to teaching in order to address the difficulties of « special » needs pupils.

This comparison between the various diagnoses and solutions concerning the social problems of an abnormal childhood always took place under the arbitration of the state arena which, by the means of the legislative consecration, records a state of the relations of symbolic force and institutionalizes principles of vision, division and action, embodied in professional practices. Critical sociology, in the decade 1970-1980, contributed decisively to highlighting the social logics underlying "school maladjustment" generated by the school system (Baudelot & Establet 1971, 1975, Vial 1972). The specialized agencies have thus been analyzed as contributing to the establishment of the symbolic domination of the working classes through the medicalization and naturalization of school failures (Pinell & Zafiropoulos 1983).

Controversy has arisen between some researchers as to whether the formalization of scientific psychology, in Binet's psycho-pedagogical version, had not responded to a state demand for the euphemism of social control, given the porosity between the speeches of the former. medico-psychological specialists and the will of the public authorities of moralisation of the popular layers (Muel-Dreyfus 1975, Pinell 1977, Gateaux-Mennecier 1990). In 1988, Éric Plaisance, on the occasion of the review of sociological productions on the history of

specialized institutions, already concluded that the concepts of "medicalization of academic failure" or "normalization" were too general to take into account the multi-dimensionality of the processes at work. During the 1980-1990 decade, the discussion focused on the principles and values of the educational system, and an integrative logic gradually emerged. It will itself be challenged by the right to school inscribed into the 2005 law on equal opportunities, participation and citizenship of persons with disabilities. At the same time, the recent development of cognitive neuroscience in the field of medico-social professions has reactivated the biological interpretations of school failures and has once again opened up the issue of medicalization (Morel 2014).

In our view, this set of circumstances strongly argues in favour of bringing back the founding hypotheses of the early sociological and historical studies concerning the coordination of the school system and the medico-social field, but in a broader way, both from a diachronic or synchronic point of view. On the synchronic level, the past of institutions must be treated, neither as inert and out of date, nor according to the vision of a continuous and progressive improvement of knowledge. On a synchronic level, the area of special needs education is approached as a systemic and inter-relational whole where scientific, political and professional actors and institutions of National Education, Public Child Psychiatry and the medico-social sector are engaged. As a result, classifications produced by disciplines and institutions or secular and professional categories depend from these interactions and are subject to historical variations. Our approach clearly demands the use of multiple methodologies it relies on the reused, in a renewed framework, of works combining secondary analyses of statistical data, professional literature, monographic studies and field surveys (Mazereau 2002) . After having substantiated the theoretical foundations, we suggest a retrospective view of the relationships between educational and medico-social institutions, in the light of public policies. Finally, we review some of the major hypotheses which have supported sociological and historical work so as to refine its understanding and evaluate its significance.

The republican school compromise and the question of school failure

Fifty years of research on education which attest to the prominent place of the school in the construction of the republican regime, its values, its citizenship, both in terms of its discourses and on the professional and social futures of the students (Sawicki 2012). Thus, very early in the history of the school system, rhetorics of equality clashed on the question of the social role of education and the democratization of its access for all layers society. The French model, based on the distinct treatment of differences, whether social or biological, has led to the segregated equity regime (Garnier 2010). This model has experienced extraordinary longevity by moving towards specialized education. The contradictions generated by the massification of schools and the formal elimination of pathways from 1975 have transformed the assessments of success or failure at school as an index of the effectiveness of democratization. Thus, at the heart of the Republican compromise on the development of schooling, the way in which school difficulties are conceived is part of a historical continuity of debates between the social sciences and the principles of justice involving social and professional groups. Bertrand Ravon discerns in the history of the public problem of school failure a founding meeting between sociology and psychology. "The public action of the fight against school failure is an action to fight against the incompleteness of the social world: as a way to fill daily a hope doomed to incompleteness but that must always be made to exist" (Ravon 2000, 334). In this struggle, two visions of social integration clash: the individual at the service of the economic output of society, or society at the service of the social promotion of the individual. The structural permanence of this dichotomy overdetermines discussions about the characterization and development of students' abilities, and their orientation in the

school system.

The interactive logic of categorisations

The classifying function of institutions is particularly identifiable as far as the categorization of students according to their psychological, social and educational difficulties. After concluding like Marie Douglas (1999) that social institutions have a cultural and cognitive dimension that appears in a shared form of values used by individuals to justify their behavior. They are at the same time stable and modifiable when dissonances occur between values and principles of action. "Institutions, as social conventions, are supported by cognitive-type conventions that are based on the naturalization of social classifications" (Calvez 2006, 4). There is a phenomenon of co-generation between the designation of the pupils' difficulties and the structures of schooling structures which essentialises the categories of pupils. "The process of naturalization of a category ends when it is possible to say: this pupil falls within this structure" (Monceau 2001, 8). Already Alfred Binet said he preferred the designation "abnormal of hospices" and "abnormal schools" to the title of a medical or educational abnormality to clearly mark the difference in destination of students (Binet & Simon 1907, 151).

Ian Hacking (2005) elaborates on Douglas' approach by proposing the concept of interactive classification in which four elements are combined: the classification and its application criteria, the behaviors and people that are documented, the administrative, professional and scientific institutions that give it consistency, finally expert or profane knowledge. The fact that the interactions between these elements are different according to the classifications studied and the historical moments of their apprehension accredits the socio-historical approach to restore the logic. In addition, Hacking identifies nine imperatives that currently weigh on the human sciences in the production of classifications of human behaviors. The most significant, as for our purpose, are: to quantify, biologize, bureaucratise, and take possession of its identity. The first three refer to easily identifiable processes: the need to have reliable data, to try to establish the differences between individuals on a biological or genetic basis, to be able to define administrative categories relating to obtaining rights. As for the fourth, a relatively recent appearance, it covers the way in which the persons designated by a classification appropriate it or on the contrary refuse it.

The evolution of the public school sector and medico-social policies in the light of political administrative divisions.

In 1904, the president of the council entrusted a meeting of educators, doctors, men of science and administrative service, for the study of the conditions within the framework for the education of abnormal. The task was complex: determining the characters to which the various forms and degrees of the anomaly were recognizable - to establish by inquiry the approximate number of abnormal children - to fix the types of special schools whose creation It was necessary - at least in outline - to identify the pedagogical procedures to be used - to study the training of a new staff "(Bourgeois 1907, 6). This is the original model of the commissions which three times in 1904, 1936, 1943 will have to rule on the action for the benefit of abnormal, deficient and unsuitable childhood, as studied (Vial 1990, Roca 1993, Chauvière 1980). In doing so, the political body organizes discussions and confrontations between scientific, professional and institutional positions that bring together issues of corporatism, politics and scientific knowledge. These confrontations lead to recognizable semantic configurations in discourses in that they establish a link between an "authoritative

descriptor of social facts and as competent promoter of social responses" (Fassin 2006, 138). For example, the 1970s configuration of maladjustment-poverty-integration has given way today to the dominant exclusion-urban violence-social mix-inclusion. The hegemony of a configuration does not exclude the maintenance in certain subsectors of competing versions that support the identity structuring of professionals.

In terms of public actions, whereas the first divisions essentially covered the legitimacy of special education and its place in schools or in asylums, the adoption of the concept of an unsuitable childhood generated a challenge, specifically within charitable and philanthropic institutions. The creation of social security will be decisive in allowing the construction of a delegated public sector. Indeed, fearing the control of the unions in the joint administration of social security, charitable works, stemming from social Catholicism, led the offensive to extend the financing mechanisms of their institutions. The management of the funds entrusted to the regional associations for the protection of childhood and adolescence, created for the occasion in 1943, will then depend on the investment of local representative personalities who offer a fair representation of the balance of power between the denominational and secular movements (Roca 2004, Gardet & Vilbrod 2007). In the middle of the 1960s, the power of the State will see itself, reinforced with the creation of local comities for the health and social sectors, during the great movement of rationalization and planning at the beginning of the Fifth Republic. At the same time, the enrollment of students deemed intellectually deficient within national education is clearly encouraged in connection with the extension of education. (Mazereau 2016). And this, while a decree, called Annexes XXIV, had strengthened in 1956 the responsibility of the Ministry of Health, devoting in fact the definitive bipartition of the questions of the treatment of infantile difficulties.

The 1975 Disability and Social and Medico-Social Institutions Law reflects the outcome of this process. Faced with the break-up of the field, and despite disagreements between the various professional sectors to characterize the forms of maladjustment, the will to establish a medical-administrative meta-category, disability, allowing the administration to unify Compensation schemes for children and adults will come to an end. These laws also formalize the legal functioning of a medico-social sector, independent of the hospital public service. Under the apparent political consensus, the law gave rise to strong protests from psychiatry and the latest expression of the public unification of disability issues. The 1975 laws will eventually lead to a managerial unification and erase the initial divergences of orientation between associations stemming from social Catholicism and secular educational works (Stiker 2009, Cret, Jaubert & Robelet 2013). They institutionalize the proximity between the associative sector and the Ministry of Health as evidenced by some individual courses of high-ranking officials: François Bloch-Lainé, author of the report prefiguring the law, will be dedicated to the defense of the associative sector, René Lenoir, secretary of State for Social Action, will chair the National Interfederal Union of Private Health and Social Works and Organizations (UNIOPSS), and more recently Patrick Gohet, Director General of the National Union of Associations of Parents, People with Intellectual Disabilities, and their friends (UNAPEI), will become an inter-ministerial delegate for persons with disabilities in 2002, and will then chair the National Disability Advisory Council.

The internal differentiation of the administration between the Ministry of Health and National Education will remain a French originality. Less than fifteen days apart, on July 11th 1975, the National assembly adopts the Haby law which establishes the "college unique". A purely chronological coincidence since these major laws only belong to the internal logics of each administration. The only point of contact, which will prove important, is the orientation of pupils, either towards specialised education or towards the medico-social sector: It should be decided within the new departmental/county commissions where the collaboration between education professionals of medico-social and sanitary is required.

From the 1980-1990 decade, a coming together between school policy and the management of the medico-social sector can be observed. The importance of joint criticism between sociology and psychoanalytic trends concerning the notion of mental deficiency, the update surrounding pupils school segregation depending on their social origin, calling into question the legitimacy of the specialized agencies will, with the political change of 1981, lead to profound reorganisations, and of the school system and special education. If the first impetus focused on values, including the affirmation of policies of priority education and integration of students with disabilities, the changes will then follow the path of a managerial rationalization coinciding with the start of the state reforms.

Indeed, the 1989 law can be considered innovative as far as pedagogy is concerned, however the type of transformation it causes is above all organisational: decentralisation, school project, introduction of cycles in primary school.

These measures aim to streamline the functioning of the school system with a view to making it an instrument at the service of the deindustrialisation and economic changes underway (Aebicher 2012).

For the social-medical sector, the XXIV appendices reforms will follow similar principles: school project, individualisation of those supported, return to the original environment. The development of medical and home care services (SESSAD), for the support of disabled people, is the flagship measure that marks the beginning of a policy of deinstitutionalization which has the advantage of sealing a discursive configuration combining the criticism of segregation and managerial rationalization. These two elements, along with the first steps taking into account the right of users, will form the dominant configuration that will be used when arguing on all the subsequent transformations. The year 1989 thus marks the first display of a link between school and medico-social policies, as sealed in the 1st law article on education, on the 10th July 1989: « The educational integration of students with disabilities is favoured, the care and health institutions and services participate ».

In the space of five years, the whole network of specialized education will be revisited under the double seal of adaptation and school integration. The SESSAD, which support more and more school integration efforts, are in full development, rising from 6500 seats installed in 1989 to 43600 in 2010 (DREES 2013). From the 2000s, the disability policy will be directly under the executive power: The Handiscol plan launched by the Prime Minister, Lionel Jospin, disability is announced as a priority of the Presidency of Jacques Chirac in 2002. Disability appears as an obstacle to public policies under interministerial guidance (circulaire Ayrault du 4/09/2012). The 2005 law on equal opportunities, citizenship and participation of disabled people allows France to re-join the international concert of universalist approaches based on accessibility and compensation of the disabled from a legal perspective based on Human Rights and the Convention on the Rights of Disabled people adapted by the UN in 2006 and ratified by France in 2010.

Concerning the school system, the right to education introduced in 2005, results in a significant quantitative increase in 2013-2014: 141440 disabled pupils were enrolled into primary school, an increase of 58.8 % since 2006. Two-thirds of which were in standard classes, 70% of them receiving the support of a special needs teaching assistant. 97 560 students were enrolled in secondary education, 70% of which were placed into standard classes and 36 % of them with a special needs teaching assistant. Cognitive, psyche, and speech disorders are the majority (76.3%). All the students with disabilities in schools represents, in absolute terms 2.1 % of the French school population.

In reality, these figures, however impressive they may seem, badly hide the contradictions and hesitations that have shaken the school policy since 2005. In fact, unlike in 1989, the new coincidence in 2005 of the laws on education and in favour of disabled people is not based on

any concertation nor joint development between the two administrations. The right to education is indeed registered in the education laws, but without any particular effort for its implementation and its support. The creation of a new position called referent teacher meant to accompany the schooling of disabled students, merely happens to be the result of a post-law decree. And so 4 years will prove necessary before the publication of a decree organising cooperation between schools and social-medico institutions (décret n° 2009-378 du 2 avril 2009). In this context, the answer is in the form of compensation through the addition of a special needs teaching assistant alongside students with disabilities has become the only solution envisaged by the ministry of National Education.

On the field of academic difficulties, the Education Act of 2005 refocuses on the acquisition of the common knowledge base and restarts the outsourcing for the treatment of student's difficulties, through the use of personalized projects of educational acts. In 2008, the injunction made to primary school teachers to organise for their students with difficulties, personalised help outside regular school hours are another step in this outsourcing. It is necessary to wait for the school refoundation law of 2013 so that the inclusive education enters in the register of values intrinsic to the education system, as affirmed at the level of the European Union, and not specifically reserved for the handicapped pupils (Zay 2011).

New insights into old questions

We have seen that the critical moment of the 1970-1980 decade focused on the question of whether the findings of the relegation of students from working class backgrounds into special education was based on an initial political will for social control or whether it came from an unexpected direction.

A study of the numerical data makes it possible to provide answers. The concept of primary education mainly rested on a social differentiation of school from the secondary, it was mainly organised in multilevel classes, which explains the fact that improvement classes where almost non-existent until the Second World War. Indeed, school backwardness was inconsistent in the eyes of the teachers who identified their role in social progress. That's why the elaboration of categories of backwardness only mobilised the first few psychopedagogues for whom the generalisation of schooling represented a un unique experimental field where the discovery of intelligence will be played out. (Mazereau 1999, Ruchat 2003).

The double social role of special education

Be it Binet in Paris, Claparède in Geneva, or Decroly in Brussels, primary education updates the same movement of hope where hygienist, rationalization of the right selection of skills, individual and collective emancipation (Mole 2010 & 2015) feelings mix together.

As far as it is concerned the labour movement sits between two concepts: either to advocate for the primary school to integrate in its conception and its programs, elements of the working culture, or to adapt to the situation while counting on the emancipating effects of the struggle for school democratisation. At the heart of this alternative, the existence of specialised education has been a form of compromise, for the democratisation activists, a space for the implementation of pedagogical principles more adapted to working-class children. The same opposition is reunited/found again after the war in the works of the Langevin-Wallon plan committees between on the one side the will of a general reform of education (new classes, school psychology) supported by Henri Wallon, and the other, is the desire to develop advanced classes, led by Maxime Prudhommeau. We can argue that this double militant

position may have been at the origin of the relative blindness of the actors, when the social role of special education will change dramatically in the late 1950s.

The duality of the role granted to the improvement classes is reflected in their social composition: they have welcomed together students with serious disorders, from well-off families refusing the near asylum of their children, and students from deprived families excluded from teaching (Hugon 1984). It is from the time of school unification, made possible by the prolongation of schooling, that the notion of mild mental debility, based on psychometric evaluations, has taken on a clearly socially segregative meaning. The proportion of pupils referred to the advanced classes, in absolute numbers of the number of public and private 1st degree students combined, rose from 0.89% in 1958-59 to 3.33% in 1974-75, date of the peak of this inflation of school relegation (Laville 2016, 147). As we mentioned above with regard to the programming of the Fourth and Fifth Plans, the school policy knows, something exceptional, a realization almost up to the forecasts for the equipments of the National Education in the fields of the light debility and behavioral disorders: 91,680 places against 110,820 (Barthélémy 1991, 124). It is difficult, therefore, not to conclude that there is a direct relationship between the beginning of the unification of the school system and the massification of the eviction of students, on the criteria initially coined by Binet and echoed by the psychologist Zazzo (1969). The prospects of bringing the economics of the education system into play, which drive the 1959 reform (Bongrand 2012), are giving unprecedented impetus to specialized education as evidenced by the national class survey. training, new pedagogical instructions and the constitution of a departmental census file of unsuitable pupils (Mazereau 2016).

Disability reorganizes scholarly and academic categories

The process of medicalization of school failures was first studied in terms of the translation of social differences into individual differences related to a lack of intelligence. Stanislas Morel (2014) points to the dimension of reciprocity between medicalization and schooling of academic difficulties where we spot the ambivalence of professional medical-psychological groups seeking both to extend their jurisdiction while protecting themselves from an inflationary demand for solving school failures. Our approach highlights the role of scientific and professional knowledge in strategies of conquest of position or recognition. In addition to his network alliances with the public education actors (laboratory-school of the rue de la Grange aux belles, a free society for the psychological study of the child), Alfred Binet was able to invalidate the knowledge of the alienists. for whom the lower states of intelligence were essentially related to their corporeal visibility. By asserting the autonomy of backwardness and instability in relation to the pathological states known at the time, the psychologist convinced himself that only his measure of intelligence, through the mediation of scholarly knowledge, was revealed to the height of the scientific stakes. Conversely, by showing that an insensitive mental deficiency could be at the root of delinquent behavior, Georges Heuyer managed to convince the Vichyssoise state, which was mainly concerned about social deviance, of a well-founded acceptance of maladjustment.

But, without legitimation in the institutional functioning, professional knowledge has little impact. Thus, by entrusting the management of special education institutions to social security, the state had to establish and increase the legitimacy of the medical profession by conferring it the power of certification. From then on, the instrument of the medical conquest of the medico-social sector was going to be the qualification of illness of the various forms of maladjustment, as well as the August 8, 1951 circular of social security had been devoted to it. Thus, medicalization is blessed with a formidable administrative efficiency that will upset the law of 1975. Indeed, the appearance of the notion of disability shows the level of exclusivity the medical power has on the administrative level: in the absence of a definition of

disability, it was within the commissions that professionals were responsible for distinguishing disability from illness on the one hand, and social maladjustment on the other. As analyzed by Robert Castel (1983), this gesture, demedicalizing in the clinical sense, would generate long-term effects by linking medical-psychological expertise and epidemiology.

The fate of mild intellectual disability illustrates this evolution. In 1988, following the revision of the International Classification of Disabilities (ICIDH), the World Health Organization (WHO) was going to make short scale with the findings repeatedly reiterated by sociology (Forquin, 1982). Based on epidemiological studies, it established that moderate or severe mental impairment was equitably distributed by social class, but that in contrast, intelligence quotients (IQ) between 70 and 100 were significantly higher among children from disadvantaged social classes. The WHO concluded that students with an IQ between 70 and 100 did not report a disability but a sociogenic restriction of intellectual efficiency. This reassessment would redistribute the different orientations towards adapted and specialized teaching. Indeed, the ambiguity of the status of the pupils from the general and professional adapted courses (EGPA) of the college remained to the extent that, without being able to be declared disabled according to the criteria of the WHO, they continued to be guided by the commissions related the current law of 1975. The school by losing its psychometric support, had to develop its own criteria. National diagnostic assessments, starting in 1994, will gradually be used to calibrate new criteria, particularly for students entering college. The development of the notion of severe and persistent academic difficulty (circular 96-167 of 20/06/1996) will also fill this gap: the lack of mastery of the basic skills at the end of cycle 2 at the end of elementary schooling would serve as a model for the severity of the difficulties. Correlatively, the fact of not having been reduced by the support provided during schooling would signify their degree of persistence. Thus, the commissions could exploit the distinction between disability, incapacity and disadvantage, introduced by the CIH of Wood, attesting to the existence of disabilities and disadvantages not directly related to a biologically proven deficiency. This review work would therefore serve to frame the orientations of students according to academic policies (Mazereau 2000) and especially to question the desirability of maintaining the EGPA as a specific curriculum within the college.

These evolutions show that the adoption of disability has gradually acted as a dissolvent for previous medical and school categories, leaving the school in a floating situation around issues related to the characterization and the fight against the great academic difficulty. Since then, under the unstable and comprehensive designation of special educational needs, great academic difficulty and disability appear in teacher's agendas and in the orientation and schooling practices. Some professionals seeking to maintain a distinction, mainly related to the maintenance of previous devices, others to mitigate in the name of the achievement of a generalized inclusive policy. Public reflection in this area is currently struggling to offer a coherent course. On the one hand, it notes the relative decline of old devices such as support networks for students in difficulty (RASED) and a persistent remoteness of certain medico-social responses from the school of the other. The situation is characterized by the absence of a clear and consensual definition of the notion of great academic difficulty or special educational needs (Delaubier & Saurat 2013). The destabilization of the characterizations of students' difficulties is therefore intrinsically linked to that of devices.

If, within the National Education, there reigns a relative confusion, on the medical level, the rise of cognitive neuroscience has for some years silenced out the assumptions of the organic foundation of cognitive disorders and development. The return of the dominant theses until the end of the sixties, with the evolution of medical imaging and genetic diagnostics, reinforces the challenge to the long-standing hegemonic psychodynamic approach in the health and medico-social sectors. A reconfiguration of knowledge has

therefore gradually imposed itself in the social field, strongly driven by the movements of patients and families of disabled people, as evidenced by the controversies surrounding the qualification and treatment of autism (Borelle 2014). The recognition of a disability, which has a legal force outside the National Education, is now an issue for the translation of many difficulties, including those related to learning disabilities. This phenomenon partly explains the increase in the number of students with disabilities attending school and clearly supports Hacking's thesis on the socially interactive aspect of classifications.

Conclusion

Inspired by the ongoing transformations of the educational subject (Barrault-Stella & Goastelec 2015), the use of the sociology of public action acts as a unifying framework for our research. Although inscribed in the French national specificity, it makes it possible to discern the effects of a slow and contradictory acculturation of the national educational policy to international standards. It authorizes the reconstitution of historical and discontinuous links between the respective political problematization of school and disability through the mediation of successive social shaping of school failure. Socio-historical lighting tells us that the arguments of economic profitability about the education of students with handicaps or difficulties are not dated today; they were already found in 1906 in the report of the Minister of the Interior. Charlot, or Binet judging unprofitable schools of asylums. However, they remained secondary to the importance attached to the social and cultural integration of young people.

The observation of public policies over the long term confronts us with the dyschrony between the sociological facts and the words of history (Rancière, 1992). It reminds us that "only positivism and religiosity are closely linked by the illusion of the sequence of forwards and afters, of causes and effects, according to an imperturbable order of intelligibility, where facts and values coincide" (Bensaïd, 1990), 72). The progressive hegemony of the economic theory of human capital initiated in the 1960s initially underpinned the adjustments between the education system and economic needs. The reviving of school policies, driven by the criticism of social relegation, has then progressively been added to the managerial rethinking of the management of public administrations in the context of state reform (Bezès 2009). It then enters a new era, gradually leaving the logic of categorial social rights in favor of that of the "empowerment" (empowerment) of individuals. The stated objective of institutions, be they school or medico-social, now becomes the full development of the skills of all with a view to their employability.

At the heart of these transformations, the question of the role of the school in the institution of the social opposes those who consider that it must also play an active role in social cohesion, to those who grant it only the status of a tool serving the needs of the economy.

By giving an unprecedented scale to the new subjective legal systems for the production of rights (Baudot & Revillard 2015), the state gives disabled people the power to act by allowing them to arbitrate the legitimacy of pedagogical, psychological and social knowledge concerning their situation. In this context of new contradictions, inclusion represents for a number of actors a new mobilizing horizon at the service of citizen democracy, it also contributes to the establishment of a continuum between school difficulties and disability. However, it appears as a "laminated concept" (Gardou 2011) where both the arguments in favor of the recognition of human vulnerability and those of the optimal management of skills development are combined (Ebersold 2006, 2013), all this while questioning new forms of solidarity.

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