Culture and Consciousness of Physically Disabled Persons

The need for drama within the special school curriculum

by

Sumboornam Moodley
Durban, 1994

SUPERVISOR: Professor K.G. Tomaselli

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, at the centre for Cultural and Media Studies, University of Natal, Durban.
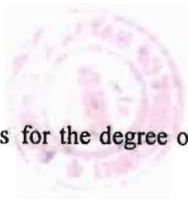
DECLARATION

I, Sumboornam Moodley, do hereby declare that the work presented in this dissertation is original, and that any work done by other persons has been duly acknowledged.

Durban, March 1994.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT:

This dissertation investigates how disability has been defined, and focuses on the shift in the conception of disability as an individual and medical problem to disability as a form of social oppression. Starting from an historical perspective the position of disabled persons in society is traced. The advance of disabled persons, from a condition of enforced social invisibility, to one in which they make themselves seen and heard through social movements fighting for their rights, is outlined as an introduction to a record of practical engagement through pedagogy in a concrete South African context.

After examining the way myths and stereotypes continue to perpetuate discriminatory practices against disabled persons, attention is drawn to the representation of disability through negative and positive images reflected in media as discourse. Thereafter, the material conditions that help, construct the confined, isolated position of disabled persons within society are considered. Attention is drawn to the theoretical positions of Foucault, Fanon and Bulhan to understand how disabled persons have been excluded and/ or exclude themselves from active participation in society.

In the light of the foregoing, the dissertation argues for the position of drama as a means of developing a positive self-concept and a positive self-image within disabled persons. The utility of drama in fulfilling this need is demonstrated by way of a qualitative analysis of the experience of drama teaching over a period of several years. The use of drama within special education is urged as a learning medium, with drama as performance and drama as a means of consciousness-raising to advocate for the acceptance and recognition of disabled persons within society.

In conclusion, the placement, value and organisation of drama within the Special School Curriculum is considered. The dissertation emphasizes the value of drama as part of culture in which children develop, understand and reflect on their social values, and concentrates on their part in the dialectics of change.

INTRODUCTION

All my conscious life since 1948 (the year of my birth and the year when the Nationalist government came into power in South Africa), I have lived within the constraints of institutionalized separate development. The apartheid policy of segregation and discrimination, of white supremacy, domination and capitalist exploitation, determined where I lived, my schooling, my tertiary education, my employment, my friends, my relationships, the way I thought, and the way I perceived the world. Material deprivation and spiritual poverty which resulted from the socio-political and economic conditions of the system of apartheid attempted to form the foundations of my consciousness of 'being-in-the-world'.

Whilst at the University College Durban (1966-1969), the critical voice of 'Indian' students was unheard, least they be expelled for being politically forthright. The acute feelings of isolation, frustration and alienation reflected the general mood of the students, not only on this campus, but on all campuses in South Africa and this was deliberately fostered by the authorities at different levels. Very few departments at University offered students the opportunity to express their views openly. I was fortunate to belong to the Speech and Drama Department which provided the platform where the 'public voice' of students could be released. However the freedom of expression was curtailed by the stringent rules and regulations of the University. For instance, drama students were prevented from participating in productions outside the University. Despite these restrictions a group of us were in a position to devise a political revue called *Black and White*, satirizing the racial situation in South Africa, which eventually resulted in part of the group being expelled from the University.

1

This was the beginning of what was at that time in history described as a Culture of Resistance, Culture of Affirmation of one's self-worth. It coincided with the emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), which ushered in renewed belief in the 'self', a boost of morale, a heightening of self confidence, and the visibility of an oppressed people who had been silenced since the State of Emergency in the Sixties. I belonged to a theatre group called The Theatre Council of Natal (TECON), which addressed the trials and tribulations, the aspirations, the desires and the goals of the black oppressed community. The plays, music, dance and poetry programmes created, developed through various stages. "From theatre of hopeless murmur, it became theatre of determination-theatre that taught self-reliance and brought about a new awareness-a Theatre of Liberation" (*Black Review*, 1972:201).

It was at this stage of consciousness that I entered the teaching profession. I had to face the reality of teaching students (classified 'Indian') who came from displaced communities. Unemployment was high and living conditions congested. There was a lack of recreational facilities. Drug and alcohol intake was on the increase, and high school pregnancy was on the rise. At the Witteklip High School in Chatsworth I was witness to the effects of the apartheid state that separated, divided and dehumanised black communities. Readings of Aime Cesaire, James Baldwin, Amilcar Cabral, Frantz Fanon, Malcolm X, Angela Davis, George Jackson and Paulo Freire at that stage broadened my insight and perception of the causes and manifestations of oppression and my responsibility as an oppressed person to the upliftment of the communities to which I belonged.

My Black Consciousness background afforded me the opportunity to teach students to analyze their existence and plan positive action against the dehumanising atrocities of the apartheid system. Students began to probe and examine values that made

them feel inferior, that made them hate themselves. In Fanon's words they had to understand that, if "there is an inferiority complex, it is the outcome of a double process: primarily economic; subsequently, the internalisation, or better the epidermalisation -- of this inferiority" (Fanon, 1970: 10).

Through the teaching of English literature and drama, students were able to realise how vital it was to bring back humanity into their lives; to look at the socio-economic and political conditions that contributed to the division in the different communities and how they too were responsible for their own oppression. An example of this was the manner in which they analyzed George Orwell's novel *Animal Farm* and adapted it into a play. In bringing an awakening through art and culture, there arose an awareness of their innate creativity and hence the drama, poetry, song and dance created by the students began to mirror their own experiences. In Steadman's view "this very rhythmically beat out process of rehearsing a play becomes for a group a process of rehearsing broader political, cultural relations and conflicts" (Steadman, 1989: 116).

From a critical theory perspective, (a theory that argues that life being socially constructed, is humanly determined and interpreted and is subject to change; see Gibson, 1986) students then began to view education as preparation to transform social, political and economic conditions that exploited them on the grounds of race, gender and class. In addition, education as resistance permitted students to displace the identities and attributes scripted for them by the dominating system with their self-defined subjectivities within an emerging discourse of black emancipation.

It was no doubt that ideologically my teaching was grounded in a socio-political, economic text. I had adopted an experiential empiricist direction which favoured a nurturing of humanist values. With critical theory underpinning my teaching practice I was committed to enabling change towards a more just and rational society. As a critical

3

theorist teacher, using drama methodology, I came under surveillance of both officials of the then Department of Indian Affairs and the Security Police. After three years of teaching, in 1972, my dismissal from the teaching profession came in the guise that all married women having a 'temporary' status could be dismissed within 24 hours. It was clear I was a threat to the powers that were, for they feared that the process of education that I promoted was firstly an education for life, for self determination, and for survival; and eventually an education for resistance and liberation.

My focus in education then changed as I moved into community education programmes, and found a home within the Black Community Programmes (BCP). This dealt with programmes involving welfare, art and culture, black theology, education, literacy and self-help-projects. These programmes revolved around the aspirations of black communities seeking positive self identity, "within a reality of domination by the white supra-structure and anti-black manipulations through economic power and cultural alienation" (*Black Review*, 1973: 164).

As the programmes began to engender pride, dignity, self-worth and made black people more self-reliant and determined to charter their own course towards liberation, BCP and other Black Consciousness groups were regarded as a threat to the Nationalist Government of the time. With the result restraining orders in the form of banning orders, house arrests, imprisonment without trial, death in prison became the order of the day. The leadership of the Black Consciousness Movement was 'silenced' and hence under the Suppression of Communism Act, Section 9(1) and Section 10(1a), I was then listed as a banned person and placed under house arrest, from 31 August 1973 to 31 July 1978.

Being forced into isolation and solitude afforded me time for positive reflection; it forced me to listen to my conscience and provided an intimate exchange between myself

4

and the power exercised over me. In Foucaultian terms the effect was an awakening of "the moral feeling that never entirely perishes in the heart of man" (Foucault, 1977: 238). Through the objective/ subjective self the effects of being socially, economically and politically removed from society impacted on my consciousness. It was easier and clearer to witness from this 'removed' position the pain, deprivation and the effects of the apartheid system on the psyche of the oppressed community and hence understand how and why society marginalises oppressed people.

After four years of not being able to seek suitable employment, in 1976, I was given an opportunity to research and help establish the school for cerebral palsied children (of 'Indian' descent) in Durban. This school, Spes Nova School for Cerebral Palsied Children, eventually opened its doors on 17 January 1977. The inequalities in Education became clearly evident when it was discovered that many years earlier two schools for white children, The Open Air School and the Browns School, had already been established on 9 February 1921 and 1 April 1967 respectively. The so-called 'coloured' and the 'african' communities sent their children to the Cape Province and the Transvaal respectively. Special Education, like mainstream education, fell prey to the discriminatory policies of the State. Even in the present times, inequalities still prevail for "it is white children who receive most of the services-62%, as opposed to 28% for 'coloureds' and 'Indians' and less than 8% for Blacks" (*Weekly Mail*, 10-11-93).

Employed as a teacher, but working in the capacity of an "acting speech therapist", I became aware of the significance of social factors in the construction of disability. In everyday practice at the school, despite good intentions and considerable effort, a number of contradictions emerged especially in the admission criteria, our assessment procedures, the placement of students and our methods of evaluation. All these restricted the nature of our knowledge to a rather superficial level of appreciation of

5

disability. For instance disability was construed as a mere 'biological definition' with the causation being conceived in an individualistic way without any reference to socio-economic or political responsibility for the disability.

As much as the principle of teaching was to pay attention to the child and not to the disability, the teachers did not get to know disabled children as people first (in the profound sense), but instead saw their disabilities as the all-enveloping factor. Since the children were not really understood by their teachers, their abilities were often underestimated. From my understanding of the work done even today within special education, I believe that this issue still needs to be addressed. Moreover, the aim in teaching was to enable the children to cope with their disabilities by adapting to society. There was never any question as to how society should adapt to disabled persons. The possibility was not explored.

The naive liberal notion of providing disabled children with 'special' education stemmed from the philosophy and aims of the service-provider organisation (then known as the Natal Indian Cripple Care Association-NICCA), which was responsible for building the Spes Nova School. NICCA, like all service-providing organisations, worked on the principle of working *for* disabled persons, and their work revolved around various forms of rehabilitation, application for disability grants and housing for their disabled 'clients', supplying appliances and equipment, providing of vocational training at sheltered workshops and raising funds for the maintenance of their educational projects. Bureaucratic leaders, mainly able-bodied persons, played the role of being perpetual providers, and the 'clients' were always grateful receivers.

Clearly evident at the Spes Nova School (especially between 1977-1980) was the attitude of dependency displayed by the students and their parents. This emanated from the Charity/ Welfare model that had been established by the service providing agency,

6

NICCA. Students often played the 'helpless' role and they enjoyed things being done for them. The attitude had to change, and our programmes were directed towards encouraging independence, self-awareness and self-confidence training programmes. By 1981, our curriculum and teaching began to focus on full participation and equality, which was in keeping with the theme of the International Year of the Disabled for that year.

Cultural programmes, devised mainly for consciousness-raising purposes, were aimed at cultural action for change. We aimed principally at helping the students to establish a positive self-identity by a process of psychological adjustment. By believing in and by asserting themselves, students were able to elaborate their own public voice. The primary objective was to prepare them for adulthood when they would need to be confident enough to speak for themselves and represent their own interests.

Second, these programmes were aimed at enabling teachers to educate their students against the background of the environments from which they came. Teachers and therapists had to take into consideration the students' home situations in terms of overcrowding, poor sanitation, unemployment and illiteracy of parents, and the paucity of community resources. In this way the feminist tenet of the "personal becoming the political" was a reality which teachers began to address. Third, the programmes elicited responses from families, educational authorities, health and social workers who then addressed forums to bring about changes in the material conditions of the children and this in turn made teaching more effective.

AN OVERVIEW

The research embarked upon and reported here places disability within the paradigm of disability being a form of social oppression. In the literature survey on disability, it was found that an extensive body of knowledge has emerged over the years to document the conditions within which physical disability has been experienced and shaped by socio-economic and political factors (Finkelstein, 1980; Campling, 1981; Shearer, 1981; Zola, 1982; De Jong, 1983; Quicke, 1985; Longmore, 1987; Nathwani, 1987; Driedger, 1988; Morris, 1991; Oliver, 1992). In arguing for this perspective of disability as against the 'individualisation' and 'medicalisation' of disability, Michael Oliver, a lecturer in Disability Studies at Thames Polytechnic, states that the individualisation and medicalisation concept, "presents disability as a static state and violates its situational and experiential component" (Oliver, 1992: 5).

The present study grounds itself within a socio-economic, political and cultural perspective and against the canvas of the South African panorama of apartheid which further marginalises disabled persons on the grounds of race, class and gender. In terms of the language used, the research uses the terms "disabled persons" and/ or "persons with disabilities" rather than "the disabled" to avoid the question of labelling and because these terms are accepted and preferred by disabled persons internationally. I have also chosen the use of the word 'black' to include not only persons of indigenous african descent, but those persons who have been differentially legislated against as being 'Indian' and 'Coloured'. While I am partial to Hegel's argument that the only way to overcome 'categories' is to mobilize through them (Informal discussion with K.Tomaselli), ideologically I have difficulty in classifying and categorizing people by 'race' groupings. Since apartheid has consigned South African society into different races, classes and

geographic areas, the race of the informants in the study are prefaced by the words 'so-called' or are placed within single quotation marks.

Most of the literature upon which this study depends came from European and North American experiences. Very few publications have emerged from Third World countries or from South Africa itself, despite the fact that nearly 13% of the population in South Africa has been disabled, involving more than 4 million people of which 473,000 people have been estimated to be physically disabled (Dept. of Health cited in *The Star*, 18/11/1987). Whatever has been written in South Africa has been presented as seminar papers in Reports or Journals issued by Organisations of Disabled Persons.

Since oral communication is an important medium for the transmission of ideas, I have used the spoken words of disabled persons who have shared their thoughts with me. Through semi-structured interview schedules, information around education, housing, access, transport, reports about prejudices and thwarted desires have been obtained. My informants are officials from Disabled People of South Africa (DPSA), students and ex-students from the Spes Nova School for Cerebral Palsied Children and The Clare Estate School for the Physically Disabled (classified 'Indian'), whose ages ranged from ten years to twenty three years. Since research continued over a long period with students at school, an informal and often unstructured interview schedule was employed. I have also used extracts from taped interviews, video-recordings, students' creative writing expressions, plays that they enacted, as well as from letters and criticisms written by able bodied persons who were participants and percipients in cultural programmes devised for consciousness-raising purposes.

The qualitative ethnographic research approach to the data used "conveys something of quality of the lives of people to outsiders who have themselves not experienced that way of living, or to the participants in that way of living themselves"

(Bozzoli, 1983: 10). It is for this reason the topic of research, "Culture and Consciousness of Disabled Persons" was chosen. The first chapter considers how disability has been defined, resulting in a distortion of its meaning and non-acceptance by disabled persons. The research also places disability inside historical and contemporary time frames within western society. This leads onto the second chapter, which focuses on the myths and stereotypes created by society and their negative effects on disabled persons. The study lays the basis for the cultural images and cultural representation of disability by able-bodied persons that form part of the creation of a disability culture from which disabled persons seek to be liberated.

Chapter Three centres on the material conditions responsible for the oppression of disabled persons. This chapter reveals that medical conditions are not solely responsible for disability, and demonstrates the social and economic context. It argues how environmental barriers and social attitudes are the disabling factors that militate against disabled persons being incorporated into mainstream society. Since general culture has misrepresented disabled persons in various ways, it was considered necessary to find ways in which disabled persons may counter the prejudices held, and discrimination practiced, against them. The use of drama (like all the other forms of art) was discovered to be an appropriate means of enabling disabled students to think systematically about the world.

Chapter Four of the thesis focuses on the need for drama within the special school curriculum. The method used in this study is not that of a controlled experiment. Instead I have systematically selected data from my classroom practice of using drama to raise my pupils' consciousness and develop their ability to think critically. It was not easy to place drama within the special school curriculum. At both the schools where I have been employed, we had to work within the constraints of available resources, including a lack

of qualified personnel and money, and limited availability of time and space. Despite my using drama as a teaching methodology (because of specialization in the subject) and later being allowed to teach drama as a subject, many teachers at the school were sceptical about the matter. Nor did they see drama as a subject that could be implemented in terms of the physical, emotional and social limitations of the students. For many, drama was only conducted at that time of the year when a concert had to be presented to parents. It is for this reason that Chapter Four argues for the value and the place of drama within the curriculum. The approach implemented is Drama-in-Education and not Psycho-drama[1]. I also draw upon critical theory commentary and analysis to enable the voices of disabled persons, as Freire advocates, to be heard as being active and not passive in pursuit of education as the practice of freedom (Freire, 1970).

The concluding chapter offers suggestions and recommendations so that policy and decision makers in special education, together with curriculum devisers and practitioners, may consider the place of drama within the curriculum. Of course, it *is* my belief that the use of drama in special schools is a means by which disabled persons can represent themselves by 'standing up', so to speak, and asserting their humanity. Drama, as a form of communication, helps to open the 'eyes' and 'ears' of people who have been 'blind' and 'deaf' to the fate of those who have been kept in the margins of life.

---

[1]   Drama-in-education used with physically disabled students should not be confused with psycho-drama as pracitised by protagonists such as Dr J.L. Moreno. Psycho-drama is a term used by Moreno to describe a specialized form of psycho-therapy in which *patients* enact pathological problems. Psycho-drama belongs to the area of in-depth therapeutic treatment conducted by qualified psycho-drama therapists (Jennings, 1978).

CHAPTER ONE

DISCOURSE ON DISABILITY

Disability as an issue and the experience of disabled persons, have been marginalized in history and in society as a whole. Only medicine and psychology afford disability an important place and it is for this reason that disability has been seen as a medical condition together with a contingent of psychological processes. Society has invalidated disabled persons either by ignoring them or by misrepresenting disability. The exclusion of disabled persons from society and the manner in which they are typified, is part of the oppression experienced by disabled persons world over. Alfred Shutz explains the process of typification as a process of

> ignoring what makes a particular object unique and placing that object in the same class with others that share the same trait or quality. Types are always formed in relation to some purpose at hand and it is this immediate interest which determines which traits will be equalized and what 'individuality' will be ignored."(Pieterse, 1993).

The process of typification is engaged in by able-bodied people who formulate the definitions of the terms, 'disabled', 'handicapped' and 'impaired'.

This is evident in the following definitions formulated by the World Health Organisation :

* Impairment: Any loss or abnormality of psychological,   physiological, or anatomical structure or function.
* Disability: Any restriction or lack (resulting from an impairment) of ability to perform an activity in the manner or within the range considered normal for a human being.
* Handicap: A disadvantage for an individual, resulting from an impairment or a disability, that limits or prevents the fulfilment of a role that is normal for that individual. (Coleridge, 1993).

A major problem with these definitions is that the individuality of disabled persons has been ignored. Typification then engages impairment as an abnormality to function,

12

disability as not being able to perform an activity considered normal for a human being, and handicap as the inability to perform a social role. Foucault would describe this as 'repressive power', which is exercised to justify the 'truth' of domination and normalize the nature of oppression (Foucault, 1977).

However the process of 'normalization' is never complete, thereby creating a space for the oppressed to utilize their powers of agency to avoid total subjugation and assert their cultural, ideological and socio-economic autonomy. Proof of this was the action taken by the disability movement, an international movement representing all disabled persons and formally constituted as the Disabled People International (DPI) in 1981. The movement rejected these definitions in favour of two basic concepts related to the social model of disability:

* Impairment: The loss plus the effect on function.

* Disability/ Handicap: The disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by social factors which take little or no account of people who have impairments and thus exclude them from the mainstream of social activities.   (Coleridge,1993:100)

This 're-vision' of disability disallows the perception that disability is a static physiological state. Cognisance is given to the fluid situational and experiential components in society that act against persons with disability. Disability is then presented as a particular form of social oppression.

Since the formation of DPI, disabled persons have re-defined disability and have begun to construct their own identity. From a cultural studies perspective this redefinition is what Tomaselli (1988: 39) sees as culture. In Tomaselli's words culture is:

> the ensemble of meaningful practices and 'uniformities of behaviour' through which self-defined groups within or across social classes express themselves in a unique way or locate themselves within an identifiable 'field of signification'. It is the process which informs the way meanings and definitions are socially constructed and historically transformed by social actors themselves. Cultures are distinguished in terms of differing responses to the same social,material and environmental conditions. Culture is not static or even a necessarily completely

13

coherent phenomenon: it is subject to change, transformation, reformulation. It is both adaptive, offering ways of coping and making sense, and strategic, capable of being mobilised for political, economic and social ends.

Consideration will now be given to disability within the context of society and social organisation. It will be argued that the kind of society in which one lives will have a crucial effect on the way the experience of disability is structured.

DISABILITY: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The context of disability needs to be understood in relation to the material environment. It is also necessary to place disability in its historical context. According to Oliver (1992: 26):

> Historical materialism is not just placing relationships within a historical setting. It attempts to provide an evolutionary perspective on the whole of human history, and of relevance here are the transitions from feudal to capitalist to socialist society.

To this end Victor Finkelstein, a social scientist who is disabled,

examined the evolutionary process of disability from feudalism to capitalism. He bases his work on three historical phases of disability. Phase one looks at Britain before the Industrial Revolution; phase two corresponds with the Industrial Revolution, and phase three refers to the capitalist era.

In this first feudal phase, Finkelstein reveals that 'cripples' were not separated from society. They were not segregated in any away, for example, in institutions or by receiving particular services. They existed at the lower end of the economic ladder. According to Finkelstein there was no 'disabled' group, since the systematic social exclusion of disabled persons had not yet begun (Finkelstein,1980). In the second phase Finkelstein exposes how, with the rise of the Industrial Revolution, physically disabled persons were excluded from the production process and workforce. This phase was

characterized by the establishment of large treatment institutions, charitable homes and special schools. Disabled persons became further excluded from the mainstream of life. Finkelstein states (1980: 14) that phase two was "characterised by attitudes towards physically disabled people which see them as passive, needing others to do things for them and to them, as disabled." This phase facilitated the growth of specialist professional workers. We see within phase two the growth of what is called the 'disability paradox'. This paradox lies in the fact that while disabled people were being made helpless by being institutionalized, this phase gave rise to the developments in health care which ensured that greater numbers of disabled persons survived. Nonetheless the attitudes of the organisations within this phase was characterized by the Gaze of society, which centred on the disabled person (Foucault's critique of panopticism) and not on social disablement[2].

Phase three highlights advancements made in technology which have both advantages and disadvantages for disabled persons. New technology requires electronic skills rather than physical strength and is more suitable for persons with disabilities. It would seem that Finkelstein believes that this phase can possibly reintegrate disabled persons into the mainstream of life. On the other hand, disabled persons may not be able to master these skills because of the lack of educational opportunities or because of problems of access, mobility, finance and even prejudice. Whilst Finkelstein may be criticised for the simplicity of his historical analysis, he no doubt laid the foundation for disabled persons to shift the focus from the body-as-a-site-of-oppression to society as the site-of-oppression.

---

[2]   See Foucault (19?? pp. ???) The term 'panopticism' as used by Foucault originated with the work of Jeremy Bentham and the utilitartian philosophers around the turn of the nineteenth century. It was elaborated in the context of penal reform, and as such does not contextually relate to the practices of special education.

In the post-1945 period Disability as a Social Movement made its impact. After the Second World War disabled persons began to reject the medical model's definition of them as being 'sick'. Disabled persons began to define themselves as citizens of the world with the same rights as everyone else. It was not their fault that they could not climb stairs or read print. "It was the inaccessible environment erected by society that handicapped them" (Driedger, 1989: 121). Throughout the 1960s and 1970s disabled persons began questioning their position in society. The Disabled Rights Movement (DRM) positioned itself within a series of movements for rights (labour, colonized people, black people, women) of that era. Disabled people, having become more physically mobile, better educated and more independent after the Second World War, believed in their citizenry rights.

In 1980, at the Rehabilitation International (RI) World Congress, disabled persons, claiming recognition as equal participants, registered their opposition to being regarded as patients and caseloads of doctors and social workers. At this meeting they asserted that 'handicap' be defined as societal barriers that handicap them and not as a form of individual pathology.

Disability as a Social Movement began to gain momentum especially because the 'rising expectations' of disabled persons were frustrated by society. Disabled people began to experience 'relative deprivation' socially, ethically, physically, economically and psychologically (Mauss, 1975). Believing that they should be partners in planning policies that affected their lives, they rejected participation in RI and formed their own Social Movement, Disabled People International (DPI), in 1981.

In terms of Mauss's (1975) Social Movement Theory, disabled persons seeking their rights graduated from the stage of 'incipiency' (reactions from a concerned disabled public) to a 'coalescence stage' (ad hoc groups formalizing their demands), finally

reaching an 'institutionalized stage' (a fully grown movement). At present DPI has gained respect and recognition in the eyes of the World Community. At its 1992 World Congress in Canada, delegates from one hundred and twenty countries represented 500 million disabled people world-wide (*Third World Congress Report*, April 21-26 1992).

It would be interesting to observe how the disabled movement develops in the future. According to Mauss's life cycle theory, the success of a movement leads to 'fragmentation' through 'cooptation' into society and eventual 'demise' bringing the cycle of a social movement to an end. In their continued struggle for rights, disabled people hope that the world will cease to view them as 'helpless cripples'and afford them an equal position of participating in society.

The social disabilities of individuals and groups are peculiar to the social conditions of the particular societies concerned. The position of disabled persons in society is determined by the social obligations to and the rights of disabled people in a given society; the type of economy and the need for manpower; how achievement is defined and the value of age, sex, race and class in individual societies. Perceptions of disability are relative to time, place and situation.

DISABILITY: A CULTURAL STUDIES PERSPECTIVE

In developing a Cultural Studies perspective, the discourse of disability is understood as being culturally produced and socially constructed. In understanding disability one needs to focus on the ideological construction of disability. We can look to Antonio Gramsci, who distinguishes between 'organic ideology' -- an ideology necessitated by a given structure, and 'arbitrary' or 'willed' ideology. The former arises from the interests of a given historical class or alliances of classes. Organic ideologies are strategic because in Gramscian terms they organise human masses, and create the

terrain on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle etc (Gramsci, 1971). The latter form of ideology, on the other hand, only "creates individual 'movements', polemics and so on" (Gramsci, 1971;377). In discussing disability, Gramsci's 'organic ideology' (*Weltanschauung*, philosophy, religion, common sense and folklore) is significant.

Philosophy, which is the most coherent form of ideology, expresses the world view of a particular group of people. Humanism, for instance, is the philosophy of disabled persons. This philosophy is not sufficient to penetrate the consciousness of ordinary people. Religion then becomes the bridge between a philosophical system and the people. It is here that *weltanschauung* (a set of beliefs) emerges.

In many societies it was commonly believed that disability was a result of an evil spirit or a person's wrong doing. As late as the seventeenth or the eighteenth century parents of physically disabled persons in Europe were accused of delving in witchcraft (Safilios-Rothchild, 1970; Shearer, 1981; Topliss, 1982). In some societies disabled persons were revered and viewed as manifestations of power from the gods and were given special status within the religious context of community life.

Beatrice Wright (1992: 445), in discussing the Dahomeans of West Africa, states that

> ... children born with anomalous physical characteristics are held to be under the guardianship of special super natural agents. Some of them are destined to bring good luck and the fate of the others must be determined by signs from the supernatural.

Even today in South Africa, remnants of these attitudes still prevail. Within Zulu Culture for instance an individual's state of health is interpreted as the maintenance of a fine balance between the living and the dead. It is believed that the spirits of the ancestors, commonly known as Amadlozi, Izithutha, Amathoga or Abaphansi, look after the physical

and spiritual needs of their offspring. In exchange for this protection, which brings good fortune, health and prosperity, the living are required to maintain good relationships with their ancestors by performing certain rituals and duties. Failure to observe these responsibilities invokes the wrath of the ancestors who withdraw their protection, resulting in misfortune, ill health and adversity. The Zulu people, therefore, do not regard sickness and suffering as natural, but rather as a consequence of failure to maintain cordial relations with the dead (*Community Based Rehabilitation News*, September 1992, No 12).

Common sense, in Gramsci's terms, is directed at the uncritical and largely unconscious way of perceiving and understanding the world that has become 'common' in any epoch. It is not a "single unique conception, identical in time and space. It is the 'folklore' of philosophy,and like folklore,it takes countless different forms." (Gramsci, 1971: 419). Common sense is a complex and disjointed amalgam influenced by previous philosophical currents. In Gramsci's analysis,

> it contains stone age elements and principles of more advanced science, prejudices from all phases of history at the local level and intuitions of a future philosophy which will be that of a human race united the world over. (Gramsci, 1971: 324).

Gramsci believes that common sense is never rigid and is continually transforming itself. This is evident in how the terminology describing disabled persons has changed over time from 'cripple' to 'handicapped' to 'the disabled' and presently to 'persons with disabilities' or 'disabled persons'. Recently, in some quarters the term 'differentially abled' has been registered and is still being debated by social movements as to the validity of its use.

The prejudices against disabled persons are a mediation for commonsense ideas. Prejudice is associated with the recognition of difference and is an integral part of the concept of 'normality'. Normality is in turn inherently tied up with the ideas of what is

right, what is desirable and what belongs. Contemporary consumer culture promotes the desirability of attractive physical features, like a slim body, dazzling eyes, long pointed fingers, shapely legs. Since disabled persons fail to conform to some or all of these attributes they are no longer regarded as 'normal'.

They are regarded as the Other and do not 'belong'. Attributions, intentions and definitions of self and Other are all formulated within the framework and pervasive nature of ideology. The disabled person's definition of self becomes coloured by the extent to which he/ she has been inducted into internalizing the 'truth' and 'normality' of social oppression (Fanon, 1970).

The other important point about 'organic ideology' is that it organizes the actions and consciousness of people through 'organic intellectuals'. Doctors, lawyers, social workers or teachers, as well as disabled persons in leadership positions of organisations, form part of this class of intellectuals. Their function is to "deploy ideology in such a way as to win the consent of the people to the intellectual-moral order of the organic ideology, therefore to a specific hegemony" (Tomaselli, 1989:25). Hegemony can be seen as the indissoluble unity of political leadership with moral and intellectual leadership. It is not simply a question of class alliances, but a manifestation of the dialectical relationship between coercion and consent, force and persuasion (Tomaselli, R., 1993: 7). Organic intellectuals work either for the dominant hegemony or for an alternate hegemony.

In the disability struggle those who work for the dominant ideology of State Structures are those persons who regard disability as 'individual pathology'. Disability is enforced as being a vile aberration through exercising 'disciplinary power'. Disciplinary power functions to depict the 'dependency' of disabled persons as self-inflicted and

normal, thereby limiting the disabled persons range of interactional possibilities and repertoire of behaviours (Foucault, 1977).

Dominant hegemony is also reflected through the 'Welfare/ Charity' model. More often than not charity implies a fortunate giver and a less fortunate receiver, which perpetuates a superior-inferior relationship. Following Foucault and Fanon, who depict power as an organisational and relational interaction that pervades the entire social fabric of society, it may be argued that as a repressive force, the dominating power exercises itself to suppress individuality and coerce disabled persons into capitulation. For this reason organisations take on the responsibility of looking after indigent, 'helpless cripples' with the aim of educating, housing and employing them. Segregated schools, homes and workshops are built to contain the image of helplessness and dependency with rehabilitation as the aim.

To rehabilitate means, "to restore to a good condition of good health, or to a level of useful activity" (*World Book Dictionary*). This definition implies that disabled persons are objectified at the hands of able-bodied service providing organisers, who have the power and control over the lives of disabled persons at schools, hospitals, protected workshops. These organisations also follow a strict hierarchial pattern and this is evident in an example given by David Werner, disabled Director of Self-Help Project Projimo in Mexico, on how power and control operate in the lives of disabled people. Werner (1992: 2) tells of how the "district supervisor supervises the local supervisor who supervises the home supervisor who supervises the disabled person, who is definitely the low man on the totem pole. Thus disabled persons become the objects, not the subjects of their rehabilitation." Following Foucault (1977) and Manzo (1992), who assert that the impact of disciplinary power remains uneven and incomplete, it can be argued that the oppressive scripts enunciated for disabled persons are only accepted partially and

unevenly. This is very much in keeping with Gramsci's conclusion that the working class can never be fully subordinated to the 'dominant ideology.' A counter-hegemonic consciousness is exercised to challenge the 'dominant ideology' (Gramsci, 1971). For example, the direct outcome of the uneven impact of disciplinary 'normalisation' is the ideological struggle around definitions of self and ideas of autonomy being fought by organisations such as the Disabled People International and the Disabled People of South Africa.

Through these organisations disabled people refuse to sit on the fringes of society. They are now exercising their fundamental human rights to participate in every sphere of society. They are making demands to have their voices heard and to be recognised as equals within the context of socio-economic, cultural and political diversities. They are challenging society to see disabled people as persons with ability who can organize and influence decisions at all levels.

CONCLUSION:

However, despite the fight for human rights, disabled persons still continue to face prejudices and discrimination. Having considered the way disability has been defined and perceived by society and having placed disability within a historical-materialist perspective, the chapters that follow will consider how identity and consciousness of disabled persons is formed by the cultural images created by societal structures. Therefore the next two chapters will reveal how environmental conditions, stigma, behaviour, attitudes, stereotypes and myths are responsible for portraying disabled persons as either being less than or more than human.

CHAPTER TWO

DISABLING MYTHS AND STEREOTYPES

This chapter considers how stereotyping as a social classification or categorization of disabled persons represents a set of values, judgements and assumptions concerning their behaviour,characteristics and cultural position in society. Stereotypes and stereotyping, according to O'Sullivan et al (1983: 223),

> not only identify general categories of people,they are distinctive in the way that they carry undifferentiated judgements about their referent. Whilst they may vary widely in terms of their emotional appeal and intensity, they generally represent underlying power relations, tensions or conflicts.

It is essential to look at how stereotyping of disabled persons has been culturally and politically circulated within popular and mass media and how particular attitudes, labelling and prejudices has rendered disabled persons marginalised as ineffective, non-participatory, non-functional and non-productive members of society. Tessa Perkins'(1979) assumptions about stereotypes may very well apply to the way disabled persons are stereotyped. Stereotyping has the effect of presenting foreclosed meanings of disability. In stereotyping disabled persons, stereotypes become evaluative and operate at a high level of generalisation. They become pejorative concepts . Even though they may appear to be simple they conflate certain aspects of the dominant ideology, for example, someone in a wheelchair assumed to be stupid is unlikely to receive much intellectual stimulation; if the person does not provide it for him/ herself, they may end up being conditioned into stupidity. Myths on the other hand are "collective representations which naturalize social constructions" (Janks, 1989). In order to understand the myths it is necessary that we take cognisance of the social functions of myths. Myles Breen together with Farrel Corcoran, isolate the functions of myth "as a perceptual system, an exemplary

model, presents and mediates conflicts and reifies culture" (Breen, 1987: 9). In applying myth to disability there emerges a distorted vision or perception of disabled persons as either being helpless, passive, weak or conversely as being brave, amazing or super-human. Images and stories projected by film and television create particular models of disabled persons as either being hero or villain. In the mediating of conflicts Irving Zola, a sociologist at Brandeis University and a publisher of the journal *Disability Rights Quarterly*, himself being disabled, argues that stories involving characters with disability "do not have a neutral ending. They either have negative ones, suicide or death, or positive ones which have the disquieting effects of removing the character from the ranks by means of a miracle cure." (Zola, 1987: 9).

In reifying disablement, focus is centred on the individual disabled person's individual traits and actions to overcome disability. Such focus on individual treatment, virtues or weakness "denies the critical importance of social, political and economic barriers to the full participation of people with disabilities" (Zola, 1987: 18). It then becomes evident that the myths created by media are heavily weighted by the ideology of able bodied persons. Hall (1981) defines ideology as "those images, concepts, and premises which provide the frameworks through which we represent, interpret, understand and 'make sense' of some aspect of social existence" (Cited in Sayer, 1986: 296). An analysis of the representation of disabled persons then must also address the power relation that exists between able-bodied and disabled persons themselves. A material analysis of the economic and sexual relations, as well as the ideological analysis of language and images which sustain and maintain these unequal relations is needed.

For instance, a poster of a person in a wheelchair with his head bent, designed by the South African National Muscular Dystrophied Association, had the following words printed under the picture: "Only the strong survive, Our strength is in your hands." The

poster reinforces the belief that disabled persons are weak, helpless, dependent, have no control over their lives. It does not serve to strengthen the belief in the self. The myths created by able-bodied persons around disability are "connotations which become dominant-hegemonic" (Heck, 1980).

Despite the myths created by society, disabled persons do experience limitations as far as sight, hearing and/ or mobility may be concerned. These limitations are accentuated by society's response to disability. A common phrase heard amongst disabled persons is "our bodies make us disabled, but society makes us handicapped". The word 'handicapped' comes from the "practice of beggars who held cap in hand to solicit charity, and the word reflects the dependent position in which society places disabled people" (Bulletin, 1977: 4).

The term 'disability' relates to the physical condition involved, whilst the word 'handicap' refers to the functional disadvantage experienced in a particular environment, for example, the inability to move around in a wheelchair within a barrier-ridden environment. Hence the term 'handicapism' -- the stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination practised by society against disabled persons -- denotes the subtle and the unsubtle ways in which society handicaps disabled persons. These range from descriptions such as 'fragile', 'easily hurt' and 'over-sensitive', to 'indecisive', 'non-sexual', and 'in need of protection'. Disabled persons who defy these stereotypes come across as being 'so normal' and are labelled with inappropriate adjectives such as 'exceptional', 'extraordinary' ,'incredible', 'outstanding', 'amazing'. No matter what the description, stereotyping results in disabled persons being regarded as 'different' and it is this difference that stigmatizes disabled persons, justifying their removal from society. 'Different' is frequently equated with abnormality.

Dr Kathryn Jagoe, The Director of the Disability Unit at the University of Cape Town, herself a quadriplegic (loss of some use of all four limbs), describes being 'different' as meaning "that we can never be normal, normally weak, normally strong, normally dependent or normally independent." (Jagoe, 1992). This dynamic is particularly evident in the area of sexuality. The prevalent stereotype is that disabled persons are non-sexual or asexual by nature. However should a disabled person show an interest in sexuality, he/ she is seen as being over-sexed. Immediately a person is seen in a wheelchair such a person is perceived to be helpless and dependent, whilst those on two feet are capable and independent.

The wheelchair itself seems to be a symbol of stereotyping. The wheelchair sign which actually refers to the wheelchair access for disabled persons, has become analogous with the word 'disabled'. Semiotically, the wheelchair sign can be defined as 'unstable' since its meaning changes depending on who speaks or uses the term, for what purpose and in what context (Tomaselli, 1993). Disabled persons have come to believe that the upright stick figure in an immobile wheelchair is not altogether a positive image. It denotes a 'staticness' implying rigidity and passivity, and encourages the image of immobility socially, politically and economically. Disability movements have registered a call to change the sign (See Appendix A).

The representation of, or the depiction of, disabled persons in signs "intercepts a whole range of culturally shaped ways of making sense not derived from the sign itself, but from the way particular societies, social groups or classes use, value and encode, both the signifier and the signified" (Tomaselli, 1993: 6). It is convenient for able-bodied persons to ascribe negative qualities to disabled persons as a justification for the exclusion of disabled persons from society.

Disabled students who were informally interviewed at the University of Natal are of the opinion that the most striking feature of stereotyping is the able bodied persons exaggeration of disability. From their experiences the following exaggerations were expressed:

> able bodied persons believe that persons with hearing aids are totally deaf;those with white sticks in hand have difficulty in finding their way around and those on crutches need to be assisted with walking; those in wheelchairs share the common experience of not being addressed or spoken to should they be accompanied by an assistant (Disabled Students, University of Natal, 1992).

Such stereotypical behaviour and attitudes have a depersonalising effect with the result that the more disabled persons are seen in terms of such depersonalising stereotypes the less they are seen as individuals "until eventually they quite automatically fail to see the person behind the disability at all" (Sutherland, 1981: 62).

In avoidance or non-acceptance of disabled persons, able bodied people continue to entrench this 'otherness' and difference. To the able bodied world, disabled persons as Other are "identified by their difference; they are semiotic representations made to look different from 'us' as insiders. The Other is the Lack, The Left Out, the Unsaid, the Incomplete" (Tomaselli, 1993: 9).

Disabled persons being perceived as the Other or as being different stems from a generalized fear. Micheline Mason, a poet and writer on disabled women's issues who was born with a condition called Osteogenesis Imperfecta or Brittle Bone confirms this belief. She states:

> I think it is to do with the fear people have of difference...the fear of difference people have is what connects us to other people who are oppressed. You begin to see that what is given as the reason for oppression is actually the excuse for the oppression, which is much more to do with people's fear of difference (Sutherland, 1981: 63).

The perception of difference results in the distancing of able bodied persons from persons with disabilities. Able-bodied persons begin to assume that disabled persons "can't be

27

one of us". Once the notion of the 'other' penetrates various levels of consciousness then different standards for disabled persons begin to manifest themselves. Disabled persons begin to be treated as a 'race' apart.

This can be paralleled to the racial groupings within South Africa. The following example illustrates how whites in South Africa justify their difference when they compare themselves with black people. Jagoe (1986) points out that

> once white people have classified people of colour as different from 'us' such attitudes and standards easily arise, for example, it doesn't matter that black people are facing a winter living under plastic sheeting or in corrugated iron shanties as 'they don't feel the cold like we do'. We conveniently sweep aside the fact that 20 or more Black people will be sharing a tiny house which would acceptably house 1 or 2 white people, excusing it as 'part of their tribal pattern'.

In Jagoe's opinion this might very well be applicable to how able-bodied persons justify their position in relation to disabled persons and issues affecting disability.

The other stereotype typical of able bodied persons' thinking is that persons with physical disabilities are stupid. There is a danger that such stereotyping of stupidity can interact with class prejudice. Evidence of such thinking is corroborated by Merry Cross, a disabled activist and an educational psychologist. She is of the opinion that:

> ... if you're working class and you are dealing with middle class people there's an extra thing that they assume that working class people are stupid too. And so if you're working class and you've got a physical impairment you're going to experience discrimination much more because people are just going to assume that you're thick (Sutherland, 1981: 64).

The saddest thing about myths and stereotypes is that they have the potential to develop into self-fulfilling prophecies. Disabled persons begin to accept the images and begin to speak of them in tunes of amused affability. Inevitably a portrait of wretchedness as in Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* (1967) becomes indelibly engraved and in time disabled persons begin to feel less than human. This appears to be analogous with the black/ white situation addressed by Fanon. Like black persons, disabled persons too are

enslaved by inferiority, deny their own individuality and 'annihilate themselves' through self-hate. Slowly in turning against themselves disabled persons become objects functioning not in terms of their own needs, but in the way in which they are visualized by able-bodied persons.

This in turn can be easily linked with how power operates in terms of the self, self-identity and power relations in society. How disabled persons are positioned in society in terms of power relations can be closely related to Foucault's *The Subject and Power*. In this case, Foucault's concern is not with the institution of power, or a group or a class, but rather with the 'form of power'. In applying this to disabled persons, Foucault is interested in how the 'form of power' disables disabled persons, attaches them to disabled identities, isolates, marginalizes and subjugates them (Foucault, 1982).

Closely related to the form of power is how the power of language creates myths and stereotypes affects disabled persons and how language itself is responsible for the way disabled persons perceive themselves. Words can create barriers which are often more 'handicapping' than the actual disabilities themselves. The nuances with which words are used when referring to disabling conditions is indicative of society's perception of the disabled person's status and standing in society.

For instance, disabled persons are often referred to as 'crips', 'wheelies', 'quads' or' hemis' (depending on the type of limb loss). Such labelling (negative definitions applied to individuals who are seen to 'deviate' from the norms) which defines individuals as particular kinds of persons is not neutral. It contains an evaluation of the person to whom it is applied. The label evolves into a 'master status' that overrides the status of the disabled person as a father, friend, neighbour, worker. Able-bodied persons respond to disabled persons in terms of these labels and in time disabled persons take on the identities which become dominating and controlling ones in their lives. Since language

creates myths it would be appropriate to consider how the use of language impinges on the consciousness of disabled persons.

LANGUAGE AND NEGATIVE SELF-IMAGE

Over the past decades the words 'cripple,' 'crippled,''Society for Cripples,'' Hospitals for Cripples' have been used. The very word 'cripple conveys the image of a twisted, deformed, unattractive and useless body. The effect of such a word is stigmatisation which creates a mental state of inferiority and worthlessness.

The word 'cripple' is derived from the word 'to creep', and, according to Burgdoff (1980: 47), "with its demise went the image of a helpless individual crawling and dragging himself or herself along the ground". It is also a word that is charged with emotion. To many it is a tear jerking word and it brings with it a mental picture of a physically deformed and twisted person dressed in rags and holding out a bowl to passers-by who look down upon them with mingled pity and aversion. When the word 'cripple' is used in reference to disabled persons there are negative or derogatory overtones attached to the word.

Disabled persons have often been regarded as 'victims' example 'polio victim', 'M.V.A victim'. The very word 'victim' has certain undertones and moral implications as is in the case of 'victims of rape', 'victims of apartheid'. They connote helplessness, being powerless and having no control. There is also the subtle implication that the 'victim' is somehow responsible for the status of being the victim. Another denigrating term used is 'deaf and dumb'. People who use such phrases are in grave danger of assuming that 'deaf and dumb' people cannot speak because they cannot hear, and that as a result of this, they lack normal cognitive functions and are therefore mentally impaired as well.

There has been much debate the world over about what disabled people should call themselves, and over language usage related to disability. Gramsci believes that language is intimately related to ideology and that language is more than just words, devoid of content. It is a " totality of determined notions and concepts" (Gramsci, 1971: 323). In some quarters this debate is regarded as of utmost importance, while in others it is seen as a diversion from the real issues. In the former instance it is argued that language mirrors the attitudes of people who have evolved new words in the hope of changing societal views of them. In the final analysis Steven Brown, a disabled writer and Director of the World Institute on Disability, contends that "... the debate about what we call ourselves, the discussion surrounding language, represents a corner piece in the jig-saw puzzle of our beliefs about ourselves and who we are" (Brown, 1992: 229).

Language remains an important issue for most disabled persons because it is intimately linked with consciousness and attitudes. Drawing attention to language is an important way of exposing the unquestioned prejudices and assumptions upon which people operate. Unexamined cliches govern the thoughts of the unthinking. Examining the cliches starts the process of constructive reflection on the issue (Coleridge, 1993). Too often disabled persons are spoken of as being 'restricted' or 'confined to' a wheelchair or crutches or regarded as being wheelchair 'bound'. In fact most people who use wheelchairs or other mobility devices do not regard these as confining or restricting. In fact they are viewed as liberating since they are means of getting around.

Other words that have negative implications for disabled persons are words like 'normal'. Especially when used as the opposite of disabled it implies that the person is 'abnormal'. This can be demeaning. For instance in a newspaper article concerning the integration of disabled pupils into a mainstream school the reporter writes, "there is good understanding among the normal and disabled pupils and the normal pupils wait at the

31

school gate to help their friends into the classrooms" (*Post Natal*, March 3-6, 1993). It is evident that the representation of disabled students as the 'abnormal other' relates to power and control as it permeates the society of normalization. It is also indicative of the "different inflections of paternalism and patronage" (Pieterse, 1993) on the part of able-bodied persons.

The words 'disability', and 'sickness' also tend to be used synonymously. The 'sick syndrome' has a 'crippling' effect and once internalised by disabled persons it can leave them feeling totally inadequate, week, feeble and useless beings. Other words that tend to be insensitively used are 'deformed', 'feeble-minded', 'idiot', 'moron', 'imbecile', 'incompetent', 'of unsound mind' and "mentally ill". Although these words have mostly passed out of use, they are occasionally found in the press and in popular writing. Such words are indicative of disrespect and depict those with disabilities in a negative light, lacking in dignity and self-worth. At the same time these words imply that such 'deficiency' requires protection and justifies the reason for 'imprisoning' disabled people, isolating them and keeping them away from the mainstream of life.

Dollard and Miller (1950: 72) call this "labelling" and state that persons with disabilities "could be discriminated against because of the label they acquire." There is the possibility that such societal labels can lead to segregation and prejudice and those carrying such labels may fulfil the expectations and as such conform to the labels assigned to them. It is this then that can help reinforce the internalised oppression experienced by disabled persons who are made to believe that what is said of them is true. In believing in the 'sick' and 'inferior' role, they succumb to a malevolent fate rather than see themselves as victims of a malevolent social system.

Nonetheless 'handicapism', together with stereotyping and myths, has also been reinforced in childrens' books, film, television and video. The handicapist barriers

32

prevalent in media have also been responsible for the prevention of integration of disabled persons into the mainstream of life. Discussion here will now focus upon three significant images within Western literature, film and television that have been responsible for reinforcing stereotypic attitudes towards disabled persons. They are: Negative Images, Images of Exaggeration, and Positive Images.

NEGATIVE IMAGES

The image often projected in newspapers and in posters, especially when one considers fund-raising projects, is that of disabled persons being pitiable and pathetic. Common phrases like 'Help the Needy', 'Save the Handicapped' together with a photographic image of a despairing disabled person reinforces this point. In a critical reading of most charity advertising two separate meanings , one in the photograph, one in the text, can be located. The photograph would show dependency, isolation, futility and oblivion. The text to the image might have a challenge by adding objective facts about the impairment. It becomes clear that the meanings are quite different and often opposing, but have the purpose of setting up the "dependent impairment-active charity dynamic in your head" (Hevey, 1992). In literature pitiable and pathetic characters are depicted by, among others, Sir Clifford in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, and Laura Wingfield in *The Glass Menagerie*. Laura particularly conforms to the image of a disabled woman: stereotypically helpless, pathetic and living her life in a morass of loneliness. In his stage direction Tennessee Williams writes that crippled Laura, in her separation from the outside world "is like a piece of her own glass collection, too exquisitely fragile to move from the shelf" (Williams,1945:5). Williams characterizes Laura as being passive, making no move on her own. She is so withdrawn that her dialogue reveals little of her inner self. In analyzing Williams' treatment of Laura's character, Deborah Kent, a

33

freelance disabled writer on women with disabilities in fiction and drama, is of the opinion that Laura " has assumed the world's view of her as asexual, dependent, a perennial child" (Kent, 1988: 96).

Williams'stereotypic treatment of Laura reflects the superiority and patronizing attitudes of able-bodied persons towards persons with disability. Sir Clifford too is treated by D.H.Lawrence as a lesser, weaker person, whose look had the "slight vacancy of a cripple". Words such as 'meaningless', 'nothingness', 'nonsense' are repeatedly used to describe him. The most telling dismissal of Sir Clifford's substance is rendered in the words: "Really if you looked closely at Sir Clifford, he was a buffoon, and a buffoon is more humiliating than a bounder".

The other image commonly reflected is that disabled persons are sinister and evil. An example of this common stereotype is Shakespeare's *Richard the Third*. Shakespeare distorts the appearance of the king (who in real life was not disabled) to accentuate the evil dimension of his personality. In Act 1, Scene 1 Richard says:

> Cheated of feature by dissembling nature,
> Deform'd, unfinisht, sent before my time
> Into this breathing world, scarce half made up...
> I am determined to prove a villain,
> And hate the idle pleasures of these days.

Likewise, Herman Melville creates Captain Ahab's disability in *Moby Dick* to cast an ominous foreboding atmosphere, for example when the narrator Ishmael hears Ahab's false leg tapping back and forth across the deck in the middle of the night. The persistent image one receives is the association of the disability with malevolence. Deformity of body manifests the deformity of soul. Persons with physical disability are made the emblems of evil.

In childrens' classical literature stereotypes are used as well. In R.L. Stevenson's *Treasure Island* the disabled characters Black Dog ("a tallow-faced man, wanting two

fingers") and Pew ("a hunched and eyeless creature") are villainous and wicked. Such examples as reflected in able-bodied thinking serve to isolate people with disabilities and continue to endow them with unworthy qualities. In creating fear of the disabled in young minds, the able bodied writers unconsciously encourage the alienation of disabled persons from the mainstream of society.

Disability continues to be associated with fear in modern children's stories. For example The Blind Man, who is not given a name, in *Apt 3*, by Ezra Jack Keats (Macmillan 1971) is made to be scary:

> Sam could not make out a figure at the table. It was the blind man's apartment. 'Come in you two. What's the matter...scared?' They were so scared they went in.

Other stereotypes reinforced in this book include the notion that the blind play music, that blind people are lonely and live isolated lives, and can only flourish when saved by able bodied persons. Once again we are exposed to the patronizing attitudes of the able bodied world who believe that they are responsible for saving persons with disabilities from their disabilities.

Another literary practice which objectifies fictional persons with disabilities is naming characters according to their disability. Captain Hook, in *Peter Pan* by J.M. Barrie, *"Limpy the Lion"*, by David C. Whitney, and *"Crazylegs Merril"* by Bill J.Carol are evidence of the lack of sensitivity on the part of able bodied writers who continue to perpetuate subtle and covert prejudices and practices.

IMAGES OF EXAGGERATION:

Just as in literature, film writers and film scripts are also guilty of perpetuating and maintaining the stereotypic and mythic images of persons with disabilities. Television crime shows and crime thriller movies often tend to sensationalise violent

assaults against disabled persons. A very good example is the film *See No Evil*, in which

Mia Farrow plays a visually impaired woman who outwits a psychopathic killer. In this

film Farrow , on returning from a horse ride, discovers that her whole family has been

murdered. The psychopathic killer, who returns to stalk her, is killed because of her

'extra-ordinary power' of her 'other senses'. The myth that disabled persons naturally

compensate for the loss of a limb by using their 'other senses' is perpetuated in the film.

When the film was discussed informally with visually impaired persons, it was felt that

such 'miraculous feats' are not possible. "The film makes us super-human,with powers

well beyond our capabilities" (Informal Interview, New Horizon School, January 1994).

Disabled persons are also sculptured in the image of 'monsters'. Recent examples

of such film images are *The Hunch Back of Notre Dame* (1981) and *The Phantom of the*

Opera (1983). The exaggeration and the extremism of presentation involving

disfigurement of the face and head and the gross deformity of body stirs up fear and

loathing amongst able bodied viewers. The more disability is used as a metaphor the

more the cultural stereotype is confirmed (Morris, 1991). Erving Goffman (1963) views

these negative depictions as a fundamental nature of stigma which causes persons to

whom it is ascribed to be perceived as less than human. The deeply ideological nature of

imagery determines not only how able-bodied persons think about disabled persons, but

how disabled persons think about themselves (Parmar, 1992).

POSITIVE IMAGES:

The negative images portrayed in the past have been replaced by positive images

of disabled persons being attractive, sexual, determined, self-reliant and self-sufficient.

Most prominent of these are Jon Voight's paraplegic Vietnam veteran, Luke Martin, in

Coming Home; Geri Jewell (as Cheryl), an actress with cerebral palsy in episodes of

Facts of Life; and Marlee Matlin (as Sarah), who has a hearing impairment, in *Children of a Lesser God* and in *Reasonable Doubts*.

Coming Home can be regarded as a 'subversive' film because the stereotype of disability is challenged in fundamental ways. The daily details of Luke Martin's(Jon Voight's) life with paralysis are shown as an integral part of a real, powerful, autonomous person. In *Children of a Lesser God*, Sarah (Marlee Matlin), a strong woman who is deaf, demands that her interests and concerns be addressed by the hearing community. In the play as opposed to the film, Sarah's strength is set against the background of other deaf persons and the struggle for her rights has authority and coherence. In the film version, Sarah's deafness is turned into a metaphor for the lack of communication between able-bodied and disabled persons and between men and women. In *Reasonable Doubts* there is no doubt that Sarah as the assertive lawyer, stands testimony to the strength of disabled persons.

In non-fictional television programmes, in segments on magazine shows, in news broadcasts on human stories of achievements, successes, heroic accomplishments by 'handi-capable' athletes are, according to Longmore (1987: 14), "real-life stories of striving and courage and are, it seems, the anti-thesis of bitter and self-pitying cripples". In a culture that depends on success stories, disabled persons serve as models of personal striving and achievement of overcoming disability. By focusing on achievement, there is a danger of depoliticizing disablement and denying the social, political and economic barriers to the full participation of people with disabilities (Zola, 1987).

CONCLUSION:

There has been a paucity of investigation and decoding of images of people with disabilities in literature, film, television and video. While negative image portrayals have

been highlighted, very little has been done to investigate the social, political and economic discrimination against disabled people. Media focus on the fight for disability rights has been minimal. Disability is as prevalent and common in depictions in popular media as it is in 'real' life. Frequently we fail to realise its ubiquitousness in the world of media as often as we fail to 'see' it in our everyday lives. We need to ask ourselves why we screen disabled people out of our consciousness even as these images are absorbed. The media does examine disability, but not too deeply. Often solutions to problems on disability are simple and quick. Disability is explained away as not being too painful or overwhelming. Disability is made manageable and generally created to be not 'our problem at all, but someone else's'.

Longmore (1987) believes that this occurs because able bodied persons harbour unspoken anxiety about disabilities and disablement and what we fear we stigmatize, shun and even destroy. As far as stereotypes are concerned, by following Bulhan (1985) and Fanon (1968), it may be argued that stereotypes are expressed at the personal, interpersonal, institutional and structural levels of society, impacting on both the individual and collective psyches of disabled persons. Stereotyping, as an insidiously cultivated form of oppression, legitimizes institutional discrimination against disabled persons and impersonalizes personal discrimination. Stereotypes once embedded within the ideology of discourse of oppression, perpetuate specific patterns of relations and practices that are deeply ingrained in and dominate everyday living, leading to disabled persons playing out their ascribed roles in constrained ways (Bulhan, 1985).

In its most subtle form, prolonged exposure to stereotyping permeates the world of disabled persons to the extent that it constrains their actional world. The continued exposure to negative stereotypes restricts disabled persons to a confined world of ideas and prohibitions, preventing psychological autonomy to prevail. Disabled persons are

both subtly and overtly coerced into fashioning their images and self-definition in terms allowed them by the dominant able-bodied culture. The entire process of devaluing disabled persons involves dislocating and uprooting them from their cultural referents and immersing them into another.

This coercive immersion undermines their history, genealogy, biography and world view, thereby distorting the individual disabled person's relationship with family, community and society as a whole (Bulhan, 1985). Once disabled persons are stripped of their own frames of reference, collective identity and psychological autonomy, they experience deep feelings of inferiority, self-denigration and self-rejection, sometimes culminating in a tendency towards imitating the oppressor, the able-bodied. There may be a tendency to internalize and assimilate the values, norms, restrictions and images of able-bodied persons, thereby rendering disabled persons agents of their own oppression. The oppressor without becomes an introppressor, an oppressor within (Bulhan, 1985; Fanon, 1968).

Despite the psychological oppression, by being in struggle, disabled persons have come to realize that present dominant codes and meanings are not inviolate. By monitoring, correcting, organising and protesting through counter-ideology, disability movements, internationally, have rallied a call for changed representations and a transformation of images of disabled persons. Able-bodied persons, who are responsible for these images and critical narratives, need to interrogate and change their perspectives about disability otherwise they could perpetuate the Gaze that seeks to dominate and subjugate disabled persons. Despite all the urgent calls for change, the next chapter bears witness to how the Other is constructed through the lived experiences of disabled persons. Disabled persons hem themselves in or are hemmed in by the social, political, economic and cultural conditions of their existence.

CHAPTER THREE

THE MATERIAL: THE MAKING OF THE CULTURE OF SILENCE

In understanding the Culture of Silence it is necessary to draw upon the effects of

oppression experienced by black people world over. Following Fanon (1968) and Biko

(1972), all forms of oppression that have been embedded in the psyche have negative

implications. Historically and psychologically, it has been found that those who have

been denigrated and dehumanized are filled with self-doubt, suffer from an inferiority

complex with their self-worth undermined, and their confidence with and bond to others

weakened.

Fanon provides insights into the dynamics and self-destructive consequences of

internalized oppression and self-negation. Initially there is an adoption of 'avoidance

reactions', followed by a propensity to imitate the oppressor and be assimilated into the

oppressor's culture. Over a long period of 'prolonged oppression', the subjugated reach a

stage of 'submission to bondage'. There is an obsequious obeyance to orders, an

assimilation into the dominant culture and a demeaning public behaviour of compliance

(Fanon, 1967; Bulhan, 1985).

In silence, the oppressed rages in condemnation of the acts of oppression, but in

the face of the oppressor wears the mask of obedience and gratitude. Similarities between

the experiences of black people and people with disablities can be drawn. Disabled

persons, like Black people, after years of oppression become, in Biko's words,

"completely defeated, drowning in their own misery, an ox bearing the yoke of

oppression with sheepish timidity" (quoted in Stubbs, 1978: 29).

It follows then, that experience is never transparent in itself, but always occurs

within particular social and cultural forms that have been produced within specific

relations of power and regimes of discourse serving particular interests. It is important to recognise and acknowledge the lived experiences of disabled persons because it is these experiences that make disabled persons aware of themselves. At the same time, able-bodied persons are enlightened through self-examination and reflection of their own actions.

In acknowledging the experiences of disabled persons the position of dominance of the able-bodied is demystified. On the other hand recognition is given to the importance of disabled persons from a critical historical perspective with the aim of reconstructing past and present experiences in the future. At the same time, in outlining these experiences, a critique is offered so that able bodied persons may recognise their positions of privilege in order that alliances may be formed to change the status quo of disabled persons.

This chapter weaves in certain 'stories' through personal interviews so that instances of domination and control in the form of institutional and social practices are recounted. In outlining the ideological dimensions of their experiences and revealing how disability has been constructed through architectural barriers, lack of proper housing, transport, education, and the role of professionals, this chapter addresses how material and symbolic structures of power operate within the larger context of the lives of disabled persons. The experiences brought to this study are a reflection of not only the ethos of disabled persons but are parts of their memory and their structured silences repressed in the unconscious.

Disabled persons continue to recall how material conditions in society have been responsible for their disablement. Mclaren calls this "redemptive remembering". In registering their public voice disabled persons involve themselves in a

critical engagement of and resistance to the dominative society -- a society that possesses a crippling potential to disable the oppressed to a supplicating attitude that is placatory toward regimes of domination (Mclaren, 1993: 76).

Despite the fact that in recent times disabled persons have stood up against all forms of discrimination and prejudice, they remain isolated and marginalised by conditions around them. What follows now is a consideration of the material conditions that have created and shaped the lives of disabled persons.

The information retrieved in this chapter is through a process of 'interactionism', wherein disabled persons interviewed are active agents determining the nature of their world by giving meaning to it through their lived experiences. From the thirty disabled persons interviewed, twelve viewpoints are singled out, since they uncover and represent the lifestyles, situations, and settings that are similar to the experiences of the other interviewees. Two of the informants (Classified 'African' and 'White') are from the Universities of Natal and Cape Town respectively. Both of them are female adults who are activists in the Disability Movement. The other ten are ex-students and students (Classified 'Indian') from the Spes Nova School for Cerebral Palsied Children and the Clare Estate School for the Physically Disabled.

The informants were interviewed in their homes, at school and at the respective Universities. This allowed for a closer observation and understanding of their physical environments from within which they operate. Interacting with the informants against these specific backgrounds affords an opportunity to understand how particular environments are perceived.

DISABILITY CONSTRUCTED

A spinal cord-injured wheelchair user in Soweto, interviewed by Jacklyn Cock (1988: 13), states that: "people who are normal only see our shell. They think that the shell is empty. They think that there is nothing we can do from within this shell." Cock looks at the 'shell' as the symbol of isolation and confinement, which is the result of attitudinal and environmental barriers resulting in severe restraints, constraints and repression and thus preventing disabled persons leading socially productive lives. Likewise Allan T. Sutherland, whilst accepting that disability does impose physical restrictions, argues within a broader social framework that it is society "that discriminates against people with disabilities, creating restrictions by denying people the means to exercise their capabilities" (Sutherland, 1981: 82). What able bodied persons take for granted in their life experiences are the very conditions that exclude disabled persons from living a normal life. The most obvious area of isolation that prevents disabled persons from active participation in life and living is *access*.

ACCESS :

When taking students out on excursions and social outings, it is found that the construction of steps into and out of buildings (Durban's Victoria Street Market), heavy swing doors (Banks, Offices, Hospitals), public transport with high steps, escalators, narrow and confined telephone booths, high raised pavement kerbs, and inaccessible toilets for wheelchairs, deny disabled persons an access into the world of the able-bodied. Able-bodied persons who have been responsible for the design and construction of such facilities have had no consideration for the importance of accessibility to disabled persons (*DPSA-National Environmental Accessibility Report*).

The result is that those with disabilities would rather isolate themselves than go out into the world where they would be regarded as a 'nuisance'. Mason, in explaining this 'nuisance' attitude admits that many people would rather live on their own and in isolation going half crazy, because it is somehow better than being a nuisance (Sutherland, 1981). In looking at situations where attempts have been made to provide access and facilities for disabled persons, the motivation and the reasons behind such gestures have been questioned by disabled users. Beatrice Ngcobo, a wheelchair user, disabled through a viral infection of the spinal chord and a Master of Arts student at the University of Natal in the Department of Nursing, in speaking of her experiences at the University states that

> ... the ramps are so steep that it is difficult to manoeuvre your way up or down. Except for Shepstone Building every other entrance to the University is bound by steps. Sometimes when I am on my own I have it hard. It is not easy to say if such construction was due to poor planning or lack of foresight or feelings for those with disabilities, or is it a patronizing attitude that we must rely and become dependent on able bodied persons (Personal Interview at the University: September, 1992).

On investigating the University of Natal's Shepstone Building (which was built in 1973) it was found that the elevator (elevator) to the building was situated only at Level Three, and serviced the building only up to Level Eight. Levels One, Two and Nine could only be reached via sets of stairways. The ramp to the building was too steep. Professor P. Stewart, the Acting Head of the Department of Architecture, who was commissioned to make recommendations on improvements to building structure and facilities at the University in 1991 found

*	the entrances to Lecture Theatres were too small;

*	access into most buildings was hindered by steps and stairways;

*	entrances into the residences were awkward;

*	door handles were too high;

*   the size of the ablution facilities in the rest rooms restricted the movement of wheelchairs;

*   basins and towel-rails were not within reach;

*   Common-rooms, which had been provided to encourage student interaction, were inaccessible because they were on half-landings.

Professor Stewart stated, that the "architectural barriers are indicative of a lack of consideration for the disadvantaged". There had been "no response" to his recommendations and he could "only conclude that the enormous expense in restructuring was the reason that to date no improvements are visible" (Personal Interview, 1993).

It would seem that one of the reasons that architectural barriers still exist is that there is a lack of consultation with people who most need such facilities. This was confirmed in an interview with Dr Katheryn Jagoe, a wheelchair user (who became quadriplegic at the age of fifteen) and who lectures to students in medicine, social work, sociology and psychology at the University of Cape Town. She stated that disabled persons are

> ... the experts on what we need and we are willing and eager to advise and design with planners facilities that would be of value to us. But we are never consulted (Jagoe, Personal Interview, Cape Town: October, 1992).

This negativity and denial of decision-making towards the active participation of disabled persons often very subtly results in an internalised oppression by disabled persons themselves. Jagoe confirms that when disabled persons feel left out of situations that personally affect them it unconsciously leads to passivity, lack of interest in issues that affect everyday living conditions, withdrawal from public life and an insulation that eventually leads to self-denial and reliance on the able-bodied world (Jagoe 1992).

When disabled persons find themselves in a position where they cannot defend themselves against physical, psychological and social 'abuse' for fear of reprisals, they

45

repress their attendant rage and anger, mustering up ego-dystonic submission and compliance to a situation of oppression. When disabled persons are unable to sublimate their repressed feelings and find expression over a long period, through means of unconscious social action, their capacity for human tolerance is eventually saturated. Unable to find meaning in the wider social context, disabled persons become autodestructive, engaging in behaviour that is perilous to themselves, their loved ones, their families and the community (Bulhan, 1985; Fanon, 1968). Just as there are barriers to access to public amenities and facilities so too there are architectural barriers in the homes of disabled persons.

HOUSING AND HOUSING CONDITIONS:

Generally housing for all low income groups is limited throughout South Africa. Housing shortages, overcrowding, lack of basic amenities are characteristic features of the lives of the majority of people in South Africa. As part of learning about the 'whole child', in the development of individual educational programmes (I.E.P.) at the Clare Estate School, several home visits are made so as to assemble relevant learning material. What follows is a description of the home of one of the students in 'Indian-zoned' Durban suburb of Chatsworth, which illustrates how a child with Spina Bifida lives in an overcrowded situation:

> Mogaveni, ten years old, Spina Bifida, lives with both parents and six brothers and sisters in a three bedroomed cottage, of which they as a family share just one of the rooms. The other two rooms are occupied by the rest of the extended family (eleven others). The bedroom is at the top of a steep narrow flight of stairs. Whilst her parents and two of her sisters share a double bed, the rest sleep on the floor. Homework is done on the landing to the stairs. At the bottom of the stairs there is a small bathroom cum toilet. Next to this is the kitchen and crowded lounge. There is very little land outside the house for the children to play.

Such cramped conditions do not augur well for the development of interpersonal or social relations. Lack of privacy undermines the social wellbeing of persons and more so for those with disabilities who need personal care. As in the case of Mogaveni in the above example, the cramped overcrowded conditions resulted in her isolating herself to one part of the house (viz the bedroom) because of the inconvenience of manoeuvring herself on her buttocks when going up or down the flight of stairs.

It becomes clear that inadequate access in the home results in the withdrawal, dependency, submissive acceptance due to the inability to change living conditions. The social isolation experienced by disabled persons is further exacerbated by *transport* difficulties.

TRANSPORT:

Transport facilities for most disadvantaged people have been and still are generally inadequate throughout South Africa. They have been further compounded by the Group Areas Act which created situations where black people are housed in areas that are a distance away from work, shopping, health care facilities, educational and recreational facilities. When interviewing students at the Clare Estate School for the Physically Disabled, it was found that many of them had found transport to be too expensive. Morgan, a Standard Three student at the Clare Estate School and who is muscular dystrophied (a degenerative condition characterized by muscle deterioration) stated that "... because the buses won't take wheelchairs my mum has to hire a taxi, which charges twice the usual amount because of my wheelchair."

Pregasen Naidoo, a Senior Vocational student at the Clare Estate School and who has Spina Bifida (a congenital condition where the spinal chord is imperfectly developed, causing paralysis of the lower limbs and incontinence) found transport to be inaccessible:

> The buses are always in a hurry. Because of my crutches and because the steps of the bus are so high, I can't get into the bus fast enough. So when they see me at the bus-stop they are reluctant to stop.

Rakesh Singh, an ex-student of the Spes Nova School, who is a spastic cerebral palsied person, (injury to the brain tissues at birth), had difficulty with poor transport services in the area in which he lived. He stated:

> We have no taxis or buses that serve the area I live in. Those that do, come three streets away and only arrive once every two hours and are never punctual. So it's difficult waiting in the hot sun or in the rain, especially as there is no bus shelter.

It is these conditions that isolate persons with disabilities from the mainstream of everyday living. Those interviewed were of the opinion that they would rather isolate themselves from the world than be subjugated to the embarrassment, physical strain and trauma of using transport facilities that do not cater for their needs.

Ravendran Moodley, a cerebral palsied matriculation student at the Spes Nova School, sums up the results of being handicapped by transport difficulties:

> Since we find it difficult to visit places and friends we restrict ourselves to our homes where we have very few people to talk to. With the result we feel inadequate when it comes to socializing, interrelating and communicating with other people. We slowly become enclosed in a world of silence.

The world of silence is woven at different levels and each of these levels interact to maintain persons with disabilities at disadvantaged and marginalised situations. Another of these is being separated by virtue of being at *special schools*. Special education has been responsible for curtailing interpersonal development and social communication with the able-bodied world.

SPECIAL EDUCATION:

In 1990 there were, "12 000 African pupils in Special Schools in South Africa (excluding Homelands) in a total of 66 institutions, white enrolment of 14 969 in 89

Special Schools, 5 580 Indian pupils in 18 Special Schools, 6 558 Coloured pupils in 60 Special Schools" (*Race Relations Survey*, 1992-3).

The apartheid system has long been responsible for the separation of pupils according to race. Special Education did not escape such separation. Since the inception of Special Education for Black disabled persons there has been a division and separation of placement and accommodation of pupils on racial and regional grounds. The Eros School for Cerebral Palsied Children for 'Coloured' children in Cape Town is the only facility available in South Africa for children classified as such. The inconvenience and expense borne by parents of these children from other regions was overwhelming. The same applied to 'Indian' children with visual impairments. The only centre for these children was in Pietermaritzburg. The names attached to these institutions further emphasised the element of racial separation: for example 'The Durban School for Indian Deaf'. Disability does not discriminate, yet such labels imply that ethnicity, racial divisions and disability co-relate. Such associations serve to exacerbate and perpetuate isolation and separation.

Special Education stemmed from the medical profession determining the fact that disabled persons possessed certain intrinsic, identifiable and measurable characteristics that were 'different' from the norm. This medical model determined children with disabilities to be deficient. Disabled children became candidates in need of special education because they did not fit the conventional expectations for 'normal' children. Vimal Desai, a student with Spina Bifida, after being at a mainstream school until he was in Standard Five and then transferred to Clare Estate for Physically Disabled Children, articulates his view that Special Schools are:

> dumping grounds for parents, social workers, teachers and principals of
> mainstream schools only because we are regarded as inconveniences or problem

cases too difficult to handle and we would interfere and disrupt the normal routine because of the "special" needs related to our disabilities.

This is an indication of how the education system legitimizes power and controls relations. Professional judgements exercise ideological control over the lives of disabled persons. Once disabled persons are categorized they accept the inferior status and restricted opportunities available to them in the able-bodied world.

To use Gramsci's notion of hegemony, their own common sense contributes to their own subordination. The beliefs, meanings and practices of dominant able-bodied persons come to be accepted. Able-bodied persons impose their classification ('needing special education') by 'persuasion' and parents are coerced into accepting these classifications. Pooven Pillay, a seventeen year old male student with a mild hearing loss, who was placed at a school for hearing impaired children confirms this fact when he states:

> My parents were pressurized to send me to a Special school. Although I had a mild hearing loss the teacher insisted that I was not coping because I often asked her to explain certain terms. My parents were convinced by the psychologist that the school for deaf children was the best place for me.

Excluding disabled children from 'normal' experiences is a powerful form of social control as it certifies disabled children as 'special'. The effect is more a legitimation of low social status than the treatment of an educational need. It would seem that the stronger, powerful social group (able-bodied persons) categorize weaker social groups (disabled persons) and treat them unequally. Disabled persons, by accepting the label, see themselves as inferior and reduce control over the determination of their lives. This was true of the experiences of Ismail Bux, a student at the Clare Estate School, who had Beckkers Muscular Dystrophy (Loss of muscle power in the lower Limbs). He stated that

> Being in a special school made me believe that I was not as good as my sister and her friends who went to mainstream schools. I slowly began to lose interest in myself and in the things I enjoyed doing, like art and painting.

50

The question to ask is: "Is there a place for special schools?" The answer is "yes", especially for those who experience great difficulty in reading, in grasping mathematical and scientific concepts and for those who require therapeutic intervention because of the severity of their disability.

Devrajen Naidoo, a sixteen year old student at the Clare Estate school, who has Spinal Muscular Atrophy (Anterior Horns of the Spinal Column affected resulting in flaccidity of the muscles, poor hand function and wheelchair usage) welcomes being at a special school. He believes that he would never manage at a mainstream school since he required therapy at least thrice weekly to maintain flexibility of the joints and clear the lungs of congestion.

Special schooling is viewed as a 'blessing' by twenty one year old Jayanthree Nayager, who has Cerebral Palsy. She believes that:

> ... at the Spes Nova School everybody tries to understand my difficult speech. They even write and draw for me because of my poor hand function. I wouldn't receive this at a mainstream school.

While there may be a need for Special schools, the students at these schools are in danger of having all their encounters, relationships, perceptions, expectations and aspirations filtered through that single category of being 'special'.

Rex Gibson (1986: 144) concludes that this particular special need can extend into a "global, all-encompassing characteristic. The single category becomes, for the individual, universal and all embracing". What the disabled child then has in common with another able-bodied child becomes subjugated to how he or she is held to be different. This is evident in the words of fifteen year old Adam Kolia, who is hemiplegic (paralysis of one side of the body). In discussing the effects of Special school on his personal relationships he comments that

51

> ... friends and family who visit me, always talk in low tones, saying that I was in a special school, as though it were a disease. They would cut me off from their conversations and this often made me feel different.

The loneliness and isolation that results from being at a special School was a common thread that pervaded most of the interviews. Twenty three year old Rakesh Singh, who has Cerebral Palsy, speaks of such experiences while he was at the Spes Nova School:

> One of the things I found at the Special school was that it cut me off from the outside world. I was very lonely because other more able-bodied children would not mix with me and my friends lived too far away so that I could not visit. It was a loneliness only those like me could understand.

Whilst there may be a place for Special Schools it is evident from these personal interviews that the effects are demoralizing and dehumanizing.

All those interviewed, at some stage or the other, had begun to lose confidence in themselves which inadvertently resulted in negative self-image, poor self-concept, rejection and isolation. It must be acknowledged that by being at Special Schools, the students are inscribed into an institutional, cultural and a social system of domination, oppression and power/ knowledge relations that reify the Other in essentialist ways. In the process the dominant group, being the professionals, silence differences and devalue the voices of the marginalised other. Therefore it is important to consider how professionals, either consciously or unconsciously, 'handicap' disabled persons from asserting themselves or becoming independent.

THE ROLE OF PROFESSIONALS:

People with disabilities have contact with various types of professionals. Whether disability is acquired at birth or later in life, the disabled person is at the hands of general medical practitioners, specialists, radiographers, therapists, social workers and teachers. The experiences of twenty-one year old Vimla Kisten, who has Juvenile Rheumatoid

Arthritis (inflammation of the joints, a condition that is progressive and incapacitating) illustrates the dehumanizing and alienating effects of being in the hands of professionals. Her case was documented during lessons in class when students verbally shared with each other their various experiences from childhood to the years at school. This is a transcription of her spoken words. Vimla recalls:

> I spent my early life, from about three years, in hospital. As I grew older, hospital life was like a prison to me. It was like being in the army because you had to wake at certain time, be toiletted, have your medicines, have breakfast, be seen by the doctor and all these were at fixed times. By the time I was seventeeen I had been in hospital so many times, I felt strange. It was as if my body was there (to be looked at, X-rayed, talked about) and I wasn't. I just gave in to the doctors and nurses because I believed they knew best.

Vimla then went on to outline a series of experiences where she felt as if she were 'mauled'. Being treated as a medical specimen or a medical condition denies the human qualities that exist within disabled persons.

Such experiences can result in a process of feeling alienated not only from the self but from the world. Vimla recalls other incidents at the hands of professionals:

> When I was going to attend the Clare Estate School, I was interviewed by a Social Worker. Knowing that my mother was not educated, she spoke to us slowly and deliberately as if we did not understand her. All of a sudden I felt my life slip away from my hands. The social worker was going to organize my grant, take me for a medical, arrange my schooling, look into our housing problems. We were so glad that there was someone to take over.

Such an experience reveals the patronizing attitude of professionals and at the same time presents social work as a powerful agency of social control. Sutherland's (1981: 39) explanation that "the bulk of the professionals base their dealings on a dependency model in which they are the experts and people with disabilities are dependent on them for help" is entirely relevant in this case.

Professionals appear to be the 'experts', the controllers of knowledge with the power to direct situations. Disabled persons are regarded as 'clients', as 'patients', as

passive recipients of whatever service. It seems that not only are disabled persons deemed incapable of making decisions about their own lives, but the hierarchical relationship itself perpetuates passivity, ignorance and inhibits participation in every respect of their lives (Jagoe,1987).

In continuing with the analysis of Vimla's experiences, her admission to the Clare Estate School for Physically Disabled Children involved being probed, enquired about, tested, and analyzed. Eventually, she recalls, "I was ... placed with a group of students, who according to the psychologist, were functioning at my level." This young woman's experiences resemble Foucault's concept of the 'carceral network', where professionals perform the role of the doctor-judge, educator-judge, and social worker-judge whose "furious desire is to judge, assess, diagnose, recognise the normal and abnormal and claim the honour of curing or rehabilitating " (Foucault, 1977: 304).

Foucault exposes how dominant persons use the discipline of observing, measuring, recording, regulating as forms of surveillance and power over disabled persons. Disabled persons then begin to subject their bodies, behaviour, aptitudes and achievements to the surveillance, regulation and control of professionals. With professionals continuing to play such a role of dominance, it is predictable that disabled persons will play an active role in society with extreme difficulty.

Jayprega Reddy, a disabled writer of radio plays who has muscular atrophy (wastage of muscle power due to poor nerve supply), believes that for disabled persons "it is easier and safer to slip into the unconscious state of passivity and subservience than to evolve into a more conscious and critical being of active involvement and make oneself heard and known" (Personal Interview, July 1992). Knowing that they are subject to surveillance and body control disabled persons then become complicit agents in their own subordination.

CONCLUSION:

In conclusion, it can be said that generally people develop through interaction with each other and it is through interaction that common understanding emerges, particularly understanding of the self. Likewise, within disabled persons too, the self develops through the process of social experience and activity or the lack thereof. Presently the material conditions under which disabled persons interact as Others is not conducive to the development of a positive self-image. Through minimal socialisation in the family, at school, in the community and in society at large, and through the stereotypic presentation by the media, through language and the ideological nature of symbols and structures in society, dominant forces seem to have been working against disabled persons nurturing a positive outlook in life. Discriminatory practices and degrees of stigmatisation have affected disabled people's self-evaluation.

By virtue of such disabling conditions and impoverished experiences, disabled persons continue to suffer from low self-esteem. Even though disabled persons may be motivated to strive to achieve success, these successes tend to be undermined by the persistence of the low self-esteem that has already been embedded in the psyche. It has been observed that the material conditions established by the dominant able bodied forces have constructed the invisibility of disability and of disabled persons.

Disabled persons have been treated not for who they are, but in terms of their social image. They have been shunned, isolated, separated and alienated from the larger segments of society. In Goffman's (1963) analysis this would confirm how disabled persons are more often victimized by the stigma of disability than by their actual condition of disability. Being painted as the 'elephant men' of society, their humanity, identity, and abilities have been overlooked and ignored in light of their 'otherness' and 'difference'. That they are deemed to have been the burdens of society, a general pattern

has developed where they have been kept out of sight, in institutions, in separate housing, or at home in isolation.

In recent years disabled persons have been working hard to dispel the invisibility of disability and their being stereotyped as dependent and in need of charity. With the establishment of Disabled Persons International (DPI) in 1980, and The Disabled People of South Africa (DPSA) in 1984, disabled persons have registered disability as an important issue and have continued to fight for recognition all over the world. Disabled persons have focused on their rights to suitable transportation, education, housing, employment, social opportunities, far beyond the traditional focus on medical treatment alone. As a result, disability has been made visible as part of major social, political and economic issues within society. As such disabled persons have come to realise that their relegation to 'marginality' and 'second class citizenship' has to end.

It has become necessary that at a very early age disabled persons should realise that they have the potential to make contributions to society. They need the instruments (skills training, education, access to employment, independent living, opportunity to take risks) that will allow them to compete effectively. Disabled persons need their voices heard and this can begin during their early years of schooling. The next chapter looks at how drama was used as a means to break the conditioned silence of disabled students so that they could assert themselves with dignity, and demythify the stereotypical attitudes displayed by able-bodied persons.

THE NEED FOR DRAMA WITHIN THE SPECIAL SCHOOL CURRICULUM

INTRODUCTION:

In considering how society's attitudes are responsible for depriving disabled persons of a voice, it is necessary to give disabled persons the voice they so rightly deserve so that they may reclaim their dignity and humanity and make themselves heard as persons. Bell Hooks points out that coming to voice means:

> ... moving from silence into speech as a revolutionary gesture -- the idea of finding one's voice or having a voice assumes a primacy in talk discourse, writing and action -- only as subjects can we speak, as objects we remain voiceless -- our beings defined and interpreted by others -- awareness of the need to speak, to give voice to the varied dimensions of our lives, is one way [to begin] the process of education for critical consciousness (Giroux, 1992: 169).

These words speak true of the position of disabled persons. For a long time disabled persons have always been 'spoken about' and 'spoken to'. Time has now come for disabled persons to speak for themselves. One of the best forums to achieve this has been found to be Drama.

Drama with disabled persons is essential, first to transform the individual's consciousness and then to enable disabled persons to take social action to ameliorate their human conditions. In a classical or neo-classical domain, drama transmits values, attitudes or skills aimed at realising the talent of the individual. Drama with disabled persons goes far beyond this point. It does not have an 'unconscious' drama approach of the liberal progressive who deny the social world in which disabled persons live and learn. Drama by and with disabled persons is located within a critical view of drama which investigates issues of a social, political and cultural nature affecting their lived experiences. Through drama, disabled persons are made aware of their position in the

world, of their own impact on the world, of the lack of their social, political, economic and cultural contribution to the world because of the isolated and marginalised existence created by society for them. Through drama they also learn how to overcome these impediments.

For drama to be relevant then, "all aspects of society should be rendered 'problematic' -- that is, put within the scope of change by its social constructors" (Errington, 1992: 42). It is through this process of problematization that pupils and teachers can move towards a critical curriculum which examines everyday lived experience. In this way a curriculum will emerge through a process of reflection, stimulated by dialogue and therefore drama itself will not be divorced from the reality from within which it emanates. To this end Schostah (1988: 19) pronounces that

> ... the every day events and routines are no longer experienced as being cut off from the culture and pervasive structures of society but are recognised as being connected. Through this process cultural themes or issues emerge which can be made the subject of further critical dialogue. In this way individuals realise that they are all makers and not passive receivers of culture

DRAMA IN PRAXIS:

To be able to understand the development of drama with disabled persons, it is necessary to place the work I undertook at the Spes Nova School for Cerebral Palsied Children and at the Clare Estate School for Physically Disabled Children, against the theoretical framework of a "critical drama paradigm". This refers to the practice of drama for personal insight, development, consciousness-raising and social action. This is necessary so that the theory behind drama with disabled persons does not become fetishised or becomes a teaching practice which is overly concerned with imparting drama skills only. In so doing, theory and practice will be kept in a dialectical relationship.

A critical drama approach enabled the students to benefit from knowing how they were shaped politically and ideologically and how they had come to shape the conditions under which they lived. This voluntarist approach also brought to the drama situation the feelings towards, and the interpretation of, the social myths and cultural stereotypes created by society. Inadvertently, this encouraged the pupils to use a voice that had been unheard on such issues. Drama situations also gave disabled students a chance to question and challenge the powers that controlled their lives and in so doing they began to understand how life worked (reality) and why it worked the way it did (a social-cultural-critical paradigm). Edward Errington (1992: 43) describes this approach as "critical drama pedagogy, in which the consciousness of the student is engaged openly in the joint creation and investigation of social, political and cultural meanings".

Engaging in drama activities also afforded students an opportunity to establish a forum where drama was created by, with and about disabled persons themselves in relation to their existence in the world of able-bodied persons. It was a means of 'enablement'. (The term 'enablement' is a preferred term because 'empowerment' is a term that is ideologically impacted on and exploited by the role of the dominant powers who engage in the vanguard notion of 'knowing all', having 'all' the knowledge and merely transferring technical skills onto the learner. Furthermore the term 'empowerment' tends to imply condescension and paternalism.)

Once 'enabled', disabled students began to use their innate powers to make sense of the world, take control of their lives, release the subordinated selves, challenge the outside world in preparation for their adulthood. Such activities make particular demands of the teacher, who must draw upon reconstructionist theory to encourage students to *make* knowledge rather than *consume* it. The affective demands are particularly significant.

The approach we engaged in was a 'Reflective Drama Approach', a technique close to realism/ naturalism. In mirroring life the aim was to motivate the audience to reflect upon, consider in thought, meditate upon given issues and concerns. We then reflected on the politics of the drama text itself and then devised a play for performance. During the process of developing drama situations, the learning agenda was for the students to comment on both the internal ('us' *in* fictional role) and the external ('us' *out of* fictional role). During reflective discussion and analyses, the students' experiences helped develop self-awareness. As they questioned the text, a greater awareness of their own socio-cultural milieu began to surface. After performances students reflected upon and analyzed their performance, how they had been received, ways in which they had excelled, and critiqued how the final product could be improved.

As they developed, there emerged a Brechtian-type of 'alienation' process whereby students were encouraged to stand back and reflect upon the cause and effects of events in society. A 'Reflexive Drama' approach occurred where because of their lived experiences and perceptions they realised that they 'owned the problem. What was happening *in* the drama was what had been taken *out* from their inner circle of experience. Most of the drama situations were based on social and personal issues that arose out of the student's shared stories, their perceptions of their lives, and their thwarted desires. The aim of the reflexive drama approach was to allow audiences to react, not just to think about the issue at hand, but to say aloud how they felt, to suggest how the 'actors' should proceed and to catalyze social action. The technique of presentation made the audiences aware that they were required to do more than to sit and watch.

Underlying conception of reflexive drama is the Fanonian and Bulhanian idea of power as a transformatory and analytical force. Initially oppressed groups, like disabled

60

groups, may capitulate. Later through an incomplete process of normalisation, they engage in forms of resistance and radicalisation. Radicalisation involves forging a zone of contact, confrontation and mutual influence between the resisting and dominating cultures. Disabled persons reach a point when they utilize their power, as a force of agency to assert their identity and collective agenda in their encounters with able-bodied persons.

In using a critical drama paradigm, relationships between people were examined in various ways namely: the dialectical relationships between individuals and the self; the differences between the privileged and the non-privileged members of society; the representation of 'minority' groups (race, gender, class, disabled persons); and the siting of these within the dominant ideologies of able-bodied society. In effect they began 'personalising' the politics and 'politicising' the personal.

Within a critical drama paradigm, issues that seemed unproblematic were challenged and problematized. Aspects of society that remained unquestioned and covert oppression in society was questioned, so that forces for dependency, subserviency and silence were exposed. Dalrymple observes that "through the process of questioning and challenging every day understandings, ruling class mythologies and rationalizations, there is a possibility of developing critical consciousness" (Dalrymple, 1989: 35). The other approach used at both these schools was 'Drama as Advocacy', where the cause of disabled persons was advocated, the voice of disabled persons was heard and the consciousness of able-bodied persons was aroused.

Through advocacy drama audiences became sensitized to different forms of discrimination against disabled persons and socially, politically and culturally *dis*-abled persons were not seen as being *disabled*, but were seen as persons who had the potential and skills that the Other may not have had. This approach in drama was a means of

promoting and advancing the cause of disabled persons personally, culturally, institutionally, and structurally, and was promoting a call for equality and for justice.

When considering the importance and effects of drama, Augusto Boal (1979: 155) succinctly states that, "the experience is revealing on the level of consciousness, but not globally on the level of action. However dramatic action does throw light upon real action. The Spectacle is a preparation for action". In the same light, on reflecting upon the drama experiences of disabled persons, while it may not always have resulted in political action or major societal changes, it did help in the transformation of individual and collective consciousness which served as a precursor for praxis. A critical drama paradigm in education has the potential to provide an appropriate vehicle for viewing the possibilities of an alternative construction of society. In that sense the practice is both "prefigurative and strategic" (Hoosain 1992).

From the existing literature on Drama in education it has become evident that there are as many distinctive approaches to drama, as there are teachers. Drama teaching in the liberal humanist paradigm emphasised the importance of early structured play activities, improvisation, and role play, all of which have significance in children's personal and social development and in the generation and maintenance of their psychological well being. We may, as drama theorists, have to appropriate this style for healing purposes. Drama as a subject or as a method to teach various subjects across the curriculum differs from the traditional educational process (i.e. the acquisition of facts and figures and certain skills) in that it geared the child towards an education of *Being*, which was the experience of oneself in relation to others in the world. This was of significance particularly to disabled students for it assisted them to project themselves cognitively and affectively upon the world since they had lived such isolated lives.

DRAMA_THE BENEFITS TO THE DISABLED CHILD:

Drama lessons usually begin with relaxation. This is of paramount significance to students with disabilities since it begins with the self and coming to terms with the acceptance of one's own body at a psychological and physical level. Drama experiences with disabled students meant having to try and master skill, control and co-ordination of the body, develop spatial and body awareness, feel and sense rhythm, create and imitate vocal sounds.

These technical skills benefitted those who had serious memory difficulties because it centred them psychologically. It helped develop sequential logical thinking during the preparatory stages of a thematic project. Those without sight or failing sight, by using a multi-sensory approach in drama, were motivated through textural and aural experiences to trigger a range of divergent ideas. Students with hearing losses, because of language deficiencies, benefitted from the use of demonstration and visual stimuli using non-verbal resources, namely mime, movement and dance.

With each new experiential activity the students began to extend their language usage and their vocabulary improved. There was a significant improvement in reading fluency and expression as the teacher test-records testify. Students became enthusiastic in their Creative Writing attempts especially after using imaginative, exploratory exercises in drama. What follows now are examples of the writing experiences of Standard Two students (all classified 'Indian') after they had been stimulated through various types of drama lessons for enablement.

Following the use of Auditory stimuli to explore the environment (Human, social, physical, natural), a student produced the following written response. The objective was for the students to listen to and interpret the sounds from their environments. The topic was 'sounds at night' and the exercise was carried out on 5 February 1993:

63

I heard someone walking stamp, stamp, stamp. Closeby the frogs began to croak. That meant rain. A cricket also chirped. In the kitchen my mother washed the dishes and the cups went ting, ting, ting. The pots banged. As my mother put the dirt outside, the door creaked. Then my neighbour arrived in his car and hooted. Suddenly a gun went bang. The baby next door began to scream.

Personal profile of student: Lucelle, 10yrs, Std 2. She is one of two members in the family with Arthrogryposis, where both upper and lower limbs are affected. She is wheelchair mobile, uses her mouth to write, and her feet to paint. Has very little exposure to the outside world. Both parents are unemployed.

Critical Commentary: Through the process of critical theory students were alerted to the significance of taken for granted sounds, so that a car's arrival, hooting, a gun shot and a baby's cry, by implication refer to the tearing of the social fabric, violence in society and the personalising of politics and the politicising of the person. The story could have ended with the door creaking and that would have reduced it to a technically vivid piece rooted in the liberal humanist tradition and be part of the paradigm that heals and reconciles. Before attitudinal healing can take place the child needs to bear witness to pain, talk about it as an atomized being in a social environment. Through releasing the public voice in the presence of others a safety network and share-netting of feelings occur. Arising out of the new community of feeling the child has the inner psychic resources to face the world afresh. The last two sentences are a bearing of witness to violence and pain and life. They are not only about reconciliation, healing and fellowship for its own sake, but they go further by placing beauty and violence as part of the thesis and anti-thesis of life (Biko, 1971).

It can be stated that the curriculum determinants are about providing the child with technical skills and applying them in a practical way in the child's social context and finally reflecting on the content using critical theory for emancipatory purposes (Grundy, 1987; Giroux, 1981; Habermas, 1972). Children enjoy delving into a world of fantasy to

escape the trauma of everyday experiences. The fantasy world is a safe world to be in

and a place where children seek refuge so as to escape the harsh realities around them.

On the 21 February 1993 students brought to life their daydreams. This occurred after

one of the students was caught daydreaming. Jane Myron, a standard two pupil is ten

years old, and on being set the topic 'exploring the world of daydreams' produced the

following. She has Spina Bifida. For her age she is overweight and finds walking very

difficult. She is extremely fearful of any form of pain and dislikes going into water.

Swimming activities become traumatic for her. Despite her fears, Jane is not afraid to

challenge people in authority:

> Yesterday, while I was in the lounge watching television I began to daydream. I
> was in an aeroplane riding over wonderful Disney World, meeting with Mickey
> Mouse and Donald Duck. Right in the middle of the fun my mother tapped me on
> my shoulder asking me to have lunch. I awoke with a shock. Today in class
> while my teacher was teaching, I began to daydream about playing in the icy
> snow. I began to feel cool as my body sank into the ice. My teacher shouted,
> "You, what are you doing when I am teaching?" I awoke thinking that she was
> talking to me. But it was Prinisha daydreaming too. I had another daydream
> about learning to be a diver. I was in the sea watching the fishes -- baby ones,
> mother ones, beautiful ones and frightful ones. Then my friend Pria shouted,
> "Jane, mam is calling you." All my friends laughed at me. At last I was awake.
> Daydreams are relaxing. I wish I can dream all day.

Critical commentary: Jane pointedly fantasizes about rich daydreams ... Disney world,

sea diving, sinking into snow. These far-fetched fantasies are understandable because for

children from working class backgrounds the media images of Disney world are

something to aspire towards. Snow is associated with America and the European

continent and this also reveals the influence of dominant ideologies on an unenfranchised

person. The ideological logic is in this case ... European - civilized - snow - fun, as

opposed to African - natural - heat - non-fun. This polarity or bifurcation of attitudinal

likes or dislikes is a result of the colonial euro-centric heritage from which people are still

trying to free themselves. Her fantasies are far-fetched because in terms of her personal

profile all three daydreams are impossible to achieve. Significantly the real life intrusions into Jane's daydreams are either teachers or parent images. Furthermore the condensing of all three daydreams into one, suggests her need for attitudinal healing. It is also reflective of her emotional insecurity. Her inclusive range of fishes is parallel to how inclusive she is towards people. The comments or clues I have used are to understand the child better and to enable her on a personal level. Whenever she returns to reality it is with shock or "at last", as though she is trapped. She also enjoys being caught in the fantasy world, where she heals herself. Significantly she ends on the note of wanting to dream all day.

Drama with disabled children also means drama in personal engagement whereby they first explore the actual realities around them and then bring that into the drama-making situation and translate their experiences onto paper. On being given the objective of describing observations, thoughts and feelings from a direct experience, Natasha, 10 years old and in Standard Two, wrote the following. She has Arthrogryposis, which has affected the right side of her body (particularly her hand function and leg movements). Natasha lacks confidence in herself and constantly seeks approval.

> Last Saturday we went to Park Rynie beach. As I walked on the beach the sand burnt the soles of my feet. I moved towards the water. My feet sank into the soft sand. The waves dashed against me. I was wet and cold. As I walked back towards our tent I noticed footprints of birds on the sand. Then I picked up some shells. On the way sea gulls flew and rested on the wet sand. Some of them sat on the rocks. I was tired and sat on a big brown rock too. A seagull sat beside me. I was scared. My cousin carried me to our tent. There I sat and looked outwards towards the sea. I wish I can go to the sea again.

Critical Commentary: The student's observations of the seagull flying, the seagull's foot prints, the seagull sitting next to her together with her own fears, would appear to the reader to be within the 'normal' range of experiences of a person disabled or able-bodied.

66

However, in this instance the image of the seagull operates on two levels. On the first level it is seen as tentative and belonging to another world and yet comes towards her. This signals her yearning for people of the mainstream to accept her in the same light. On another level the seagull is symbolic of the proverbial image of freedom, flight and fancy. The fact that reference to her cousin (who is male and able-bodied) follows immediately after the seagull is not by chance, because human beings operate at different levels at the same time -- the symbolic level, the instinctive level and the real world level. The cousin carrying her, and her sitting and looking outward is a brutal reminder of her disabled state. Significantly though, what anchors her is the intact ego which is evidenced affectively by the repeated use of the of the word 'I'. Through this ego-centric state there is the search for the 'significant other'.

Besides the childrens' own personal experiences, pictures and picture descriptions have also been used as stimuli to elicit dramatic responses. Such stimuli have served as a useful spark because in the main they are non-threatening and they serve as a reminder of reality. Soon after the role-play, a debriefing around their improvisation occurs and students follow this through with creative writing pieces. What follows is a piece of dialogue writing by Prenisha, on having been set the objective to record details of observation after the exploration of an imaginative world. Prenisha is nine years old, is in Standard two, and she has Larsen's Syndrome (Flat facial features, short fingers, curvature of spine). Intellectually she is very bright. She is an avid reader and hence she is observant and goes in for fine detail in her writing.

Prenisha: Oh, look at this beautiful land.

Prebash: It is called Rainbow Land.

Prenisha: Did you see the bird that flew past, with such brightly coloured feathers?

Prebash: And there's a rainbow at the back. It looks so bright and gay -- pink, red, blue, green, yellow, purple and orange.

Prenisha: Prebash, Prebash look at the butterflies. They move so swiftly and quietly, with no sound. I think I'll catch one of them.

Prebash: No, remember this land is not ours. We cannot destroy nature.

Prenisha: Fine I won't catch them, but I'm going to cut this rose. It has a fragrant smell.

Prebash: How can you do that? You are acting foolishly. How can you be so insensitive?

Prenisha: Oh, you always have something to say.

Prebash: You see Prenisha, soon you will realise how wrong you are. If you're going to carry on like this I'm leaving.

Prenisha: Wait, wait for me. I'm sorry. I just wanted you to know how I felt. I won't do that again.

Critical Commentary: The value of this piece of writing is that the teaching agenda while it uses pictures as stimuli does not become ahistorical or asocial. There is a clear awareness of the environment here and a tremendous amount of empathy which is indicated in the life-giving qualities of the butterfly and to other aspects of nature as well. Recently Nature has featured prominently on the agendas of political parties since the emergence of organizations like the green peace movement. Disabled persons, marginalised by society can identify with marginalized status of nature conservation. In this piece of writing Prenisha is projecting the inner feelings of being marginalised, of being unwanted. In reflection, the generalisations that can be drawn from this are that teachers need to bring non-threatening aspects of life into their work. They should include aspects like the environment, the idea of the sea world, and take children to the park, for within these explorations there are possibilities of exposing class, race, gender

issues and structural inequalities. In this way one uses critical theory, which probes the 'representations of reality' and the 'nature and causes of our social world' (Gibson, 1986; Grundy, 1987), to extrapolate lessons from the children's work. Upgrading of children then takes place not only on the personal level, but on the ideological and the contextual level as well. When the child is able to make such connections, then the work has meaning to the teacher and at the same time extends the child's sense of self worth. We see that skills are not learnt for their own sake only but also become skills for contextual engagement.

Significant historical incidents also provide material to dramatise situations. Through role-play students were to establish facts, find out how they saw certain characters, interpret actions, discuss why things happened, analyze interactions and draw conclusions. Included here, after role-play in a History lesson on Srinivasa Sastri, is a piece of writing where Prebashnee writes from the perspective of Srinivasa Sastri himself[3]. Prebashnee (as Sastri) wrote the following:

> I arrived at the Railway institute hall after the banquet. When we arrived we found that the locks were broken and the doors open. I found a few men seated in special seats reserved for the important guests. As I entered they began to boo and jeer. The Mayor, Mr. Jooste begged the people not to act in that manner. The Deputy mayor started calling us 'coolies'. The other white men joined in. I was embarrassed and felt insulted. Mr. Evans stood up and told me that he did not want to listen to my speech. Once again the Mayor pleaded that they act decently. Then someone switched off the lights. There was screaming and the people were panic-stricken. A gas bomb was thrown onto the platform. A match was lit. Huge flames sprang up, smoke filled the hall and people were choking. Several people fainted. When the lights came on people shouted for me to go on with my speech. I called for order. From somewhere rotten eggs were thrown at me. Fortunately it did not hit me, but fell on the platform. The mayor urged me

---

3   While in South Africa, Sastri toured the country giving lectures on racial tolerance and understanding. After a banquet organised in Klerksdorp, he was to address a 'multi-racial' gathering at the Railway Institute Hall. On arrival Sastri and his hosts found that an illegal entry had been made by a group of 'white' persons, and, instigated by the Deputy Mayor, Mr Evans, verbal and physical abuse was hurled at the guests.

to go on with my speech. I addressed the crowd. The news spread and it was reported in the newspapers. When the Government heard about this they sent me an apology. I replied in a confident manner. "Everything is in control. I am feeling perfectly cheerful and there is no danger." The reason why I said this was to protect myself. I did not want anymore trouble.

Critical Commentary: Prebashnee's personal profile reveals that she is nine years old and is in standard two. She has Muscular Atrophy, and because of decreased muscle power and tone she is unable to walk and hence is wheelchair mobile. She is a conscientious student and always works for perfection. When one analyzes this piece of writing one observes that there is no originality. The form and content is very narratorial and is a transcription of what was in the text. However there was still selection and interpretation in the lines "I was embarrassed and felt insulted" this is significant as to how Sastri might have felt. That she related in an affective manner is significant from the point of view of the teacher, because it indicates that she had gone into intentionality. She had selected and organised her thoughts and she had achieved some insight for the readers, but more significantly an insight for herself. Through role-play she gained both inter and intra personal competency (see Argyris, 1970).

What ensued from this writing was a discussion as to whether what Sastri had written in the telegram was correct or not. Some of the responses were:

* Yes, he was trying to protect his people (Jane).

* How can he be cheerful, he should have been hurt (Lucelle).

* He ought to have spoken the truth because the people were behind him and even asked him to speak after the incident (Natasha).

* He wrote that because he was afraid of the government (Prenisha).

Students also had to send telegrams (as though they were Sastri) to the Government:

* I need protection (Zelda);

* Why are your people doing this to me (Farzanah);

70

*   I've come in peace and I want to go in peace (Prenisha);

*   I'm here to help my people, so there is no need to harm me (Prebashnee).

Looking at their personal profiles it is significant that each of them in-role and out of role could offer a viewpoint that broke away from the stereotypical notion that disabled persons are quiet, fatalistic, submissive. Here is evidence and testimony that they are capable of releasing the 'public voice'.

Drama has therapeutic advantages particularly when related to the child's psychological well being. This was evident in two primary aspects which was displayed in their achieving the ability to play with each other and to love themselves and their peers in class. The 'playful' nature of drama provided disabled children a means to express repressed or denied emotions. In drama, children 'played' with the accepted standards and concepts of society both at their personal level and a broader cultural level. The improvised play of children provided evidence of their using the drama forum as an escape route for thwarted personal desires and therefore served as natural therapy. In this way the arts serve to heal fractured personalities (Slade, 1980; Way, 1967).

Like the ability to play, the ability to love in an empathic way means the ability to trust and to feel secure. Likewise the ability to share and to give allows healing the self out of which emerges action for reconstruction at a personal level and later at a structural level. This means that drama is used in an affective way to 'develop' the self so that the child can see that it is within his/ her range to act for transformation at a personal or structural level. It must be conceded that although there can be no guarantee of the child being able to transfer his/ her earlier learning of taking personal action, the drama experience and reflection will serve as a yardstick for arriving at an informed and well learned choice as an adult. There are two points worth noting: first, that critical drama

teaching is not rooted in the behaviourist tradition and, second, that therefore the experience of learning is not for passivity, domestication or reconciliation.

The early experience of teaching at the Spes Nova School revealed that because disabled children were denied unconditional love by their parents and their caregivers, they failed to love and to be loved in turn. At best, their love was insecure and demanding, more orientated towards the self than toward others, while at its worst it was frustrated and remained unexpressed and unfulfilled. Even the basic ability to love the self was inhibited.

The inability to accept and value the self left deep wounds which manifested themselves in a wide range of symptoms, from defensiveness and the inability to self-disclose, to guilt, depression, hostility and sometimes indiscriminate violence (Prof. Noel Peters -- D.T.C.-1993). At The Clare Estate School, it was found that the dramatic process enriched and extended the disabled child's emotional life, both in terms of love as expressed in empathy for others, and as the acceptance of self as a necessary criterion and resource for growth and outreach. The classroom dramatic processes enabled disabled children:

> to come into contact with and express their own feelings; interact and co-operate
> with 'others' competently as a result of the life skills acquired through
> improvisational work; build a feeling of trust and safety within a group; increase
> self-acceptance; have fewer inhibitions and make deep-level disclosures for healing
> purposes. I found that the benefit of drama over all other available therapeutic
> processes was that it allowed the students to express their problems dramatically,
> rather than merely talk about them and this served to integrate the psyche through
> expressive activity (Boal, 1979; Robinson, 1980).

In South Africa, educationists are presently placing an ever-increasing emphasis on an 'Education for Knowing' (especially vocational skills) at the expense of an 'Education for Being', and consequently drama has received very little recognition from the architects of our new National Curriculum (E.R.S. and NEPI Reports). It is vital to re-affirm the

crucial role that drama in Special Education can play in fostering the development of

disabled children through education focusing on entitlement. (Significantly the call for

the exclusion of the Arts comes from both the left and the right of the political spectrum).

To under-fund and under-emphasize the work of the drama teacher is to waste an

invaluable psychological and educational human resource.

It is for this reason the approaches which were used in drama teaching at the Spes

Nova School For Cerebral Palsied Children and at the Clare Estate School for Physically

Disabled Children can serve to illustrate the invaluable contribution drama has made in

the physical, emotional, intellectual, social and cultural life of children with disability.

Three approaches will be examined in what follows:

1.   The Experiential Drama Approach (Providing a forum for Psycho-socio Role Play
       and Reflection)

2.   Drama as Methodology (Using Drama as a Teaching and Learning technique
across the Curriculum)

3.   Drama as Consciousness-Raising (Triggering the consciousness of the person as a
       change agent rather than an object of history, by foregrounding the contradictions
       in society at the levels of race, gender, class, disability.)

THE EXPERIENTIAL DRAMA APPROACH

Experiential drama processing with physically disabled students involved

everything that happened to the students. The drama process exploited every experience

for learning purposes. Within the experiential drama approach experiences were

simulated or real. These experiences related either to the 'here and now' or to the 'then

and there' (Criticos, 1989). Codified experiences and knowledge contained in books were

also used to expand the student's experiences. Experiential Drama was contained within a

process of learning-by-doing and learning-through-discovery in a group. While this

drama approach targeted several aims, in the main it focused on personal growth,

increased self-awareness, individual and group consciousness, cultural development, acquiring social life skills and challenging the inequalities faced by disabled persons. The situational experiences engaged students in active learning which was meaningful and relevant to 'real-life' agendas.

It transported them from their restricted school environment and their limited life experiences, resulting in releasing their suppressed consciousness into the open world and then brought the world back into the classroom through a critique of the social contradictions using Critical Theory. Educational visits and visitors to the school became significant sources for dramatic activity and reflection. The milkman, the postman, the doctor, health, social and media workers, donors who visited the school, together with visits to the post-office, airport, fire-station, hospitals, shopping centres, refuse dumps, judicial courts, extended their understanding of how and why life was constructed the way it was and hence those experiences provided various topics for dramatisation through critique and reflection and discussion, underpinned by the use of critical theory.

The social rituals of the normal day were also filled with situations that provided the bases for valuable exploration. The purpose was to identify social issues and frame learning agendas that would take the familiar and make it strange. As a specific instance, students would be invited to go behind the 'politics of the toothpaste' in advertising, and ask questions around its function, its value, and whose benefit it served (the consumer or the capitalist). Although there can be no guarantee of long term transference from the classroom into real life situations, by politicising the familiar the immediate effect was that the learning enabled children to release their public voice critically (Shor, 1980).

Relationships with family and friends, coping with success or failure, all required responses which were used effectively for dramatic and reflective transcriptions of life, using critical theory to underpin the discussion. So through these dramatic activities the

74

students saw themselves as part of society and as having transforming potential. The students brought to the drama situation their lived experiences which made them aware of their position in the world. In so doing, it afforded them the opportunity to express their feelings of what it was to be isolated, marginalised and treated differently. They were encouraged to find the space and scope for changing oppressive situations and were made to realise that it was within their range of ability to effect such change.

Most of the drama situations created in the classroom were based on issues that arose out of the pupils' shared stories and perceptions of their lives. An example of this was a playlet called *Playground Chat*, which arose out of the experiences of a student named David.[4] Alone, one day on the playground, he refused to join the others. On being questioned he said that he wanted to be left alone because nobody understood him at home or at school. In sharing this experience the students explored the prejudices they faced because of their disabilities and eventually came to realise that they were not the only ones who were 'victims' of their fate.

PLAYGROUND CHAT

(Children wheel around on the playground; others play games. They stop to converse)

Ausvan   Hey it's fun watching Asokan and Vis playing cricket.

David   You know I'm tired of sitting in my wheelchair (sits morosely).

Yorana   Why do you grumble? At least we have the time to listen to the birds and the bees and a little bit of gossip around us.

---

2   In 1983, David a Cerebral palsied student with Diplegia, was 15 years old. Of significance here is that David has a 'Hindi' surname, and the only contact I had with David's family was through his mother, who, to use South African racial categories appeared to be' coloured'. David's speech intonation patterns were of a stereotyped imagined 'coloured' community.

Neela	It reminds me of the poem I learnt: "What is life, if full of care, we have no time to stop and stare.
Ausvan	How true Neela -- people pretend to use their time and yet they remain idle. Just idle talk I suppose.

David I don't know how you guys can be so cheerful. I feel down today.

Yorana	How come?
David	Well just that I'm tired of people feeling sorry for me. It's difficult to explain. I'd like to try to manage by myself so that I'll get on all right when I'm grown up.
Neela	But isn't that what we're taught everyday, to learn to do things for ourselves?
David	That's true, but at home mum and the rest of the family always want to do things for me .
Ausvan	But at least you are lucky, you have a big place to move around in. I'm just sick and tired of having two rooms. Yogi, Pathma and I share one room and my mum and dad and my baby brother share the other. I often pray that we can get a better house to live in.
Neela	Talking about things getting you down. You know what gets me down is when I go to town with my mother and people stare at me as though I were from outer space.
David	You're right. I often feel that people have the idea that anyone who is disabled is nutty too.
Yorana	They seem to think that if someone's legs don't work their heads don't either.
David	See I told you. Pity, just pity, that's all we get.
Yorana	Don't be silly it's not all we get. My cousin was telling me how much money his school collected for us.
Neela	Ah, you smiled and said thank you I suppose.
Yorana	Well why not?
Neela	Hey it's hard to explain ... (Ausvan interrupts)
Ausvan	You see Yorana we do appreciate the effort they make. But it would be great if we could join your cousin and his friends in some indoor games rather. (Others get excited ...)

David	Yes or go to the movies with them.
Neela	Or even have tea, chatting with them.
Yorana	You guys are asking for too much. But you know I have never thought about it like that -- anyway let's change the subject.
Ausvan	True, David look at Ramu's pants. They're torn, his mum is going to spank him.
Neela	That's because he's been moving on his bottom for far too long.
Yorana	Don't blame him, he hasn't been going to physio, because we have so few therapists. David why are you so quiet again?
David	I've just been thinking, if only you guys stayed closer to me, then at least over weekends we can play cards scrabble or even go swimming.
Ausvan	Ya swimming, I need more practice.
Yorana	Yes Ausvan, you Juggy and the others did so well at the swimming gala. Maybe I'll get a chance one day. (BELL RINGS).
Neela	There goes the bell, let's get back to class.
David	Before you go, I need to tell you something, remember the day we joined the old folk at the Aryan Benevolent Home, I hear that they are still talking about us. It was fun there, wasn't it? (They start wheeling back)
Yorana	I guess it must be lonely out there. Anyway I pray that more people would visit the aged, patients in hospital and even disabled people and make friends.

Critical Commentary: In analysing this playlet, it is evident that David is the pivotal person in the play. David's humour is sardonic. One needs to have an ear for this. If one comes from a different 'cultural community', one will read into it sarcasm, which would mean misreading it completely. It is actually 'up-beat dark' humour and this kind of ghetto talk is defensive and resonates with the Jamaican type talk one finds in the streets of the inner cities of London. Only then if one knows this type of intonation pattern, this 'jive' talk can one also appreciate and understand David against the

background he comes from as reflected in his personal profile (see note 2 below). This kind of talk is also a way of coping with disability as a form of social oppression. From the text David emerges as fatalistic but at the same time he triggers everybody else. He poses the problem, generates the debate (on charity), he leads, directs in terms of thought and action. He has an acute awareness of what it is to be marginalised in terms of race, gender and disability. "Pity, just pity" is indicative of his strong presence and authoritative stance. He adopts an oppositional view, but is ready to find solutions.

His reflection upon the "old Folk" at the Aryan Benevolent Home, is a most liberating insight. He finds common ground (Inter-generational, inter-class, cross cultural) between disabled persons and persons who have aged. It is these types of signals and avenues that we as teachers ought to explore and use to enable our students to understand, through the process of critical theory, how they have been minimalized and marginalized and what they can do about it.

Playground Chat as a playlet evolved out of a process of reflection upon social reality. As performance, it merged life and stage, reality and performance. Tomaselli (1983: 26) describes this as being "all part of the whole, intertwined in a metonymic relationship that connects art with life". Put in another way, the stage or creative form became an extension of reality. The playlet is also in keeping with Ross Kidd's understanding and definition of cultural/ educational activities where the students were able to develop a critique of their understanding of the world and themselves. By verbalising the emotional state of self pity, of sympathy from others, both the audience and the students experienced the need to change stereotypic attitudes and stereotypic roles that they were expected to play.

Many of the experiences of the students were dramatised specifically for public performance so that social, political, economic and cultural issues that affected disabled persons were understood by the Others. For instance, an enactment that emerged from a Life-skills Mathematics lesson on the complexity of filling in forms (applications for jobs, houses, bank-loans, investments) was presented to parents. The drama presentation entitled *Paper Tiger* related to the experiences that existed in the world for everybody. In this instance a tax-form was used as stimulus for role-playing and the improvisation was taped and scripted by the teacher. The experience of the students was 'normalised' so that disabled students transcended the Otherness, the 'difference', and came to realise that they encountered similar problems to those encountered by able bodied persons. The presentation took the form of a comedy to indicate that not all drama about disabled persons be-moans their plight. Such light-hearted approaches challenge the myth that disabled persons should only play tragic victim roles.

PAPER TIGER

Scene 1

Postman   (sings as he enters stage) Postman's story has gotta long tale, gotta long tale to tell...

Postman knocks at the door of Mr. Jewels, takes out an envelope, looks at the audience ...

Postman   Do you know what this is? (Shows an envelope with the words 'Income Tax' written on it). Well you see if there's anyone who can deal with this business, then my friend in there will be able to put things right.

(DOOR OPENS: ENTER MRS Jewels)

Mrs Jewels: Good morning Postman Story and what have you got for me this fine morning?

Postman: Good morning Mrs Jewels, I've got a letter for the ol' man. It seems like a very important letter.

Mrs Jewels:	Thank you. (Smiles and goes in. Postman talks to audience)
Postman:	By the way did you receive your tax form also? Well if you have any difficulty with it, then Old Mr. Jewels in there will help you solve your money problems. He's quite a man when it comes to money matters. Well so long folks (Laughs aloud and Exits).
Scene 2:	Mr Jewels is sitting and writing. Enter Mrs Jewels.
Mrs Jewels	Good morning Barney. Had a good sleep?
Mr Jewels	Good morning sweet; yes I did my dear.
Mrs Jewels	I have a letter, a very important letter for you.
Mr Jewels	Thank you sweet, I hope it is good news. (Reads, groans and moans). I do not know the meaning of this form. It is too complicated to understand all the instructions. Just listen to this dear: they say fill in the surname. That's OK. Then they ask for first names. I only have one. Must I fill in my nickname Barney also?
Mrs Jewels	No dear.
Mr Jewels	They want addresses -- Residential, Postal. We only have one address.
Mrs Jewels	That's right my dear.
Mr Jewels	They are very inquisitive, they want to know about our marriage.
Mrs Jewels	Our marriage! What's wrong with our marriage?
Mr Jewels	They want to know whether I was never married, married, widow, widower, married but living apart, divorced.
Mrs Jewels	But you're married to me of course, unless...
Mr Jewels	Now dear, let's not start that game again. Anyway now it's our children they want to know about. Let me see. First Devi, then Premi, Sagren, Ravin...
Mrs Jewels	You have forgotten Janine, she comes before Sagren.
Mr Jewels	Oh so many of them, I still can't believe how we've managed. And the last two dear?
Mrs Jewels	Kavitha and Ramu of course.
Mr Jewels	Hey this word is difficult. I-N-V- ... Oh investments.

Mrs Jewels	You see you are lucky you can read. What would have happened if you couldn't read?
Mr Jewels	Now those investments ... must I tell them about the money in the mattress?
Mrs Jewels	Is that so? You mean I have been sleeping on it all these years?
Mr Jewels	To keep you warm in your old age my dear. Anyway that's my money, they are not going to get their hands on it. I'm not telling them. Guess what's next. Travelling and Entertainment Allowance.
Mrs Jewels	You're joking. They can't be serious: who will give us money for entertainment in this day and age?
Mr Jewels	The last time we went out was to visit your mother. (To audience) And I tell you that's not entertainment.
Mrs Jewels	Well I'm still waiting, you supposed to take me to the Wild Coast.
Mr Jewels	Soon my dear Soon. Be patient. This is taking too long. I think I'll write them a letter. Let me see ... I'll say "Dear Sir, I can't fill this form it's too long. You are asking too many personal questions. Anyway I'm not interested in this income service of yours. Please cancel my name from your books. I do not know who registered me as one of your customers.
Mrs Jewels	Don't get yourself so worked up dear. Come it's time for pressure tablets. (They sing: "Money, money, money" and EXIT).

Critical Commentary: The main rationale of introducing the tax form was to prepare students for life skills. This playlet was a 'hit' with audiences because they could identify with the problem encountered when completing tax forms. Through *Paper Tiger* people began to look at their own problems, their relationships and deferred enjoyment or pleasure. The tax form was used as a conduit to highlight the hidden tensions and cracks within marriage and family life. The title *Paper Tiger* highlights how bureaucracy can dehumanize people. Furthermore the complexity of such forms can be frightening and can disempower people. The facticity of a tax form is enough to 'silence' the voice of any recipient. Through the form the power of the state is exaggerated while that of the individual is diminished, a complete irony when one considers the postulated role of the Public Service.

There are clear parallels for the able bodied audience between disabled people on stage acting out an 'able-bodied' conversation, to how disabled they really are or are made to be in a bureaucratic industrial state at an ideological and a personal level. The audience was also able to make connections with how they too were kept in bondage because of material conditions and hence could identify with disabled children at a fictional level.

In post-play discussions students questioned the need to reveal such personal details required in a tax form. This provided a liberating space for them to realize that when confronted with such a situation there was no need to reify such forms or made to feel 'disabled'. This was achieved via questions and discussions on: "To what extent does a tax form personalize/ depersonalize you? To what extent does it make you an unknown citizen? Do you feel it is an intrusion into your privacy?" Finally the theatrical convention of farce, "please sir cancel my name from your books" worked well as a form of comic relief.

The characters in *Paper Tiger* appear to follow the Bulhanian (1985) sequence of how oppressed persons move from the 'Capitulation' stage (where they assimilate themselves into the conquering culture and reject their own), to the 'revitalization' stage (a repudiation of the dominant culture and a simultaneous attachment to their indigenous culture) and eventually to the 'radicalisation' stage (a commitment to socio-political transformation).

Group consciousness and social change within disabled persons emerged from their experiential learning. This was evident in the performance of *The Talk of the School* (devised by L.Devar), where disabled students hurled verbal abuse at each other at school. The whole process of being labelled by society became internalised and manifested itself when the students imitated the abuse by others of disabled persons, among themselves.

TALK OF THE SCHOOL

NARRATOR :   Good afternoon ladies and gentlemen. I am going to introduce you to a class that has a history of being the rowdiest, noisiest, most undisciplined class in the whole school. They are like a sore in the face of the school. Teachers take Calmettes by the dozen before they go into that class.   The class teacher is seeing, Mrs Meer our psychologist. And one teacher, pretending to take study leave, went on a long vacation, to rest her nerves ... Shh ... Sh ... I think I hear them coming.

(MUSIC - PUPILS FIGHT - PUPILS SING)

Claude   (To new pupil) Hello! I'm Claude and I'm the main instigator. So you listen to what I tell you to do.

Pregs No you're not. Don't listen to him. He's lazy bones. The laziest in class.

Claude   Lazy. How dare you call me lazy. You shortie.

Boys   (LAUGH) That's what you are, you shortie.

Pregs YOU RATFACES!

Boys   Mam, Mam! Pregashnie called us ratfaces.

Pregs No mam, they called me shortie first.

Claude   And she called me LAZYBONES.

Teacger   There you go again calling each other names. All you pupils do is fight, fight, fight. I'm tired of all this.

Narrator   This a typical scene in the STD 2 class. The class teacher is at her wits end. She cannot control them. (Mimes ... using placard: "I'm at my wits end"). Other teachers try to discipline this class, but it is impossible. The screaming, shouting, quarrelling, fighting only increases.

Junaid (To Neerashma) Hey, you DUMBBELL. Can't you speak when I am talking to you?

Mogs   What! Junaid you've got no manners. Don't call her that.

Junaid Nobody spoke to you, you BULLFACE.

Mogs   Don't call me BULL-FACE, I'll tell mam about you.

Teacher   Now what is all this noise. I leave you for just a moment and you're fighting again.

83

Pregs   They were fighting and disturbing me. Poor me. (Everybody laughs)

Claude   Mam, Mogs was fighting with Junaid.

Mogs   But he started it first!

Teacher: I can't hear you when you all speak at once. Kusthuri, you are the quietest one in class, you tell me what happened.

Kusthuri   Mam Junaid was calling Neerashma names and he was fighting with Thiresha.

Teacher   So you made Nerashms cry. How can you be so insensitive? Go, go all of you and explain yourselves to the principal.

Narrator   Even that did not help. They were quiet for just one day, but the next day they were back again calling each other names again.

(ANDERSON AND CLAUDE RUN IN)

Andy   Nerd!

Claude   Ratface, Empty head!

Andy   Just you wait, when I catch you I'll ...

(Chase each other. Run off stage)

Narrator   One day after months of constant quarrelling and bickering, a strange thing occurred.

(PUPILS ENTER WEARING CARDBOARD WITH ABUSIVE NAMES ON THEM ... SHORTIE, STUPID, CRIPPLE, CRACKPOT, MORON, CRAZY, DILLY, BLACKIE ... THEY MIME ACCORDINGLY).

Narrator   To their horror they had actually changed into the names they were calling each other.

(PUPILS EXAMINE THEMSELVES AND EACH OTHER)

Mogs   What are we going to do?

Pregs   We look terrible.

Claude   I think we better change, change our ways.

Narrator   And from that day onwards, the STD 2 class learnt their lesson, they changed and became more loving and caring. Teachers returned to the school and stopped taking Calmettes.

Critical Commentary: When the script was enacted before able-bodied persons, the first reaction was that such a situation happened ordinarily to 'normal' children at mainstream schools. The audiences laughed and empathised with the situation as they reminisced over their own experiences and their own behaviour at school. They shared in the commonality of their joys, pain, frustration, teasing and laughter. This blurred the boundaries between disabled students and able-bodied audience. The shift of mood and feeling emerged slowly. It was aided with the use of Brechtian 'alienating' devices of removing the audience from a fictional situation to look at the real situation when the students emerged with placards to 'act out' the names they've been calling themselves or have been called. The audience was moved to a state of silence, disbelief and guilt as the action encouraged reflection upon their own prejudices and discriminatory practices.

The play also highlighted the power and the control of professionals in the life of disabled children. The rhetorical question at the end afforded the audience the opportunity to consider the action that ought to be taken in terms of their conditioned responses to disabled persons and in the light of the fact that disabled persons themselves were trying to change and improve their status in life. The play called for action in respect of attitudinal change and practices towards disabled persons. Through the process of drama, through the 'teasing out', the power domain was critiqued and the students began to understand how experience is organised, produced and legitimated and who benefits from being dominant and who struggles against being subordinated.

Whilst this was drama produced for performance, the process behind the creation stemmed from experiential drama in education. This involved a pedagogy of critical drama where the consciousness of the student was engaged openly in the creation and investigation

85

of social, political and cultural meanings. What follows is a way in which drama was used as a method and a medium for teaching and learning across the Curriculum.

DRAMA AS METHODOLOGY

Drama as methodology, is an enactive mode of learning based on enquiry, investigation and problem-solving. Critical drama pedagogy offers the opportunity for any subject to be explored in depth through the drama process. The students become responsible for the construction of meaning through role play and improvisation. In attempting to use both verbal skills and physical action students arrive at new insights, evolve new perceptions, feelings, thoughts and concepts. They develop cognitive and affective skills. The teacher is not a transferrer of knowledge but a facilitator in the production of knowledge.

The content of critical pedagogy is interdisciplinary. As part of a learning experience process, it cuts across drama as a 'subject' discipline. Whilst there are definite benefits and merits from drama being taught as a subject in Special Education, it is also most effective as a teaching instrument. This claim can be asserted on the grounds of the practical implementation of drama at the Clare Estate School, where it was used as part of the students' general learning activities in various subjects. History, Geography, and Health lessons stimulate and are stimulated by drama. Drama could also feed into, and be further developed from, Music, and Art and Craft. Drama approaches include a mixture of movement, role-play and improvisation. Vocabulary development, reading, writing and discussion play a large part in the drama lessons as well. If the teacher is to be a facilitator or an "introducer of ideas" (Mcgregor, 1977), then this is more readily achieved in a classroom culture that would allow for children to reflect critically on how to ameliorate and transform the contradictions of society *as they experience these in their own lives*. The

critical drama teacher becomes a critical theorist and can, as suggested above, be seen as an innovator, a problem-solver and a social reconstructionist. What follows below are examples of how drama was used across the curriculum at the Clare Estate School.

HISTORY:

Topic: Shaka

Content: The theme of Shaka was explored in a number of ways. Students discussed Shaka's early youth, the type of life he led, his leadership qualities, his army, the battles, and his victories and conquests. In conjunction with this, art and craft lessons involved students drawing Zulu huts, making shields and spears, learning Zulu songs and Zulu dances, learning the rhythm of marches, and experimented with war cries. This culminated in the enactment of scenes from his life.

Learning/ Teaching Assumptions: Students acquired investigative skills. Armed with the background knowledge of Shaka, they became critically reflective around the question of 'power' and 'control' within the Zulu nation. They also paid attention to the text and related language used contextually. There was a continuous negotiation of meaning, where individual perceptions were aired, challenged and extended.

GEOGRAPHY:

Topic: The Native American

Content: Students researched the various Native American tribes, where they lived, the types of homes they built, their life-styles, the physical conditions that affected the clothing they wore, the food they ate, their customs, their relationship with the land and with nature.

Eventually they improvised the signing of treaties with the 'white man' because of the loss of lives and loss of land.

Learning/ Teaching Assumptions: Through the drama process students assumed roles and postures and entered into dialogue over a 'treaty'. They challenged the contributions each made, modified and explored symbols and in so doing they appropriated cross-cultural knowledge. They drew parallels with other struggles (The aboriginal, The Maori, the African) and personalized the struggle, identifying with the removal and resettlement of their parents under the Group Areas Act.

HEALTH EDUCATION:

True-to-life experiential drama situations were incorporated into lessons. These extended over a vast number of topics such as fractures, fainting, blood-transfusion, visits to the dentist, application for prosthetic aids and others. Most scenes were 'send ups', with students looking at the funny side of life and in so doing exposing the discriminatory practices applied to them.

Learning/ Teaching Assumptions: As students contributed to their roles, pictures of entrenched prejudices and conflicting attitudes emerged which each of them were able to criticize. In so doing they absorbed and challenged opposing views and worked within and through symbolic and real situations. Beneath the surface level of the represented situation (in the ward, in the waiting room, during surgery) students voiced real personal and social challenges and at this level significant learning was taking place. In this way they raised further questions about the dominance of the medical world in their lives.

SCIENCE:

Topic: The Fish

Content: After students had studied various types of fish pictorially, had visited the Aquarium, and had set up a fish tank in class, they took part in a movement class as different types of fish.   They attempted various types of movements working both in groups and in isolation, all of which culminated in a story showing marine life becoming endangered.

Learning/ Teaching Assumptions: This lesson on fishes enabled the students to acquire an exploratory understanding of the biological world and then observe and analyze why and how things happen. They began to realize that Science was not an abstraction that existed outside life itself.   By being involved in the lived experience of Science, through hands on experience and active participation they were able to formulate concepts, rules, make investigations, draw conclusions and make sense of their experiences.

Creative dramatics in Science allowed students not merely to operate as isolated cognitive beings, but encouraged them to make sense of their learning experience in both personal and social terms.

MATHEMATICS:

Pupils in the primary phases were involved in enacting number rhymes. Mathematical language and basic spatial concepts (in front of, behind, at the side of, together) were incorporated into simple dance sequences. Through the counting of beats and keeping of rhythm the value of numbers were consciously learnt. Shopping sprees to supermarkets offered stimuli for enacting scenes in class. Such direct experiences helped bring in various concepts, such as size, weight, money, and time and distance.

Learning/ Teaching Assumptions: These activities are based on the belief that it is important for mathematics to be taught as relevantly and practically as possible. It also proceeds from an understanding that children learn best when excited and interested. Drama provides creativity, relevance and excitement. Through dramatic activities in Maths students were able to move inductively from the concrete to the abstract and from the particular to the general. Students were able to realize that thinking in Maths was more than the processing of information. By becoming engaged in active experiences, thought became creative and imaginative. Mathematical knowledge became personal, involving a mixture of feelings and responses to previous experiences. In Mathematics pupils were involved in active and meaningful learning which required selection, interpretation and transformation of information according to the students' previous experiences, preconceived ideas, present needs, knowledge and hypotheses.

DRAMA: THE DISABLED STUDENTS RESPONSE

By virtue of the lack of experience (sensory, motorically, or through social isolation and marginalisation), disabled persons have been found to be inhibited, withdrawn, tentative in exploratory behaviour and apprehensive in respect of new stimuli. These conclusions have emerged experientially over a long period while teaching drama at the Spes Nova School and the Clare Estate School. In order to support these conclusions, some qualitative responses from students at the Clare Estate School are recorded below. Like all children, disabled children yearn to be exposed to the thrill of moving, exploring, discovering, sharing social and emotional experiences, being able to challenge, to succeed, to create and to communicate.

> * I couldn't get used to talking with other people--drama helped me relate and talk with people in a group, even though it took a long time (Farzanah - 10 yrs).

* Everything came alive from my wheelchair. I couldn't believe that I could be the sun, the puddle of water, water vapour rising, the wind blowing the clouds, the clouds bursting and eventually me as rain falling gently to the ground (Priya - 10 yrs).

By engaging in drama activities, be it through drama as a subject discipline, or drama across the curriculum, disabled students were able to realise their potential as persons regardless of their disability.

* I felt important and proud because people were listening to me (Pregasen - 19 yrs).

* Drama made me confident. You'd never say I'm a shy person, but something happens when I'm on stage. I feel that I have to be strong, especially when there are so many eyes watching me (Mary - 21 yrs).

As their confidence grew, the students developed positive self-images and self-concepts. As their ability to think through problems improved, their creativity increased. Positive social interaction skills emerged and there was a significant improvement in self-motivation and desire to communicate.

* I found drama difficult because it forced me to think on the spot, make decisions, and carry it out at that moment in time (Shalini - 15 yrs).

*I didn't like drama because I had to talk. But my teachers are surprised now because I talk in class (Neerashma - 17 yrs).

Since drama provided situations and issues of conjecture and for interpretation, personal opinions evolved:

* Drama made me realise that there are so many different types of people in the world and that all of us are not perfect (Rakesh - 17 yrs).

As collaborative learners the students began to feel secure knowing that they were respected and accepted as equal participants, contributors and sometimes observers in the learning situation. Having been exposed to drama across the curriculum, students perceived themselves as 'co-players' in the making of drama, rather than as 'performers':

* When we acted the hospital scene during the Health lesson, it reminded me of the time I too had a fracture. I acted out the truth because I wanted everybody to know

the pain I suffered and how the doctors and the nurses treated me (Pregashni - 13 yrs).

The students knew that drama making did not require technical perfection, but spontaneity and freedom to express their thoughts and feelings. The opportunity to reflect on the drama situation during or after the drama process encouraged them to think critically. Since many of them lived very sheltered lives, they were idealistic, hyper-critical and unrealistic about life and so improvisation and role-playing formed a basis for widening and opening alternative viewpoints. Improvisation offered them chances to be what they were not and could never be in real life.

> * Drama got me to think about real life -- about my family, my neighbours, my friends and how they treated me and how I reacted to them (Emmanuel - 16 yrs).

Drama as performance also had benefits. Since disability has been so individualized, disabled students naturally tend to live in their own worlds. In preparation for performance they were forced to listen and be aware of what others were thinking, doing and saying. Group consciousness and cooperation developed:

> * I was nervous and scared, because I thought that I would forget my words or not come in on time. I was afraid that I'd let my friends and my teacher down (Morgan - 14 yrs).

Most importantly, drama for performance helped the students overcome their *dis*-ability. They became self-assured and self-confident and were comfortable with themselves:

> * To go on stage meant that I had to be good, otherwise people would laugh at me (Vimla - 20 yrs).

> * The poems we acted had a strong message about disability. So I knew I had to go out there and let people know that we too were capable and that they needed to look at us differently (Shoba - 21 yrs).

DRAMA AS CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING

The process that occurred within the paradigm of critical drama pedagogy evolved out of what disabled students learnt from their own personal experiences of life. This formed the basis for group consciousness, social change and community action. Experiences such as these were not isolated from the ideological construction of disability, nor were they seen as independent of the power relations in society. Disabled students were *en*-abled to make sense of their personal histories by relating their lived experiences within the historical, political, social and economic construction of disablement.

Through a process of reflection or 're-vision' disabled students began to look back, reclaim and interpret their experiences with new understanding. The aim of drama as a consciousness-raising agent, was to enable disabled students to develop analytical frameworks with which to examine and interrogate their experiences. The use of drama for consciousness-raising is very similar to Saddington's (1985: 50) interpretation of experiential learning as a learning model where the process "begins with the experience followed by reflection, discussion, analysis and evaluation of the experience."

To this end, a Poetry Programme entitled *A Call to be Heard* was devised to register the voices of disabled students. The programme focused on the status of disabled persons in society, a reflection of their dreams, aspirations and thwarted desires, an examination of the discriminatory practices and attitudes against disabled persons in society, and the drawing of analogies with other struggles within the South African experience. With the assistance of the teacher, students chose relevant texts presented to them, wrote out slogans, and improvised scenes from their lived experiences. (This programme was first facilitated by L.Devar as part of an Oral Communication programme but later adapted by S.Moodley as part of a public awareness programme on disability)

A CALL TO BE HEARD

STUDENTS ENTER, WEARING PLACARDS THAT READ: "DISABLED BUT ABLE"; "UNEMPLOYED BECAUSE I'M DISABLED"; "DON'T LET MY WHEELCHAIR BECOME MY PRISON "; "LET ME SPEAK, LET ME WORK, LET ME LOVE"; "I THINK, I FEEL, I SEE, THIS WORLD IS MINE TOO"; "WE ARE A VIABLE MONEY MARKET"; "ACCEPT ME FOR WHO I AM"; "LOOK AT ME WITH RESPECT - I'M HUMAN LIKE YOU."; "YOUR PAIN IS MY PAIN TOO"; "LET US BE PART OF THIS WORLD TOO". IN THE BACKGROUND THEY HUM AND AS THEY ENTER THEY SING CAT STEVENS', " MOONSHADOW". STUDENTS TAKE POSITIONS.

Statements After an Arrest: (Athol Fugard)

> I must understand this:
> If they take away your eyes you can't see
> If they take away your tongue you can't taste
> If they take away your hands you can't feel
> If they take away your nose you can't smell
> If they take away your ears you can't hear.
> I can see.
> I can taste.
> I can feel.
> I can smell.
> I can hear.
> Can I love?
>
> I must understand this.
> If they take away your legs you can't walk.
> If they take away your arms you cant't work.
> If they take away your head you can't think.
> I can work.
> I can think.
> I can love.
> I can't walk.
>
> I must understand this.
> When you are hungry you eat.
> When you are thirst you drink.
> When you are tired you sleep.
> I will eat, I will drink, I will sleep.

Will I work?

I must understand this again.
If they take away your soul, you can't go to heaven.
I can go to heaven.
I can Love.

But I know you see
An arm without a hand,
A leg without a foot,
A head without a body.
Is a man without his name.

Telephone Conversations: Student Improvisation

(Students mime talking on the phone)

Mary: Hello...yes..I didn't get the job! Why? Oh! Because you have someone who
             can provide their own transport.

Vimla: Good afternoon (Very cheerful) ... Yes ... hmm ... Thank you. (Puts the
             phone down). At least they had the decency to tell the truth. I'm disabled so
             I'll slow down the work process.

Shoba: I didn't even make the interview.

Pregs: (Puts down the phone). NO! (Removes placard and throws it to floor). NO!

ALL :   NO, no, no, no, no, no, (Scream).

The Plough: Victor Jara

        I clench my fist
        And bury the plough in the earth,
        For years and years I've worked.
        No wonder I am worn out.

        Butterflies are flying,
        Crickets are singing,
        My skin gets darker and darker,
        And the sun glares, glares, and glares.

        Sweat furrows me,
        I make furrows in the earth,
        On and on.

I hold fast to hope,
When I think of my other star,
It is never to late she tells me,
The dove will fly one day.

And in the evening going home,
In the sky I see a star.
"It's never too late," she tells me,
"The dove will fly one day."

As tight as a yoke
My fist is full of hope
Because everything will change.

I Asked the Little Boy Who Cannot See: Anon

I asked the little boy who cannot see,
'And what is colour like?'
'Why green,' said he.
'Is like the rustle when the wind blows through the forest;
Running water that is blue;
And red is a trumpet sound; and pink
Is like the smell of roses; and I think
That purple must be like a thunderstorm;
And yellow is like something soft and warm;
And white is a pleasant stillness when you lie and dream.

Pregs: Our struggle is like other struggles, if we don't fight for recognition, we will never get it.

We: Micheline Mason

We can be found
In every class and race
Of every age and nation
We are awakening
We will not beg
We will not hide
We'll come together to regain our pride.
We long to leap unfettered
On flights of fancy free,

96

To mould the life with clay
To visions that we can see.
To paint with strokes of wisdom
To pen the purest page
To play the ageless actor
On the timeless human stage.

We are the children disabled
We are your brothers, your sons
We are your sisters, your daughters,
The world's forgotten ones.
So bring the world unto us
The barriers destroy
The handicap of yesterday will be tomorrow's Child of Joy.

Who Is Disabled? Tony Wong

If you fail to see the person
But only the disability
Then who is blind?
If you cannot hear your brother's cry for justice
Who is deaf?
If you do not communicate with your sister
But separate her from you
Who is disabled?
If your heart and your mind do not reach out to your   neighbour
Who has the Mental Handicap?

If you do not stand up for the rights of all persons
Who is the Cripple?
Your attitude towards persons with disabilities
May be our biggest handicap, And yours too.

(Students sing 'Moonshadow' and walk in a circle and then take positions)

Vimla   Hi everybody, my name is Vimla, but my friends call me Elsie. I live in
               Chatsworth. I enjoy listening to music, going to discos, talking on the
               telephone and giggling a lot.

Pregs Hi, my name is Pregasen. I also live in Chatsworth. At the moment I'm on-the-job
       training at Foto First and would love to be a photographer.

Mary   Hello, I'm Mary Magdelene Govender. I live in Isipingo. I'm training to
               become a Telephone Receptionist at Derna Cupboards. Vimla and I train
               there every Tuesday and Thursday. Just like Vimla, I also love music and
               going dancing. But I prefer swimming and baking.

97

Moses:	Hi, my name is Moses. I live in Phoenix. On Tuesdays and Thursdays, I work at Checkers in Overport where I'm learning to weigh fruit and vegetables. I'd love to be employed in that field in the future.
Shoba:	At last it's my turn. Well, I'm Shoba, and Vimla here says that I'm her best friend. We get into trouble because we talk for long hours over the phone. I'm employed at my father's clothing firm. I help out by doing the accounts. Now if there are any questions you would like to ask us, please feel free to do so.

This programme placed the students at the centre of the learning process, not just as 'meaning-receivers but as meaning-*makers*. Whilst initially *A Call to be Heard* was devised by Lisa Devar as part of a theme programme for performance purposes, later pupils began to examine the text in the context of their struggle for assertion and in the context of the broader liberatory struggle. Since the production had the potential for consciousness-raising, the students embarked on taking the production into the community for this purpose. At various stages of the development of the text of this poetry programme, students began to interrogate the world of appearances and expose the underlying relationships of inequality as part of the struggle for cultural change.

A CALL TO BE HEARD EXAMINED

Purpose

The primary purpose was to raise the awareness of able-bodied persons about the abilities and potential of disabled persons; to make people conscious of the obstacles that prevent the development of disabled persons and the need to view disabled persons as part of particular communities they come from and of society as a whole. In the process the

objective was to change traditional attitudes and views. For the disabled students, the purpose was to communicate in different surroundings; to be able to inter-change ideas, gain confidence and allay fears and inhibitions. By engaging in the process of awareness and conscientization, the purpose was to effect change within both able bodied and disabled persons alike.

THE PROCESS IN CONTEXT:

When choosing the various poems and narratives for presentation the different texts were examined against the background of how disability is constructed and viewed. To understand and capture the complex nature of the students' encounters with the dramatic activity and narrative, a process Gavin Bolton would describe as "releasing a volume of meaning" (Davis and Lawrence, 1986: 219), it is essential to record how the students in class began to examine and register their personal lives within the social and political context of the text and vice-versa. It is important to do this because in Hornbrook's (1989: 3) view, "formulating theories unrelated to classroom practice is not the solution as it denies interpretative theories on how knowledge is formed."

Furthermore, as Wells suggests, knowledge cannot be transmitted. "It has to be constructed afresh by each individual on the basis of what is already known and by means of strategies developed over the whole of that individual's life, both inside and outside the classroom" (Wells, 1986: 218). The reason for doing this is to outline how learning, awareness and consciousness in drama took place.

Statements Under Arrest is an extract taken from a play written by Athol Fugard, in which people are alienated because of a racist political environment. The issues of race and politics in the play resonate very much with the issues that affect disabled persons in an economically and politically biased society that over-emphasizes normality. The students

identified with the words and the feelings because it encapsulates their own thwarted desires and hopes. The iterated use of the 'I' personalized the voice of the disabled child. The audiences were able to identify with the 'I' in the fictional world and hence with disabled people.

Telephone Conversations is similar to Wole Soyinka's poem of the same title, in which a black man seeking accommodation in London is refused a place to live because of the colour of his skin. A similar kind of pain is experienced by disabled persons when the prejudices of mainstream people deny disabled persons economic power and hence marginalize them and dis-able them at a physical and an economic level and therefore at a political level as well. The personal experience of the students emotionally layers the programme, and reflexively heightens the audience's identification with the participants.

Although the *Plough* is about an inanimate object, metaphorically it captures the way society has atomized the lives of disabled persons. While the poem may express hope, there is a pervasive anger within it as it echoes the struggle of disabled people. It raises the consciousness of disabled persons in terms of their own state of alienation, of helplessness and at the same time it raises the consciousness of able-bodied persons about the struggle of disabled people.

Although the poem *I asked the little boy who cannot see* is fraught with pain and sadness it makes able-bodied persons see the world in a fresh light. What makes it poignant is that it takes a disabled person, who cannot see, to awaken able-bodied persons to the wonders and the beauty of the world. The poem *We* follows the Brechtian device of speaking directly to the audience, alerting them to the real pain of disabled persons. The poem reflects upon their creative potential and their aspirations. This poem, written by a disabled person, is characterized by honesty, truthfulness, integrity and humanity in terms of disabled person's position in society. The strength of the poem is that it does not indulge

in self-pity or succumb to helplessness. It is filled with striving and hope for the future. Structurally it moves from the individual to the collective, in which the students realise that they can achieve what they want through collective action rather than singularly. This was a rehearsal of what disabled persons can become, although there is no guarantee of transference. Having experienced a spirit of solidarity about their goal of liberation is better than never having experienced it at all. The experience of *We* will help students to make informed and wise choices when required in the future.

Who is Disabled? is a highly reflective rhetorical question about getting people to question their practices and prejudices towards disabled people. While able-bodied persons may be able physically, they are disabled in their perceptions and where their humanity is concerned.

The students introduced themselves to the audience at the end of the performance. It was important that the pain that had been exposed was linked to the real personae. It was hoped that the audience would identify with them, and accept them, fully. By coming out of the fictional world into the real world, the students flooded the audience with their basic humanity and the interaction became more sincere, intense and honest.

What follows now are transcriptions of the video- and tape-recorded verbal responses of audiences at the Springfield Training College (S.T.C), M.L. Sultan Technikon (M.L.S.) and the Hillgrove Secondary School(H.S.). The students at Springfield Training College were Trainee Remedial Teachers and Trainee English and Physical Education Teachers. The students at the Technikon were students of Journalism and Public Relations. The Students at Hillgrove Secondary were the English and Speech and Drama students. While the audiences at both the Tertiary Instititutions were non-racial in their composition, the students at the High School were exclusively so-called 'Indian'. A certain texture and depth can be

recognized in the comments, which I believe was a result of the conceptual work and the affective exercise that audiences had undergone.

IMMEDIATE VERBAL RESPONSE:

* This is the first time I've been in contact with disabled people. Usually I just walk past, and often try to avoid looking at them even in the street, especially if I see them begging (Female student -- M.L.S.).

* I feel uncomfortable, and totally helpless, I don't know how to respond to people with disabilities (Female Student -- M.L.S.).

* I have a brother who is disabled. It was hard for me to accept his disability. Even now as I speak to you, I haven't come to terms with it (The speaker broke down and cried and so did others in the group; Female student - M.L.S.).

* I can't help feeling sorry for disabled people. I suppose I do that because I think about how lucky I am (Male Student - H.S.).

Many questions were asked of disabled 'actors':

1   How does your family respond to you? (female student - S.T.C.).

Responses: As normal. They treat me just like the way they treat my brothers and sisters (Pregs). Sometimes they spoil me a bit too much, but I enjoy it (Shoba).

2   What difficulties did you face while growing up? (female student -- S.T.C.)

Responses: Not much. At school, I was slow in many subjects. My parents were afraid to send me out, they felt that I may get hurt (Mary).

3   What does it feel to be disabled? (Female student-S.T.C.).

Responses: (Students did not answer. One of them (Vimla) asked a question instead) What does it feel to be Able?

4   How do you feel when people stare at you? (Female student - S.T.C.).

Responses: I don't like it. How would you like it if I stared at you? (Mary). I swear them under my breath (Shoba).

5   Does it upset you when you see others your age doing things that you can't do? (Female student - S.T.C.).

Responses: Not really. I've accepted life the way it is (Moses). Yes, it does hurt me. That's natural, isn't it? (Vimla). But I try to make the best of life. I go out

with my friends to the movies, shopping and even to the discos (Mary) (Everybody laughs).

6   How would you want us to treat you and what do you expect from us? (Female student - S.T.C.).

Responses: Don't pity us. We don't want sympathy (Moses). Do make friends with us. Visit us at school and learn more about us. Attend our Swimming Gala, and our Open Days (Vimla). For those of you who are in Chatsworth, you are free to join our club 'The Forget Me not Club' so that we can do things together (Pregs).

The following were questions asked of the text itself :

How did this programme come about?
Who chose the poems?
Can you explain some of the placards used?
Were the telephone conversations your own true experiences?

INTERACTIVE PARTICIPATORY RESPONSES:

At some performances students encouraged participants to experience sitting in a wheelchair, pushing them in a wheelchair, using a crutch, assisting them in walking to a seat and teaching them the song 'Moonshadow'.

WRITTEN REFLECTIVE RESPONSES:

The written responses forwarded by the students from S.T.C., M.L.S and H.S. varied from criticisms of the text, to the actual manner of production and performance, to personal feelings and attitudes about disabled persons and disability. The following are some of the written responses received:

I really liked the idea of you moving in a circular motion as it gave the impression of picketing and striking. It was like they were in a struggle against our attitude towards the disabled (Marlene - Std.9: H.S.).

We were emotionally moved by the direct and strong message. The reason why we were reduced to tears was that we were all guilty of believing that disabled people are

unable to live normal lives. Thank you for helping us 'normal' people see the truth (New friends from Hillgrove).

The presentation highlighted yet another kind of struggle which has been overlooked because so much of importance has been given to the Women's Struggle and the Liberation Struggle (Mbongeni Zondi -- M.L.S.).

The participants should be encouraged to answer questions. They obviously knew the answers but for some reasons were hesitant to give voice to their knowledge (Zoubair Ayob - M.L.S.).

Discrimination against the physically disabled is commonplace; but it is difficult to be reminded that the only ones to fight against it are the disabled themselves. I want to assure them of my support (V.S. Maharaj -- Group 3 -- S.T.C.).

EVALUATION OF THE PROGRAMME:

Evaluation took place immediately after each performance. The students watched the video of their performance or listened to the tape-recording of some sessions. Students evaluated their performance, the types of question asked, their ability and their inability to answer questions, the sharing of responsibility in providing answers and ways to improve interaction and discussion. These were the responses of the students, oral and written:

At the beginning of each performance I would be nervous, but at the end I'd be confident, because the audience was patient and listened to what we were saying (Moses).

I was moved by their reactions. Some of them were very sensitive, especially when they cried (Pregs).

I felt proud that I had the chance to make people aware of people with physical disabilities. After performing we interacted with them and I think they understood us much better then (Mary).

I enjoyed performing to school students, but the best performance was at the conference for disabled people[5]. They gave us hope. I realized then that we were not alone when we talked about our rights (Vimla).

---

5   See Appendix B, which is a copy of a letter received from Disabled People South Africa.

Sometimes I thought that the students were shocked and surprised when we asked them questions. That was why they were quiet. I was bored with the questions because I found that the same type of questions were asked in all the performances (Pregs).

We became very close as a group. We could depend on each other when we made mistakes. Nobody was better than the other. We needed each other (Shoba).

FINDINGS:

1. It was found that the performances of the students varied according to the different audiences with which they interacted. The intensity of their performance was also determined by their physical and emotional well-being at the time of performance.

2. Many of the statements made by the viewers of the performance indicated a lack of awareness of disability issues and of disabled persons. At the end of the performances there definitely was a change of attitude, sociability and interaction. Performances for other disabled persons confirmed and reaffirmed for disabled people how they were discriminated against in society and placed in focus the need for disabled persons to continue their fight to be recognised and claim their rightful positions in society.

3. The dialogic drama situation provided a forum where persons were able to articulate their prejudices, fears and stereotypes.

4. Amongst disabled students, there were definite changes in terms of self-image and self-concept. The drama situation instilled self-confidence and allayed fears. Students began to realise the importance of communication and were determined to work towards changing attitudes of able-bodied persons towards disabled people.

CONCLUSION

In registering their experiences in dramatic form, disabled students gave authenticty to their voices. In bringing together their experiences disabled students have begun to assert themselves and restore their self-worth, pride and dignity. In becoming conscious of being in the world and of thinking positively of the self, the students brought to fruition the effects of consciousness and self-awareness as espoused by Biko. In Biko's words, when a person arrives at consciousness then he

> sees himself as a being entire in himself. It makes him less dependent and more free to express his manhood. At the end of it all he cannot tolerate attempts by anybody to dwarf the significance of his manhood (Biko, 1972: 21-22).

Disabled students employed drama as a medium through which they exercised the power to define themselves.

The type of reflective work in drama has helped the students to consider what they have become and what it is they no longer want to be. Critical drama pedagogy has also enabled them to recognise possibilities not yet realised. Working within this type of drama paradigm, has helped break the culture of silence that had enveloped their lives for such a long time. Drama has served as a useful mediating tool to re-think, re-experience and re-evaluate the terrain of cultural images created around disability. The concluding chapter critiques the practise of drama in Special schools and reiterates the need for critical drama pedagogy within the Special School Curriculum. Suggestions for a syllabus which are outlined, are opened for further discussion and improvements by practitioners of drama.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

I will now move the centre of focus on drama away from my own work in the classroom into the wider context of the school curriculum. There will be little point for me to discuss drama only at a performance level, or in terms of what happens in a lesson, unless some attempt is made to see its place in the school as a whole. Inevitably, in talking about the place of Drama in the curriculum, it is important to outline its present status at special schools.

Drama as a subject or as methodology in Special Education has not yet been accepted or completely recognised by curriculum developers for its educative value. The status quo of drama as it stands in special schools takes the form of an end of term production, or 'concert-type-work' which includes group singing, dances, and sketches. The attitudes of persons in charge of such drama is to 'put on show' of what disabled persons can do. Audiences tend to have very low expectations of disabled persons and make allowances for poor performance only because the actors are disabled. It turns out then that the responses to drama presentations are reduced to "didn't they do well, considering..." (Tomlinson, 1982). This negates the value and purpose of drama in education and marginalises the potential of the subject. I am not arguing against performance, but I believe performance-for-performance-sake defeats the purpose of drama. Where performance is rooted in a creative learning process, the benefits of performance to all performers, whether disabled or not, is difficult to overestimate.

Performance gives the student power, because students come to realise that once on stage they are in control and the audience is there to watch and listen to them. It means that they take on responsibility and new risks. Such responsibility is not owed to the audience

but also to each other as co-actors, and also mainly to themselves. The acceptance of responsibility and taking of risk is also a major step for the disabled students because, by virtue of their life experiences, they have mostly been over-protected and treated with caution. So this 'act' of being in charge, of being responsible for their own actions is an enormous achievement in itself. When, in addition, they are successful as performers, their sense of power, of enablement is enormously beneficial. They experientially appreciate the power of exercising agency, in line with Foucault's (1977) depiction of power as a relational and organisational force which creates objects who are bestowed with agency. It is a relational force that is exercised. It is not a mere commodity that can be transferred from the dominator to the dominated.

By taking to the stage students attract attention and this act warrants focus and recognition. For disabled persons this is nothing short of being 'revolutionary', because society does not expect disabled people to be initiators of activities, to take charge or to command situations. In fact society expects its "crippled members to act crippled" and by implication to be apathetic, submissive and acquiescent (Tomlinson, 1982). Power through performance creates status and this status determines the positive attitudinal change towards the students and in turn this develops confidence and self-respect.

Performance provides disabled students to be *edu-actors*, to enlighten and educate audiences about the realities of their lives as disabled persons. Through the process of performance, students realise they cannot deny or avoid their disability. This denial is not all together eliminated. Thus there is the case where one of the students, during a performance at the Durban Central Park, who said: "Please let me sit on a chair and not on a wheelchair because I don't want them (the audience) to see me disabled". The task of changing the myth that disability-is-synonymous-with-inability is eventually the goal and

aspiration of students. They come to realise their disabilities are a driving positive force, a complement to their character development and not a detraction.

The experience of teaching drama has shown how drama can be an immensely powerful educational instrument, and as such should be at the heart of the curriculum. To peripheralize it, is to squander an educational asset of inestimable value. In a survey that was sent out to 12 special schools in the Durban area in May 1992 (see Appendix C) 8 schools responded to the value of drama as a method and drama as a subject as follows:

(1)   children learnt by doing and so they remembered more easily;
(@)   role play was therapeutic for children experiencing problems;
(3)   drama was an excellent way to teach a language;
(4)   it helped children to see other points of view;
(5)   it helped them to understand what things were like in the past and in other countries and situations;
(6)   it helped them learn skills for developing language through listening, arguing and debating;
(7)   it instilled confidence in handling social situations and hence improved their self image;
(8)   it gave them the opportunity to express their innermost feelings and thoughts and made them better communicators.

In answering the question on difficulties that may be encountered should drama be included into their schools the following responses were obtained:

(1)   there were no drama specialist teachers in the field;
(2)   there was a lack of experienced teachers with the knowledge of speech and drama;
(3)   the establishments could not afford such a post;
(4)   if drama were allocated there would be a reduction in time allocated to other subjects;
(5)   the timetable would have to be adjusted and this may not be to the liking of some staff members;
(6)   since pupils were continually taken out for therapy, by adding drama to the list of the activities for the day would mean difficulty in completing the syllabi;
(7)   drama could have adverse effects on hyperactive students by making them more 'hyped' and this would affect them settling down to other subjects, it could lead to behavioural problems;
(8)   mime and movement would present difficulty to blind and multiply disabled children;
(9)   there would be a lack of space to do drama;
(10) drama should not be the responsibility of educators but   should be conducted by qualified drama therapists.

A few teachers responded that they have been able to dramatize lessons in certain subjects (Religious Education, English, Afrikaans, Environmental Studies, Music and as part of Junior Primary Teaching). Teachers have been allocated the task of gearing students towards performance either annually, bi-annually and in some instances more frequently. The occasions for such performances are: Open/ Parents Day, Prize Giving, School Anniversary, Special Thematic Presentations, Assembly, Oral Communication Festival, Speech and Drama Festival, Easter, Christmas, Diwali and Eid Celebrations.

The survey reflects that despite the difficulties envisaged, teachers and curriculum planners value the importance of drama at their schools. However, it would seem that for most schools drama means the annual school play or plays prepared for particular festivals or celebrations. A problem associated with such a limited conception of drama is that these plays become isolated activities and become "divorced all together from class room drama where it exists and sometimes in place of it where it does not exist" (Mcgregor, 1977: 154).

In considering the difficulties outlined by the special schools it is appropriate to consider some suggestions and possible solutions that will help overcome these difficulties in incorporating drama in the curriculum. The suggestions made are open to broader debate, argument, analysis and further expansion. Since drama is a learning process the ideas presented in this study should not be seen as being closed-ended. The suggestions made here are for consideration by the administrators of special schools, management staff, teachers, therapists since from the survey and my own practice I believe that drama has a significant role to play in the disabled child's education and therefore merits inclusion into the curriculum.

TENTATIVE PROPOSALS FOR ORGANISATION OF DRAMA AT SPECIAL SCHOOLS

1. The Subject Itself:

The place and value of Drama in the curriculum must first be understood by all members of the school, if the teaching of drama and its use across the curriculum is to be successful. It is for this reason that the person in charge of drama at the school ought to be clear about long term aims and objectives so that persons at schools who are responsible for the planning of time-tables and facilities are aware of what is needed for drama to be taught effectively.

2. Specialist/ Non-Specialist Teachers:

If the versatility of drama, both as a creative process in its own right and as a way of learning across the curriculum, is to be fully exploited, then the appointment of drama specialists is necessary. This is so because drama is not easy to initiate and develop by non-specialist teachers. Furthermore the specialist teacher can play a vital role in advising non-specialists about how they can use drama in their work. Should a specialist teacher not be appointed, then provision should be made, as part of the school's professional development programme, for non-specialist teachers to undergo workshops,[6] attend seminars and training programmes in drama, so that experience and confidence may be gained in using drama in the classroom. It must be conceded that courses in methods alone will not equip teachers to teach drama, but once teachers have had the basic training, the only way to develop will be through experience.

---

6   See Appendix D for the type of workshop done with teachers from Special Schools at the University of Natal on the 8-9 August 1992.

3. Time Management:

Persons with administrative responsibilities for developing drama at schools should ask how drama can best be structured within the existing time-table so as to make use of existing resources. If drama is to develop in its own right, sufficient time must be given for worthwhile development to take place. The demands made on teachers teaching drama should be considered. Drama teaching involves physical, emotional and intellectual demands and hence can be exhausting. Consideration should also be given to the pressures placed on teachers who not only teach a full load, but are often expected to organise performances at school functions.

4. Space:

Mcgregor (1977: 191) is of the opinion that "drama work 'of sorts' can take place anywhere, but drama work of quality requires practical consideration". Since drama work is of a practical nature it requires space for movement (particularly with students on wheelchairs, or those using crutches, and with those who are visually impaired), without any interference of overcrowding. Knowing the paucity of room space at special schools, it is important to note whether the space allocated is an adapted room or a purpose-built one, it should fulfil basic requirements of privacy and possibilities for movement, for sound, for constructing the drama environment for painting, craft, reading, writing and discussion. The need for private space is necessary especially since projecting into symbolic roles and 'as if' situations require privacy, trust, the least amount of distraction so as to help reduce inhibitions and develop a sustained commitment on a symbolic level.

5. Other Considerations:

Provisions should be made for the availability of materials such as record players, tape recorders, tapes, percussion instruments, make-up, a collection of props and dress-up material so that drama teaching can be made interesting. Students should also be exposed to drama activities in the community so these can serve as models and bases to critique their own work. And lastly the most important ingredient is the positive attitude of the teacher. This invariably encourages involvement, participation and commitment of the students. Appropriate attitude traits should be energy, enthusiasm, risk-taking and honesty. Teachers should constantly reaffirm the students self worth so that students gain confidence to make choices and take risks.

Whilst each school would formulate its own list of *objectives* in evolving a Critical Drama programme, the following areas will be discussed so as to help facilitate the direction of drama from a critical theory perspective:

* determination of primary objectives;
* determination of secondary objectives;
* choice of syllabus to benefit disabled students;
* lesson plans, teaching methods and techniques.

PROVIDING DRAMA EXPERIENCES:

Some General Maxims:

(a)   Never teach unless you can learn;
(b)   Trust that every disabled child has the potential to respond to drama;
(c)   Keep in mind that drama is process oriented and not product oriented;
(d)   Find out and respond to the essential characteristics of each participant, including age, interest, abilities, disabilities.
(e)   Bear in mind that not all students may be motivated to participate, so build in their own experiences to motivate them;
(f)   Structure for success. Programs, approaches, questions must be structured so that participants succeed.

PRIMARY OBJECTIVES:

1. Exercise and Expand Creativity:

(a)   Disabled children are creative people so they have the right and need to develop creatively. Creativity is like a muscle: it needs exercises or it will waste away.

(b)   Creative drama provides non-threatening and varied fun activities which disabled students require so as to break away from their limited existences;

(c)   Disabled students need to be creative with other people -- they need the reinforcement of their peer group. Group interaction offers opportunities to develop sensitivity and empathy; develop receptivity to other person's ideas; develop the ability to express themselves before a group and encourage peer reliance instead of teacher reliance;

(d)   Disabled children need the guidance of a sensitive, trained teacher who can evoke, utilize and expand creative ideas.

2. Raise Self Esteem:

(a)   Disabled persons are consumed with shame and discouragement. They tend to disregard their assets or fail even to discover them. Drama activities unearth these assets.

(b)   Lack of confidence among disabled students lead to dependency. Creative drama activities build self-confidence and in time disabled students begin to express their unique selves that deserve praise and encouragement.

(c)   In the freeing and non-threatening environment of a drama class, disabled students lose their fear of failure in the spirit of fun.

SECONDARY OBJECTIVES:

1. Test Problem-Solving Skills:

The drama classroom is not the real world, but it can provide a protected environment to simulate reality. In the spirit of make-believe, pupils exercise problem-solving skills, and develop confidence which can easily transfer to the real world. Drama provides a safe environment to test competence in problem solving.

2. Develop Concentration and Involvement:

Students are given opportunities and incentives to extend the limits of their concentration to focus and apply their energies to specific tasks and to assimilate and respond to directions.

3. Develop Social awareness and Cooperation:

Dramatic activity requires the sensitivity and cooperation of participants. Implicitly dramatic situations motivate students to adjust to the needs of others and calls for acceptance and acknowledgement of individuality.

4. Develop Body Awareness:

Activities are geared to exercise and develop gross and fine motor skills. Concentration on specific body parts in isolation and in tension-relaxation exercises promotes the disabled student's kinetic understanding. Space-shape exploration aid in the creative process of discerning how the body works.

5. Develop Communicative Skills:

Creative drama activities stimulate and motivate students to express themselves verbally within a group. Disabled students are taught how to express and interpret non-verbal communication such as facial expressions, gestures, postural changes and mime.

6. Overcoming Inhibitions and Restraining Hyperactivity:

By virtue of the non-threatening environment and the 'magic' of drama, disabled students come out of themselves, participate freely by expressing their ideas, thoughts and feelings. For the hyperactive students, appropriate and inappropriate behaviour is soon self-evaluated because of the non-acceptance or acceptance of the behaviour by both teachers and peers who object to the interference in their activities.

7. Develop Self-Awareness:

Within drama situations students experiment with their bodies. When confronted with limitations students are encouraged to substitute movements without being made to feel inadequate.

8. Provide an Emotional Outlet:

Creative Drama provides a legitimate outlet for emotional expression and serves as a channel for the release of emotional tension. In this way the disabled student is able to accept, manage and express feelings in an acceptable way.

A SYLLABUS FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION/ DISCUSSION:

1. Creative Movement:

Body awareness exercises: tension-relaxation exercises to promote control and flexibility; locomotion from one point to another; exploration of space; rhythmic exercises using appropriate body parts; choral movement and choreographed dance.

2. *Vocalization and Speech*: Sound and movement; abstract sounds; conversation and dialogue; picture interpretation; points of view; one minute talks; project research and presentation.

3. *Sensory Experiences*: Use of creative stimuli to increase perceptual repertoire and to aid in the transition of the concrete to the abstract -- visual, auditory, tactile, gustatory and olfactory exercises.

4. *Observation*: Use senses to identify sensations, feelings, places, characters, objects, human and animal behaviour and store them for recall in other situations.

5. *Story*: Plot construction; introduction to conflict; management of conflicts; relationship of events; motivation; justification for action; relationship of characters; theme.

6. *Improvisation*: Story telling; story dramatisation; small group planning and execution; large group planning and execution; story-go-along.

7. *Characterizations*: Use observation, imitation, sensitivity to develop self awareness, social awareness and understanding of others. Develop: observation, believability,

identification, physicalization, vocalisation, emotionalization, relationship to story, relationship to other characters.

8. *Role-Playing*: Reconstruct real situations which occurred or could occur in student's life; students play either themselves or familiar characters.

LESSON PLANS:

Lesson plans should be formulated which best serve the needs, interests, limitations and abilities of each individual group of children. Since each group is unique in its own way, the type of approach used in a lesson plan, the content of the lesson, structure and techniques would vary accordingly.

A. The Lesson Plan:

1.   *The Activity Approach*: Order and structure a variety of drama activities that are not thematically related.

2.   *The Thematic Approach*: Each class is self contained and all activities should relate to a theme established for that class.

3.   *Participatory Drama Approach*: Lessons in which the 'audience' through its verbal and non-verbal response to the 'actors' determines the outcome of the play.

4.   *Playbuilding*: Use experiential drama approach to process building of plays related to issues and events that directly affect the position of disabled persons in society. Using the Ngugi wa Mirii methodological approach in Theatre for Development in terms of problem identification, problem analysis, creation of a story line, improvisation of the story, rehearsal of story, performance, discussion and action should also be the direction playbuilding would take with disabled students (Hoosain, 1992).

B. Teaching methods and Techniques:

1. *Use of visual aids*: In building from the concrete to the abstract.

2   *Use of Auditory Stimuli*: In improving auditory perceptual skills, particularly for the building of listening, attending, memory skills, recognition of background and foreground sounds and voice recognition.

3. *Use of Music*: To assist with the development of gross motor skills for dance movements and fine motor coordination in occupational mime work. Taped songs, with written copies of the words of songs help with the learning of words, memory and recall.

4. *Use of Charts, Objects*: To enable students to follow directions, and recall sequences.

5. *Use of leading questions*: To draw student responses.

6. *Use of Positive Reinforcement*: To contribute to a non-threatening, reassuring environment.

CONCLUSION:

Teaching *through* drama and not just teaching *of* drama provided a forum within which students were able to release their public voice. This is not a claim for theatre/ drama as a panacea for all the ills of the world, but it is one stimulus that was found to be useful in confidence building, and a means for disabled persons to recognize their self worth and assert themselves as they should. In the words of one of the students, if it "had not been for drama, I would have shut myself in and not have spoken to my family , my friends, my teachers and the whole wide world. It would have been my loss and theirs too" (Shoba). Using a critical drama approach encouraged the investigation of social, political and cultural features which were taken for granted in respect of the social self, society and the dialectical relationship between the two.

The critical drama approach was found to contain within it elements also found within actional-research methodology. The mode of enquiry encouraged a cyclic or spiral approach to discovery, which involved a process of problem-solving through action and reflection. This type of Freirian problem-solving education began with the reality of what the students already knew, with the teacher facilitating the students to move beyond that reality. Dialogue was an indispensable part of the process, where the students were treated as subjects capable of acting upon and transforming the world (Freire, 1972).

An ethnographic methodological framework was used to investigate the social world of disabled students. The primary feature was for the students to continually interpret and make sense of their world. In this way shared beliefs, practices, artefacts, folk knowledge and behaviours of groups of people were examined by the students. The classroom drama sessions captured the ways in which the students struggled to 'make meaning' through their life stories and story-telling. Drama practice in the classroom was based on the premise that knowledge could not just be 'transmitted', but had to be 'constructed' around the experiences of each individual in class (Wells, 1986; Hornbrook, 1989). Finally, drama in the curriculum developed:

*   confidence in the students;
*   sense of personal achievement and success;
*   Group awareness and trust within the group;
*   the ability to make choices, decisions and to take action;
*   an extension of personal and interactional social skills outside the classroom;
*   competence in the mode of performance.

While this study advocates a critical drama paradigm, it does not deny other orientations towards the practice of drama. It was not within the scope of this research to draw comparisons with other approaches that constitute contemporary practices that may be engaged in at schools.

Therefore this study leaves scope for further investigation in this field. An actional-research project, implementing the establishment of drama across a number of schools for physicaly disabled persons, and its effects on teaching practice could help promote the inclusion of drama within the curriculum. A comparison between process oriented approach to drama in special schools as opposed to the product oriented practice would also offer proof to the value of drama within the curriculum. In conclusion, the inclusion of drama within the special school curriculum is well overdue. Critical drama pedagogy offers hope to those educators who are seeking more egalitarian teacher-power relationships, greater student enablement, and a significant exploration of social, cultural and political issues. A socially critical view can provide useful direction for drama education in the 1990s and the future.

Appendix 1
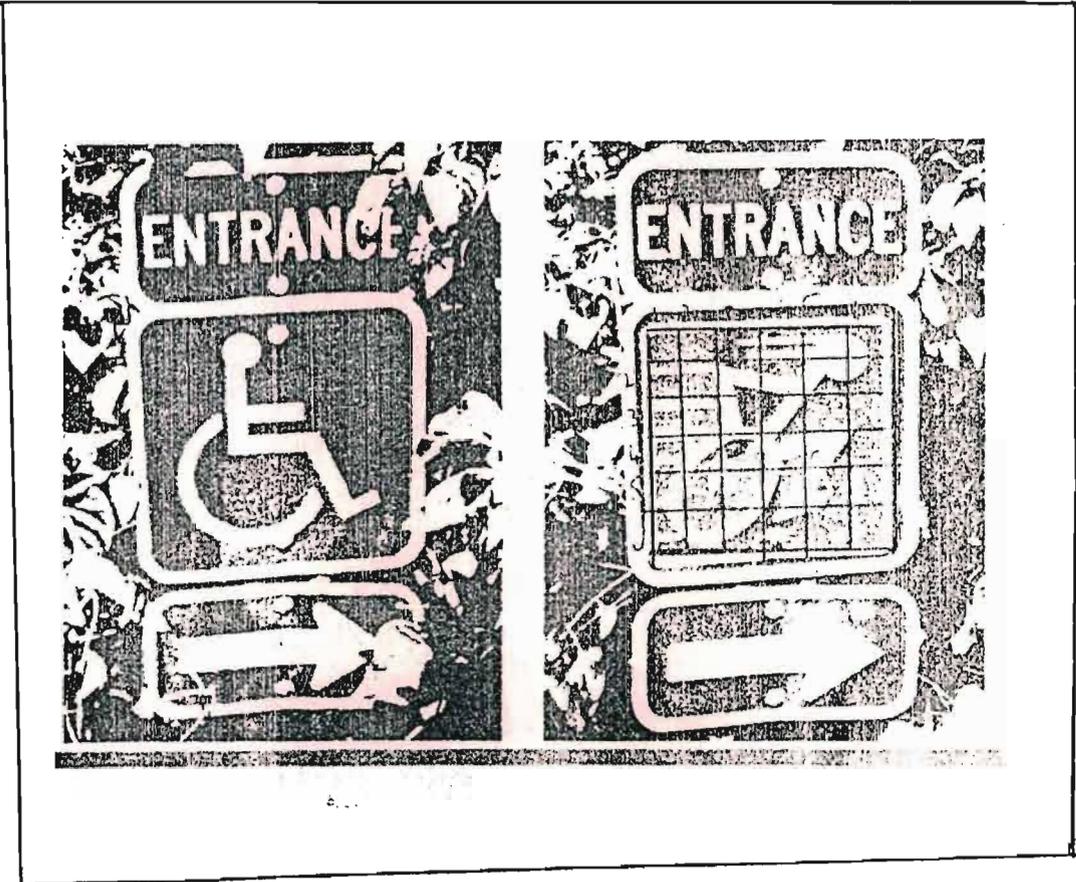
sabled
:ople
)uth
·rica

Office of the
Secretary General

314 Oxford Street
East London 520·
South Africa

Tel. (0431) 43-1579
Fax (0431) 29470

January 1993

WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

bi-ennial congress of Disabled People South Africa held in
nzimtoti in September 1992 was privileged to witness a dramatic
sentation by pupils of the Clare State School for the Physically
abled entitled `A Call to be Heard´.

all present it was a deeply moving experience which had a decisive
act on the congress. We had spent many hours debating the content
the South African Disability Rights Charter, a document expressing
demands of disabled citizens of a post-apartheid South Africa.

presentation by the children had the effect of reminding the
egates of the harsh present reality for disabled people, and the
ency of more militant, immediate action. The presentation was the
ce of disabled children and young people, only too aware of the
dship which the future will mean for them.

fact that the congress later embarked on an impromptu protest
ion for the recognition of the rights of disabled people which
ught the Durban city centre to a standstill was unquestionably
luenced by `A Call to be Heard´.

ave no hesitation in commending the group concerned, their teachers
supporters and the dramatic method employed.
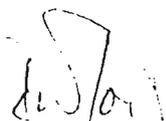
: DU TOIT
:ETARY GENERAL

Appendix 3

QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME OF SCHOOL:_____

NAME:_____ POSITION: _____

ADDRESS:_____ TEL.NO._____

1. SCHOOL COMPOSITION:J.P.____;S.P.____;JUN.SEC.___;
   SEN.SEC.___;OTHER_____

2. WHAT IS THE SCHOOL POPULATION?_____;BOYS____;GIRLS___;

3. MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION:
   ENG____;AFRIF____;ZULU___;OTHER____.

4. HOW MANY QUALIFIED DRAMA TEACHERS DO YOU HAVE AT THE
   SCHOOL?_____

5. IS DRAMA AS A SUBJECT TAUGHT AT THE SCHOOL?_____

6. IF YES, WHAT ASPECTS ARE USED? MOVEMENT___;MIME____;ROLE
   PLAY_____; OTHER_____.

7. IF DRAMA AS A SUBJECT IS NOT TAUGHT GIVE REASONS WHY NOT?

_____

_____

8.LIST POSSIBLE DIFFICULTIES YOU MAY ENCOUNTER IF DRAMA AS A
SUBJECT WERE TO BE INTRODUCED AT THE SCHOOL.

_____

_____

_____

9. DO YOU HAVE DRAMA CLUBS/GROUPS/SOCIETIES/CLASSES AFTER
SCHOOLHOURS?_____

10. HOW OFTEN DO THEY MEET AND WHAT ARE THEIR ACTIVITIES?

_____

_____

11.ARE DRAMATIZATION TECHNIQUES USED IN TEACHING? _____

12.IF SO, IN WHICH SUBJECTS AND HOW OFTEN?

_____

13.WHAT HAVE YOU FOUND TO BE THE VALUE OF DRAMA AS A TEACHING
METHOD? (Write on back of page if space insufficient)

_____

_____

14.IS ORAL COMMUNICATION PART OF THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM? _____

15.WHAT FORM DOES IT TAKE? POETRY READING____;READING
   ALOUD___;DEBATES____; IMPROMPTU/PREPARED SPEECHES___; SHOW AND
   TELL___; PROJECTS____;OTHER____.

16.DO PUPILS PRESENT DRAMATIC PRODUCTIONS TO PARENTS/PUBLIC?___

17.WHAT FORM DO THESE TAKE? VARIETY CONCERTS____;THEME
   PROGRAMMES____;ONE ACT PLAYS____;FULL LENGTH PLAYS____;OTHER____;

18.AT WHAT OCCASIONS ARE THEY PRESENTED?

   _____

   _____

19.WHAT IS THE FREQUENCY OF PRESENTATION?
   ANNUALLY_____; BI-ANNUALLY_____;MORE_____.

20.WHAT DIFFICULTIES, IF ANY, HAVE YOU ENCOUNTERED BEFORE OR
   DURING THESE PRESENTATIONS?

   _____

   _____

   _____

21.ARE PUPILS EXPOSED TO THEATRE IN EDUCATION?_____

22.HOW OFTEN DO PUPILS ATTEND THESE PRODUCTIONS? AT
   SCHOOL_____OUTSIDE SCHOOL_____.

23.IN WHAT WAYS HAVE THE PUPILS BENEFITTED FROM THESE
   PERFORMANCES?

   _____

   _____

24.WOULD YOU REQUIRE IN-SERVICE TRAINING FOR THE TEACHING OF SPEECH AND
DRAMA?_____

25.WHAT FORM SHOULD IT TAKE?

   _____

   _____

   _____

PROGRAM

SATURDAY - 8 AUGUST 1992

8.30	TEA AND REGISTRATION
9 - 10	DRAMA ACROSS THE CURRICULUM - SAM MOODLEY
10 - 12	MIME - SIGNIFICANCE AND APPLICATION - ELLIS PEARSON
12 - 1.	LUNCH BREAK
1. - 3	USE OF RHYTHM AND MUSIC -SIVA DEVA
3. - 3.30	DISCUSSION

SUNDAY - 9 AUGUST 1992

8.30	TEA
9 -10.30	LANGUAGE DEV: THROUGH DRAMA LORAINE SINGH
10.30 - 11.30	MOVEMENT AND SPATIAL AWARENESS GISELLE TURNER
11.30 - 1.	MASK MAKING AND USE IN DRAMA LESSONS WENDY NELL
1. - 1.30	DISCUSSION

Science Project - Nature Care
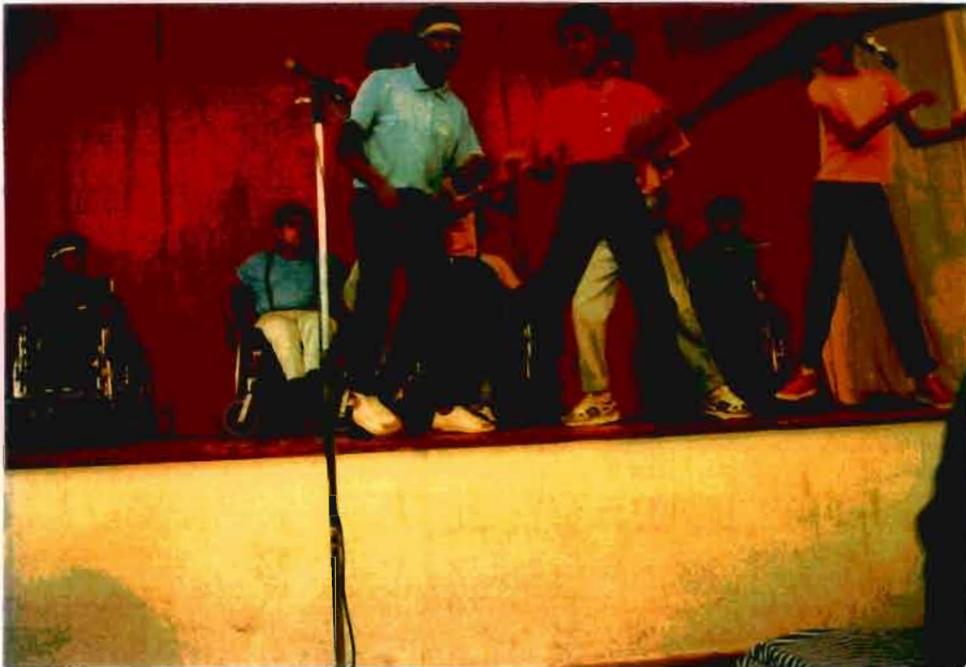
Movement and Rhythm

A Call to be Heard

Talk of the School

Allen,R.M.et al(1962)   Psychological Evaluation of the
                           Cerebral Palsied Person.Charles C.
                           Thomas Publishing Co.Illinois.

Anderson,E.M.(1982)   Disability in Adolescence. Methuen.
                           London.

Argyris,C.(1970)   Intervention Method Theory: A
                           Behavioural Science View. Addison
                           and Wesley. Massachusettes.

Arnold. E.(1978)   Helping Parents Help their
                           Children. Bruner Mazel Inc.,
                           New York.

Bantock,G.H.(1968)   Culture, Industrialisation and
                           Education. Routledge and Kegan.
                           London.

Barthes,R. (1963)   Mythologies. Paladin. London.

Bayes, K. and
Franklin, S.   (1971)   Designing for the Handicapped.
                           Godwin Ltd. London.

Biko,S.(1978)   I Write What I Like. A Selection
                           of his Writings. Heinemann
                           London.(Ed: Stubbs,A.)

Blaxter. M. (1980)   The meaning of Disability.
                           Heinemann.London.

Boal,A.(1979)   Theatre of the Oppressed. Pluto
                           Press. London.

Bolton,G.M.(1980)   Towards a Theory of Drama in
                           Education.Longmans. London.

Boylan,E.(1991)   Woman and Disability.Zed Books.
                           London.

Brah,A. and Hoy,J.(1989)   Experiential Learning:A New
                           Orthodoxy? in "Making Sense of
                           Experiential Learning." Weill and
                           Mcgill(Eds). Open University.
                           Milton Keynes.

Breen,M.(1987)   Definitions and Functions of Myths
                           in Mass Media.(article).Media
                           Development.

Brisenden,S.(1986)   Independent Living and the Medical
                           Model.in Disability, Handicap and
                           Society.Vol.1.(2) pg.173-178.

Brown,S.E.(1992) Creating a Disability Mythology.International Journal of Rehabilitation Research. Vol.15.pg.227-233.

Bulhan,H.A.(1985) Frantz Fanon and the Psychology of Oppression.Plenum Press. New York.

Burgdorf,R.(1980) The Legal Rights of Handicapped Persons:Cases, Materials and Texts.Paul H. Brooks. Baltimore.

Bury,M.R.(1979) Disablement in Society. International Journal of Rehabilitation Research. Vol.2(1)pg.34-40.

Campling,J.(1981) Images of Ourselves:Women with Disabilities Talking.Routledge and Kegan.Billing and Sons.London.

Carr,J.A.(1981) Coping with Handicap-Searching for the Boundaries.Plenum Press. New York.

Cary, J.R. (1978) How to Create Interiors for the Disabled. Panthean Books. New York.

Clarke,J.B.(1951) Disabled Citizens.Allen and Unwin.London.

Cock, J. (1988) Life Inside the Shell:A Needs Survey of Spinal Cord Injury Wheelchair Users in Soweto (Report)

Coleridge, P. (1993) Disability, Liberation and Development. Oxfam . Oxford.

Courtney, R. (1974) Play, Drama and Thought. Cassell and Collier MacMillan Publishers. London.

Dalrymple, L.I. (1989) Some Thoughts on Identity, Culture and the Curriculum.Unpublished Papers

(1987) Exploration in Drama, Theatre and Education: A Critique of Theatre Studies in S.A. University of Natal, Durban.

Darling, R. B. (1979) Families Against Society - a Study of Reactions to Children with Birth Defects. Sage Publications, U.S.A.

Davies, S. P. (1991) Physical Disabilities and Phychological Adjustment: A Comparison of Traumatically Disabled, Non Traumatically Disabled and Non Disabled Groups. M. A. Thesis, University of P.E.

Davis, D. and
Lawrence, C. (1986) Gavin Bolton, Selected Writings. Longman Inc. New York.

De Loach, C and
Greer, B.G. (1981) Adjustment to Severe Physical Disability - a Metamorphosis. McGraw Hill, U.S.A.

De Jong, Gerben Lifchez
(1981) Environmental Accessibility and Independant Outcomes - Directions for a Disability Policy and Research. Michigan State University U.S.A.

Dodd, N and
Hickson, W (1971) Drama and Theatre in Education. Heinemann Education Books. London.

Dollard, J. and
Miller, N.E.(1980) Personality and Phycho - Theraphy: An analysis in Terms of Learning, Thinking and Culture. McGraw Hill, New York.

Dovey, K and
Graffam,J.(1987) The Experience of Disability: Social Construction and Imposed Limitation. Victoria College Press. Victoria.

Driedger, D. (1989) The Last Civil Rights Movement. C. Hurst and Co. London.

Fanon, F. (1968) Black Skin, White Masks. Paladin Great Britian.

(1967) The Wretched of the Earth. Penguin Great Britain.

Featherstone, H. (1980) A Difference in Family Life with a Disabled Child. Harper and Row Ltd. Great Britain.

Fine , M and
Asch, A (ED) (1988) Women with Disabilites: Essays in Psychology, Culture and Politics. Temple University Press. Philadelphia.

Finkelstein, V. (1980) Attitudes and Disabled People: Issues for Discussion. World Rehabilitation Fund. New York.

Foucault, M.   (1977)   Discipline and Punish: The birth
                           of a Prison. Penguin Books. Great
                           Britain.

Foucault, M. (1982)   The Subject and Power. Afterword
                           to H.L. Dreyfus and P Rainbow.
                            Beyond   Structuralism   and
                           Hermeneutics. Harvester, Brighton.

Freire, P. (1970)   Pedagogy of the Oppressed.   New
                           York.

         (1972)   Cultural Action for Freedom.
                           Penguin. New York

French, S.   (1980)   Disability: Do Professionals Help
                           or Hinder? Therapy Weekly, Vol 13.
                           (35) 4-7.

Gardner, L. and
Bowley A. H.   (1980)   The Handicapped child - Educational
                           and Psychological Guidance for the
                           Organically Handicapped. Churchill
                           Livingstone Inc. New York.

Gibson, R. (1986)   Critical Theory and Education.
                           Hodder and Stoughton. London.

Giroux, H. (1992)   Border Crossings: Cultural Workers
                           and the Politics of Education.
                           Routledge, New York.

Giroux,H.(1985)   Introduction in Freire, "The
                           Politics of Education".   Bergin
                           and Garvey. South Hadley.
                           Massachusetts.

Goffman, E.   (1963)   Stigma: Some Notes on the
                           Management of Spoiled Identity.
                           Harmondsworth. Penguin. London.

Goldenson, R.M. (1978)   Disability and Rehabilitation
                           Handbook. McGraw Hill. New York.

Goldsmith, S. (1967)   Designing for the Disabled. Royal
                           Institute of British Architects.
                           Second Edition. London.

Gove, W.R. (ED) (1975)   The Labelling of Deviance:
                           Evaluating a Perspective. Sage
                           Publications Inc. New York.

Gramsci, A.   (1971)   Selection from Prison Notebooks.
                           Lawrence and Wishart. London.

Grundy, S. (1987)   Curriculum: Product or Praxis. The
                           Falmer Press. Great Britain.

Gulliford, R. (1971)   Special Education Needs. Routledge and Kegan Paul. London and Hendley.

Habermas, J. (1972)   Knowledge and Human Interests. Heinemann. London.

Hale, G. (1979)   The Source Book for the Disabled. Paddington Press. London.

Heathcote, D. (1980)   From the Particular to the Universal in Robinson K (ED). Exploring Theatre and Education. Heinemann. London.

Hevey, D. (1992)   The Creatures Time Forgot: Photography and Disability Imagery. Routledge. London and New York.

Hodgson, J. (1992)   The Uses of Drama: Acting as a Social and Educational Force. Eyre Methuen Ltd. London.

Hoosain, F.H. (1992)   Alternative Cultural Practices in Drama Studies - an Exploratory Study. M.A. (Thesis). University of Natal. Durban.

Hornbrook, D. (1989)   Education and Dramatic Art. Blackwell. Oxford.

Hunt, Paul. (ED) (1966)   Stigma the Experience of Disability. Geoffrey Chapman Ltd. London.

Jaeger,R.M.(Eds.) (1988)   Complementary Methods:For Research in Education.American Educational Research Association.U.S.A.

Jagoe, K. (1987)   Disabled People in a Reorganized Health Care Structure. Critical Health, No. 21. Dec. 1987.pg. 33-39.

Jagoe, K. OCT (1986)   The Disability Rights Movement. Its Development in South Africa. (Paper) OASSA.

Janks, H. (1989)   Language, myth and Development. (Article), Critcal Arts Volume 5 No. 2. University of Natal. Durban

Jansen, Nerina (1989)   Philosophy of Mass Communication Research. Juta & Co.Ltd.Cape Town.

Kent, Deborah (1988)   In Search of a Heroine: Images of a Women with Disabilities in Fiction and Drama. Temple University Press, U.S.A.

Kidd, R. (1984)   From Peoples Theatre for Revolution to Popular Theatre for Reconstruction. Diary of a Zimbabwe Workshop. Toronto.

Knott, Craig.A.   Drama in Education: Its useful Link with the Teaching of ESL (Article). Language Project Review, Vol 4. No.1.

Kolb, D.A. and
Fry, R. (1975)   Toward an applied Theory of Experiential Learning. In Cooper C (ED) Theories of Group Processes. John Wiley. New York.

Lawton, D. (1975)   Class, Culture and the Curriculum. Routledge and Kegan Paul. London.

Leonard, P. (1984)   Personality and Ideology. MacMillan Press, London.

Lever, H. (1968)   Ethnic Attitudes of Johannesburg Youths. Wits University Press.

Levete, G. (1982)   No Handicap to Dance. Souvenir Press. London.

Lewis, V. (1987)   Development and Handicap. Blackwell Ltd. London.

Longmore, Paul K. (1987)   Screening Stereotype Images of Disabled People in Television and Motion Picture in: Carter,A. and Joe, T (ED): Images of the Disabled, Disabling Images. Praeger. New York.

Loring, J and
Burn, G.   (1975)   Integration of Handicapped Children in Society.Routledge and Kegan Paul. London.

Lukes, S. (1973)   Individualism. Basil Blackwell. Oxford.

Malinga,J. (1992)   Decade of Disabled People. The Role of Disabled People Internaional and the Empowerment of the Disabled. (Paper) Rehabilitation International 17th Congress. Nairobi. Kenya.

Manzo,K. (1992) Global Power and South African Politics: Foucouldian Analysis. in Alternative-Vol.17, pg. 67-93.

Matthew,B.et al.(1984) Qualitative Data Analysis: a Sourcebook of New Methods. Sage Publications. U.S.A.

Mauss, A.L. (1975) Social Problems as Social Movements. Philadelphia. Lippincott.

McConkey, R and
McCormack, B. (1983) Breaking Barriers: Educating People about Disability. Souvenir Press. London.

McDaniel, J.W. (1969) Physical Disability and Human Behaviour. Pergamon Press Inc. U.S.A.

McGregor, L. (1977) Learning through Drama. Heinemann. London.

McLaren, P. and
Leonard, P.(Eds)(1993) Paulo Freire: A Critical Encounter. Routledge. London.

Memmi, A. (1965) The Colonizer and the Colonized. Orion Press Inc. U.S.A.

Morgan, N. and
Faxton, J. (1987) Teaching Drama: A mind of many Wonders. Hutchinson . London.

Morris, J. (1991) Pride against Prejudice. The Women's Press. London.

Mussen, P.H. and
Barker R.G. (1944) Attitudes towards Cripples. Abnormal Social Psychology, vol 39, No.3.

Neelands, J. (1984) Making Sense of Drama. Heinemann Educational Books. London.

Nkomo, Mokubung (Ed)
(1990) Pedagogy of Domination: Towards Democratic Education in South Africa. Africa World Press Inc.

Nicholas, L.J. and
Cooper, S (1990) Psychology and Apartheid. Vision Publications. Johannesburg.

O' Connor, Alan (1989) Raymond Willams' Writing: Culture.Politics. Basil Blackwell Ltd. Oxford.

O'Weill, C. and
Lambert, A.(1982)   Drama Structures: A practical
                     Handbook for Teachers. Hutchinson
                     and Co. London.

O'Sullivan, T. (1983)   Key Concepts in Communication.
                         Methuen. London.

Parmar, P.   (1992)   Black Feminism: The Politics of
                       Articulation in Bell Hooks: Black
                       Looks, Race and Representation.
                       South End Press. Boston.

Perkins, T.E. (1979)   Rethinking   Stereotypes: In
                        Ideology and Cultural Production.
                        Michelle Barret et al(Eds). Croom
                        Helen. London.

Pieterse, J.N.(1993)   Power and Image.   Lecture at
                        CCMS. University of Natal.

Purkey, W.W.   (1970)   Self   Concept   and   School
                         Achievement.   Prentice   Hall
                         Englewood Cliffs. New Jersey.

Robinson,K.   (1980)   Exploring   Theatre   Education.
                        Heinemann. London.

Roessler, R. and
Bolston, B.(1978)   Psycho-Social   Adjustment   to
                     Disability.   University   Park
                     Press. Baltimore.

Russell, P.   (1978)   The Wheelchair Child.   Souvenir
                        Press. Great Britain.

Safilios-Rothschild, C.
            (1970)   The   Sociology   and   Social
                      Psychology   of   Disablity   and
                      Rehabilititation. Random House.
                      New York.

Sayer, J. (1986)   Ideology: The Bridge between Theory
                    and Practice. Community Development
                    Journal. 21(4) pg.295-304.

Schostak, F.(Ed)(1988)   Breaking into the Curriculum: The
                          Impact of Information Technology
                          on Schooling. Methview. London.

Shearer, Ann. (1981)   Disability,   Whose   Handicap?
                        Basil Blackwell Publisher Ltd.

Shor, I.   (1993)   Education is Politics in: Paulo
                     Freire A Critical Encounter.
                     McLaren, P. and Leaonard,P.(Eds).
                     Routledge. London.

Siller, J.   (1963)   <u>Reactions to Physical Disability.</u>
                                Rehabilitation Council Bulletin,
                                Pages 7 - 17.

Slade, P.   (1980)   <u>Child   Drama.</u>   Hodder   and
                                Stroughton. Great Britain.

Stabler, Tom. (1978)   <u>Drama   in   Primary   Schools.</u>
                                MacMillan Educational Ltd.

Steadman,I. (1989)   <u>Popular Culture and Performance.</u>
                                in   Rethinking   Culture
                                (Tomaselli,K.ed.)   Anthropos
                                Publishers. Bellville.

Stubbs, A. (ED)(1978)   <u>Steve Biko: I Write what I Like.</u>
                                Heinemann. London.

Susser, M. and
Watson, W   (1971)   <u>Sociology in Medicine.</u>   Oxford
                                University Press. London.

Sutherland, A.J. (1981)   <u>Disabled We Stand.</u>   Souvenir
                                Press. Great Britain.

Thomas, David. (1982)   <u>The   Experience   of   Handicap.</u>
                                Longman Group Ltd. New York.

Tomaselli, K. and
Tomaselli, R.   (1985)   <u>Media Reflections of Ideology.</u>
                                University of Natal. CCSU.

Tomaselli, K. and
Muller, J.   (1987)   <u>Class, Race and Oppression:</u>
                                <u>Metaphor and Metonymy in Black</u>
                                <u>South   African   Theatre.</u>   In
                                Critcal   Arts   Vol. 4   No.3
                                Durban.

Tomaselli,K.(ed)(1988)   <u>Rethinking   Culture.</u>   Anthropos
                                Publishers. Bellville.

Tomaselli, K.G.   (1993)   <u>Appropriating   Images: The</u>
                                <u>Limitations   of   Visual</u>
                                <u>Anthropology.</u>   Anthropos.
                                Bellville.

Tomaselli,R.(1988,1993)   <u>Notes on a Reading of Gramsci,s</u>
                                <u>Selections from Prison notebooks.</u>
                                CCMS. Durban.

Tomlinson, R.   (1982)   <u>Disability,   Theatre   and</u>
                                <u>Education.</u>   Souvenir   Press.
                                London.

Topliss, EDA.   (1982)   <u>Social   Response   to   Handicap.</u>
                                Longman Group Ltd. New York.

Vargo. J. (1978)   Some Psychological Effects of
                            Physical Disability.   Amer..can
                            Journal of Occupational Theraphy.
                            32(1), pg 31 - 34.

Volosinov, V.N. (1981)   The study of Ideologies and
                            Philosophy of Language.   in
                            Bernett, T. et AL (Eds): Culture,
                            Ideology and Social Process.
                            Open University Press.   London.

Wagner, B.J. (1979)   Dorothy Heathcote: Drama as a
                            Learning Medium.   Hutchinson &
                            Co. London.

Way, B (1967)   Development   through   Drama.
                            Longmans, Green & Co.   London.

Weil and McGill (ED's)   Making Sense of Experiential
                            Learning.

Wells, G.   (1986)   The Meaning Makers: Children
                            Learning Language and Using
                            Language to Learn.   Heinemann.
                            Portsmouth.

Werner, D. (Sep 1992)   Meeting the Needs of Disabled
                            People in Developing Countries.
                            Keynote Address, Rehabilitation -
                            International   Yearly   Meeting.
                            Nairobi. Kenya.

Whitaker, D.(Ed)(1985)   Teaching   about   Prejudice.
                            Minority   Rights   Group   Ltd.
                            London.

Willams, P. et AL (1992)   We Can Speak For Ourselves.
                            Souvenir Press. London.

Willams, R.   (1977)   Marxism and Literature.   Oxford
                            University Press.

World Health
Organisation (1980)   International Classification of
                            Impairments   Disablities   and
                            Handicap   -   A   manual   of
                            Classificaton Relating to the
                            Consequence of Disease.   Her
                            Majesty's   Stationery   Office.
                            London.

Wright, Beatrice,A.
        (1992)   Physical   Disability   A
                            Psychosocial Approach.   (2nd
                            Edition) Hasrper and Row.   New
                            York.

Yuker, H. (1965)   <u>Attitudes   as   Determinants   of</u> <u>Behaviour.</u>   Journal Rehabilitation No. 31.

Zola, I.K. (1987)   <u>Depictions   of   Disability</u> <u>Metaphor, Message and Medium in</u> <u>the Media: A Research and</u> <u>Political   Agenda</u> (Paper). Brandeis University.