

Disability, Development and the Arts. A case study of the normative design of a developmental organisation (Very Special Arts- Kwazulu Natal).

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INTRODUCTION

The occurrence of disability has long been treated as isolated incidents of 'bad fortune'. However people with disabilities experience strikingly similar levels of discrimination. This similarity of experience dictates the need for disability to be addressed as a category. Since this category is ill-addressed, misunderstood and largely ignored, it is important for any investigation into disability to be preceded by an investigation into the nature of 'disability discrimination'.

Disability scholars are just beginning to decode the myths and stereotypes surrounding people with disabilities. It is due to these myths and stereotypes that discriminatory practices against people with disabilities are fuelled. Therefore, people with disabilities still suffer isolation, poverty and frustration because the root cause of disablement is unchecked or unchallenged.

In order to reverse disablement¹, challenges need to be made at key levels of society. In terms of government, much work is needed in this sector in relation to expelling discriminatory practices against people with disabilities. Poverty, the lack of proper aids for people with disabilities and job creation are also areas that need attention.

However, most disability scholars agree that the 'cultural front' is the most constructive battle ground for 'disabling disablement'. (Campbell & Oliver, 1995) Non- governmental organisations (NGO's), volunteer organisations and civic organisations play a vital role in this regard for such organisations "emphasize the participation of the poor. NGO's seek to represent the voice of the weak and help them organise in their communities to achieve a more powerful voice in the making of decisions and the allocating of resources" (Clark, 1995: 593).

Very Special Arts-KwaZulu Natal is a volunteer organisation that works with disability and development. While acknowledging the value of such organisations, it is crucial also to assess their effectiveness. This study investigates the effectiveness of Very Special Arts-KwaZulu Natal by comparing the organisations normative design² to it's practise. In doing so, the study attempts to provide a critique that the organisation may use in order to raise it's level of effectiveness and efficiency.

Chapter One investigates the nature of disability and in so doing attempts to redefine disability. The first section will trace the historical constructions of people with disabilities as an 'othered' group. The identity of people with disabilities have become inextricably tied to deformity, deviancy and illness.

This section employs a Marxist interpretation of disablement which will integrate a 'psycho-social' approach. The aim of this is to demystify the social construction of people with disabilities as 'deformed' 'deviant' and 'ill' people and thereby explode the myth that people with disabilities are 'useless, unproductive' bodies. The second section will be used as a space to clarify terms and aspects specifically related to disability. Actual terminology will be interrogated in relation to semantics and to related psychological implications. Images of disability and issues of 'normalisation' will also be investigated here. The third section contextualises disability in South Africa and in KwaZulu Natal. This section is relevant to the study because it provides a foundation for determining the effectiveness of Very Special Arts - KwaZulu Natal.

Chapter Two investigates the notion of development. The first section will sketch development paradigms from the early 1950's and will end with by endorsing the participatory paradigm of development. This section will also investigate and critique specific development techniques. The second section integrates disability, development and the arts. Here disability is ascribed with a development status and the medium of the arts is submitted as a crucial forum for the development of people with disabilities. The third section describes the organisation Very Special Arts in terms of the local and international context.

Chapter Three focuses on the study. The first section outlines the research methodology and methods used in this study. The second section provides a theoretical overview together with an analysis of the various issues investigated. The third section consolidates the analysis into a list of findings.

Chapter Four deals with tentative explanations and solutions, where the first section furnishes tentative recommendations based on the findings of the study.

²Normative design refers to the plan that an organisation may have which gives it direction in terms of how it direction in terms of how it ought to operate and what it ought to do.

The second section explores the lacunas in relation to this study and gives an overview of the possible directions that future research could take.

The Conclusion reiterates the plight of people with disabilities and urges organisations related to disability and development to constantly reassess their normative design in order to maximise their efficiency and effectiveness.

CHAPTER ONE: REDEFINING DISABILITY

1.1. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES:

When entering into the discourse of disablement,³ it is significant to note that history has been silent on the matter of disability. Issues in relation to what disabilities were constructed as in the past, i.e. where people with disabilities were positioned in societies and the roles they have played remains either absent from or inadequately addressed in the current histories offered to us. This in itself is an important and telling factor in the attempt to reconstruct what disability meant in the past. In history as with academia, as with the political and social world, people with disabilities have been hidden away from most aspects of mainstream, public life. "Just as women and black people have discovered that they must write their own histories, so too with disabled people. Only then will we have an adequate framework in which to locate [ourselves]." (Oliver, 1990: xi)

Deconstructing disability is a difficult exercise, because the oppression of people with disabilities operates on so many levels and these issues have been concealed simultaneously. Issues of 'body', psychology, ability, medicalisation and a long list of related matters form a quagmire of terminology that requires strategic mapping. Hence we begin again at a paradoxical place: where chronology seems like a useful solution, but subsequent findings indicate that history is not disability friendly.

Brian S. Turner (1992: 16) deconstructs the body in the following way, "the body as organism, the body as potentiality, the body as a system of representation and the body as lived experience". In order to decode disability this is an invaluable deconstruction of the body. Using 'the body as a system of representation' (Turner, 1992: 16) and various religions' treatment of disability, a picture will be created of what disability was seen as and why it was so treated.

³*Disablement is a term used to clarify that it is societal ideologies that create and perpetuate myths of people with disabilities. These myths of people with disabilities being unable to function productively and therefore act as useless individuals, are constructs that have a social, cultural and economic basis. Terms related to disability will be further clarified in section 1.2.*

For the Greeks, stigma referred to bodily signs that called attention to some moral failing on the part of the person bearing them. Signs, often cut or burned into the body, were intended to cause other people to avoid the bearer. (Ainlay, Becker and Coleman, 1986: 3)

This immediately sets up a link between stigmas and disability, since most disabilities are 'bodily signs'(Ainlay, Becker and Coleman, 1986: 3), that is perceived, for various constructed reasons, to connote evil, illness and subsequently inability.

Disability and illness are linked to causes of a negative, evil signification. To the ancient Hebrews, illness and physical defect marked a person as a sinner.

Twelve blemishes are enumerated in the Bible that disqualified a priest from officiating. Among those mentioned are "a blind man, or a lame". It was a strict commandment of the Old Testament that "The blind and the lame shall not come into the house". Illness was considered both a punishment and a means of atonement. The Hindu theological concept of Dharma explains an existing personal condition as the inevitable result of past behaviour." (Wright, 1983:66)

As late as the seventeenth or eighteenth century parents of physically disabled persons in Europe were accused of delving with witchcraft. Even today in South Africa remnants of these attitudes still prevail. Within Zulu culture the living are required to maintain good relations with their ancestors. Failure to do so invokes misfortune, ill health and adversity. The Zulu people, therefore, do not regard sickness and suffering as natural, but rather as consequence of failure to maintain cordial relations with the dead. (Moodley, S., 1994: 18-19)

From this scant historical-cultural overview, it can be seen that disability, in and of itself, was not addressed. However, depending on the hegemony⁴ existing at a specific time, disability was used in different ways as an icon or a signifier to mean or represent something else. In these cases, negative images of disability were constructed on the following premises.

Firstly, that the body was an outward representation of the mind and the soul and if the outward appearance was different or distorted from the 'normal' or 'typical' body, than the assumption was that the distorted body was an outward reflection of a distorted soul.

⁴"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 cited in Moodley, S, 1994: 20)

Hence there is a connection of disability with evil and negativity.

Secondly, the idea that disability is caused through past misdemeanours indicates that disability is an unenviable and deserved state. The issue of blame crops up frequently in the arena of disablement, where disability is seen as the manifestation of somebody's error. This translates disability into a signification of punishment. 'Normalcy' is seen as a state produced by positive factors, i.e. by God, or by establishing good relations with ancestors or by establishing a good past life. However, Disability is seen as a state produced by negative factors, i.e. by some evil force, or by establishing bad relations with ancestors or by having bad past life track record. Therefore, given the 'religious history'⁵ of disability, it is easy for notions of deformity, illness and deviancy to become conflated with the 'disabled state'. These fundamental notions related to disability form a strong foundation for how disability ie

perceived and constructed up until the present.

"Ideological conditioning structures of capitalism induce in the individual an acceptance of alienated labour as natural, rather than as historically constructed." (Leonard, 1984: 79) As Leonard indicates, a state of existence does not transpire naturally but is intricately tied up to historical, cultural and political constructed ideologies. Although disability theorists do not sanction any singular materialist explanation of disability, using a Marxist perspective as a starting point is useful in sketching a historical picture of how disability comes to be regarded as it is presently.

The next significant movement in West which brought a whole new set of variables to bear on disability, not only sustained previous notions but created 'new and improved' constructions of disability was the industrial revolution. The industrial revolution fundamentally changed Western society and irrevocably changed disability to disablement.⁶ Marxist analysis of the industrial society revealed that people were predetermined by capitalist forces to fit into the capitalist hierarchy. Interfacing disability and Marxist theory produces very pertinent results that impinge on the current treatment and attitudes towards

⁵The phrase 'religious history' is meant to indicate the similar ways in which various religions treated disability or 'disabilities' encounter with religion.

⁶'Disablement' refers to the process by which people with disabilities, irrespective of their skills or potential, are stereotypically constructed as non-productive, 'unable' and useless people in society.

people with disabilities. People with disabilities have not had good relations with capitalist economic practices simply because of the logic of capitalism. People with disabilities may have had more employment opportunities prior to the rise of capitalism. This was through easier absorption into rural working life, where repetitive chores and tasks focussing on tactile skills incorporated people with disabilities without much specialised training. (Oliver, 1990: 26-27) The industrial age brought defined skills, congested living spaces and the formation of the 'productive-reproductive-consumptive' subject. This had dire consequences for people with disabilities. The transformation of "undifferentiated" (Stone, 1984: 179) casual labour to highly organised, "modifiable and manipulable human material whose yield could be steadily enlarged" resulted in the redefinition of subjects who were disabled. (Stone, 1984: 179)

In order to reorganise society into a productive and differentiated workforce, skills-based categories were developed to categorise the productive worth of individual subjects. People with disabilities were on the lowest rungs of productivity, if they were deemed employable at all. "The map of disability used by social programs implicitly matched individual capacities to the

physical and mental requirements of available work." (Stone, 1984: 179)

Leonard (1984) uses a Marxist perspective to give a materialist analysis of personality and determination. He argues that the three major social determinants were the economy, the family and the state. In relation to the economy - the first site of determination, people are determined by their 'production - consumption' role, where "productive, social reproductive and commodity consumption" are the main driving forces behind capital accumulation and individuals within society are forced into a 'productive role'. "Wage labour provides a primary means of material subsistence. Low levels of material subsistence have physically and psychologically damaging effects upon the individual: nutritional deficiency, anxiety and depression." (Leonard, 1984: 110-111) Consumption sustains capital accumulation and the consequence of an individual's consumption is to "link consumption to self-identity and social status" (Leonard, 1984: 110-111).

The second determining site is the family where "hierarchies involving subordinacy and control" are legitimated through the process of psychological and ideological conditioning. This conditioning extends to the wider societal arena, where individuals are conditioned into accepting the existing social order. (Leonard, 1984:112)

The third determining site is that of the state which operates in the following way.

The state will overall further the long-term interests of capital, the state's activities will reflect a contradiction between interests of the ruling classes and groups, and the concessions secured by subordinate classes and groups. The weakest groups politically will have their interests least represented in state activities. A major activity of the state which directly affects individuals is its maintenance of law and order and the control of deviance. Ideologies of law, of the family, of mental health and of physical fitness underpin the material practices of medicine, welfare, education and the penal system. Individual deviants may be responded to by 'treatment', by containment in institutions or through segregation and ghettoisation, or by being 'rehabilitated' to become agents of control themselves. (Leonard, 1984: 112-113)

Applying these conceptual tools to analysing the historical contexts of disability, it can be seen that in the first instance of economy determining the individual, people with disabilities are 'productively' disabled. People with disabilities are rated as unemployable through the equation of skills with mental and physical capacity. The assumptions of capitalist discourses around the workforce are never really interrogated, therefore allowing erroneous perceptions of people with disabilities as having a lack of skills, mental and physical capacities to exist.

The result of this is that people with disabilities have no means of material subsistence and therefore they cannot be consumers. In these two ways, people with disabilities are pushed out of mainstream capitalist cycles of production and consumption. The collective ramifications of capitalism on disability will be addressed later in this section.

As non-productive members of a now industrialised society, people with disabilities now are deemed as a burden. In the second instance of determination, the site of the family has been introduced and it is at this site that part of the burden of people with disabilities is carried. In the site of the family the socialisation process bolsters the existing social order. Besides reinforcing other patriarchal, capitalist ideologies, it teaches 'normalcy' as a preferred and enviable body condition and disability as the burdensome and horribly negative condition. The family is the site where the reproduction of the labour force occurs. (Althusser, 1971: 124-125) This has important implications for disability. Disability has been constructed as an unenviable disorder that promotes unproductivity. Although capital itself has played a major role in constructing disabled people as such, unproductivity has exigent consequences. Capitalism only tolerates unproductivity in certain circumstances.⁷ People with disabilities are, in this second instance, pushed out of the reproductive role of economically determined societies because of the danger of reproducing members of society who might share similar impairments as their 'disabled' parent/s. Capitalist perceptions would reveal a danger of allowing this to go on unchecked. As such a situation would result in the reproduction of a 'contaminated' workforce that is unable to continue participating in an ever increasing production yield. This links directly to the third site of determination which is the state. Leonard's statement on the interest of the state is exposed clearly in this specific case of disability. "The state will overall further the long-term interests of capital." (Leonard, 1984: 112-113) Here legislatures were introduced around disability and involuntary sterilisation, meaning that the reproductive capacity of the individual with a disability was decided upon by the state. This state intervention reveals its collusion with the dominant ideology - patriarchal capitalism, and that the weakest of its groups - the disability sector, has its interests least represented by the state. However, this group is paradoxically controlled by state apparatuses. This can be explained through an understanding of the intersection of two notions of disability functioning simultaneously, i.e. as a weak group within the society and as a deviant group in society, where the state acts on both those capacities.

A theory of ideology as a social process [that] 'interpellates' or speaks to us. Ideologies, both subject us to the social order and prepare (or 'qualify') us for participation in it by telling us (a) what exists and what nature, society, men and women are like, (b) what is good, right, just, beautiful and enjoyable and its opposites, and what is possible and impossible. (Leonard, 1984: 107)

From this it may be determined that the ideology of patriarchal capitalism assigns roles for people to play. However these categorisations are not absolute in relation to providing central roles for the whole range of people that exist at any specific moment in time. Leonard (1984) argues that if one does appear in any central role, then one would be subjected to an "involuntary subordinate" status of "marginality".

People with disabilities, the aged, people who cannot work and those who will not

⁷ *The ways in which capitalism tolerates unproductivity, i.e. as a reserve pool of labour to be pulled in and pushed out according to supply and demand of emergency situations will be discussed at length later.*

work form part of a group that experience this type of economic and social exclusion. This social and economic exclusion has serious consequences in terms of obtaining material sustenance and the result of it generally is poverty. "We now associate non-work with ageing, indolence and incompetence." (Topliss, 1982: 115) There is a very real connection between non-work and perceptions of burdensomeness to the institutions of the state and the family due the lack of economic activity. For people with disabilities this is enhanced because with the lack of economic activity disability also comes with needs⁸ that may exhaust the amount that welfare is prepared to give. (It is assumed that people who are poor have very few, basic needs.) Hence the recreation of disability as an unenviable state and a curse due to societal pressure is sustained.

Finkelstein (in Thomas, 1982) describes the attitudes of the public towards disability going through three phases. The first was where disability was associated with low social status and blame was allotted to people with disabilities themselves. The second phase saw the industrial revolution and the creation of disability as a state that was needy and where people with disabilities were perceived to be passive. So the 'tragic theory' around disability begins with the redefinition of people. People with disabilities are constructed now as people who cannot be blamed for their state because they are concurrently innocent and suffering. This 'benevolent' ideology develops the 'victim hood' status of people with disabilities, which later became used as a tool to extract money from the public for people with disabilities. People with disabilities are now helpless and become the burden of the state to address. The state creates separate spaces for this category of people, manages them and thus begins the concept of social welfare, where problematic groups in society need to be taken care of and managed because they lack the capacity to do so themselves. However

The pluralistic view of the distribution of power in society and the notion of the impartial state, will tend to see social problems either as problems of deviance or as problems of social disorganisation. (George and Wilding, 1976: 5)

Therefore there is also a very real connection between notions of welfare, disability and deviance because of the negative connotations that have been built up around disability. Finkelstein is critiqued to be over simplistic in his approach, and to add to the critique, it may

⁸ *These needs may include provisions like wheechairs, crutches, interpreters and guides.*

be argued that disability was constructed as a state of helplessness and passivity in order to simultaneously justify and conceal the practical or actual 'control' of people with disabilities by the state.

People with disabilities have suffered a ghettoisation micro-cosmically and macro-cosmically. Individually, they endure stigmatization, isolation and exclusion in relation to immediate family and societal practices.⁹ The state, in collusion with the medical and psychological fraternity, legislated upon and created isolated spaces that would deal with specific disabilities as defined by the above two disciplines. This was effectively a collective ghettoisation, where people with disabilities were 'rounded up' and hidden away from mainstream life. All of this is done within the ambit of the 'benevolent social welfare' framework, where the state and private sector institutions collude to 'take care' of disability and in that way becomes the conscience of society. So such an industrialised capitalist society also has the image of social responsibility by being the care takers of those they perceive or rather construct to be unable to take care of themselves.

However if one critically analyses the practice of such welfare endeavours and one compares that to the treatment of deviants, it is disturbingly similar.

What they (deviants) all have in common, however, is that their behaviour is proscribed or controlled by law. They also share the distinction of being increasingly sought out for "treatment" instead of "punishment". (Kittrie, 1971: 3)

There occurs some sort of more or less organised societal reaction to some of the primary deviation, a reaction usually involving elements of stigmatisation, punishment, and actual or symbolic segregation of the offender. These macro-cosmic, organisational forces of social control through which the public and private agencies actively define and classify people, impose punishment, restrict or open access to rewards and satisfactions, set limits to social interaction and induct deviants in to special, segregated environments. (Lemert in Scull, 1977: 5-7)

People with disabilities are defined as patients first due to the medicalisation of disability.¹⁰

⁹ *Family practices refers to the practices that people are socialised into accepting and functioning in accordance, through interpellating ideologies.*

¹⁰ *The medicalisation of disability will be dealt in section .1.2. because terminology and their various implications are more suitably placed in relation to debates around meaning.*

They have been systematically stigmatised and segregated. They have restricted access to 'rewards and satisfactions' due to institutional barriers and spend their lives in segregated areas, often removed from their families. In terms of actual treatment, people with disabilities are directly equated to deviants.

It is societal reaction, as expressed through the activities of these agencies, which produces a crystallisation of the moral order, giving visible, concrete shape and form to the abstraction that is deviance. It is in these contexts that deviants come under regulation of hierarchy, impersonality, specialization and systematic formal rules. (Scull, 1977: 7)

This has grave implications for disability and the society that we inhabit. For this exposes the underlying ideology which seems to have as much respect for difference and disability as religious historical practices. If disability has been isolated and 'studied', the question may be posed: Why then are disabled people not a fully integrated part of our present society? In some instances people with disabilities have been moved further away into deeper isolation. The first response could be that the fundamental shifts in thought around disability have not yet occurred.¹¹ "No questions are asked about existing social and economic systems which may be fundamentally connected with the prevalence of social problems" (George and Wilding, 1976: 6), thereby promoting disability to be erroneously 'treated',¹² addressed and retained in isolation. To segregate disability in any way translates into ghettoisation. The issue of disability must be fully integrated into society on all levels.¹³

¹¹ *A critique of the medicalisation of disability will follow in section 1.2. and the, a more comprehensive analysis of exactly what should shifts should occur will be done.*

¹² *Treatment refers both to the way disability as a whole has been handled and the way in which medicine and psychology attempt to cure or 'treat' disability.*

¹³ *Proposals and future challenges appear in the last chapter, therefore this aspect will not be dealt with here in any further detail.*

The second response which could throw some light on the ghettoisation of groups is offered by Stone (1984) who uses a Marxist interpretation. Stone argues that the logic of capital necessitates reserve pools of labour that do not play a vital role in the centre of capitals activities. This means that they may be pulled in times of labour shortages or emergencies (eg. war) and then pushed out when such a need diminishes. Because of their status as societies less-desirables or deviants, their expulsion from active participation in the economy is justified on two levels. Firstly the status of deviancy allows society

the right to determine that such individuals are not capable of holding jobs due to their status. This is irrespective of whether these 'deviants' have already proved that they can be productive and responsible. The second justification is that the reserve pools of labour that is pulled into active participation, when not participating actively, most probably are integrated into welfare programs, their erratic employment remains hidden.

A standard Marxist argument about welfare programmes holds that they are used by employers and the state to absorb excess labour in times of high unemployment when the unemployment show signs of political unrest; in times of labour shortage, welfare programmes are contracted, pushing people back into jobs and restoring the disciplinary effect of low welfare benefits on the wage demands of the employed. (Stone, 1984: 181)

A third response to the above dilemma perhaps could relate to the changing nature of commodities and the 'cultural logic of late capital' (Jameson, 1984). In this instance commodities change from tangible to take on symbolic forms. Here mass media plays a large part in codifying enviable images, roles and positions in society and functions much like a major part of a social process [that] 'interpellates' or speaks to us. Ideologies, both subject us to the social order and prepare (or 'qualify') us for participation in it by telling us (a) what exists and what nature, society, men and women are like, (b) what is good, right, just, beautiful and enjoyable and its opposites, and what is possible and impossible (Leonard, 1984: 107).

The mass media is particularly guilty of ignoring disability on many levels. This is probably because it sells images that need to be parallel to the dominant ideologies.

The social and occupational patterns which predominate in our society are geared to rational strategies for economic development, and these favour the energetic, intelligent, independent and ambitious individuals with vigorous good health. (Topliss, 1982: 109)

In contemporary consumerism, the growth of a consumer culture and the fashion industry in the twentieth century have given a special emphasis to the surface of the body. In the growth of a consumer society with its emphasis on the athletic/beautiful body, we can see a major historical transformation of Western values from an emphasis on the internal control of the body for ascetic reasons to the manipulation of the exterior body for aesthetic purposes. The body has become a fundamental feature of taste and distinction in which the management of the human form becomes part of the major aspect of cultural or physical capital. (Turner, 1992: 47)

As a result people with disabilities become ignored and isolated from contemporary culture and in effect from contemporary life. For, if physical capital, consumerism in relation to the fashion industry and physical fitness and thinness are the dominant hallmarks of contemporary culture, then by implication, disability does not exist in contemporary culture and is seriously alienated from it.

It is not just special emphasis that is given to the surface of the body, it is

special emphasis given to the surface of particular bodies that are all similar, i.e. bodies that are tall, thin, 'blemish free' and healthy with all limbs and sensory organs intact. "Consumerism has emphasised the virtues of thinness and self-regulation in the interests of looking good." (Turner, 1992: 47) These body types are sold by the media, concurrently as the norm and as enviable types to aspire to. However this view does not take into account the range of bodies which exist in the world. Further the fashion industry has not even begun to conceptualise what bodies with disabilities need, i.e. in terms of clothing at least.

In relation to sexuality, the Marxist interpretation on reproduction and disability informs the position that disability is constructed as an asexual condition. Due to the dangers of possibly creating other people with disabilities, the right to sexuality is denied from people with disabilities. In this respect they are not all integrated into the dominant hallmarks of culture and its purposes and are effectively othered. This does not mean that people with disabilities are not sexual beings. However, this exploration reveals the extent of alienation that people with disabilities experience in relation to the dominant cultural practices.

Cultural or physical capital only favours those who appear similar to media images of thinness and fitness etc. Such bodies are given the status of being 'perfect' while bodies that are different are perceived as distortions of a preconceived notion of the perfect body. People with disabilities therefore have little or no cultural or physical capital. Within the range of communities with disabilities, people who are Deaf and partially sighted enjoy a higher status in relation to people with other disabilities due to their physical mobility and the close relationship with the dominant cultural hallmarks.¹⁴

People with disabilities have never been centre-stage in any 'scene' and due to having a disability immediately, by the rationale of cultural capital, occupy a lower class position despite other factors. Historically people with disabilities have been discriminated against in an infinite number of ways. This discrimination continues in a more sinister and masked form but it is important to expose this in order to address and redress the imbalances that are prevailing currently. Disability has been traced historically in relation to 'religious histories', Marxist deconstruction of society, culture and consumerism. The historical perspective ends here and what will follow is an exploration of the psychological implications of disability discrimination through the use of semantics and medicalisation debates.

1.2. THE POLITICS OF MEANING AND THE CONSEQUENCE OF 'BEING'

A myth is, of course, not a fairy story. It is the presentation of facts belonging in one category in the idioms belonging to another. To explode a myth is accordingly not to deny the facts but to re-allocate them. (Ryle cited in Scull, 1977: 3)

Predicated on the notion that disability is socially, culturally and economically produced, an attempt will be made to 'explode' the mythical nature of disability. However a holistic approach is needed in order to 're-allocate' the facts about disability. This holistic approach necessitates an investigation of

semantics and psychological aspects related to disability.

In relation to semantics, there are many levels on which to enter the disablement debate. On the first level one can address actual words and terminologies that relate to disable people. On a second level, one can address the field of meaning (or idioms) these terminologies generate. On a third level one can address the 'consequence of being', which alludes to the resultant experiential aspects of such significations. In another way, Turner's

¹⁴This does not mean that within these communities, all people necessarily fit neatly into the mould of having a high amount of physical capital. This is only in relation to other disabilities and the cultural capital is therefore relative in that Deaf people generally have all limbs intact therefore they are more able to enjoy cultural products as opposed to people from other disability sectors who don't have the 'normal' body type and therefore cannot fit even into mainstream clothing.

(1992: 16) deconstruction of the body is again, useful and "the body as organism, the body as potentiality, the body as a system of representation and the body as lived experience" gives a good way of fragmenting the 'body with a disability'.

The 'body as organism' may be related to the medical condition of the body, 'the body as potentiality' may be related to the ability of the 'body with a disability' according to the individual and society, 'the body as a system of representation' may refer to the ideological baggage the society imposes on bodies and 'body as lived experience' any be related to how 'bodies' experience life in relation to the particular baggage allotted to them by the hegemonic ideologies at particular times in history. It is very difficult to deal with each aspect in isolation for all are inextricably linked. Therefore, in this section, these aspects will be addressed concurrently.

The medicalisation of disability simply indicates a systematic categorisation that occurred where disability was pushed into the ambit of medicine. The hegemonic ideology¹⁵ indicated that people with disabilities were not productive and were therefore not useful to the capitalist system. This was due to distortions of the body and the senses, which necessitated the intervention of medicine to 'cure' or 'fix' the problem so that they could become 'actively' involved in capitalist production and consumption.

Only in the disciplines of medicine and psychology has disability been afforded an important place. Unfortunately this has, itself, been counter-productive because it has resulted in the issue of disability being seen as essentially a medical one and the experience of disability as being contingent upon as variety of psychological adjustment processes. (Oliver, 1990: x)

Consequently, people with disabilities are directly associated with their own disability, in the first instance. When having any contact with a person with a disability, the disability becomes the first reference point. Examples are, 'blind, deaf, wheelchairs, quads, athetoids', hemi's, morons, idiots, imbeciles' (Wright, 1983: 9-10) which is meant to indicate types and levels of disability. This medical definition of the self with a disability is problematic because, besides being offensive, it removes the human element from critical self-concepts and also devalues personal characteristics. Wright (1983: 9-10) explores this by questioning people who had

¹⁵*In this instance, it refers to patriarchal capital that defined people in terms of their relation to production.*

medical conditions to discover if they preferred being referred to by the condition they had (eg. arthritics, amputees or cardiacs' etc.) or as people who had had amputations. The response was unanimously in favour of the latter which makes people the first reference point rather than their medical histories. This is not to deny disability but to 're-allocate' the facts in order to establish, "a semantic signal of human dignity" (Wright, 1983: 9). Therefore, the term 'people with disabilities' instead of 'handicapped' or 'isabled' is important as a reference point because it focuses on the human element first and the disability second.

An important factor to bear in mind is to not remove the human element in redefinitions. People with disabilities are often perceived to be passive receivers, however one sector has dispelled this myth. People within the sensory or hearing impairment, have taken ownership of their own definitions and 'isability' terms, and have allocated new meaning to them. People with hearing impairments prefer to be called Deaf with a capital D, because they argue that Deaf people share a common culture because of a shared language and the term Deaf refers (with a capital D) to this culture and specific cultural practices in this instance. (Steinberg: 1998)

Another problematic connotation that results from the medicalisation of disability is that disability is associated with illness due to the perception of continuous 'treatment'. This association leads to the development of the 'personal tragedy theory of disability' which spawns a 'methodological individualism'. Methodological individualism refers to the way in which an individual who is discriminated against is dealt with exclusively as a personal consequence and not in relation to societal ideologies oppressing that individual. "As far as disability is concerned, if it is seen as a tragedy, then disabled people will be treated as if they are the victims of some tragic happening or circumstance." (Oliver, 1990: 2) The discipline of medicine has treated disability on the basis of individuals. This is where each individual person with a disability was seen in light of the above tragedy theory. The 'victim' of disablement was seen as a result of that individual's tragic lot in life rather than complex social, cultural and economic forces engineering situations of disablement. This 'methodological individualism' has made it

very difficult for people with disabilities to belong to a social group or class and thereby decode and understand their disablement by society for it isolates them as individuals, yet there are many similarities in the treatment of such individuals, "To become disabled is to be given a new identity, to receive a passport indicating membership of a separate tribe." (Thomas, 1982: 39)

The medicalised and 'methodological individualistic' approach are problematic because state policies in relation to disability are defined along the lines set by the officials or 'experts' on disability, within the medical field. Thus, policy is often inadequate resulting in individual compensations but never really addressing fundamental causes of disability oppression.

Much of the work which has already been done on definitions has been carried out by people who do not themselves experience the daily problems of disability. This directly affected the solutions, and in turn has often served to perpetuate discrimination against us as well as wasting resources on an enormous scale. (Davis cited in Oliver, 1990: 5)

The 'personal tragedy theory of disability' produces multifarious responses to disability from different sectors. The development of the 'welfare state' that graciously, benevolently takes care of those who are unable to do so for themselves, is founded on the notion that disability is a fatalistic condition¹⁶ that people get through no fault of their own. This generates many connotations, i.e. innocence and suffering and high moral worth. (Stone, 1984: 172) This reveals a paradoxical situation because people with disabilities simultaneously straddle positive and negative images. On one hand they are held in high moral esteem but on the other hand, they are seen to have an affliction that is horrible and unenviable. Society has not yet cleared up this paradox. Perhaps the two images work together to mask the real causes of disability oppression.

Another problem crops up in relation to welfare and disability and that is the ever widening definition of disability. More and more is disability being defined along 'work capacity' lines. This is problematic for it allows terminal illness and other illnesses to be integrated into the disability definitions. "One important way in which the disability category is expanded is the establishment of consensus that certain incapacitating conditions are socially caused." (Stone, 1984: 174) With this rationale, factors such as stress and occupationally caused illness also fall under disability definitions.

¹⁶*This merely indicates that people with disabilities are seen to have a unenviable condition but this is not due to their own fault. This blamelessness that people with disabilities enjoy qualifies them, above others, for welfare.*

The problem is that there is no end to a continually expanding definition of disability to encompass everybody. There are more people, in addition to

people with disabilities, that could have a claim on compensation from society however only certain 'claims' are more 'morally weighted' than others.

Why should not child-rearing, creative but unpaid endeavours, or voluntary labour count in the grand tally of moral worth? Why shouldn't contributions to one's own savings and retirement plan constitute a demonstration of fiscal responsibility, why shouldn't any employment caused by structural factors generate an entitlement to aid on the same terms received by the disabled. (Stone, 1984: 177)

Stone (1984: 177 - 181) goes on to illustrate that the reasoning behind this 'all-encompassing' definition of disability benefits only the economic structure - capitalism - in the following ways. The disability sector acts as a convenient pool of reserve labour, which now encompasses people who were once productive, but for socially caused reasons, no longer are productive. This is a very problematic expansion of definition because non-productivity, illness and lack of worth to the economy are still equated with disability and these are the very equations that the disability sector seeks to dismantle. This 'definitional expansion' of disability also causes new problems in that it introduces another term - incapacity - which also has a definitional expansion dynamic to it. Incapacity must be measured against some sort of preconceived construction of capacity, which is neatly unarticulated. Incapacity also expands to incorporate psychological, emotion and physical factors. This is all very problematic for in this frantic search to describe disability and detect just who deserves disability grants, no deconstruction of the political and economic orders is done. Therefore the root cause of disablement goes on to never be discovered./

Wright (1983) quotes countless examples of people with disabilities suffering attacks of their self-confidence and self-concept when dealing with society in which these 'master narratives' are operational and where people with disabilities have no substantial place. The result of these attacks are feelings of shame, pity and inferiority and in dealing with this, people with disabilities either accept the disability or hide or weaken their identification with the disability sector, thereby denying their connection. The 'normal standards'²⁰ { become idolized to the extent that: "unrealistic and even fantastic attempts to overcome disability are clung to tenaciously due to a deep emotional need for their promised effects" (Wright, 1983: 119).

In that people with disabilities suffer a cruel fate and crucial issues, micro-cosmically and macro-cosmically are in disarray is disturbingly revealing. Key issues concerning the self are warped to the extent that they destroy individuals abilities to live quality lives. Issues related to value, self-worth in society and productivity are marginalised when related to disability and definitions of disability are kept vague and indistinctively expansive in order to service the powerful capitalist interests in society. The collective effect of these factors is the generation of disability as a blight on society, and the subsequent problematic internalisation of these ideologies by people with disabilities. This further results in people with disabilities believing that can only 'do less' and therefore development with the disability sector should be premised on deconstructing disability in this sector itself.

Given that disability is constructed in these many ways, society rather than accepting

²⁰*The 'normal standards' refers particular body types that are constructed to be 'normal'. These bodies are with no sensory or physical impairment.*

disablement as a socio-economic construction, demands that people with disabilities 'normalise' their condition by assimilating themselves as much as possible into the able-bodied world. This means that rigorous demands are made of people with disabilities should they crave integration with the mainstream and people with disabilities are forced to behave as if their impairment is absent and 'as able bodied as possible'²¹. "The cause of disability is not the absence of 'normality', but the result of the ways in which notions of 'normality' negate the existence and acceptance of 'difference', and create oppressive social relations as a result." (Moodley, G., 1997: 16)

Beatrice A Wright (1983: xi-xii) provides a good understanding of how disablement could be addressed:

Physical handicaps can be reduced by eliminating architectural barriers, interpersonal handicaps by overcoming devaluing social attitudes, educational handicaps by providing educational and training facilities, economic handicaps by extending work opportunities and emotional handicaps by enhancing family and group support.

1.3. CONTEXTUALISING DISABILITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

In South Africa, disability issues are circumscribed by race, class and disabilities themselves. Apartheid structures ensured that people with disabilities were separated according to race which further resulted in governmental or institutional provisions for people with disabilities being unequally weighted in favour of white people with disabilities. Further, a structural inheritance of capitalist apartheid has been a vast difference in the amount of resources available to urban people with disabilities as opposed to the lack of resources for rural people with disabilities, where these services are most needed.

²¹*A key example is with the case of Deaf people. In Deaf schools, 'old school' teachers still persist in using the 'Oralist Approach' which forces Deaf people to use their voices and speak rather than use Sign Language. This destructive approach only caused frustration among the Deaf and is an approach designed to assimilate rather than accommodate Deaf people into the mainstream (i.e. make them 'normal speaking people'). Accommodating Deaf people in the mainstream would be trying to facilitate more people learning Sign Language in order to communicate with Deaf people. (Steinberg, 1998:*

The context of disability has also been predicated on the medicalisation of disability, which by definition necessitated the separation of people with disabilities into 'smaller manageable groups' that shared disability traits. Different disabilities 'themselves' were kept separate from each other and this action spawned pockets of state institutions and community organisations defined by race and disability who sometimes worked at odds with each other when vying for limited resources.

People with disabilities in South Africa experience an 'involuntary subordinate status of marginality' (Leonard: 1984) which means that they are not the centre of any mainstream activity. The lack of centrality is in relation to productivity as defined by capitalism and the familial roles as defined by patriarchy. In addition the dominance of the state in its relationship with people with disabilities, where the state acts as a benevolent guardian caring for individuals who cannot care for themselves, exacerbates their feelings of uselessness and being burdensome to the society they inhabit. They are effectively ghettoised because of the deviant (though 'medicalised') status assigned to them and thus become 'tragic victims' who have no real recourse available to them because of the methodological individualistic ²² manner in which society tends to deal with disability. The root causes of disablement are never really addressed or redressed.

The overview of the context of disability in South Africa will be extended in the following two ways. The first component will deal with state identification, policy and strategies with regards to disability as derived from the White Paper on an

²²*Methodological individualism refers to the way in which an individual (particularly a person with a disability) who is discriminated against, is dealt with exclusively as a tragic personal consequence and not in relation to societal ideologies oppressing that individual.*

Integrated National Disability Strategy (1997:1).

The White Paper on disability is fairly extensive in relation to articulating, firstly the context of disability in South Africa, secondly the needs of people with disabilities and thirdly, policy guidelines and recommendations for the development of people with disabilities. Disability in South Africa has more often than not been strongly linked to poverty. (Oliver, 1990: 13) This has been due to "the political and economic inequalities of the apartheid system; social attitudes which have perpetuated stereotypes of disabled people as dependent and in need of care; and a discriminatory and weak legislative framework which has sanctioned and reinforced exclusionary barriers" (White

Paper on an Integrated National Disability Strategy, 1997: I).

The White Paper indicates the governments recognition of the need to move away from the 'medical model' of disability (White Paper, 1997: 9) and acknowledges that there is a difference with disability and disablement, where the latter is socially caused therefore structural changes need to take place in order to redress or 'rehabilitate'²³ people who have experienced disablement. It is encouraging to see the government perceiving disability in this manner for it affords people with disabilities some recourse. However, problems arise in the actual implementation of such 'comprehensive policies or recommendations'. The legislative arm of government is slow improving and as yet, "there is at present, no coherent or comprehensive legislation pertaining to people with disabilities and their rights" (White Paper, 1997: 57).

The White Paper defines disability in the following way: "An individual whose prospects of securing and retaining suitable employment are substantially reduced as a result of physical or mental impairment"(White Paper, 1997: 78). This definition presents many difficulties. A person with a disability is defined solely in relation to production which is very problematic on many levels. People with disabilities are discriminated against on multifarious levels. If solved, their forced isolation from 'production', does not necessarily guarantee integration into the mainstream of other aspects of life. Together with economic integration, the whole question of 'social citizenship' needs to be addressed.

²³*According to the White Paper (1997: 79), rehabilitation refers to, "a process aimed at enabling persons with disabilities to reach and maintain their optimal physical, sensory, intellectual, psychiatric and/or social functional levels, thus providing them with the tools to change their lives towards a higher level of independence".*

By the social element I mean the whole range from the right to modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being, according to the standard prevailing in the society. (Marshall cited in Moodley, G., 1997: 21)

Therefore in terms of 'redressing' inequalities, the employment aspect is certainly one important part of the process but by no means is it all-encompassing as the White paper erroneously implies. People with disabilities who are 'suitably employed' still bear stigmatization, isolation and deviancy status. Their economic empowerment does not necessarily buy them full integration into societal activities and their 'social citizenship' is denied.

A further problem with this definition is that it cites disability as the impeding factor. "An individual whose prospects of securing and retaining suitable employment are substantially reduced as a result of physical or mental

impairment." (White Paper, 1997: 78) [my emphasis]

The definition constructs disability as the problem preventing people with disabilities acquiring employment, rather than leaving space to acknowledge that it is the problematic construction of institutions in society that 'make disability unproductive' by rating people with disabilities as valueless." Economic and social barriers that disabled people face are so pervasive that they are prevented from ensuring themselves a reasonable quality of life by their own efforts." (Moodley, G., 1997: 21) "No questions are asked about existing social and economic systems which may be fundamentally connected with the prevalence of social problems." (George and Wilding, 1976: 6)

Although people with disabilities and people who are HIV positive (people with AIDS) share similar treatment by virtue of the deviant status allotted to both groups by society, it is problematic to equate the two groups into one category. People who are HIV positive are terminally ill and have a different relationship to the medical field. Disability has had a long struggle to disentangle itself from the medical model as the major defining factor, and if these two groups are conflated then the result could become a 're-medicalisation' of disability.

It is recommended that the [all relevant parties:] develop national guidelines on the relationship between HIV Positive, AIDS and disability with regard, amongst other things, to definitions, employment equity, access to education and social security. (White paper, 1997: 75) [my addition]

This relationship between AIDS and Disability that the government is seeking to build could result in the medicalised and 'methodological individualistic' approach to disability and this is very problematic because government policy is often inadequate. This results in individual compensations but never really addresses fundamental causes of disability oppression.

Oliver (1990) exposes the problematic nature of social welfare and how it supports and protects dominant economic relations. The problem in this instance is that deep structural changes can therefore never occur.

Social Policy has been assigned to the role of intervening in a natural order of economic relationships to modify the outcome in the interests of 'social' goals. In both capitalist and state socialist societies, social policy has operated as a 'handmaiden' to the economy. (Walker cited in Oliver, 1990: 97) Hence the chances of tackling this economic basis for the creation of dependency amongst disabled people 'are slim because the same societal forces which manufacture disability also mitigate against a structural response'. (Borsay cited in Oliver, 1990: 97)

Hence governments attempt to 'provide' for disability and AIDS victims seem to be counter-productive because rather than liberate people within these 'categories of oppression', without deep seated structural change, these categories and subsequently the oppression - are reinforced.

The integration of AIDS into the ambit of disability is problematic because illness and disability, once again become conveniently tied together under the banner of work 'in/capacity'. This does not benefit people with disabilities but seems to service capitalist ideologies that function on the construction of a welfare state that harbours reserve pools of labour and defining people who fall within this pool as unproductive people.

The conflation of illness and disability promotes an equation of disability with non-productivity, illness and lack of worth to the economy will in this way (through the equation with illness and unproductivity) still be equated with disability and these are the very equations that the disability sector seek to dismantle. Allowing disability definitions to expand causes a frantic search to describe disability and detect just who deserves disability grants in so doing no deconstruction of the political and economic orders is done. Therefore the root cause of disablement goes on to never be discovered.

Observing that this definition is emerging from the government, it may be deduced that the government appears to be supporting and pro-pergating capitalist discourses for these definitions are beneficial only to capitalism. This is very problematic for people with disabilities because they have never enjoyed good relations with patriarchal capitalist production and consumption cycles and the problems that people with disability have suffered have been due to the hegemonic (patriarchal capitalist) pressure/ forces that have defined disability in the way that it has come to be known. Therefore it is counter-productive to define disability solely according to relationships with production.

Perhaps an alternative definition could be that which Oliver (1990) articulates:

Impairment lacking part of or all of a limb, or having a defective limb, organism or mechanism of the body; *Disability* the disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by a contemporary social organisation which takes no or little account of people who have physical impairments and thus excludes them from the mainstream of social activities. (UPIAS [Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation] cited in Oliver, 1990: 11)

This definition is less problematic because it does not deny the existence of the physical impairment and also includes an understanding of the social discrimination that manifests in societal behaviour toward disability. An important aspect of this definition is that it is not delineated solely by economic activity. Thus such a definition can be used to more easily to contest discriminatory behaviour toward people with disabilities across the range of human or societal activity. This is significant to what development practitioners seek to do in relation to disability and development, and in addition what could serve them is this notion of social citizenship, "the idea of [social] citizenship has been used not simply to consider the social integration of the majority into society but also as a yardstick to measure the extent to which certain groups are not socially integrated" (Moodley, G., 1997: 21) [my addition]. Issues related to economic activity, the definitions of value in

society and quality of life will be discussed in greater detail in the chapter two under the development framework.

Policy objectives for public education and awareness raising include: The raising of awareness of disability as a human rights and development issue, the development of disability awareness projects aimed at journalists and the public broadcaster, Increased visibility of people with disabilities in the media. (White Paper, 1997: 24)

The major institutions, i.e. the local government in KwaZulu Natal are particularly guilty of neglecting or undervaluing disability issues. Although the disability sector has made great efforts to secure the attention of local government and the media, they have largely been ignored.

The media are particularly guilty of neglecting or under valuing news relating to disability issues.²⁴ This illustrates clearly how disability issues are relegated to an "involuntary subordinate" status of " marginality" and so people with disabilities become excluded from the mainstream of societal activity through no choice or fault of their own.

In relation to the world of broadcast television, images of disability hardly ever appear on television and if they do (with respect to advertising) they are directly related to insurance or medical issues. Programmes never seem to feature people with disabilities in them and people with hearing impairments are only catered for in two instances: the **News** and **Signature**.²⁵ Asha Udith, a Deaf South African had the following comments to make on programming in South Africa: "At the moment many programmes on **East - Net** are captioned and on Sundays Signature is anxiously awaited by all the Deaf in South Africa. What a blessing. We hope everyday was a Sunday." (Appendix C1)

Therefore it can be seen that language is a key issue in this sub-sector of the disability sector in South Africa. Language is crucial to the Deaf cultural context and the television which could be used a tremendous educative and entertaining medium is lost on Deaf viewers.

In terms of raising awareness around Disability issues, the media has been woefully

²⁵An example was a press conference organised by disability organisations in Durban (30th September 1998) to discuss the programme for the IDDP (International Day for Disabled Persons). No member of the press attended even though the media (print, electronic etc.) was given ample and repeated notice.

²⁶Signature is a half- hour magazine programme that focusses on Deaf community issues and achievements. This programme is presented by Deaf presenters and the medium of communication is Sign Language. Steinberg (1998: 59) asserts that South Africa needs to accept, "the Deaf community as

a minority linguistic group with its own distinctive subculture". Therefore all services that are extended to other minority groups need to be extended to the Deaf as well. The public broadcaster needs to take special note of this in its' programming and a widened access to television for the Deaf sector must be provided for.

inadequate and has not supported disability rights. One becomes sensitised to the 'disability world' only when carefully considering the full impact of the collusion of societal institutions in isolating disability. Steinberg (1998: 63) offers the following insights:

Most of the pupils said that they simply accepted that they grew up 'alone' in the company of hearing parents and siblings. The hostel dwellers 'hate' weekends and schools holidays because they go home to 'emptiness'. The pupils also expressed their initial resentment of the fact that their parents 'are ashamed of our Deafness' but have come to accept this as part of being Deaf.

The following extracts, in addition to Steinberg's descriptions, expose the experiences and frustrations of people with disabilities in K.Z.N. "People don't believe that I am Deaf and they think that I was rude or stupid. It's hard to understand when people talk because they talk fast and I can't lip read well." (Zamo Zamu- Deaf Scholar, 1998: Appendix A8)

Ravendran Moodley, a cerebral palsied matriculation student at the Spes Nova School, sums up the results of being handicapped: 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. (cited in Moodley, S., 1994: 48)

The issue of isolation that these experiences bring up, need to be adequately addressed. The White Paper (1997) is good starting point, however it is only that. A serious effort must be made to realise all of the ideals that it articulates. There are vast contrasts in government perspectives, in relation to the White Paper (1997), and other instances in reality.

The government will design, in consultation with disabled people, a comprehensive programme for the disabled which will enhance their engagement in society and remove discriminatory practices against them, especially in the workplace. Government will also discuss means to reintegrate mentally and physically disabled people into their communities. (White Paper, 1997: 17)

Lewis Nzimande, the Secretary General of the K.Z.N. Federal Council of Disability asserts that although there are direct structural relationships established between 'local' government and disability organisations, the relationship remains 'structural' and not 'operational'. "In relation to

government, they haven't even began to attend any of our meetings, even though they are invited and even though the Provincial Forum of Disability is chaired by the Premiers office." (Nzimande, 1998: Telephone Conversation)

This indicates that disability organisations have a wealth of innovation and have very valuable contributions to make and people with disabilities are very prepared to be productive 'social citizens'.

The Government will be able to save Millions of Rands in Grants and medical Bills, as the person who is able to work should be with every respect be encouraged to earn their income, and feeling part of Society, and not feeling rejected, as what the case is. (Masango, 1998: Appendix C2)

The levels of underdevelopment of disability in KwaZulu Natal cannot easily be articulated. Key questions relating to access, employment, isolation, integration, culture, identity, exposure, basic provisions and the precise nature of underdevelopment and disability need to be addressed in any development agendas focusing on the region of KwaZulu Natal and disability. Development organisation attempting to address disability need to pay a special, inclusive attention to disability organisations. After all, the Federal Council is one organisation that is managed by people with disabilities and who better to understand and articulate the needs of people with disabilities other than people with disabilities themselves. To conclude this contextual sketch, Cedric Hedgcock's (who is the Media Coordinator for the International Day for Disabled Persons - IDDP) words seem apt:

The attitude of exclusion that exists towards the disabled in South African society urgently needs to be changed to one of 'inclusion'. If attitudes are not changed at "grass roots" level, the disabled will never be able to take their rightful place, and "stand tall" in a truly integrated and inclusive society. (1998: Appendix C3)

A detailed account of the context of disability in KwaZulu Natal has been given because this aspect is central to this study. A comparative study will be done with the context in relation to the normative theory of Very Special Arts - KwaZulu Natal. Aside from poverty, one of the major aspects of the experience of disability is exclusion and isolation. Therefore, in this province, it may be deduced that the cultural development of the disability sector is a crucial facet to the development of disability as a whole.

CHAPTER TWO: DEVELOPMENT: WHAT, WHO, WHERE, WHEN, WHY, HOW

The concepts of development²⁶ and disability are fundamentally linked. The purpose of this chapter is to ascribe disability with a 'development status' and thereby to understand how disablement may be addressed from a development perspective. The first sub-section provides an interrogation of the conceptual and theoretical underpinnings of development itself. Thereafter an overview or outline and critique of development paradigms and models of development/ processes within these paradigms from the 1950s to the present is submitted. As a framework this outline will be used later to critique current 'disability development organisations' ideologies and

practices. In the following section, the submission of disability as a development category will be considered. The focus here will be on the 'what? where? when? who? how?' of development, disability and the arts.

2.1. DEVELOPMENT PARADIGMS FROM THE EARLY 1950s TO NOW

Gustavo Esteva (1992) generates a genealogy of development that is particularly useful in deconstructing ideological underpinnings of different development paradigms. Esteva travels back to the 1930s to illustrate how development emerged out of a colonialist context and acquired its meaning through the conquerors promise of economic and political custodianship of specific regions that they took control of. (Esteva, 1992: 10) After the

²⁶*The term development is used in full knowledge of its '92 problematic nature. This term will be interrogated later in this section.*

Second world war development initiated a more tenacious hold on countries economic and political systems. The Cold War intensified and politicised the race for 'spheres of influence' between the capitalist and (what was thought to be) communist states, with the USA playing a particularly 'front-line' role. The context of post world war two USA facilitated the maturation of development ideology from being colonialist to that of being couched in sympathetic, econocentric, paternalistic terms and 'disguised' as an 'invention' solely for the sake of the 'poor underdeveloped' nations.

Expansionism categorised economic policy in the west for many reasons. The first was the realisation that the west would soon become an over-saturated market, hence the need to 'expand' and find new markets which were previously colonial, peripheral territories in relation to the north Atlantic nations. To create these peripheral nations into viable markets, a restructuring of those nations political, social and economic order was needed. Hence the birth of **development**, "the magic word with which we will solve all the mysteries that surround us" (Esteva, 1992: 10). Esteva forwards another reason for the creation of that which has come to be known as development:

At the end of the World War II, the United States was a formidable and incessant productive machine, unprecedented in history. It was undisputedly at the centre of the world. But the Americans wanted something more. They needed to make entirely explicit their new position in the world. And they wanted to consolidate that hegemony and make it permanent. For those purposes, they conceived a political campaign on a global scale that clearly bore their seal, the day on which President Truman took office, [he said] 'We must embark on a bold new program, for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas'. By using for the first time in such a context the word, 'underdeveloped', Truman changed the meaning of development and created the emblem, a euphemism, used ever since to allude either discreetly or

inadvertently to the era of American hegemony. The metaphor of development gave global hegemony to a purely Western genealogy of history, robbing people of different cultures of the opportunity to define the forms of their social life. (Esteva, 1992: 6-9)

Hence the origination of the 'development era'. A resultant movement to codify, quantify, understand and explain the phenomenon of underdevelopment also emerged and spawned many development paradigms which will be investigated following a further deconstruction of 'development'.

In saying 'development', By using uncritically such a loaded word, and one doomed to extinction, they are transforming its agony into a chronic condition. From the unburied corpse of development, every kind of pest has started to spread, when they and so many others qualify development and the use of the word with caveats and restrictions as if they are walking a minefield, they do not seem to see the counter-productivity of their efforts. The minefield has exploded. (Esteva, 1992: 6-7)

Although Esteva seriously problematises 'development' itself and points out the hazards involved in the use of such a term, finding a useful meaning of development is crucial in order to understand the complex nature of the inequities that govern our society. This understanding should also enable us to address or rather, redress these inequities. Hence the persistence in attempting to clarify the parameters of development in this particular context.

Taking as a premise, Esteva's supposition that development started out as a re-articulation of colonialism and perhaps a way into maintaining "the era of American hegemony", it is not difficult to understand why development has ever since borne the burden of econocentrism. (1992: 6-7) Colonialism as an economic policy was extended after the second world war into development as an economic policy.

The USA played a dominant role in articulating early development discourses. The organic ideology in the USA at the time exhibited monopolistic tendencies which in practice pivots on the economy and economic development. In fact "development was seen as economic growth" and the USA through development discourses was developing transnational corporations which were operating in the developing world. (Servaes, 1995: 41) Therefore development discourses were influenced heavily if not totally conceived in capitalist economic policies and practices. As Coetzee (1989) suggests, these practices were not always in the interests of what was categorised as 'underdeveloped' nations.

The initial paradigm of development was labelled the 'modernisation' paradigm of development. Modernisation was characterised by the assertion that western notions of civilisation, progress, change were the 'natural, inevitable' end of all societies. The process of development was therefore merely a 'catching up' period and western societies were by that rationale - more advanced and more developed and the non-aligned²⁷ countries were deemed to be underdeveloped because of their lack of similarity to the west.

²⁷*The race for spheres of influence between the USSR and USA prompted the developing nations to create a space where they could focus solely on their own problems and generate their own solutions. Hence the Non-aligned countries were united under the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in order to challenge the economic and information dominance of the North Atlantic nations.*

It was generally assumed that a nation became truly modern and developed when it arrived at the point where it resembled Western industrialised nations in terms of political and economic behaviour and institutional attitudes toward technology and innovation, and social mobility. (Fjes cited in Melkote, 1991: 38)

Following from this discourse of development, the 'whole-sale' diffusion of western political, economic, social and technological systems were believed to be key strategies in alleviating poverty and social 'problems' in the 'underdeveloped' world. However, Kumar, K.J. (1994: 76-78) asserts that there was a very clear economic/capitalist motivation to 'develop' the underdeveloped world, in order for the west could to 'peddle modern technologies' to the underdeveloped for self gain. The cycle was completed by the evaluation or measurement of development in abstract econocentric terms. "The means of modernisation were the massive transfer of capital, ideology, technology. The measures of progress were GNP, literacy, industrial base, urbanisation and quantifiable criteria." (Servaes, 1995: 40)

Diffusion theory, central to the modernisation theory of development was based on the idea that "objects and ideas brought in from the outside exert greater influence on a culture than factors emanating from within the culture itself" (Hederbro, 1982: 25).

Development theorists both in the developed and the developing world have come to critique severely this paradigm of development. Thus subsequent development paradigms emerged. Each new articulation of a development paradigm encompassed a critique of the preceding one. For the purpose of this study, the Dependency-Disassociation, Another Development, NWICO (New World Information and Communication Order) and Participatory Development paradigms will be conflated in 'their' collective critiques of the modernisation paradigm of development.²⁸

Firstly, modernisation programmes had 'disastrous' consequences. Diffusion techniques had not really worked and 'trickle-down' economics; the economic logic of modernisation had more often than not, benefitted the rich rather than poor and the gap

(NAM) in order to challenge the economic and information dominance of the

North Atlantic nations.

²⁸*The critique is offered with an understanding that the 'modernisation' of development is not at all exhaustive and is selective in order to service the needs of this particular case-study.*

between the two had widened. (Kumar, 1994: 83)

Therefore tradition philosophies and methods of development have been reassessed because they appeared to be inadequate. The following theorists critique developmental techniques in a very detailed way and this critique is extremely significant to this study because the tools that these theorists offer will be used in analysis of the case study.

Protz (1994: 102) provides a useful path into understanding why diffusionist techniques had not been very successful. Protz's theoretical starting point is "Schutz's phenomenological theory of commonsense knowledge". Schutz was a sociologist who developed a theoretical framework which illustrated how daily life shapes and constructs knowledge used in communication. Communication is possible between two 'partners in communication' because it is taken for granted that they share a certain knowledge of the world and this is understood as 'commonsense'. Two assumptions work at the 'subconscious commonsense level':

1. Reciprocity of perspectives: I take for granted and assume that the other does the same that if we change places with each other, I shall be the same distance from things, or experience them the same way, with the same relevance.
2. Idealization of the Congruency of the system of relevance: I take for granted and assume the other does the same, that the differences in perspective originating from our unique situations are irrelevant for the purposes at hand. (Protz, 1994: 103)

If all of the above assumptions are true and when the purpose of a communication effort is identified by all involved, then meaningful communication is the result. Protz asserted that according to Schutz, the commonsense world is taken for granted because our thoughts are based on 'typifications' or 'simplifications' of reality and are socially constructed and are rooted in a particular 'socio-cultural milieu'. Behaviour and codes of conduct that is decided by the group that one belongs to (the 'In-Group') becomes typified also. There are two social groupings in this context and they are: (a) existential groups which are those that we are born into and (b) voluntary groups which are those that we choose to belong to. "Members of the same 'in-group' share the same typifications as commonsense, and orient their behaviour according to the rules of their particular group." (Protz, 1994: 104)

In order to get a less typified or stereotyped perception of a person and to get a more accurate, precise understanding of another person requires a

relationship of 'consociates'. This is a relationship where communication operates on a level that uncovers and discovers individuality and uniqueness and does not rely on stereotypes. "A venture into human communication, therefore, presupposes that a system of relevances is shared that is sufficiently homogenous in structure, scope and content for the purpose involved." (Protz, 1994: 104-106)

Commonsense differences have emerged during attempts at cross-cultural communication in development. Traditional development efforts have relied on the relationship between 'types' when situations really needed a relationship of 'consociates'. Early diffusionist efforts reveal the problem of the commonsense dynamic. Communication was based on the assumption of the 'reciprocity of perspectives' and therefore problematic assumptions that were taken for granted by development agents, resulted in development efforts failing.

The modernisation paradigm of development was defined largely along economic lines. Many development theorists problematised this construction. "Why do we confuse development with economic growth? One explanation is that the national income is a very convenient indicator. Politicians find a single comprehensive measure useful, especially one that is at least a year out of date." (Seers, 1994: 9) Coetzee expands Seers point: "an illusion of bettering of their living conditions, supported by irrelevant and insignificant figures such as an increase per capita income, often conceals their need" (1989: 2). So the issues of the 'underdeveloped' never really get addressed. Thus theorists have recognised the need to redefine development, underdevelopment and the measurement thereof. In typical post modern style, Mikkleson (1995) dismantles the 'grand development theory' which characterised the modernisation period. "' Grand development theory' has ben replaced by an understanding of development and underdevelopment as discrete but interrelated 'development issues'." (Mikkelson, 1995: 34) Therefore underdevelopment is now viewed as a 'multifaceted experience of subordination' (Pilar, 1994: 32), that is no longer viewed exclusively in terms of economics.

Rather than exclusive econocentric implications, being underdeveloped has very strong psycho-social implications. Redefining development means an acceptance that 'development' is a normative concept that is value-laden (Seers, 1994: 10) and that people involved in development must be placed radically in the centre. Development must be grounded in consciousness. Development indicators such as per capita income, literacy and life expectancy are not ends in themselves but the indispensable means for enriching the quality of human life. Esteem will therefore be an important goal of development. All development efforts have to be based on an assumption that all people value respect and want to be treated as worthy individuals (Coetzee, 1989: 4-8).

The participatory development paradigm accommodates this kind of ideology i.e. putting people into development. The work specifically of Paulo Freire is particularly pertinent in this context. Freire was a 'radical educationist'. In the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972) Freire furnishes an analysis of the nature of oppression and showed that methods towards liberation had to be within

the participatory framework. Although Freire situates his work in an education context, his work has been applied to varied contexts to good effect. He believed that oppression was a dehumanising process in which both the oppressor and the oppressed were dehumanised. The struggle for humanisation and liberation (or for our purposes: development) should be championed by the oppressed. (Freire, 1972: 20-21) "Who are better prepared than the oppressed to understand the terrible significance of an oppressive society? A pedagogy must be forged with, not for the oppressed in the incessant struggle to regain their humanity." ((Freire, 1972: 22-26)

Central to Freire's liberatory praxis, was the cultivation of a 'critical consciousness'. This refers to the need to have an 'epistemological relationship to reality' where one should be critically aware of one's experiences and these experiences should inform an on going reflexive and reflective critique that enables one to interpret one's life rather than just going through it feeling powerless. (Leonard, P. and P. MacLaren, 1993)

Transformation is possible because consciousness is not a mirror of reality, not a mere reflection, but is reflexive and reflective of reality. As conscious human beings, we can discover how we are conditioned by the dominant ideology. We can struggle to become free precisely because we can know that we are not free! (Freire and Shor, 1987: 13)

In addition to the above framework, the following notions are relevant to development. "Banking"; "gnosiological cycle"; "the myth of value free inquiry"; "decolonisation as consciousness"; "problem-posing dialogues" ; "receiver-centric orientations with regard to development" ; " reciprocal collaboration" ; "information technology with respect to development" and "notions of equality" will be assessed and described for these concepts impinge upon development praxis which in turn is the basis that informs this study.

In the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing. Projecting an absolute ignorance onto others, a characteristic of the ideology oppression, negates education and knowledge as processes of inquiry. (Freire, 1972: 46)

In a Freirean context, the 'gnosiological cycle' is basically an analysis of learning. Freire asserts that there are only two, dialectically related moments of learning. The first is, "one of production, the production of new knowledge". The second moment is the one, "during which the produced knowledge is known or perceived" (Freire, 1987: 7-8). Freire critiques current teaching practices for separating these two processes and explains that because these two moments are 'dichotomized', efficient, adequate and **critical** learning does not occur

Shor and Freire mythify the concept of 'objectivity' and place value squarely in the middle of any learning experience. Knowledge (especially scientific knowledge) is presented as, "value-free, free of ideology or politics. These falsely neutral curricula train students to observe things without judging, to see the world from the official consensus, to carry out orders without

questioning, as if the given society is fixed and fine." (Shor in Freire and Shor, 1987: 12-13)

Because the colonizing forces are so powerful, a decolonization political process should be fundamental to our lives and is not. Freire's work always emphasizes that historical moment when one begins to think critically about the self and identity in relation to one's political circumstance. (hooks, 1993: 147-148)

hooks believes in a fundamental relationship between 'decolonisation' and critical consciousness. Although this process occurs at the level of consciousness, hooks reasserts Freire's plea for "verifying in praxis what we know in consciousness" . Therefore through this process of 'decolonisation' and praxis, one is, to borrow from feminist discourses, making the political personal and the personal political.

Servaes (1995) locates Freire's ideas in a development context and stresses on emphasis on self-management and 'reciprocal collaboration'. This means listening to each other and giving respect for the attitudes of others. Freire's ideas radically challenge traditional assumptions of 'development experts' and their notions of who produces and owns 'development knowledge'.

The development enterprise for the most part has been predicated on the assumption that certain peoples and societies are less developed than others, and that those who are more developed , i.e. more modern, have the expertise/knowledge to help the less developed (or developing) to achieve modernity. (Parpart, J.L., 1995: 221)

Servaes also challenges these notions of knowledge production which has profound effects on development agents, "one is no longer attempting to create a need for the information one is disseminating, but one is rather disseminating information for which there is a need" (Servaes, 1995: 77).

Themba B.S. Masilela (1996) locates Freire in an African development context and illustrates the difference between 'extension' and 'communication', where extension refers to the paternalistic depositing or extending of knowledge and skills that are deemed necessary by the 'development expert' for the underdeveloped. This, to borrow from Freire, anaesthetizes the critical spirit and domesticates people. Communication with reference to 'conscientization' refers to a constant 'problem-posing dialogue' which is engaged by both the agent and the subject. However Masilela points out that danger or limitation of the process of conscientization is the implication that lower class people do not understand their own situation and are in need of enlightenment on the matter by higher class individuals. This implies further an 'epistemological arrogance' and a 'hierarchical view of consciousness' which could lead to paternalistic action. (Masilela, 1996: 97 - 100)

The participatory paradigm of development maintains that people must be given control of to shape their own ideals.

Conscientisation in Freire's schema restores people the right to produce

knowledge based upon their own experience and values...patterns of social action and awareness are created through intertextual weaving, a process of creative production of meaning which requires alternative methods of communication in order to undermine existing social stratification and attendant power relations. (Tomaselli and Aldridge, 1996: 65)

This section will be concluded with an examination of Lummis's deconstruction of the notion of equality (1992). Lummis differentiates between two types or two different meanings of equality. In the first instance, equality refers to 'sameness or homogeneity' and in the second instance equality refers to 'just or fair' treatment. The difference is, "To treat people justly may require treating them differently; on the other hand, to treat them as if they were the same is not necessarily to treat them justly"(Lummis, 1992: 38).

The next section will investigate the area where art, development and disability intersect. The above development theories and disability issues that were raised in chapter one will be interfaced with paradigms in the arts.

2.2. Disability, Development and the Arts:

In this section, disability will be ascribed with a development status following which an outline of the nature of disability development will be given. This will lead to an interrogation of how the arts may be used to service the cause of development in relation to disability. The section will conclude with a consolidation of the three aspects: disability, development and the arts.

Disability becomes a category for development due to the way in which people across disabilities are discriminated against in similar ways and on similar levels. People across disabilities experience a deviant status and are disadvantaged economically, socially and politically. They suffer an 'involuntary subordinate status of marginality' and are denied any physical or social capital due to negative imaging of disability by mainstream culture industries. Their identities have been distorted to the extent of being 'one-dimensional'.²⁹ On several levels people with disabilities exist on the periphery of mainstream society. However, because of the methodologically individualistic manner in which the fields of medicine, psychology and social welfare treat disability, people with disabilities are 'dislocated' as a social group and therefore have been less able to act as a social group contesting

²⁹*This concept of identity and 'one dimensionality' refers to the way in which people with disabilities' identities get inextricably tied to their defined medical or psychological condition to the exclusion of any other personality. Hence they embody and identify solely with their medicalised status and become/ are perceived as 'one dimensional' beings.*

the experience of a particular type of discrimination.

Micro-cosmically, the able-bodied culture of social and physical mobility represents 'the centre', a space from which people with disabilities are excluded. This exclusion operates on both physical and psycho-social levels.

On a different level, G. Moodley (1997: 1) presents "disability as a development metaphor" and proposes that disability be used as a microcosm to reflect the larger development issues in South Africa. Besides the economic development that needs to occur, "inclusiveness of disabled people requires the satisfaction of a new social citizenship" (Moodley, 1997: 1). The concept of social citizenship is fundamental to the expanding and contested definition of development. No longer is the economic factor the exclusive one used in relation to development issues. Many development practitioners have expressed dissatisfaction with using abstract economic indicators as a true reflection of peoples experiences in relation to development. Further, satisfactory levels marked by these indicators do not translate necessarily into the materialisation of development aims and goals.³⁰ People with disabilities bear testament to this because besides being denied access to employment, those who manage to secure jobs are exploited and experience marginalisation in other areas, aside from work.

While it may be established that economics should not solely circumscribe development issues, the question arises: what then should development in relation to disability address?

Current development theorists and practitioners assert that a development needs to be viewed in a way that encompasses the development of the total human-being. Esteem, social citizenship and 'decolonising the mind' seem to be crucial aspects of development endeavours. Frere's contribution to the development paradigm is very useful for the context of disability for he sets out rules of operation especially with regard to developer and agent. Central to his 'praxis' is the building of a critical consciousness in the minds of marginalised people which is crucial to the disability development question. A person experiencing

³⁰*A second misgiving is that development practitioners have linked exploitative colonialism ideology and practice with economic 'development'. Economic indicators become a convenient way of measuring the developed world's benefits at the expense of the developing world, rather than an indicator of actual development.*

marginality needs to understand the nature of her/his own marginalisation in order to decide what to do about her/his condition. The participatory paradigm of development thus draws to the centre, the subject of underdevelopment, making him/her the central actor in his/her own developmental process. Thus, decolonising, denaturalising and dismantling marginality or underdevelopment must be the steps in the conscious mind of the underdeveloped or marginalised person.

Given that sustained and meaningful development practices need to be predicated on the participatory paradigm of development, the place or use of the arts within this paradigm in the context of disability needs to be investigated.

The scope of this essay demands a condensation of the interminable parameters of the arts. Firstly, for the purpose of this study, the focus will be on theatre and performance. Secondly, the purpose of art will be considered briefly and a link between participatory development and specific processes within the paradigms of art will be established. Thirdly, a contextual analysis of the arts in relation to South Africa and specifically KwaZulu Natal will be done. Fourthly, the relationship between specific paradigms in the arts, development and disability will be established.

Any discourse on the arts must be culturally, historically, politically and economically specific. Art has been constructed to have varied purposes and meanings in varied contexts. Art as a search for truth, art as representation, art as form, art as aesthetics, art as a language of emotion, art as high culture, art as alternative culture and art as pleasure and art as politics are some of the manifested constructions of art by practitioners and consumers in relation to fixing its meaning and purpose. (Fry, 1969)

For the purposes of this study, a fixed definition concerning the purpose and meaning of art will not be interrogated. However, an investigation of specific polarisation of 'art paradigms' and the tensions that arise from the union of such polarised paradigms will be explored in Chapter Three. For now however, it becomes necessary to make reference to and articulate an understanding of these oppositional paradigms of art.

Mainstream theatre is very much a segment of the ruling culture which is a manifestation of the ideals of a small section of a population. Leo Tolstoy (1965: 44-47) interrogates the birth of the 'professional' in relation to art and the creation of art as a profession. Tolstoy states that this 'high art' is basically a reflection of the upper classes 'wants and whims' and because of the fact that they pay well for such specific creations, such 'specific' art is created. This is inauthentic for it reflects the preferences of only a specific group of people and is accessible only by this specific group of people. Therefore art, tied closely to which is culture, has always had a secure place historically, politically and in relation to economics. Lentricchia reinforces this link between culture and ruling class ideology and the purpose of alternative cultural practices. "Ruling culture does not define the whole of culture though it tries to, and it is the task of the oppositional critic to re-read culture so as to amplify and strategically position the marginal voices of the ruled, exploited, oppressed, and excluded." (cited in Hoosain, <http://www.und.ac.za/und/ccms/publications/dissertations/hoosain2.htm>)

Internationally a multitude of practitioners formed alternative bodies of work that challenged mainstream theatrical practices. Bertolt Brecht, Gerzy Grotowski, Harold Pinter, Carol Churchill, Augusta Boal, Martha Graham, Twyla Tharp, Merce Cunningham, Alvin Ailey are a few of the more prolific artists who challenged the 'classical rules' of mainstream theatre. They rebelled against conventions that preceded them and set about to address

lacunae that they identified either in relation to form or content or performance methods. Even the traditional construction of mainstream theatre and its purpose was challenged by new methods and thus new purposes for performance were devised to serve a new audience.

Although each of these artists offer substantial contributions to theatre and performance, the focus will be on Augusta Boal. Boal is a Brazilian theatre practitioner who was sought inspiration from the work of Paulo Freire. He developed the 'Theatre of the Oppressed' which is a, "system of physical exercises, aesthetic games, image techniques and special improvisations whose goal is to safeguard, develop and reshape this human vocation, by turning the practice of theatre into an effective tool for the comprehension of social and personal problems and the search for their solutions"(Boal, 1995: 14-15). This system is very conducive to the kind of development that the disability sector requires.

Augusto Boal's theatre is intensely physical in nature, everything begins with the image and the image is made up of human bodies. The body also becomes the primary locus of the ideological inscriptions and oppressions Boal wishes to address through theatre. (Auslander, 1994: 124)

Using Boal's methods disablement may be confronted on ideological and physical levels within the safe confines of the theatre. Performance work may be used as educative and informative tools to counter stereotypes and misconceptions in mainstream society. This approach is of tantamount importance to disability for disablement ideology begins with the body as the primary locus of oppression.

Locally an equally varied multitude of practitioners inform alternative cultural practices. The context of the developing world, in which South Africa falls, spawned a variety of theatrical forms, most falling within the paradigm of development theatres.³¹ This type of theatre for development focussed on the revaluation of the culture and identity of the people who form the marginalised, the misrepresented and the unrepresented in mainstream culture. This kind of theatre acknowledges that, "the theatre does not 'reflect' society in an objective manner. An objective reality does not really exist. The theatre is an instrument by which dancers, singers, narrators, writers and actors interpret their own idea of reality" (Schipper, 1982: 8).

Therefore focus of theatre for development is also on interrogating 'the site of creation'. Theatre for the marginalised should be created by those who are marginalised and not by 'traditional experts' who are found in the mainstream for this action serves only to establish mainstream culture as superior and indigenous culture as inferior.

The context of South African theatre is important to the purpose of this study as it delineates the parameters and complexities of performance praxis. Kerr (1995: 240) illustrates that "the history of popular theatre in Southern Africa is one of struggle by the people to gain control over their own culture, colonial intrusion tried to devalue or even crush indigenous culture." Theatre and performance in South Africa have certainly not been a homogenous monolith and mainstream and alternative theatre in South Africa have been

oppositional practices serving very different endeavours.

Two parallel running cultures were formed in South Africa: the privileged white culture and the oppressed black culture. South Africa never experienced a uniform or united national culture. The state had full control of culture and cultural production. (Mazibuko, 1996: 219)

³¹Theatre for development in this instance is used loosely to encompass workshop theatre, protest theatre, popular theatre, advocacy, agit-prop and Boal's conception of spec-actors. These performance types are incorporated under the 'development theatre' paradigm because although the forms may differ, the purpose and philosophy behind these theatre models are similar. "Theatre for development uses peoples own performance models to create community dialogue - create their own messages and work out their own solutions. Conscientisation involves the active participation of people in transforming their own lives." (Mda, 1996: 208)

The Disability sector could very well be the most marginalised group in South Africa. In relation to development and disability, some of the areas that need attention are the development of a positive self-image, investment of social and physical capital, development of critical consciousness to enable people with disabilities to understand, come to terms with and overcome the nature of their own disablement

All these aspects fall within the ambit of culture. Art is the arena of cultural production but as alternative practitioners like Boal have illustrated: art can also be the arena of cultural negotiation and this is precisely how art becomes crucial to the question of development and disability.

Over centuries, many individual disabled people have fought against the negative and tragic stereotypes foisted upon them by a dominant culture. A second way of fighting back against a disabling culture is to get involved oneself in cultural production, usually through the arts. (Mason cited in Campbell & Oliver, 1996: 110-111)

Vic Finkelstein, a pioneer in disability arts initiatives, illustrates that people with disabilities have no disability culture that is not negative or self-defined. People with disabilities seldom enjoy a cultural life or a cultural identity. Therefore the arts are spaces that are crucial as a political and cultural fora to create a public image of people with disabilities on their own terms. The arts also provides a space in which internalised negative self-images may be addressed and further, as well as cultural interaction and the promise of a cultural life for people with disabilities. (Campbell & Oliver, 1996: 110-114)

Although there may very well be individual people with disabilities engaging

with 'art for arts sake', the engagement of the arts by the disability sector is a profoundly political act that serves the end of the development of disability as a whole. Morrison (cited in Campbell and Oliver, 1996: 112-113) talks of the need for "alternative cultural practices" that reflects the cause of disability movements by artists with disabilities.

He reflects on the progress since the establishment of disability arts movements states that, "the development of the disability arts movement is contributing greatly to the reclaiming of our self-esteem and pride as disabled people" (Mason cited in Campbell & Oliver, 1996: 98-99). This is crucial to the creation of critical consciousness which empowers people to understand the nature of their own marginalisation. Therefore it may be seen that arts and specifically the developmental paradigm of theatre and performance, has a central role to play in the development efforts of organisations for disability.

The participatory paradigm of development is useful in reconstructing disability and has profound implications for development in this area. Development would mean starting at the level of deconstructing the nature of disablement. This, coupled with key issues related to identity and the multifaceted level of oppression, needs to be addressed. Moving away from the tragedy theory of disability and re-investing social and physical capital would enhance the reconstruction of internalised negative self-images. Foregrounding the personality of a person with a disability and backgrounding the created, medicalised self would enhance the facilitation of such a person to become a social citizen. A strong focus on these aspects linked to the developmental paradigm of theatre and performance provides a good recipe for disability development as a whole in KwaZulu Natal.

CHAPTER THREE: THE STUDY

3.1. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS:

This study follows a qualitative research methodology in the form of a case-study. "The case-study focus is on a single actor, a single institution, a single enterprise, usually under natural conditions so as to understand it - that bounded system - in its natural habitat." (Stake: 1995). V.S.A.-KwaZulu Natal represents the bounded system and this organisation's participation in the Latin American First V.S.A. Congress, will represent the case study. The case study which will be an in-depth focus on the organisation's participation in this festival, will reveal the actual operation of the organisation.

The primary purpose of this study is a formative evaluation. The unit of analysis is the V.S.A.-KwaZulu Natal chapter. A purposeful sampling strategy has been used where eleven subjects that were deemed relevant to the study were selected. These subjects were divided into three groups and were interviewed 'face-to-face', in semi-structured manner. The first group encompassed two subjects who formed part of V.S.A.-KwaZulu Natal. They were not directly involved in the process or the congress. However, the purpose of interviewing them was to ascertain the perceptions of V.S.A. by its own membership. The second group encompassed four subjects. They were involved in organisation, selection, training and chaperoning of the participants. The purpose of interviewing this group was to discover how the

process was organised and what nature of development was perceived to be conducted. The third group encompassed five subjects who were the participants in this process. The purpose of interviewing this group of subjects is to validate the nature of development conducted and to investigate whether the aims and objectives inherent in the normative theory of the organisation were achieved. (Mikkelson, 1995)

This last set of interviews serves as a method of triangulation and therefore could verify the findings of this study. The validity of the study is further sustained through the use of multiple perspectives. In terms of ethical issues, the researcher has procured the consent of the organisation which is the focus of this study as well as consent from the interviewees who participated. (Mikkelson, 1995: 236)

The first weakness of this research project is that the use of the case study yields findings that, "serve as a foundation for generalisations" and therefore could be invalid. However Mikkelson suggests the use of theoretical frameworks which must be related to the case study in order to provide more authentic results. (Mikkelson, 1995: 80)

The second weakness is that the method of data collection was interviewing. There are several ethical dilemmas connected to this method. The relationship between the interviewer and interviewee impinges on the information extracted during the interview. Particularly in this case, where younger participants were interviewed, there was the danger of the interviewer "leading" in the interviewee or also of the interviewee trying to give answers that seem satisfactory to the interviewer in an attempt to please! This situation was diffused to an extent by the interpreters that were needed for the Deaf participants. In the case of the remaining five interviewees, four were adults and this issue proved to be less of a problem.

The third weakness of the study is the danger of being reductionist³² through the application of units of analysis to inappropriate contexts. Hence the theoretical framework in this instance is divided into four distinct sections to facilitate as much clarity as possible. However what follows is a contextual description of the Very Special Arts organisation.

³²"Reductionism refers to an overly strict limitation on the kinds of concepts and variables to be considered as causes in explaining a broad range of human behaviour." (Mikkelson, 1995: 97)

3.2. VERY SPECIAL ARTS (VSA): INTERNATIONAL AND LOCAL CONTEXTS

Very Special Arts International is a non-profit volunteer organisation that, "creates learning opportunities through the arts for people with disabilities"

(<http://www.vsarts.org/faq.html>) . This organisation was founded by Jean Kennedy Smith in 1974 and now serves over 1.3. million people world wide (<http://www.vsarts.org/index.html>) . The underlying principles of VSA International are as follows:

- experiences in the arts enhance personal growth, increase educational achievement and enable career success;
- "the arts are a universal and essential language which challenges people to respond to the world, to look beyond themselves, and to celebrate the diversity of human society by building bridges between people across cultures and through generations;
- participation in the arts by individuals with disabilities promotes acceptance and inclusion in all aspects of life. (John C. Culver cited in V.S.A., 1996 Annual Report: 3)

Founded on those principles, VSA networks with various educational, cultural, arts and other relevant organisations in order to facilitate and promote the development of people with disabilities through the medium of the arts. (<http://www.vsarts.org/programs/index.html>) VSA has affiliates from more than 54 nations, one of which is South Africa (VSA-South Africa pamphlet: see Appendix B2). Affiliates follow the organisational structure and guiding principles of the head body, however they are free to define and develop their own aims and goals.

South Africa became an affiliate of VSA International in 1991 and the national body is based in Athlone - Cape Town under the directorship of G.B. Africa. In 1996, the KwaZulu Natal Chapter of VSA-South Africa was launched. VSA-Kwa Zulu Natal has since participated in many local festivals and in 1998, as part of the VSA-South Africa team, participated in the Latin American First V.S.A. Festival. This was held in May 1998 in Sao Paulo - Brazil.

Given that South Africa has particular history and particular circumstances, VSA Kwa Zulu Natal has needed to formulate aims and objectives that are appropriate for its own context. VSA Kwa Zulu Natal's mission statement is, "To provide disabled persons or persons who have been marginalised socially with opportunities to access the Arts for the purpose of being integrated into society" (Appendix: B1).

What follows are the objectives of VSA - Kwa Zulu Natal which may be defined as the normative theory of the organisation. These defining factors indicate the kind of endeavours that the organisation ought to be engaged in. The primary objective of the organisation is, "To promote the educational and aesthetic benefits of the Visual and Performing Arts and to redress inequities of the past by integrating disadvantaged persons into society through the Arts".

The specific objectives of VSA Kwa Zulu Natal are as follows:

- Planning and organising Visual and Performing art activities, workshops, exhibitions and concerts
- Training teachers, parents, care-givers, volunteers in the various art forms

- Subsidising activities wherever possible for persons who are disadvantaged economically
- Identifying, selecting, training and enabling delegates for participation at local, national and inter-national arts events
- Engaging the public in awareness campaigns around the benefits of the arts for persons who have been previously marginalised (VSA Kwa Zulu Natal Document: Appendix B1).

What follows is the study, where the normative theory of the organisation will be compared to the context of KwaZulu Natal. The elements of disability, the arts and development will be consolidated and brought to bear on the practise of V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal.

3.3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS:

This study simultaneously encompasses disability, development and the arts. Therefore there are many theoretical frameworks which are of relevance and they will be used in the following way.

3.2.1. A contextual analysis will explore the state of disability in KwaZulu Natal and the issue that will be raised is whether the normative theory of V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal is suitably structured and is relevant for this particular context.

3.2.2. An exploration into the development issues related to this process will be compared with various development techniques and here again the issue of suitability will be raised. This aspect of the investigation will also encompass development in relation to disability and performance.

3.2.3. Aspects related to production, art and aesthetics will be discussed in this sub-section.

3.2.4. The final aspect is where the conflict between the local and international context will be investigated in order to ascertain the suitability of international goals for the local context.

3.2.1. Contextual Analysis

In this section the local context (KwaZulu Natal) in relation to disability will be reiterated together with the relationship between the arts and disability. This will be followed by an analysis of the normative theory of V.S.A. KwaZulu Natal in comparison to the context of this region.

Chapter One, section 1.3. explores the context of disability in KwaZulu Natal in more detail. What appears here merely summarises the above section. The experience of disability in this region is affected and shaped by various factors. Although race and class play a role in defining the nature of disability, there are other more pivotal factors that unite people with disabilities across class and race. This is the overwhelming attitude of exclusion and pity held by

the general public toward all people with disabilities which manifests itself in the treatment of people with disabilities.

Emmanuel Masango is a person residing in Kwa Zulu Natal who has a physical disability. He illustrates the difficulty of obtaining and retaining employment due to 'architectural'³³ disadvantages, problematic assumptions that employers harbour about people with disabilities who seek employment and if employment were to be miraculously found, such individuals suffer exploitation. (Appendix C2) The experiences revealed by many

³³*'Architectural' disadvantages refers to the lack of disability friendly buildings that contain ramps, railings and services for the Deaf and the Blind.*

individuals with disabilities (Chapter 1, section 1.3.) exposes the harsh treatment they receive from the public. Without even the possibility of employment, isolated and segregated, people with disabilities live lonely lives. This phenomenon is compounded by the fact that people with disabilities are also isolated from each other and because of their isolation many are unable to understand, cope with, manage or contest the nature of their disablement. Thus the cycle of disablement is fed, and in so doing myths about people with disabilities are perpetuated rather than deconstructed.

Cedric Hedgcock³⁴ recapitulates the major problem related to disability in KwaZulu Natal by stressing that the attitude of exclusion urgently needs to change to that of inclusion, especially at grassroots level. (Appendix C3) Institutions like the government and the media are also guilty of exclusionary practice in relation to disability issues. The media gives little to no coverage to disability issues and the government's relationship with disability is structural rather than operational.³⁵

Many disability theorists (Michael Oliver, Vic Finkelstein and Jane Campbell: 1996) and people with disabilities themselves agree that identity and culture are central to the development of disability. Given that the arts is the foundation for the development of a new and self determined identity and culture, Lewis Nzimande's submission that the governments relationship with disability is merely structural is proved to be true due to the lack of acknowledgement by the White Paper on an Integrated National Disability Strategy (1997) of arts related disability organisations in South Africa or the place of the arts in the development of disability.

To refer to the arts generally is to expose oneself to the minefield of paradigms, perspectives and trajectories that amalgamate to form the arts. In this particular instance the purpose of the arts must be reiterated. As outlined in section Chapter 2, section 2.2., the arts, when engaged by the disability sector, immediately become alternative art due to the nature of the performers. However if these performers are engaging only in mainstream art (In terms of form and content and purpose), they will cease to be alternative

and will soon be assimilated into the mainstream, producing mainstream ideology through their work. This only serves to maintain the hegemony of 'normalcy' and disability will therefore be maintained as another difference. As no real interrogation around the nature of disablement occurs through engaging mainstream art, the experience of disablement is naturalised. What emerges is the irreconcilable position of an individual with a disability working and supporting a system that generates and promotes her/his own disablement. Therefore, on many levels, it is crucial to deliberate the use of the arts in the context of disability development.

The development paradigm of the arts proves to be most useful in this context. Augusto Boal's work falls within this paradigm. His 'Theatre of the Oppressed' methodology provides a blueprint for the negotiation of one's identity and culture. It is in this space that the most sustainable and valuable development efforts may occur.

Given that these are the parameters that govern the needs of people with disabilities in Kwa Zulu Natal, the normative theory of V.S.A. - Kwa Zulu Natal will be analysed.

The mission statement of the organisation states: "To provide disabled persons or persons who have been marginalised socially with opportunities to access the Arts for the purpose of being integrated into society" (Appendix: B1). The statement indicates a political agenda, for the Arts are being accessed for a particular purpose. Although it is unclear of what paradigm of the arts should be used for this end, engagement with mainstream art indicates an irreconcilable collusion with a paradigm that engenders, supports, bolsters, naturalises unequal relations in society. It is therefore clear that the development paradigm is the only paradigm that has the necessary framework for the interrogation of society's exclusionary practices.

The primary objective indicates a confusion of purpose and method: "To promote the educational and aesthetic benefits of the Visual and Performing Arts and to redress inequities of the past by integrating disadvantaged persons into society" (Appendix B1). The eventual aim or 'end' of this alliance between disability organisations and the arts is integration. However it is not in the power of such organisations to 'integrate' people with disabilities, for the process of authentic integration demands a lot of preparation. This preparation should focus on the development of people with disabilities first and thereafter integration should logically follow. The development of people with disabilities is the crucial aspect absent from the normative theory of V.S.A. - Kwa Zulu Natal. This absence leads to the 'foregrounding' of arts and integration rather than the development of people with disabilities. Hence the reasoning behind the 'disability-arts' alliance³⁶ 'back-grounded' or even forgotten. Engaging in the arts becomes the supreme focus without any or proper consideration for what paradigms are used and to what end. Therefore sustainable development and authentic integration remains elusive.

The specific objectives of V.S.A. - Kwa Zulu Natal focus on the development of the arts rather than the development of disability. The danger of this is that the adequacy of a project is judged according to its relatedness to the arts, rather than its relatedness to development and development of

disability. The resultant tragedy of this confusion or misinterpretation is that effort is repeatedly expended with no real results in relation to long term development which may result in frustration and disillusionment.

Therefore the contextual reality of Kwa Zulu Natal in respect of disability, has an uneasy, unclear relationship with V.S.A. - Kwa Zulu Natal's normative theory. The normative theory lacks clarity and focus and appears to be far too generalised to effect any meaningful, authentic development. However this will be investigated further in the next section.

3.2.2. Development aspects and the process:

Development may be assessed on a variety of levels in relation to this process. Firstly, the design or strategies of the development agents - V.S.A. KwaZulu Natal will be investigated. Secondly, the development of the participants with disabilities will be addressed. Lastly, the development of the able-bodied participants will be dealt with.

3.2.2.1. Development designs and strategies

In this section, the broad aims and goals of V.S.A. KwaZulu Natal as articulated by various members and participants, will be investigated. Thereafter the specific aims for this project, as understood and executed by the various subjects involved, will be explored. This will be concluded by the findings of the matter.

³⁶The disability - arts alliance formed so that people with disability have a forum in which to negotiate and create a self-informed culture and identity. The purpose is political and the arts is a medium rather than the dominant factor in this alliance. This is not to dispute that the arts is generally beneficial, but rather to investigate what type, methodology, paradigm of the arts is most useful to the cause of disability development.

In the first instance, most of the subjects interviewed seem to be unclear or totally ignorant of the aims and goals of V.S.A. KwaZulu Natal. When asked what V.S.A. KwaZulu Natal's purpose was and what its principles, the responses were as follows:

Member: "to promote and expose disabled people - to show off their talent" (Appendix: A2).

Participant: " I don't know" (Appendix: A11).

Teacher: "I don't know because we really didn't have any" (Appendix: A4).

Participant: "to help the Deaf and Blind people" (Appendix: A8).

Member: "to, as quickly as possible empower as many teachers as possible because they are at the grassroots level"(Appendix: A3).

Participant: "I don't know anything" (Appendix: A5).

Participant: "to expose disabled people"(Appendix: A6).

Participant: "where the Deaf and the disabled dance together"(Appendix: A9).

Member: "I'm not very clear on that" (Appendix: A7).

Choreographer: "It was mostly informal, but I had an some sort of an idea about this project"(Appendix: A10).

This confusion, misinterpretation or difference of interpretation of what the purpose of the organisation is, is as a result of one of the following systems of operation.

- Disorganisation which leads to a lack of relevant information being disseminated to the relevant participants or members of the organisation.³⁷
- Operating with commonsense knowledge³⁸ where it is assumed by the leadership that other members and participants are fully aware of the organisation and philosophical details of V.S.A. KwaZulu Natal.
- Lack of self-reflexive³⁹ interrogation of what information is relevant to disseminate

³⁷"I am no longer a member of V.S.A.-Kwa Zulu Natal. They are not a very organised concern." (Appendix: A4)

³⁸Commonsense knowledge refers to the assumptions that we have in an act of communication which is that the other person or persons that we are communicating with share the same interpretations (typifications) or world views.

³⁹Self-reflexivity, "refers to a capacity to continuously grow, develop, refocus and structure the organisation on a basis of actual experience, and to reflect on that experience. Some people refer to it as the need to become 'learning'/'smart' organisations.

to members and participants.

- Lack of discussion by the membership around what the normative theory of V.S.A. KwaZulu Natal should be and whether the current theory services the contextual needs of people with disabilities.

The chair of V.S.A. KwaZulu Natal states that the guiding principles of the organisation are, "to promote and empower disabled people. In so doing integrate them into society" and in terms of this project the chair also states that, "the Brazil project was product orientated" (Appendix: A1). This reflects the inception of a very problematic conflation or contradiction of developmental aspects and production oriented⁴⁰ aspects being used in the same project.

The chair states that one of the aims of V.S.A. KwaZulu Natal is to promote, select and train artists with disabilities and to give them opportunities to appear in among other things - international festivals. (Appendix: A1) In this way it may appear that the project fulfilled some of the aims of the organisation. However the chair and the choreographer share the sentiments that the participants who were chosen had no formal dance training, were not mature enough for participation in an international festival, and were put under enormous pressure to deliver despite their lack of grounding in this level of performance and production. (Appendices: A1 and A10)

"Up until we got there, I thought that it was a children's festival. When we got there I got the shock of my life! We survived by the skin of our teeth!" (Appendix: 10) This evidence supports the submission that the interaction that occurred between key members (i.e. the chair and the choreographer) involved in this project was based on an inadequate level of commonsense understanding. This kind of communication must be problematised and has, in this instance, proven to be disastrous. Crucial information was obscured by key players who were acting on inadequate assumptions.

The lack of relevant development methods, even on the level of communication, has very problematic results. For despite the attraction of the "glamour and glitz" involved in participating in an international festival, the mis-use of artists or participants in appropriate

⁴⁰Development work refers to people centred work that is focussed on the process rather than the product while production refers to work that is solely generated towards the product and therefore the product is the main focus here.

contexts results in the frustration and mis-use of funds, time, effort and thus development goals are unnecessarily thwarted.

From this it may be concluded that V.S.A. KwaZulu Natal has difficulties in relation to setting specific goals for specific projects. The general aims, goals and philosophies of V.S.A. KwaZulu Natal are conflated and thus become ambiguous. It is apparent that the organisation lacks a clear strategy in relation to how it's enterprises will be defined. This results in projects being ill-defined and less successful than they could possibly be.

The following are recommendations that may facilitate easier or more productive and less problematic endeavours:

- Perhaps this aspect should be considered and clear development strategies for better, more efficient organisation could be devised.
- V.S.A. KwaZulu Natal should engage all new membership and participants on the level of consociates.⁴¹
- The leadership should devise a on- going, built-in method of generating self-reflexive critique by all its members and for the organisation itself.
- Constant discussion and interrogation of the normative theory of V.S.A. KwaZulu Natal is crucial to the development of the organisation. This should be also a built-in and on going process that should service the ideal that, "one is no longer attempting to create a need for information one is disseminating, but one is rather disseminating information for which there is a need" (Servaes, 1995: 77).

Consider the difference in interpretation between the Chair of V.S.A. - Kwa Zulu Natal and one of the members in relation to aims and goals. The Chair focused on the promotion of people with disabilities (Appendix: A1), while a member (Appendix: A3) conversely focused on the teachers of children with disabilities as the main area that needs the attention of the organisation. These differences should be sought out to develop new and innovative plans for the organisation that will work and produce the desired effects.

Other participants state that better communication and planning should be invested in projects, especially if they are fall within the ambit of the international arena.

"I think that they should have planned better where we could get the maximum use of that country itself.

⁴¹See chapter two, section 2.1. for a more detailed understanding of the term consociates.

We were taken places but it was repetitive."(Appendix: A6)} "The organisation in relation to Brazil from V.S.A.-South Africa was atrocious - I mean the planning for this kind of thing needs to be massive and it was not at all as it needed to be."(Appendix: A10)

3.2.2.2. Development of participants with disabilities

The development of these participants will be discussed in relation to the 'conscious', deliberate efforts of development that V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal made. There will be a distinction drawn between 'incidental' learning that occurs despite or in spite of the external influences of development agents and changes or development that occurs due to or as a result of these agents

structuring and influencing the process.

The actual project spanned a very short time and therefore very little in relation to development aspects was possible (approximately 8 weeks). However the processes that did occur in this time nevertheless needs analysis. According to the choreographer (Appendix: A10), he was brought in by V.S.A. -Kwa Zulu Natal specifically as a professional choreographer to 'direct' the piece. For him, this included exposing the participants to various dance techniques and dance languages, giving them some sort of dance technique which they lacked and shaping a performance piece in the time that was available. He also maintained that although the creative process was democratic, he would be finally responsible for the piece, therefore he should have the corresponding final "say or decision" in resolving the intricacies of the piece. According to the chair of V.S.A.-Kwa Zulu Natal, the choreographer was meant to do the above, including "giving them the skills required for the formulation of dance", and extending their (the participants with disabilities) abilities through workshops, although she maintains that this was not accomplished. There were many disputes between the choreographer and the Chair which mainly centred around issues of 'democratic choreography', what should be left in the piece and what should be excluded and who ultimately had the power to make these decisions. The choreographer claims that he was brought into this project because of his knowledge of production and performance. "If you get someone from the outside, they are responsible for it and they will make it work. Ultimately one person needs to make that decision and as I understood things that was my position. You can't choose to have democratic choreography at the eleventh hour - before the performance". (Appendix: A10)

According to the teachers who participated in this project, the creative process had little or no structure and their own role was ill-defined if at all. They (the teachers) claim to have improvised as "choreographers, interpreters, care givers, chaperones, drivers, 'fund raisers' and in charge of the paper work (organising passports) necessary to transport the children to Brazil" (Appendices: A4 and 7). According to the participants involved in this project, they were taught specific dance steps that eventually culminated in a performance piece. The process began as a space where one could input one's ideas but as the process developed the attitude of the 'leaders' became dictatorial. One of the participants claims to have not been 'developed' in terms of performance techniques at all, because it was assumed that he already was knowledgeable in this field as he had performed before. (Appendix: A6) The Deaf participants complained of not understanding instructions clearly from the choreographer due to his lack of knowledge of Sign Language, but they solved their own problem but heavily relying on each other for direction. (Appendices: A8, 9 and 11) The youngest participant said that she was too afraid to raise any issues or points of clarification that may have been disturbing her due to fear! (Appendix: A5) The teachers point out that she, more than anybody else, was not in tune with the rest of the group and often made mistakes at crucial points of the performance. This participant had a physical disability and was wheelchair bound. Her "dance abilities were not extended to the fullest and in terms of interaction between the performers, you sometimes found her completely lost or misplaced because the others didn't want to interact with her. She was just an appendage to this

dance, she didn't have an integral role as the others had" (Appendix: A1).

The estrangement of the Deaf participants and the youngest participant is a signification of the nature of the relationship between the H/hearing and the Deaf in the project. The Chair and the choreographer were charged with

not even bothering to access the Deaf kids by either learning some sign language or at least communicating with them through the interpreters. Even functional things like instructions could have been given by them to facilitate some contact and closeness between the Deaf and the hearing groups on the trip. What was even more outrageous was not communicating with the kids and then accusing the kids of being snooty and snobbish, the kids are Deaf and they were branded as snooty and as kids who don't want to mix with others (Appendix: A4).

This indicates ironically that the festivals theme of unity across disability was not achieved and relations across disabilities and abilities had underlying traits of tension and deviciveness. A hearing participant proves that the Deaf are misunderstood. The two Deaf participants "kept to themselves and they never really made the effort to communicate so I didn't get to know them" (Appendix: A6). This alienation of different groups from each other also indicates that there was no real structured attempt to bond as a group from the outset. All the seemingly 'appropriate' people were gathered together to join in and assist in the same project, however no attempt seems to have been made to 'consciously' make the group a cohesive one, where everybody is at the very least, clear about their roles and functions including the function of the project. These are instances that are symptomatic of commonsense communication and Chapter 2, section 2.1. illustrates that development endeavours need relationships of consociates in order for those endeavours to be successful. (Protz, 1994) Protz also indicates that 'In-groups' share the same typifications⁴² as commonsense. In relation to this project, the mistaken assumption that all involved belonged to the same 'in-group', and therefore what was thought to be commonsense understandings need not have been articulated, had disastrous consequences. This was a situation where it was very important for everybody to relate on a level that was not typified. Rather communication should have been structured so that more accurate and precise details of 'others' were uncovered and learnt.

Protz illustrates that diffusionist development techniques generally involved the common-sense dynamic and therefore were very unsuccessful, similarly the nature of interaction that occurred throughout this project could be questioned with respect to its resemblance to diffusionist techniques.

Hedebro (1982: 25) states that diffusion theory was based on the idea that "objects and ideas brought in from the outside exert a greater influence on a culture than factors emanating from within the culture itself". "It was generally assumed that a nation became truly modern when it arrived at the point where it resembled Western industrialised nations" in every possible respect (Fjes cited in Melkote, 1991: 38).

Using the early development theories and practice as an indicator of

inadequate, inept

⁴²Typification refers to the simplification of reality. Our thoughts are based on typifications and these are socially constructed. See chapter 2, section 2.1. for more details.

and deficient development practice it is quite interesting to interface the 'developed-underdeveloped' metaphor with the able-bodied and people with disabilities. In this instance judging from the use of music in a performance piece that employed three Deaf performers and the lack of extension of the remaining participants, what may be deduced is that there was a wholesale diffusion of a Hearing and able-bodied dance culture.

Disability culture⁴³ in relation to dance and performance was neither explored or used in any great detail. One of the most prolific of the factors (music) that was used was external to the Deaf disability culture. It may be argued that performances with Deaf artists, where dance is used without music, do not work artistically or aesthetically because music is more pleasurable and audiences find it difficult to watch dance without music. This argument may be countered with an interrogation around the nature and purpose of performance. When people with disabilities perform, they are expected to conform instantaneously to mainstream standards without any consideration of whether this is appropriate or not. In this instance, the Deaf are expected to perform with sound and are expected to respond to auditory cues. Yet when Avant Garde artists walk the sides of buildings, dance on the roof tops and hold performances that are days long, where audiences are given scant consideration (Trisha Brown, Twyla Tharp, Merce Cunningham) they are documented for their 'cutting edge' work in the arts. People within the field of disability are however not given that privilege, especially by mainstream artists. They are judged according to how well they conform to mainstream art and by mainstream standards. Such is the unfortunate nature of the disability double standard!

Using the metaphor of development and underdevelopment in relation to able-bodied and disability, it may be deduced that the able body is a representation of what people with disabilities ought to strive to become. Development and disability it seems must contend with this assertion and must strive towards it. Just as, through modernisation underdeveloped

⁴³This indicates the use of alternative, more meaningful performance 'aids' rather than music which could have impacted more strongly on the Deaf participants (who were in the majority). There is a strong move, especially in performance, in dance to encompass Deaf people into dance because they are easier to work due to their 'able-bodies'. Therefore they are encouraged, more than other people with disabilities, to perform in dance and other

physical artistic endeavours. This is very problematic because it tends to exclude people with other disabilities from this art form. Just as the participant who used a wheelchair was excluded on stage by the Deaf participants.

Nations had to strive to catch up with modern world, people with disabilities seem to have to strive to transform themselves into 'as-normal-as-possible'. Striving to make disabilities disappear is not developmental, but is forcing people with disabilities to achieve normalcy. This in the long run is cruel, frustrating and illogical.

In the development of disability, it is important not to make the same mistake that the modernisation development practitioners made. The west problematically projected themselves as the logical end of every underdeveloped societies development. Similarly, the logical aspiration of people with disabilities should be their own aspirations and not imposed by seemingly well-wishing agents of development. In relation to the arts it is equally important to allow for disability to form its own culture and its own art. The strength of this should not be measured by the 'mainstream arts yardstick'. Enablement should not mean 'normality' - distance from or separation from disability. Art and existence should encompass disability fully.

In relation to the arts, it is also important through the cause of enablement - that 'art experts' do not begin to occupy a dominant position in relation to creation and production. Art experts must not be allowed to peddle art expertise, servicing their own interests at the expense of the development aspects, where art becomes fetishised and is the sole focus of the endeavour and the 'art expert'- the sole font of knowledge.

The following concepts are derived from Freire's praxis for liberation and this helps to understand why development efforts need to be structured along certain strategies and procedures.

In relation to the kind of dance development that occurred, the basis of the work was focussed largely on teaching the participants specific dance sequences which they were to remember. This is reflective of the "banking method of teaching"⁴⁴ and is very problematic for Freire asserts that such a method, "is characteristic of the ideology of oppression, negates education and knowledge as processes of inquiry" (Freire, 1972: 46). There was some workshopping done and this should have been the nature of the process rather than the basis for one rehearsal. Related to this is the 'gnosiological cycle' which describes two processes of learning. The first process is the production of knowledge and the second is when the produced knowledge is known or perceived. Freire asserts that in order to develop a critical

⁴⁴See chapter 2, section 2.1. for more details.

consciousness together with creating situations for efficient and adequate learning, these two processes must not be dichotomised or separated in a development endeavour. Therefore in relation to the process of dance development, participants should be provided with a forum to develop their own dance technique and language and this will more adequately serve a development endeavour rather than 'banking' dance steps into participants.

Servaes introduces the concept of 'reciprocal collaboration'⁴⁵ and in the context of this project, it appears that there were attempts to begin this way. However it seems that as the project progressed, the collaboration retrogressed. "We had occasions where these kids were bullied and shouted at. Even if this was discipline, it was very inconsistent discipline." (Appendix: A4)

In terms of such a high-pressured, production oriented project, it is unwise to involve performers who are not mature in relation to performance as well as in relation to age. For the demands of such a situation could be damaging to the participants who are already unsure of themselves. "In the international arena, you have to have mature performers who have had a certain amount of training to carry off a performance. We put those kids under enormous pressure and we survived by the skin of our teeth!" (Appendix: A 10)

Masilela (1996) discusses the concept of extension, which very much like the banking method of teaching, anaesthetizes the critical spirit and domesticates people. Masilela asserts that development agents and subjects need to engage in a constant 'problem-posing dialogue', but warns that this could lead to the 'epistemological arrogance' of the development agent which results in a 'hierarchical view of consciousness'.⁴⁶ In this stance, the able-bodied people on the trip were very involved in doing things for the participants with disabilities. This was in relation to getting tickets, passports and money and also managing these on the actual trip by keeping them in 'safe places' for the participants with disabilities. "Some of the kids were not allowed to handle their own boarding passes and their passports, the life skills aspects of this trip were lacking and I found that to be a tragedy because it was such a good opportunity to extend these kids in those ways" (Appendix: A4). The over-protective response indicates a paternalistic attitude where the able-bodied, in most respects, deemed

⁴⁵See chapter 2, section 2.1. for more details.

⁴⁶See chapter 2, section 2.1. for more details.

themselves knowledgeable in relation to disability issues and act on this epistemological arrogance.

The last aspect that needs to surface is the notion of equality. Lummis (1992) differentiates between two types or meanings of equality. In the first instance, equality refers to 'sameness or homogeneity' and in the second instance equality refers to 'just or fair' treatment. The first type of equality will be referred to as a 'naturalising equality'. This is where the noble ideal of equality is championed by the naturalisation of difference. This is illustrated by the choreographers attitude which was that he disregarded disability and was not going to make allowances for it in relation to not performing well enough. It is problematic for there is no attempt to develop a 'consocial' understanding of people that one is working so closely with. The naturalisation of difference does not service disability or the cause of disablement for mainstream society is always attempting to naturalise and thus ignore the difference that exists between people with disabilities and mainstream society. This attitude does however service mainstream society because this indicates that the differences that exist need not be addressed or 'redressed' and everybody will hereafter be the same. People with disabilities will still be disadvantaged. People with disabilities need to be treated differently in order to be treated fairly. The second type of equality champions difference and recognises the need to treat people fairly or justly, one may have to treat them differently. 'Difference equality' does not homogenise people but respects and allows for difference to exist.

One of the most encouraging aspects of this study is that all the participants, including the teachers and the choreographer state that they benefited from the project in terms of incidental learning. This is in relation to the different cultures in Brazil, the different language, the interesting art forms. Although, better use of a foreign country could have been made in terms of tourism and in that amount of time, participants argue that more could have been done with them, rather than rehearsing. (Appendix: A4 and A6)

A project on such a large, involving so much of time, money and effort cannot afford to rely on 'incidental learning' as the focus and goal of its developmental endeavour. Therefore although this is encouraging, it also is revealed as a weakness of the project.

3.2.2.3. Development of the teachers involved

All the teachers and the choreographer reacted very positively to the experience of the conference and the festival. Many made valuable connections and were enlightened and challenged in terms of their own stereotypes surrounding disability and ability in relation to performance. The language barrier however proved to be a problem area.

In a sense it widened for me my whole perspective in terms of methodology and teaching where you saw teachers here still cling on to power, control, directing and orchestrating work. What we saw there were professionals and this gave me direction in terms of where I would like to see our students going in the future. (Appendix: A1)

Putting aside all the negative aspects the experience was rich for the simple reason that you met lots of organised

people. This was the V.S.A. - Sao Paulo chapter. We had to do our best with the situation on an individual capacity. It was heart warming to find that the people who were running the V.S.A. branches elsewhere were disabled and they were very organised. Also I met with many artists, I'm an art specialist and this was for me a good part of the trip. Meeting people who were very giving in terms of sharing their work and allowing me to photocopy aspects to bring back, which I have done and I've used them beautifully in school. It was a real eye-opener in terms of seeing people with various disabilities doing such amazing work. (Appendix: A4)

The development of teachers in relation to the local context was not good. Much more could have been done in terms of enskilling the teachers with dance language and related techniques. "There was room to do more, we could have come away with more in relation to dance, how to teach, the skills." (Appendix: A7) Perhaps V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal should consider sending more teachers to conferences around arts and disability since it appears to be so positive an experience.

3.2.3. Production, Art and Aesthetics

In this section these aspects will be discussed in relation to the actual product that emerged from the project. As the production was a dance production and is an 'immediate' art form, the opinions of all the participants involved will be assessed including other members who watched the performance.

One of the teachers who participated stated that the whole group were floundering on stage because they were confused due to all the last minute changes that were made. Others stated that the performance was mediocre, while some thought it to be fantastic. (Appendices: A1-A11)

These opinions are varied and indicate that the route of production oriented work is not in the least bit - the easier route to travel in the quest for developing members capacity and proficiency in the arts. Since opinions in relation to the arts are so varied, it perhaps is better to develop members to the extent that they cultivate the confidence and esteem that developmental work can cultivate. This will enable them to deal adequately with differing opinions, which sometimes can be very damaging.

The choreographer does bring up an interesting point which is that good work can emerge out of developmental practices. (Appendix: A10) However, Albie Sachs gives a reason for why good work does not emerge out of development processes. "Instead of getting real criticism, we get solidarity criticism. Our artists are not pushed to improve the quality of their work, it is not enough to be politically correct." (Sachs quoted in Mda, 1996: 193)

Within the disability-arts-development framework, this can easily happen because people with disabilities are not expected to do so many things. Therefore if they even get up on stage, that in itself seems enough. Some argue that to put people with disabilities on stage is a 'revolutionary' exercise in advocacy. (Moodley, S., 1994: 108) However when one does not move

beyond just 'getting onto stage', Sachs's assessment proves to be true: that disability practitioners themselves engage in 'solidarity criticism' therefore artists with disabilities are stunted and are not really developed to their full potential.

However development work need not be underscored by mediocrity. The very nature of serious development work (which challenges identity and the status quo) yields very good and intense work. Examples of this are works emerging from protest theatre, feminist and womanist playwrights and artists. Therefore it is important to focus the subject matter of development work. In South Africa in relation to protest theatre, artists focussed on dismantling apartheid and similarly feminist artists also had a focus which was on dismantling patriarchy. Therefore development work needs a balanced focus and not necessarily a fetishisation of art to yield good work in the arts. Disability development endeavours must be cultivate a relationship with the arts for political and developmental reasons and ironically for the sake of the arts itself.

3.2.4. Local and International Contexts:

The context of V.S.A. KwaZulu Natal has been discussed earlier, however it is necessary to recapitulate aspects of this in relation to the international context of V.S.A. The metaphor of international and local, developed and underdeveloped is once again useful to this context. V.S.A. cannot take it's lead from the international organisation to define local aims and goals because the contexts are so different. One member of V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal articulates this difference well:

If you contextualise the international aims of V.S.A., which are towards fully integrating differently abled members of society in that society, you find it very difficult. If you look at Europe, it has structures, so you can question its ideology. Here we have a new government that is meant to be putting this ethos in place while the structures are still dysfunctional. (Appendix: A3)

The developed world has different contexts, politically, economically and socially. The idea is not for VSA to mirror the reality of the west but to help the local people with disabilities understand and make sense of their own reality. Hence they (the local people whom V.S.A. is meant to service) will develop their own aspiration and goals.

In reaction to the question of who V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal's 'niche market is, the chair stated that most of the programmes currently run are directed at schools. She also stated that although V.S.A. - Kwa Zulu Natal sought to move away from the school context, teachers had not yet internalised issues related to art, development and disability. (Appendix: A1) Her remarks indicate the inception of some of the problems related to V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal's participation in the festival. The only group that the organisation could draw from was the schools. These are not professional artists yet they were trained in a convoluted way and were pressured into delivering performances on a professional stage as if they were professional artists. One of the

members states that, "The short term goal is, as quickly as possible to empower as many teachers as possible because they are at the grassroots." (Appendix: A3) This point is well made and in order to develop the level of professionals that are present in international arenas, the start needs to be from the basic point which is education. The problem with this project was that international capacity was confused with local capacity. Therefore it remains clear that the local context must be more closely interrogated by the V.S.A. KwaZulu Natal.

Another issue related to the local - international debate is that international festivals cannot really be about development. The choreographer illustrates this: " What the international audiences want from South Africa is drums, African dancing and maybe a little bit of Indian dancing. They don' t want to see people coming to terms with themselves. One of the directors said to me that the piece was good but where were the drums. We are expected to do cultural tourism!"(Appendix: A10)

Therefore it is exceedingly difficult to delineate from the expectations of international audiences, irrespective of whether they are of developed or developing world status. If V. S.A. KwaZulu Natal continues to take amateurs to professional stages, then the perception of South Africa or the artists with disabilities in South Africa will be that they are amateurs. Locally, artists need to be developed so that they gain a level of confidence, maturity and esteem so that when they perform internationally, they are doing it as professionals and can field their own responses to the expectations of international audiences. However, "they are making the mistake again and are taking children to the festival in Los Angeles in 1999" (Appendix: A10).

Festivals are about careerism, showcasing professional talent and are mainstream art events in the sense that they are not developmental, therefore merging development work with production work do not work in tandem and often have conflicting results.

3.4. FINDINGS:

The general findings of the analysis can be summarised in the following table.

1. The normative theory of V.S.A. KwaZulu Natal is tangential to the
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relevant parties.

8. There is lack of self-reflexive critique.
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9. There is a lack of clear development strategies.

10. There is lack of human resource development in relation to membership.
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CHAPTER FOUR

4.1. RECOMMENDATIONS:

Edgar Pieterse (1995:1) analyses the crisis that many non-governmental organisations and other development agencies are undergoing and he concludes that:

In broad terms it seems as if these sectors simply seem ill equipped to deal with the 'new' challenges. This is often explained in terms of capacity limitations. However, this explanation is too glib and shallow. The problems run much deeper and have to do with the very basic (ideological) understanding of why these movements exist and what their roles are. Also, it is related to the modes of operation, types of strategies and structuring of these organisations, I would argue that progressive civil society organisations are in a crisis because their style of organising, philosophy and mission are outdated and inappropriate.

V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal is a fairly new organisation, however it appears to be afflicted with these 'old ideological and operational problems' . Therefore this section is divided into three aspects. The first deals with ideological reassessments, the second aspect deals with organisational/operational development and the third aspect deals with funding.

4.1.1. Ideological Reassessments:

The research undertaken in this project has illustrated that the normative theory of V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal and the context of KwaZulu Natal do not correlate.⁴⁷ Therefore it is recommended that the organisation undertake a serious ideological review to redefine it's purpose and function in relation to the context that V.S.A. finds itself in. Pieterse (1995:12) illustrates that this contextual analysis needs to be more in-depth and less superficial and he introduces some useful "conceptual implications" of such in-depth analysis:

Recognising that transformations occur across a much broader terrain than simply institutional politics and economics, but also in everyday spaces such as the household, the locality, gender relations, personal empowerment, etc., without failing to draw the connection between such everyday and larger transformation processes; and -autonomous actions and community-driven processes require a much deeper appreciation of what a locality has to offer in terms of the

necessary ' social fabric' to sustain development actions and transformatory political practise.

In relation to V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal, there should be a focus on the development of it's members and the constituents that it serves . This could begin on a very basic scale in relation to awareness, where constituents (participants in projects, pupils with disabilities and teachers in such schools) are made aware of what V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal is all about. This, of course, should follow the internal V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal ideological reassessment.

\Sulemana Abudulai (cited in Thomforde, 1998: 76) gives disability an assessment and discovers that in many countries the experience of disability organisations are the same. "The associations have been started by well-meaning but often self-interested people, the initial

⁴⁷See chapter three, section 3.3.

objectives are often not 'owned' by the wider membership." Abudulai asks a few key questions that are very relevant to the re-assessment of any organisation: "why are associations needed, what activities should be carried out, what leadership structures are appropriate, what decision-making systems are most transparent and how financial accountability can be promoted".

Given that V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal is also an arts organisation, it is crucial to reiterate the urgency for it to question and reassess the purpose and function of disability-arts alliance that was formed by disability organisations. This is indeed the nucleus of V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal's ideological reassessment. Rather than engaging on a large scale in international festivals, the resources (time, money, effort) may be put to better use by focussing them on local projects that are more sustained and alternatively on organisational development and capacity building.

Coetzee (1989: 4-8) states that, " people involved in development must be placed radically in the centre, development must be grounded in consciousness". If V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal's agenda is developmental, then the following concepts are crucial for the organisation to consider in the quest for sustainable development processes. Freire' s liberatory praxis in relation to (among various other aspects) the cultivation of a critical consciousness is central to the development of disability, especially when this development is attempted through the medium of the arts. Key questions surrounding the nature of disablement, identity and social constructions of disability need to be contested by people with disabilities themselves.

hooks (1993: 147-148) states that "because the colonizing forces are so powerful a decolonization political process should be fundamental to our lives and is not" . Similarly, disablement could be easily compared to colonisation.

People with disabilities also have to challenge the powerful and devious disablement ideology and this process should be fundamental to the lives of all people with disabilities and all people who work with disability organisations so that on the ideological battlefield, disablement dies.

Linked to the notion of identity, it is important to remember that the experience of disablement is multifaceted and engagement with the arts in this context should seek to uncover the extremities of this multifaceted nature of disablement.

Stephen D. Biggs (1995: 4) introduces and problematises the "social construction of knowledge and the social control of information". In relation to the development question, development agents may become tyrannical in relation to the social control of information.

In the instance of this project, the choreographer was brought in from The Playhouse Company, which is an arts based production company. For all intents and purposes, this is a space where the arts are fetishised. If the arts becomes fetishised and is the only focus in a development endeavour, the possibility of the polarisation of disabilities into different art forms (according to 'convenience') is large. This polarisation refers to the way the Deaf are eagerly recruited to perform in dance and other 'physical' art forms due to the fact that they usually have bodies closest to 'normality' with no physical disability other than being unable to hear. Therefore they make 'convenient dancers'. In the same vein, Blind people are recruited for their voices because this aspect in them is closest to normality and so to, people with physical disabilities are generally encouraged to write and act.

In this dance project, three of the four performers were Deaf and 'able-bodied' while the child with the physical disability was reported to have been excluded by the Deaf performers and her abilities were not extended by the choreographer.⁴⁸ The fifth performer was a speaker, who had a physical disability. In terms of 'artistic-disability stereotypes', this project supported rather than challenged these stereotypes and this kind of polarisation feeds a negative and devious attitude amongst artists with disabilities. Thus situations arise where specific disability groups start to exclusively 'own' specific art forms.

This is very problematic for four reasons. Firstly, it could encourage division among people with different disabilities. Secondly, it could unnecessarily exclude people with specific disabilities from specific art forms and this could, at a later stage, lead to these people excluding themselves unnecessarily. Thirdly, Peter Brinson (1991: 66-69) argues that the discourse of the arts provides a range of knowledges that everybody should interact with. Without this interaction with the arts, the development of the person will be 'lopsided' and barren. Therefore even people with disabilities need to be afforded the right to experiment with the arts and choose the form/s that they are most comfortable with. Fourthly, the arts serve as a primary site of creation and in a sense is a form of knowledge production. In relation to development, if the interaction with this site is obstructed or distorted, then this cannot be a development endeavour if people need to be afforded with the right to engage

⁴⁸See chapter 3, section 3.2.

with the arts on their own terms."Conscientisation in Freire's schema restores people the right to produce knowledge based upon their own experience and values, patterns of social action and awareness." (Tomaselli and Aldridge, 1996: 65)

The value, however of attending this festival was that the participants own stereotypes were seriously challenged by the level of performance given by artists with even more severe disabilities than their own. One participant remarked that he felt ashamed of himself and another participant stated that she was shocked at the level of ability of people more severely disabled than herself. This proved to be very empowering and for this reason attending this festival was a very exemplary thing to do.

This concludes the section on ideological reassessments, however this is by no means an exhausted categorization of what development agencies should take into consideration when reviewing their programmes and processes.

4.1.2. Organisational or Operational Reassessments:

From the findings in Chapter Three, it was deduced that V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal has some difficulty in relation to operational issues. Popular participation is a method endorsed by the World Bank and other donor agencies. "Popular participation is seen as a process whereby those with legitimate interests in a project influence decisions which affect them." (an and Ladbury cited in Biggs, 1995: 2) In the case of V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal, it is evident that the subjects who had a legitimate interest in those particular project were not afforded the chance to make any meaningful decisions that affected them. This is disempowering and V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal needs to structure programmes and projects in ways that enable the people that they affect to engage in their own decision making processes.

Some of the participants stated that the process evolved into a dictatorship and one participant expressed fear at raising her own personal problems in the duration of the project, with the development agents.

Pieterse (1995/04: 15) states that:

The new forms of organisational design need to be based on what Mulgan defines as **weak power**. The traditional and prevalent forms of organisation, in turn, is called strong power because it relies on threat, coercion, sanction and rules to induce compliance. The preferred weak power is decentralised, without a single leadership; communication is horizontal. Accountability can flow in more than one direction.

Hence, V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal is urged to engage with this conceptual change. V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal is a voluntary organisation and the weak power model would match this structure very well.

Pieterse (1995/04: 20-21) illustrates the point that development agencies seem not to appreciate human resource development. He argues that such development is at the crux of organisational strength and if not nurtured, broad development goals will be unattainable. V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal states that its 'niche market' is schools for children with disabilities. The membership largely is formulated by teachers from these schools. One of the members states that it is these teachers that must be the focus of V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal's development efforts because they are at 'grassroots level' and they are the most connected to the children with disabilities. If they are empowered in relation to disability-arts development and if they are made to internalise this ideology, they would make the spaces for the children also to imbibe this ideology. All the teachers in schools for children with disabilities are able to reach a much larger 'clientele' than V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal would be able to on its own. Therefore, as part of crucial need to develop human resources, teachers should be drawn into this process by offering them skills in art and development.

Many of the participants complained that V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal had networked poorly with the national and the international host organisation. Pieterse (1995/04: 13) differentiates "tiers" of networking where "tiers refers to the distinction between micro, local, regional, national, sub-continental, continental, the South, and global" .

For V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal, it is clear that there was confusion in this regard. Therefore the question arises around what sort of communication should occur at what level. Biggs (1995/06: 3) questions the amount of information "that different parties should have about each other in order to make their own informed decisions and "participate" in different ways in different arenas of discourse" . With the case of V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal, teachers involved and the choreographer complained of the constant lack of or equivocal nature of the information disseminated. This may have been due to time constraints etc., however it proved to be a huge impediment in the end. Pieterse's distinctions of networks help to differentiate the levels on which communication should occur in different instances. On the micro level, ⁴⁹ communication should occur on the level of consociates, where a large amount of detail is uncovered and assumptions, commonsense understandings and typifications are not relied upon.⁵⁰

Pieterse (1995/04: 14) discusses and commonsense the advantages of good networking valuable in the context of a developmental agency. Besides increasing which are very awareness of the agency's existence, good networking may draw in support from various sectors of society. opportunities to engage with "similar organisations that may contribute to qualitative improvements of knowledge and skills" (Pieterse, 1995: 14). Part of networking documenting the success or shortcomings of projects. This self-reflective documentation is invaluable to the organisation future planning as well as to other similar organisations.

The methodology of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) is extremely useful for the context of development agencies and process development. It has provided a methodology for changing traditional development models to more participative and people-centred approaches. "PRA itself is undergoing significant evolution as it is put to use by a multitude of agencies from villagers to World Bank officials" (N. Narayansamy and R. Ramesh, 1996: 56). 'Process Observation' ; 'Quality Circles' 'Ranking and Scoring' and 'force-field' analysis are concepts that fall within the PRA paradigm. These concepts are particularly useful to the case of V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal and are therefore submitted as working tools that may be used for organisational development.

"Process observation is a method of documenting, reflecting on and evaluating the implementation of PRA. It is a critical component in PRA." (N. Narayansamy and R. Ramesh, 1996: 56) Process observation provides for immediate feedback, builds confidence, improves existing methods and adds to accuracy and reliability. This is a method whose success depends on the openness and flexibility of the practitioners involved. It is also important to remember that process observation is also most successful when it is in a sense cyclic. "The quality of PRA and its credibility will be improved if the process is observed,

⁴⁹All the participants and the teachers and the choreographer involved were part of the 'micro network'.

⁵⁰See chapter two for a detailed explanation of the terms: consociate, typification understandings.

reflected upon and learning experiences fed back into practice." (N. Narayansamy and R. Ramesh, 1996: 56) Narayansamy and Ramesh provide a detailed guideline and checklist for PRA practitioners and this proves to be very useful and is certainly worth consulting.

A quality circle is a small group between three and twelve people who do similar work, voluntarily meeting together regularly for about an hour per week in paid time, who are trained to identify, analyse and solve some of the problems in their work, presenting solutions to management, and where possible, implementing the solutions themselves. (Hutchins cited Kumar, A., 1996: 54)

Quality circles are easily pliable to fit differing contexts. They offer a forum to create a more satisfactory working environment and quality circles are based on the fact that "given the right environment, people do want to work" (Kumar, A. 1996: 54). For V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal this could provide a way into developing more order, better dissemination of information and could encourage more lateral and organic communication amongst internal members of the organisation.

Linked closely to the concept of quality circles, Michael Warner outlines a method of strategic planning that he refers to as 'force-field analysis'. (PLA Notes, 1995: 3) This type of analysis necessitates the need for the analysis of external forces when engaging in internal strategic planning. This could aid in determining "constraints and opportunities which shape the future of any aspect of development" (PLA Notes: 1995: 3). V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal may use this method of strategic planning in order to develop more concise 'specific objectives' that are to direct the energy of the organisation. These objectives should be reviewed periodically.

"Ranking and scoring exercises can be used to explore people's perceptions, elicit their criteria and understand their choices regarding a wide range of subjects." (PLA, 1998: 85) V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal can use these PRA tools to discover a whole range of aspects. In relation to the internal organisation, members can, through this method, devise a new normative theory for the organisation and decide on the suitability of projects. For ranking initiates discussion around possibilities. Externally, participants opinions of projects may be gathered and success of projects may be determined. It is recommended that V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal to consult and explore these valuable methods.

Thus, this section is concluded with a final suggestion. Given that V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal's niche market is schools for children with disabilities, and given that the teachers who participated in the project, stated that the congress and the festival was very enlightening, V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal should consider hosting a disability - arts conference to discuss issues related to disability, arts and development. Besides generating enthusiasm, the conference could generate academic papers and discussion around these issues which could act as future reference points for teachers students in this field.

4.1.3. Funding:

As a non-profit organisation V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal suffers the burden of self-generating funds. One of the members illustrated that fund raising puts enormous strain on the capacity of the membership who are forced to commit the majority of their time to work related to fund raising activity rather than development activity. (Conversation with Ansuya Bhagwanjee: member of V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal) What follows are tentative recommendations that may help ease the burden of funding and thus free up members time for involvement in other activities.

Kurt Gibson (1995) gives a very interesting outline of the strategies and methods used by Private Voluntary Organisations in the United States. He generates ideas of who to promote self-sufficiency. This is useful for V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal for it is a voluntary organisation and funding is always a problematic aspect.

Edgar Pieterse (1995/ 01) discusses the RDP and possibilities of development agencies procuring funding from this fund. He suggest strategies where he describes how to frame development projects in order to receive funding. He also discusses international funding agencies and how to draw funding from

such aid organisations.

David Hallows (1995/02: 4) explores the RDP and how it may be used by development organisations. "A National Capacity Building Programme (NCBP) is being set up by the RDP office with an initial investment of R250 million. Capacity building is widely regarded as a unique area of NGO competence." The White Paper on an Integrated National Disability Strategy (1997: 46) states that one of the policy objectives is to, "develop the capacity of people with disabilities to participate more effectively in: the economic development of their community and the country as a whole; and the monitoring of the equalisation of opportunities for people with disabilities within their local communities, and at a provincial and national level".

V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal may use this to good effect and may be able to obtain funds for the 'human-resources' development of people with disabilities (especially school leaving pupils who have no work possibilities or opportunities to attend tertiary institutions). This concludes the section on funding, however the organisation is encouraged to consult the above texts for they are very useful in the context of South Africa.

4.2. FUTURE STUDY

When engaging in the participatory development paradigm, it is important to be wary of some of the possible pitfalls of this development paradigm. Biggs (1995: 1) illustrates that sometimes development efforts which might be within this development paradigm, may yield processes that do not "relate to experiences; does not address issues of power structures and control over information and other resources" and by taking the wrong emphasis - could result in "cutting itself off from a critical reflective understanding of the deeper determinants of technical and social change" . This must be guarded against because development efforts may fall within the ambit of participatory development but through distorted execution, may fail. Biggs (1995: 1) states that a range of "escape hatches" are developed to explain failure in this context. Therefore the process needs to be critically self-reflexive and self-reflective and the internal rather than the external must be interrogated. As long as development agencies exist, participatory research must coincide with it and self-reflexive study must also continually question and reformulate methods for good development practice.

There is a lacuna in relation to disability studies. Britain is the only country that has a Professor in disability studies (Michael Oliver). In South Africa, the University of Witwatersrand has opened the only "Centre for Deaf Education Studies" in the country. This is a separatist department in relation to disability politics, however it is a start.

"Centres for Disability Studies" need to be developed in more universities in order to provide the foundational basis to shape quality education for people with disabilities and to help provide access to tertiary institutions, among other institutions and also to champion the causes of disability.

William G. Stothers illustrates how, despite technological advances, disablement cannot really be addressed in a fundamental way without the

changing of people's attitudes.

These are the best of times and the worst of times. Dickens' opening to "A Tale of Two Cities" has become a cliché, but remains sharp today for people with disabilities. I rarely tire of telling anyone who will listen that there has never been a better time to be alive with a disability than right here and right now. We have laws on the books to protect us from discrimination in public places, education and employment. There is a wealth of technology available to enhance our ability to function in the world. And vast numbers of us have no access to that shiny life-enhancing technology. The result is that many of us subsist in poverty and frustration. (<http://www.mainstream-mag.com/98wgs.html>)

CONCLUSION

The context of disability in KwaZulu Natal has been defined by a peculiar range of discrimination that remains distinct from other types of discriminatory practice. People with disabilities experience political and economic disempowerment but while these aspects may be redressed, the most insidious form of discrimination against people with disabilities persistently remains. This is the social isolation and cultural exclusion that people with disabilities experience and is as a consequence of a variety of economic, political and social practices and ideologies that disadvantage this specific sector.

The first chapter investigates constructions of disability from historical, economic, psychological, semantic, medical and contextual perspectives. From this it was found that the experience of disability was inextricably tied up to the way in which disability was constructed by mainstream ideology. Therefore a distinction has to be established between the terms disablement and disability. Disablement refers to the societal ideologies that function to perpetuate destructive myths about people with disabilities.⁵¹ It is these myths that limit the productivity and capabilities of people with disabilities rather than the physical impairment itself. Therefore disability, which is distinct from disablement, may refer to the physical impairment that a person experiences. This points to the fact that disablement is externally constructed and may be redressed by external reconstructions. The problematic perceptions of disability by mainstream needs to change in order for the negative experience of disability to change.

The contextual perspective that the study explores is specific to KwaZulu Natal, however the result of this exploration/investigation suggests that people with disabilities experience isolation on a variety of levels. People with similar disabilities are compartmentalized and isolated from people with differing disabilities as well as mainstream society. Given that disablement is caused by external factors, there is a need to regard, address disability as a development category in order to redress the inequity that this sector has experienced.

⁵¹These myths refer to the economic, social and cultural constructs of people with disabilities as uni-dimensional beings that are unable to function productively. This construction necessarily distorts their existence and perpetuates negative ideologies around disability as a burdensome and useless state.

However, the psychological aspects suggests that people with disabilities often internalize and retain negative self images due to societal pressures. This aspect needs to be included in the reviewing of disability development.

The second chapter reviews development paradigms and explores which development paradigm is most suited to disability development. It was found that the participatory development paradigm was most conducive to disability development central to which was the work of Paulo Freire.

Key debates around identity and the issue of disability non-culture⁵² are foregrounding disability theorists works.

Over centuries, many individual disabled people have fought against the negative and tragic stereotypes foisted upon them by a dominant culture. A second way of fighting back against a disabling culture is to get involved oneself in cultural production, usually through the arts. (Mason cited in Campbell & Oliver, 1996: 110-111)

The area of cultural and identity development are the most ignored areas of disability development yet these remain the most insidious forms of discrimination against people with disabilities. It is from this position that the arts becomes a cherished agent for disability development. The arts represents a sacred space which is the cite of primary creation. This becomes crucial for the cause of disability development, for this therefore creates the space for people with disabilities to deconstruct, reconstruct and negotiate an identity that they can define on their own terms.

The arts, which may be very useful in the cultural development of disability, need careful consideration in how it is manipulated. This is because the arts has many facets, each with different ideologies and purposes. Art for the purpose of development has a very different ideological thrust to art for the purpose of production. It was found that for the cause of disability development art needed to be engaged in on the level of development rather than production. For the ideology of production is intrinsically mainstream in nature and this imposes even more discriminatory practices and pressurizes people with disabilities unnecessarily especially if the participants are not 'schooled' artists.

⁵²'Disability non-culture' refers to the way in which the identity of people with

disabilities becomes distorted. This could be as a result of the medicalisation of the identity, the isolation from mainstream culture and the general exclusion that people with disabilities experience.

The third chapter focussed on the empirical study of the participation of V.S.A.-KwaZulu Natal in the 'First Latin American Arts Without Barriers Festival' in 1998. Here the methodology used was specified and a description of the organization, V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal followed. The development practice of this organization became the central focus of the study. The normative theory of the organization was interrogated in relation to the development theories outlined as well as organization's practice. The findings of the study indicated that the normative theory of the organization was tangential to the context of KwaZulu Natal. Disparate international and the local contexts were problematically conflated. A range of production work and development work were also problematically conflated. There was a lack of ability to disseminate relevant information to the relevant parties. There was a lack of self-reflexive critique and a lack of clear development strategies.

The context of disability in KwaZulu Natal illustrates that the experience of disability is bleak. V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal needs to implement many changes in order to make a substantial difference to this experience and this organisation urgently needs to question or reform its ideology which in turn needs to be contextually relevant.

As a disability development organisation, V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal needs to galvanise its internal structure by strengthening the already existing support base. Edgar Pieterse states that development organisations in South Africa are in a crisis because of the outdated methodologies that they employ. Thus such organisations, that fall within the ambit of development need to, "develop more indigenous visions, with appropriately **pragmatic strategies** to actualise" their vision of development (Pieterse, 1995). This is very relevant to V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal as this organisation exhibits a tendency to ignore the local aspects of disability development and rather, engage in international or global aspects before having a strong enough organisational structure. Therefore "it is critical to assert the vital importance of grassroots based political-cultural activism," (1995: 26) which for V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal translates into shifting the 'centre' from the international to the local context.

When engaging in "emancipatory politics" it is important to consider a "holistic conceptualisation of social change" where "highly individualised or personal dimensions" are included (Pieterse, 1995: 26). V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal needs to deconstruct its methodology in a very detailed way so as to assess whether its development practices are cultivating social change or fuelling discriminatory practices amongst all its constituents (people or children with disabilities and teachers or care-givers involved with disability in any way).

In conclusion, the organisation needs to take a long and introspective look at itself in order to determine a normative design that is relevant to the current context that it finds itself in. The ideology of disablement need not necessarily

"colonize the future" (Jan Nederveen Pieterse cited in Pieterse, 1995: 26) if V.S.A. - KwaZulu Natal and other disability organisations succeed in prioritising and promoting the needs of people with disabilities as articulated by people with disabilities themselves.

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³⁵*See chapter one - section 1.3.*