## University of Southampton

# Disability and Equality

# in Employment:

## The Imperative for a New Approach

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This thesis is submitted for a Ph.D. degree

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**February 1995**

*To Simon*

# Acknowlegements

Rose, James, Edward and our families for their love and support.

Ann Kinder - My Research Assistant for her hard work.

Geraldine Stirling, Vanessa Whitmarsh & Lindsey Wood - My Secretaries.

Lindsey McLellan and Ian Forbes - My supervisors.

The Staff of the Departments of Medicine and Politics.

Trish and my Personal Assistants.

# Abstract

The effectiveness of Disability Equality Training in improving employment opportunities for disabled people is investigated in this thesis. Evidence that disabled people experience discrimination in employment is presented and the prevailing approaches selected by previous and current UK Governments to tackle institutionalised discrimination are rejected as being, not only ineffective, but also inappropriate.

It is argued that UK policy is based on an outmoded approach which has been adopted predominantly by US attitude researchers. This analysis reveals the imperative for new methods to tackle discrimination against disabled people in employment and that they should be based on an alternative model. This approach, developed by disabled sociologists, academics and activists, is described in detail as the 'Social Model of Disability'.

The importance of this model in the deliverance of disabled people from their widespread passive and dependent state is considered with reference to the need for comprehensive Anti-Discrimination Legislation. However, with the current absence of the right of disabled people to challenge discrimination through law, additional strategies based on the social model are thought to be needed.

The development, delivery and evaluation of one such approach, Disability Equality Training, is presented in detail. These training seminars aimed to help delegates challenge discriminatory policies and procedures within their organisations and understand the need for Anti-Discrimination Legislation. The research study focuses on the outcomes of the action plans developed by 66 delegates from large employers who attended one of a series of six two-day seminars.

The results indicate that their action plans were based on the social model of disability and that Disability Equality Training proves to be a potent tool in effecting change. However, on considering the limitations of these seminars, it is revealed that the success of Disability Equality Training in challenging institutionalised discrimination throughout the UK employment market will be contingent upon the introduction of comprehensive and effective Anti-Discrimination Legislation.

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# Chapter One

# Introduction

> We all know there is too much unjustified discrimination against
> disabled people. We know that it is wrong and often has a cruel
> impact on the quality of life of disabled people - Nicholas Scott
> MP, Minister for Social Security and Disabled People (Disability
> Now, February 1992, p. 2).

The original objective of the research project reported in this thesis was to
develop, implement and evaluate a programme of Disability Equality Training
which aimed to challenge employment discrimination. The training was based
on a novel approach aiming to promote equal opportunities for disabled people in
employment. To achieve this a series of six two-day seminars were organised
for 66 employers in 1989-90.

As the study developed new research was published (Barnes, 1991), further
literature sources were explored and there were legislative changes relating to
employment discrimination in other countries including the United States (US).
This presented the author with an additional opportunity to undertake a detailed
analysis of two of the principal approaches used to tackle employment
discrimination in order to determine their utility in improving opportunities for
disabled people. This analysis leads to a critique of the approach used in the UK,
based on individual attitudes to tackle employment discrimination, as being
fundamentally flawed and the proposal of an alternative strategy that could be
more appropriate.

As a result, this thesis evolved from simply trying to answer the original research
question - 'What components are needed for Disability Equality Training to be
effective' into an attempt to describe how Disability Equality Training might fit
into broader demands for social change. It also reveales how this training is
consistent with the call for comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation. These
developments were reflected in a change in the title of this thesis from: 'An
Evaluation of Disability Equality Training' to: 'Disability and Equality
in Employment: The Imperative for a New Approach'.

The inequality experienced by disabled people in employment is explored in the first part of this thesis. The strategies selected by previous and current UK governments to overcome these problems are analysed and rejected as being not only inadequate but also inappropriate. It is argued that UK policies and procedures have been based on a theory that has limited validity and restricted practical application. This approach is also found to underpin the attitude change programmes used predominantly by US researchers in the attempt to improve individual attitudes towards disabled people. It is further argued that these programmes have been limited in helping to liberate disabled people from their relatively dependent state despite huge investments both in terms of time and money. It is suggested that they reinforce an ideology which focuses on the individual disabled person as the attitude object. As a consequence, such an approach and the associated programmes are counter-productive.

The analysis of the existence and predominant application of this approach suggests that a new approach is an imperative if real and effective change for disabled people is to be possible. An alternative model is presented which has been developed by disabled sociologists, academics and activists. It focuses on the organisation of society as the root cause of the problem. This 'Social Model of Disability' provides a theoretical basis for the development of innovative strategies for change. This model is more theoretically robust and leads to practical applications which demonstrate the need for anti-discrimination legislation to protect the rights of disabled people against institutionalised discrimination in all spheres of social life.

The reluctance of successive governments in the UK to introduce statutory measures to challenge discrimination has led to the need for alternative strategies based on the social model of disability. One such approach is Disability Equality Training (DET). The development, delivery and effectiveness of DET seminars in challenging institutionalised discrimination against disabled people in employment forms the main body of this thesis.

The programme of Disability Equality Training described in Chapter Five of this thesis is a two-day, modular training seminar for employers. It aims to alter and improve organisational policies and procedures that currently disadvantage disabled people. The seminars explore employment discrimination by examining where it comes from and how it can be overcome. They have been adapted by the researcher from an original model devised by the London Boroughs' Disability Resource Team (LBDRT, 1991).

In this introductory chapter the content of later sections in the thesis are briefly described and the research design is summarised. In order to explore the context in which different models of disability have evolved, the concept of citizenship and the role of work in citizenship is considered in Chapter Two and the current position of inequality experienced by disabled people in the employment market is presented. The history of employment services for disabled people in the UK is considered next with particular reference to the 1944 Disabled Persons' (Employment) Act. In a critical analysis of this legislation and the Government's consultative paper (ED, 1990) it is concluded that a new approach is required.

In Chapter Three an attempt is made to explore whether the discrimination experienced by disabled people in employment is simply a consequence of collective attitudes directed at individuals or if it is more deeply entrenched within social organisation. The evidence that disabled people do experience discrimination in employment is presented next. The unequal position of disabled people in employment is then discussed in terms of the abundant evidence which clearly demonstrates their employment potential.

A comprehensive review of the attitude research approach is also included. This analysis reinforces the conclusions of previous commentators who have believed that such methods are fundamentally flawed (Finkelstein, 1980; Oliver, 1990). The review includes a discussion about the components of attitude and the determinants of negative attitudes. Methods used to measure attitudes and associated attitude change techniques are evaluated next in the light of how they are thought to be helpful in modifying negative attitudes. These are discussed in terms of contact with disabled people, source and message characteristics, receiver characteristics, information and role playing.

In Chapter Four, this analysis of the attitude change approach, which underpins both UK employment policy and US research, concludes by revealing the need for a shift of focus on the cause of disability away from the attitudes of individuals to a new theory or 'Social Model of Disability'. The development of this new way of thinking is presented as an explanation for the failure of the 1944 Disabled Persons' (Employment) Act. The implications of the failure of the attitude approach on the one hand and the greater explanatory power offered by the social model on the other are discussed in relation to developing alternative strategies for improving employment opportunities for disabled people.

Later in Chapter Four the rationale behind the social model of disability and its potential for providing answers to the questions about employment discrimination previously raised is probed. The legislative approach to discrimination on the grounds of race and gender is presented. This approach is considered as a future option to protect the rights of disabled people in the light of experience in other countries where it is already established. The political activity of disabled people and their various representative groups is described in terms of how the social model has served to help disabled people gain more control over the manner in which they choose to lead their lives.

In the absence of the kind of anti-discrimination legislation sought by disabled people and their representatives it is argued that additional strategies are required to improve employment opportunities. One such approach is Disability Equality Training. A comprehensive description of the processes involved in training, from its initial development, to the two-day modular seminar designed specifically for this research project is provided in Chapter Five. Comparisons are drawn with the development of Race Awareness Training and the role of attitudes in training is also considered. In the next section the training programme is described, giving a detailed explanation of each of the modular exercises and the logical progression which enables delegates to devise a personal action plan to improve employment policies and procedures in their own organisations.

The method of evaluation adopted in this research project is described later in Chapter Five. The method of selection of the 66 delegates who attended one of a series of six seminars during 1989-90 is considered next. Subsequently, the problems involved in evaluating Disability Equality Training are described and the research project design is critically reviewed.

The evaluation strategy included an immediate post-seminar review, an action plan follow-up after twelve months and a long-term study of four selected organisations who nominated a delegate on one of the original seminars.

In the immediate review a questionnaire was used to assess the impression of delegates about the content, style and delivery of the seminar at the end of the event. In the second evaluation delegates completed a confidential action plan at the end of the two-day seminar. Personalised questionnaires were devised, on the basis of the completed action plans, to evaluate the outcome of these action plans after twelve months. The purpose behind this approach was to assess the

impact of the training on bringing about behavioural changes sufficient to challenge institutionalised discrimination. The long-term follow-up of four organisations gathered information from questions based on the 'Agenda for Action' developed by the Employers Forum on Disability (EFD, 1992). It was used to provide additional data on what had been achieved by a selected sample of four employers.

The results of the study are presented in Chapter Six. Initially the results of the immediate evaluation are described. These indicated that the seminars were well received. Second, the twelve month follow-up revealed that all delegates had achieved some parts of their stated action plans, with over half achieving their action plan in full and some actually doing considerably more than they had expected. The final section presents a great deal of additional information about the action taken in four organisations over a two to three year period.

The conclusions drawn in Chapter Seven indicate that Disability Equality Training has the potential for bringing about organisational improvements. It appears to have some utility in challenging employment discrimination in the absence of protection under the law. The effectiveness is, however, dependent on gaining organisational and individual commitment. The evidence indicates that these gains are patchy a) in terms of the proportion of organisations that choose to undertake their responsibilities in this area, and b) even within those few organisations that do.

It is argued that comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation is a vital component of the total package of change required to effect real improvements for disabled people. It is also believed that such legislation will by no means overcome all the barriers to equal employment opportunities without educative programmes similar to that provided by Disability Equality Training based, as it is, on the social model of disability.

# Chapter Two

# Employment and UK Policy

## Introduction

In this chapter the relationship between employment and citizenship is considered and the longevity of the work ethic established. The importance of paid work and the continuing inequality experienced by disabled people in the labour market is then discussed. The development of employment services and legislation which aim to help disabled people in the UK are then explored and the government's recent consultative document (ED, 1990) on the employment of disabled people is examined. Finally, a new explanation for the failure of previous approaches to tackle employment discrimination is put forward which argues that UK policy has been underpinned and sustained by false assumptions. The assumption, that discrimination in employment results simply from the attitudes of individual employers, is challenged in this thesis.

## The Concept of Citizenship

Citizenship can be interpreted in different ways. One influential writer on the subject was Marshall (1950) who recognized citizenship as a process. He believed there to be a transition from civil citizenship through political citizenship to social citizenship. The civil factors encompassed the rights necessary for individual freedom which include freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and the right to justice. The last element is important as it is the right to defend oneself by due process of law.

The second, or political, factor was described by Marshall (1950) as the right to participate in the excise of political power. In other words, the right to be elected as a member of a body invested with political authority or the right to participate as an elector of the members of such a body. The final, or social, aspect was described as the right to reasonable economic welfare and the right to live the life of a civilised person according to the standards prevailing in society. This would include equal access to the education system and social services which are

crucial for the successful transition of disabled people into paid employment. In essence, Marshall (1950) viewed the development of citizenship as the gradual extension of political, social and civil rights to all sections of the population. These rights include both obligations and responsibilities.

The concept of 'Citizenship' has gained popularity recently amongst those who claim an allegiance to democratic principles. Citizenship has become an important topic and is gaining ascendancy on the political agenda. However, Barton (1993) has argued that current discourse tends to emphasize responsibility with little serious significance given to the question of rights.

Notwithstanding, citizenship can be defined and re-defined to manipulate listeners, influence decisions and direct policy initiatives (Tisdall, 1994). Thatcherism generated the concept of 'active citizenship' to forward its own view of the public-private division. This approach imposes greater responsibilities on individuals within a competitive framework, encapsulated by working for financial reward, that is intended to be regulated more by market forces than interventions from the State. As a result 'Citizen's Charters' have proliferated to produce a catalogue of promises to the users of government services. In response, the Left have asserted an alternative linking of citizenship with the welfare state (Tisdall, 1994).

Despite these differing interpretations, most would argue that it is desirable to extend citizenship to all members of the community. Membership bestows a sense of value and belonging which involves both the right to participate in the community as well as the responsibility to contribute towards the general well being. However, it is much harder to reach agreement on the appropriate balance between the rights and obligations of citizenship in light of the great differences in individual characteristics between citizens.

These differences between people mean that citizens can not be described as 'equal'. Equality resides within the rights to exercise the obligations and responsibilities of citizenship. In addition, the balance between rights and obligations varies greatly at different stages of each individual's life. Until recently society has recognised these changes by investing significant resources in young people's education in order that they can generate wealth and contribute to transfer payments during their working lives, so that they might, in turn, be supported by society as they grow older or become ill.

However, more recently the emphasis has been placed on the ability of the

market to distribute these factors. The freedom of individuals and the centrality of choice within an enterprise culture in which there is a diversified system of provision has gained in ascendancy (Barton, 1993). The drive for 'active citizenship' places more and more responsibility on individuals within a competitive framework that does not provide equal access to the rewards for all its citizens. This factor is compounded by a system that sanctions the accumulation of individual wealth by the successful competitors in a system of unequal social relations. Within such structures, conditions can operate to create a minority underclass which becomes an increasingly difficult factor to deal with. Membership of such a class does not provide many benefits at all especially where citizenship is concerned. Vulnerable individuals are subject to the daily experience of institutional discrimination.

There are many difficult factors involved to ensure greater democratic citizenship in which participation and empowerment become equally available to all. A shift in the balance of power is required to ensure the development of an underclass is avoided, or at least restricted as much as possible. This will result in reducing the cost to the State of supporting people who might have been forced into dependency whilst also improving the lives of many disabled people who will be able to enjoy greater democratic citizenship. These factors have been recognised and addressed, in part, by legislation which aims to protect the rights of women and Black and ethnic minority people.

Legislation, however, has not resolved all the many and varied problems. The questions of equal access to citizenship are complex and involve fundamental values. This is illustrated by the disproportionate increase in inequality experienced by women and Black people during high levels of unemployment (Straw, 1989). Problems relating to the sharing and delegation of power, money and possessions requires an alternative agenda whereby the differences between people are valued and the vulnerabilities of minority groups can be protected (Hall, 1986). This highlights the importance of the politics of difference as an important part of the wider political challenge to reconstruct everyday life (Barton, 1993).

The development and application of these ideas are vital if disabled people are to gain equal access to society as citizens. Economic and social policies of the last few decades have reduced choice for disabled people whilst increasing the control of professionals (Glendinning, 1991). Disabled people have begun to challenge professional agencies and have demanded greater control over the allocation of resources (Brisenden, 1986). Oliver (1992) has gone one stage

further by arguing that 'disability' constitutes a denial of citizenship by limiting access to the political, social and civil rights referred to by Marshall (1950).

This opinion is supported by the transition from viewing the problems experienced by disabled people as resulting from their individual impairments towards an understanding of how people with impairments are 'disabled' by the world we live in. If disabled people are considered to have something intrinsically wrong with them then it is difficult to understand how they can comply with the requirements of citizenship. If, however, the many disabling barriers which restrict opportunities for people with impairments can be removed, or at least recognised as barriers external to the person, then a role as a citizen, including the rights and responsibilities, becomes more possible.

In considering this it is important to distinguish between disabled people who are able to work with appropriate and affordable support and those for whom their impairment is so significant that they cannot work, for example, people in a Permanent Vegetative State. There is no clear demarcation between the two groups because the experience of impairment constitutes a spectrum of severity which at one extreme can be significant enough, in its own right, to deny employment. The boundary also changes over time as new technology improves opportunity and support services for people with significant physical impairments or learning disabilities enhance employment prospects. Despite these developments, however, it is difficult to envisage how someone in a Permanent Vegetative State could enjoy all the rights and comply with all the responsibilities of citizenship.

This thesis, therefore, has restricted its scope to a consideration of disabled people who are capable of work once reasonable accommodation has be made by the employer. This group constitutes the majority of disabled people of working age. No attempt is made to extend the application of the model used to challenge employment discrimination to people with an impairment which is significant enough to prevent them from competing for paid employment.

# Employment and Citizenship

Paid work has been a central concept in the political, economic, social and religious life of industrial society. Ideological and religious strictures have attempted to link employment with moral rectitude and notions of citizenship as

the contribution of the individual to the common wealth (Jordan, 1989). Paid work is also considered as an important duty of citizenship which can help lead to social, political and civil rights (Marshall, 1950). From the industrial revolution until the late twentieth century, the primacy of the definition of work as paid employment in the interests of self-maintenance and the creation of a healthy economy has largely remained unchallenged.

Indeed, the connection between work and citizenship has been embellished in a number of ways. The development of the welfare state, in particular national insurance payments to cover pensions and health care provision, relies upon 'workers' who contribute to the conditions for a satisfactory life for all citizens by taxes on earnings. Thus the duties of citizenship have become bound up with the interests of the individual and the needs of the economy.

Associated with this understanding of work have been technocratic assumptions concerning the pre-eminence of economic growth as the primary aim of economic policy and concurrent assumptions concerning the possibility of full employment (Cornes, 1987).

Emergent post-industrial society is characterised by challenges to some of these assumptions. 'Structural unemployment' has been recognised since the late 1960s. Developments in technology, the operations of multinationals and changes in the economic structures of Third World economies, increasing the availability of cheaper labour markets, have led to long-term changes and a shift from traditional manufacturing industries to the service sector and new technology based industries in western economies.

The definition of work has itself been challenged by the Women's Movement (Oakley, 1976) on the grounds that only paid employment, then dominated by men, was considered to be work. 'Unemployed' people, increasingly involved in the voluntary sector, have also demanded the recognition of other forms of work as valid. Khaleelee and Miller (1984) revealed that this was a prevalent view among a cross-section of interest groups in a survey of the West Riding of Yorkshire where the collapse of the woollen and cloth manufacturing industry had severely affected the local labour market. It might also be added that full-time work was considered the norm. The dramatic increase of part-time employment represents another challenge to the conventional view.

In response to the demands of the work ethic, the recognition of factors like housework and child care as work has led not to a wage for housework but the

beginnings of a greater accommodation of unpaid work within the paid work environment. This is exemplified by job sharing and initiatives to install work place creches (Straw, 1989). Although much feminist critique challenges the male world of work organisation it can be argued that the Women's Movement has in some ways buttressed the work ethic by demanding equal rights for women in traditional paid employment.

The pre-eminence of economic growth as the primary element of economic management is also beginning to be questioned. Post World War II debate on economic growth has usually been centred on how it is best guaranteed. Divergent approaches have been classically represented by corporatist and consensualist positions which draw on the demand management principals embodied in Keynesian economics, and neo-liberal accounts of the minimal state and free market (Plant and Hoover, 1988). Moreover, the unconditional desirability of growth itself has been challenged, particularly by environmentalists, who have pointed to the dwindling of the Earth's resources and the effects of industrialisation on the environment (Schumacher, 1973).

Economies across the world are undoubtedly in a period of transition as evidenced by the impact of the recent re-unification of Germany on European economies, the impact of the end of the Cold War on the military industrial complexes of both East and West, the escalating level of Third World debt and fluctuations of 500% in the interest rates of previously stable major European economies. These single political events, when combined with the continuing effect of automation, low energy costs and computer technology, have resulted in reducing the amount of available work in Western economies. This has obvious implications for the relationship between work and citizenship.

Macarov (1980) challenged the future of the labour market and associated practices by suggesting that changes would result in a new social order where work is superseded by other ideals in education, social service or self-actualisation. He considered that the increased efficiency of new technology in post industrial society would break the links between work and income. Thus far he seems to have overestimated the impact of these changes and, as Cornes (1984) suggested, to have underestimated both the essentially dynamic and adaptive nature of the existing economic, social and political institutions. The infinitely adaptable nature of capitalism and the power of consumption over more idealised or other forms of social activity seems to ensure the perpetuation of the work ethic. Within this system the active citizen, who by definition is in paid employment, pursues both personal economic well-being as well as seeking

to do good to others, but purely in a private capacity. This is how the social aspects of the 'new right' get translated into practice (Quicke, 1992). Superfluous wealth created by the market is passed on through a process of doing good to others at the discretion of those who own the wealth and retain the power. This creates a culture of conformity within which charity models dominate policy and the role of the voluntary sector in acting on behalf of disabled people is reinforced.

It seems unlikely that post industrial society will be faced with a straight choice between retention or replacement of the work ethic (Cornes, 1987). It is likely to remain, though perhaps in a modified form, as an important element of citizenship for the foreseeable future.

The importance of the link between employment and citizenship is evidenced by the key influence exerted by the work ethic over much of our lives. Our income is determined by our job. Low benefit levels are calculated to encourage people to seek work and discourage others from opting out. This has inevitable social consequences for disabled people as welfare benefits are the main source of income for some 4.3 million (Martin and White, 1988). Not only do people spend much of their time at work, but the time spent with friends and the pattern of availability of many services is determined by 'working hours'.

Employment gives structure to the day and usually keeps daily patterns of activity in line with that of other people. Companionship, stimulation and satisfaction can be gained from employment, as well as social status. For young people, employment has been recognised as the principal definition of adulthood. It has been described as a watershed in the transition to being recognised by others as a person with responsibilities and obligations (DES, 1983).

Employment is used to establish status in other ways. It provides a valued response to the inevitable question "What do you do?" which relates to your role as a citizen. Additional status is incurred by the holding of certain positions within organisations and how valued people are in the way they are perceived to fulfil their roles. Promotion, bonuses, company cars and professional recognition form the basis of that valuation. Status is also conferred by basic earnings which can be displayed externally as standards of living and the extra choices afforded.

Paid employment is an indispensable concept of capitalism, appearing set to remain so into post industrial society. It is also an important element in

individual well being. Given the importance of work in every day social life, it is not surprising that a number of studies have established a causal link between unemployment, ill health, crime and even with death (Brenner, 1980; Popay et al, 1986; Townsend and Davidson, 1988). It can be argued, therefore, that society has a responsibility to ensure that there is an appropriate sharing of the opportunity for employment among its citizens.

The fall in general employment levels has resulted in a large reduction of State revenue. This has raised the spectre of reductions in the level of provision, thereby threatening a withdrawing by the State from areas of responsibility on the grounds of cost. This results in the possibility of gradations of citizenship emerging as the barriers to receipt of assistance are increased for some groups on financial grounds. If the trend in available work continues, individual citizens will be required to pay an increasing proportion for services currently provided by the State, either directly, or through private insurance and pensions. It will only be those in paid work who have the resources to comply adequately with this aspect of citizenship.

It is a fact that employment for financial gain is not equally available to all. The inequality experienced by women and the minority ethnic population in the labour market is well documented and the issues fairly well understood (Straw, 1989). The fact that disabled people also experience major disadvantage in employment is not disputed. Nicholas Scott MP, Minister for Social Security and Disabled People stated on 31 January 1992:

> We all know there is too much unjustified discrimination against
> disabled people. We know that it is wrong and often has a cruel
> impact on the quality of life of disabled people (Disability Now,
> February 1992, p. 2).

The causes of this inequality and the means to redress it seem to remain a matter of controversy. This is largely because the issue has been analysed in a variety of ways by researchers using very different models or by applying divergent ideologies which may also reflect a perceived conflict of interest between disabled and non-disabled people. These links between citizenship, quality of life for disabled people and paid work are central to this thesis, since change in any one area entails changes in the others.

# Disability and Inequality in the Labour Market

Disabled people have long been known to face disadvantage in the labour market. They are known to experience higher levels of unemployment than the potential work force as a whole. There is no doubt that, historically, disabled people have been less able to compete in the labour market because their impairments have limited the range of activities that could be performed within an industrial society. However, these problems have been more or less eradicated by technological advances. The additional costs required to ensure that disabled people can gain equal access to work, through technology, support workers or improved access, are minimal. Evidence from the experienced of US employers who have had to make 'reasonable accommodation', as defined by the Americans with Disabilities Act (1990), indicate that 50% of these costs are less than $25.00 and only 1% cost more than $5,000.00 (RADAR, 1994). So although there may be some additional costs in employing disabled people these are small in comparisons to the basic costs of recruiting and employing any member of staff. In addition, most added costs are currently covered by Government grants and the total bill is so insignificant that it would have no impact on international competitiveness.

The evidence of the inequality experienced by disabled people cited below is drawn mainly from research in the UK with additional evidence from the US. The Employment Service maintains statistics on the employment rate of registered disabled people. These indicate an unemployment rate of only 5% (Floyd, 1991). These statistics are misleading because many disabled people are unaware of the register or do not choose to register under the Disabled Persons' (Employment) Act 1944 (Prescott-Clarke, 1990).

Other UK research presents a much bleaker picture. A survey sponsored by the National Council of Voluntary Organisations (NCVO) in 1981 estimated that the unemployment rate among disabled people could be as high as 25% (Grover and Gladstone, 1982). Similar figures have been reported in the Labour Force Surveys. The 1985 survey, which included people who wanted to work but who were not actually looking for it, put the unemployment rates of disabled and non-disabled people at 20.5% and 5.4% respectively (OPCS, 1985).

A later series of surveys by the Office of Population, Censuses and Surveys (OPCS) reported that there were at least 6.2 million disabled people in the UK. Of these around 2.2 million were living at home and of working age but only 31% were in paid employment (Martin et al, 1988; 1989). Amongst the

remainder: 36% were said to be permanently unable to work; 14% were housekeeping; 3% were in full time education or training; and 16% were unemployed. Overall rates of unemployment for disabled men and women were calculated as being 27% and 20% respectively compared with 11% and 9% for the general working populations. That is, disabled people are over twice as likely to be unemployed as non-disabled people.

Even this comparison may not accurately measure the disadvantage experienced by disabled people for, as the OPCS researchers reported (Martin et al, 1989), 85% of the men and 65% of the women who were not looking for work, and who defined themselves as unable to work, had previously taken steps to find employment but had given up by the time of the survey.

Another recent survey, the Department of Employment survey - Employment and Handicap - (Prescott-Clarke, 1990), found a slightly lower unemployment rate amongst disabled people of 22.4%. It has been suggested that the lower rate was because the survey failed to pick up a substantial number of people who had had mental health problems (Prescott-Clarke, 1990; Floyd, 1991).

Furthermore, once unemployed, disabled people are likely to experience greater difficulty in obtaining work and are therefore more susceptible to long term unemployment. A 1982 Manpower Services Commission (MSC) review of assistance to disabled people reported that nearly three times as many disabled people (excluding 'severely disabled people') as non-disabled people had been unemployed for over two years (MSC, 1982).

Within the disabled population, patterns of more intense disadvantage can be discerned. People born with impairments have been shown to be even less likely to work than those disabled in later life. A number of studies focusing on the 'transition to adulthood' (Walker, 1982; Hirst, 1987; Kuh et al, 1988) have shown that disabled school leavers experience disproportionately higher unemployment than their non-disabled peers. The findings in the SCPR study (Prescott-Clarke, 1990) indicated that the pattern for people born with impairments does not appear to improve over time. They continue to experience a disproportionately higher level of unemployment than the general disabled population. In addition, older disabled men and women have been shown to be more likely than non-disabled people in the same age range to withdraw or retire early from work (Glendinning, 1990). Restricted access to this important aspect of citizenship has important psychological, social and financial implications for individuals as well as creating a significant additional burden on the wealth

generating power of others.

Disabled peoples' choice of jobs is often restricted and where jobs are obtained, they are more likely to be low paid and in less attractive areas of work. Labour market theorists have conceived the labour market as consisting of at least two distinct groupings of jobs. According to the Dual Labour Market Theory propounded by Ryan (1981), the primary segment of the labour market is characterised by high levels of training and earnings, relatively slow mobility and turnover of jobs, limited entry points to internal labour markets, job satisfaction and fringe benefits. The secondary labour market on the other hand is characterised by relatively low pay, poor training, high labour turnover, more part-time and temporary employment conditions and less trade union or professional association activity. Employment of disabled people seems to be predominantly in the secondary sector. Buckle (1971) found that the occupational status of disabled people tends to be lower than for the population as a whole, with a greater proportion of disabled people working in manual jobs. The same survey reported that 7 out of 10 disabled workers interviewed felt that their choice of jobs was restricted and 4 out of 10 felt that they had been forced to take jobs where their qualifications or skills were not used, resulting in underemployment.

The MSC (1982), looking at the unemployment profile of disabled people, found that 21% and 60% of unemployed disabled people were seeking manual and general labouring work compared to 29% and 32% respectively of the general population. The recent SCPR study (Prescott-Clarke, 1990) revealed similar findings, reporting that a considerably higher proportion of the disabled work force were working in semi-skilled jobs and that disabled male workers were only half as likely to be employed in professional and managerial jobs as non-disabled men. Once again, people born with impairments were likely to experience even greater disadvantage. Walker (1982) found that where disabled school leavers did manage to find jobs, these were overwhelmingly likely to be in the secondary sector of the economy.

Confinement to the secondary sector further compounds the disadvantage already experienced by disabled people in that the work history of secondary sector workers is more likely to be patchy and little investment will have been made in their training. Access to primary sector jobs and the advantages of an internal labour market ladder will be limited.

As might be expected the generally lower employment status of disabled people is also reflected in the prevailing rates of pay. Barnes (1991) compared the weekly earnings of disabled men in full-time employment (31 or more hours per week) with non-disabled male full-time workers using the SCPR study and the 1989 New Earnings Survey. He found that on average, disabled men earn almost a quarter less per week than non-disabled men. This disparity experienced by disabled men results from both underemployment and lower rates of hourly pay for equivalent work (Barnes, 1991). Barnes considered that the pay of disabled women workers bears a similar relationship to the pay of non-disabled women. Compared to disabled male workers there is a disparity which is similar to that in the general working population between men and women. The OPCS study showed that disabled women workers earned almost a third less per week than male disabled workers (Martin et al, 1988).

Since the inter-war years subsequent governments have acknowledged that these problems exist. The approaches to address them have largely been determined by the Disabled Person's (Employment) Act 1944. This was the legislative response to the Tomlinson Committee's report on the Rehabilitation and Resettlement of Disabled People (Tomlinson, 1943). The disadvantages for disabled people have persisted despite the range of employment measures which are presented in the next section. Following this review possible explanations for the failure of these measures are considered.

# History of Services for Disabled People

There was a rapid increase in disabled people of working age as a result of World War I. For the first time, the additional needs of disabled people at work were recognised. Since then various developments have resulted in the measures currently available to promote opportunities for disabled people in employment. The history of the development of post World War I employment legislation has been charted by Bolderson (1980). Although the carnage of World War I had provided a stimulus to the development of government instructional centres to rehabilitate and resettle servicemen injured during the war, the needs of the civilian disabled population before 1944 were largely neglected. Although a Home Department Committee on Workmen's Compensation recommended in 1922 that all industrially disabled men should also be eligible for places at government sponsored training centres, the reality was that the shortage of places rendered this impossible. Instead, the main development of services in the

inter-war years for civilian disabled people occurred in the voluntary sector with the opening of training colleges such as St. Loyes in Exeter.

In addition to training, the re-integration of disabled ex-servicemen into the work force was also addressed through the voluntary King's National Roll. Through this roll employers were recognised for including in their work force a 5% quota of disabled ex-servicemen receiving disability pensions for war injuries. The scope of the King's National Roll was not extended to other disabled people during the inter-war years. This factor provides evidence of the evolution of the concept of citizenship which is initially afforded to individuals who are considered by society as being more deserving of the right to participate and the opportunity to be rewarded.

The focus of debate during this period centred on the problematical area of workers' compensation with disputes often fought out in the courts; the employers and insurance companies on one side and the employee and trades unions on the other. The high unemployment of this period and the lack of availability of light work meant that many 'unfit' workers struggled to hold onto jobs they were no longer able to do. They did this, rather than transfer to contrived or part-time jobs at lower wage rates, as a means of avoiding reduced benefits from insurance companies. This intensified the debate.

Developments in rehabilitation medicine during this period led to an alliance between the British Medical Association (BMA) and the Trades Union Council (TUC). They set up a joint committee in 1937 to investigate a dispute in South Wales. The BMA subsequently submitted joint evidence to the Delevingne Committee, an inter-departmental committee, set up to look at the rehabilitation of those injured in accidents at work. This, like war victims, seems to introduce an element of compensation for individual misfortune which is encountered whilst working for the common good but is not yet to be extended to those who become disabled as a result of the 'God-given' consequences of illness. The committee recommended that residential rehabilitation centres should be set up under medical supervision, with capital costs met by the government. The BMA and TUC agreed that the aim of these centres should be to restore injured workers to their former occupations but no agreement was reached on the issue of retraining injured employees to do other jobs (Bolderson, 1980).

The involvement of the BMA in this process is probably the first time that the medical profession became formally involved in both the control of provision of services and the definition of disability at work. Once doctors had defined the

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problems experienced by disabled people as resulting from an individual's pathology the 'Medical Model of Disability' gained ascendancy. This definition initially resulted in services designed to rehabilitate disabled people rather than measures to address the discrimination they experience as a result of the institutional barriers at work. Agreement from the TUC probably resulted partially from the belief, derived from historic assumptions and the prevailing ideology, that disabled people are intrinsically deficient in some way. There was also likely to have been an expectation that, if successful, these treatments and rehabilitation techniques would then be made available to other people who wanted them and could benefit from them. Infections and deformities were more common then and the National Health Service had not been established. This, in combination with the greater power and influence bestowed by society on the BMA at this time, would have been difficult to challenge.

The advent of World War II produced a new set of conditions. The arguments of the pre-war pressure groups to form a comprehensive rehabilitation scheme, notably the TUC and medical rehabilitation pioneers, were enormously strengthened by the wartime famine of men, the euphoric post-war vision of a fairer society and the particular philosophy of Ernest Bevin as Minister for Labour which added to the debate.

Bevin was able to broaden the discussions at the Ministry for Labour concerning the vocational training of war casualties to the consideration of a government organised and funded scheme which did not differentiate between service personnel, work people and civilians. A limited interim scheme was introduced in 1941. In the same year Bevin secured the agreement of the Cabinet to appoint an inter-departmental committee chaired by George Tomlinson to consider both the wartime and post-war issues of rehabilitation. The recommendations of this committee were embodied in the Disabled Persons' (Employment) Act 1944 which, with the 1958 amendments, has remained the centre-piece of post war provision and debate until the present.

In one comprehensive measure, the 1944 Act made provision for: assessment; rehabilitation and retraining; a specialised placement service; a register of disabled people; a quota scheme to cover those disabled people who registered; designated employment posts; and sheltered employment.

The quota scheme was highly significant in that for the very first time the existence of discrimination against disabled people seeking open employment was recognised through legislation. The scheme placed upon employers with

twenty or more workers a duty to give employment to registered disabled people up to a quota of their total staff. The present quota of 3% was set in 1946. It is an offence to engage someone other than a suitable disabled person if the quota is not met. Employers found guilty of being in breach of these regulations are liable to a fine of £100 and/or three months imprisonment. An employer is also prohibited by the act from dismissing a disabled employee 'without reasonable cause' if this would bring the firm below quota.

However, employers may apply to a Disablement Resettlement Officer (DRO), now Disability Employment Adviser (DEA) for a permit which enables them to recruit non-disabled staff if the DEA does not have suitable disabled staff on the register.

The Piercy Committee, appointed in 1953 to review provisions for disabled people, reported three years later that the intentions and methods within the provisions of the 1944 Act were essentially sound. However, the quota scheme has suffered increasing criticism since those early years, in part because, as operated, it has not proved effective (MSC, 1985).

Since the 1960s, the proportion of employers fulfilling their legal obligations has been in decline. From 1972 onwards, the number of firms issued with permits began to exceed those complying with the quota (Lonsdale and Walker, 1984). The National Audit Office (NAO) found that the proportion of employers meeting the quota fell from 53% to 27% between 1965 and 1986, while those with permit exemptions rose from 28% to 56% (NAO, 1987). The same report showed that, in 1986, 17% of employers who were below quota did not have exemption permits.

The NAO report revealed that this pattern was replicated in all employment sectors. Between 1979 and 1986 the percentage of registered disabled people employed by government departments declined from 1.8% to 1.3%; in the public sector as a whole from 1.3% to 0.8% and in the private sector, from 1.8% to 1.0%.

Earlier research focussing on important opinion forming agencies e.g. trades unions, employers federations, political party organisations, national newspapers, television companies as well as both Houses of Parliament had revealed a similar lack of compliance (Bolderson, 1980).

In the early 1970s the quota scheme was openly challenged by the government

department which was actually responsible for enforcing the legislation. The Department of Employment began a comprehensive review of its services for disabled people and published a consultative document in 1973 which argued that the compulsion in this field was now "less relevant", a considerable administrative burden for both the department and employers and that it used resources that might be better employed on behalf of disabled people in other ways. Disabled people were considered more likely to benefit by the:

> modernisation of the general employment service; the expansion of general training facilities; by improving the specialised employment and training facilities provided for disabled people. This would avoid the need to continue labelling disabled people as such, improve the relationship between the department and employers in this field; make it easier to develop their goodwill, and give the DROs and Blind Disablement Resettlement Officers (BDRO) more time to devote to their clients, to visit employers and liaise with hospitals (DE, 1973, p. 32).

This approach, which is underpinned by the assumption that the problem of individual impairment can be resolved by specialised training and persuasion of employers, was greeted with protest. Organisations representing disabled people considered them to be not only inadequate but also inappropriate in light of the requirement to further develop segregated provisions. In 1975 after further deliberation and a change of government, it was announced that the scheme would be retained unmodified. This decision received endorsement the following year from an independent working party chaired by Lord Snowden which reported that:

> We believe that a statutory framework along the present lines is vital if the employment of the disabled is to be kept to the fore as a specific objective of employment policy (Snowden, 1976, p. 28).

The Working Party went on to propose various measures to strengthen the scheme. For a brief period in the mid 1970s there was renewed ministerial commitment to the quota system. Responsibility for its enforcement was transferred to the MSC. The government announced that it would take a lead by promoting the employment of more disabled people in the Civil Service and in nationalised industries. A limited exercise in quota enforcement was conducted which did result in an increase in the number of firms meeting the quota and in the number of disabled people who registered. The NAO reported, however, that

the Department of Employment believed that the increases were due to the number of disabled people already in work being encouraged to register rather than to any true growth (NAO, 1987).

By 1977, any commitment to measures compelling quota compliance, which had never been strong, was increasingly undermined by policies emphasizing persuasion. These were based on marketing and education supplemented latterly by inducement (Barnes, 1991) as the primary thrust of government policies towards the employment of disabled people. The level of unemployment amongst disabled people gradually rose (Bolderson, 1980). However, it is not clear whether this reflects a true reduction or whether fewer disabled people chose to register because of the further weakening of quota compliance.

The launch of Positive Policies in 1977, the first of several public campaigns of persuasion, represented the adoption into policy of the predominant practice of the previous thirty years. This was based on the belief that persuading employers to take on certain workers voluntarily is preferable to coercion (Lonsdale and Walker, 1984).

The Positive Policies Campaign, supported by the Confederation of British Industries (CBI) and TUC, was based on six main guide-lines. These were promoted to employers through publicity booklets sent to 55,000 firms, supplemented by visits from DROs. The areas covered by the guide-lines included: recruitment, retention, career development, equipment, access and liaison with the DRO (Lonsdale, 1986).

The MSC subsequently reported that Positive Policies had minimal impact, with only one fifth of the targeted employers reporting any contact, but governmental preference for policies of persuasion has continued into the 1990s.

From 1979 onwards, a framework of voluntarism has been steadily reinforced by policies based on promotion and inducement. At the same time various research and consultation exercises have been carried out. None has enabled the conclusive jettisoning of the quota system but have, nevertheless, allowed its relegation in policy terms from a statutory device to a symbolic role in employment provision.

The 'Fit for Work' scheme was introduced in 1979. Based on the same guide-lines as Positive Policies, it instituted awards to up to one hundred employers per year, to be held for three years, on the basis of their achievements

in the employment of disabled people. It consisted of a desk ornament, a plaque and the use of a special emblem on stationery which was funded by the MSC and had never been tested or demonstrated as being effective. It was very similar in fact to the Kings National Roll which was also of questionable benefit.

The quota was reviewed again between 1979 and 1981 after the MSC published a discussion document which stated that MSC managerial staff responsible for operating the quota were highly critical of it. Staff believed that the quota yielded few benefits to disabled people compared to the administrative burden it placed on employers and the MSC itself. Staff did not believe that stricter enforcement would produce beneficial results. Although most favoured some form of statutory provision in any future system, 'a strong minority' felt that the quota could be abandoned without any statutory replacement, provided strong marketing and educational campaigns were conducted with employers and trade unions (MSC, 1979).

Following publication of the discussion document, the MSC invited representations from a range of different organisations concerned with the employment and training of disabled people before producing a report (MSC, 1981). This recommended the abolition of the quota and its replacement with a largely voluntary scheme supplemented by a weaker form of statutory protection. This was to take the form of a general obligation to promote equality of opportunity for disabled people, possibly linked to a Code of Good Practice and a statutory disclosure of company policy. This had already been introduced with little effect under the Companies (Director's Report) Employment of Disabled People Regulations 1980, which became law under the Company's Act 1985. This legislation required, as a statutory duty, companies employing more than 250 workers to include in their annual reports a statement of company policy towards employing disabled people.

Once again, the proposal to abolish the quota without replacement by a strong statutory requirement to address the employment needs of disabled people met with concerted opposition from many disability organisations. These felt that the new proposals were vague and unenforceable and the quota appeared still to enjoy strong support, not only among disability organisations, but also among the general public (Bolderson, 1980). As a result the quota again gained a stay of execution and the Secretary of State for Employment announced in 1982 that the quota scheme would be retained for the time being but kept under review. The MSC was however instructed to proceed with the drafting of a Code of Good Practice (MSC, 1984).

An MSC working group was also set up to consider suggestions for improving the scheme's effectiveness. No clear consensus was reached during the consultative process on the future of the scheme, but it recommended three areas in which the existing quota scheme could be strengthened. The group recommended that new measures should be adopted to publicise the scheme; that the permit system should be revised and that the MSC's enforcement policy would be strengthened by more frequent visits from Quota Inspectors.

The group also recommended that there should be more research into the current operating problems of the quota scheme, stating its concern that the data were insufficient for members of the group to suggest further action (Birkett and Worman, 1988).

The main recommendations of the report were endorsed by the MSC and passed to the Secretary of State in April 1985. In November 1985 the Minister accepted the recommendations concerning more research and increased awareness but stated that till further research was carried out the Government could not commit itself to the increasing levels of staff and expenditure required to implement the steps concerning compliance and enforcement. This research has never been carried out.

In the meantime, support was obtained from employers, unions and voluntary organisations for the Code of Good Practice. The employers organisations were generally against statutory standards of good practice but had agreed, in 1984, with the MSC and TUC to the terms of a Voluntary Code of Practice (MSC, 1984). The Code was launched in 1984 with a publicity campaign. A promotional video 'It Worked Fine' followed in 1985 with further marketing campaigns in 1986 and 1988 when the Code was updated (DE, 1988).

The Disablement Advisory Service which had been set up in 1983 as a free service to employers to promote and advise on good company practice was charged with promoting the voluntary Code and administering the Fit for Work scheme. In addition, it advised on the equipment and assistance now available to employers to facilitate the employment of disabled people. These included the Special Aids to Employment Scheme under which special equipment, such as large print output devices for use by people with visual impairments or powered wheelchairs, might be loaned free to specified employees to enable them to do a particular job. Another scheme, the Adaptations to Premises and Equipment Scheme, makes available cash grants up to a maximum of £6000 to assist an

employer with the cost of making accommodation improvements to help to recruit or retain a particular disabled person. Superficially this approach may appear consistent with a model seeking to address the restrictions imposed on disabled people by the way society is organised. However, the funding is provided to accommodate the needs of individuals and falls far short of a system designed to challenge institutional barriers.

A working party, the National Advisory Council on Employment of Disabled People (NACEDP), was set up in October 1985 to review the principles of the Tomlinson Report of 1943 and to suggest whether new and different principles were needed for the 1980s and beyond. The NACEDP Working Group reported in 1986 proposing principles, entirely compatible with those of Tomlinson, which covered recruitment, retention and training.

The Working Party did not however think that it was timely to examine the legislative framework regarding disabled employees. It called for the principles to be taken into account by the MSC (now the Department of Employment) if the findings of the MSC's Quota Working Group and an evaluation of the MSC's Code of Good Practice indicated that legislative change would be appropriate (NACEDP, 1986).

Concern was expressed in the 21st Report of the Committee of Public Accounts (PAC, 1988) that the research promised by the MSC had taken so long to complete. This delay further slowed down progress for change. Eventually the SCPR Report commissioned by the Employment Service was published in 1990 (Prescott-Clarke, 1990). It provided information on the size and geographic distribution of registerable disabled people in Great Britain; numbers eligible for sheltered employment and information for assessing the effectiveness of current provision and the shape future provision should have. This research project was the first substantial independent study into the effectiveness of employment services for disabled people. It presented a rigorous examination of the current position to a depth that had not previously been available. The accuracy of the research was subject mainly to the difficulties of definition of disability which are common to all research in this area.

In the same year, the results of an internal Employment Department review, commissioned by the Government in March 1988, were published in the form of a Consultative Document - Employment and Training for People with Disabilities (ED, 1990). This document stated the intention to establish an approach to the employment of disabled people for the 1990s.

# The Consultative Document

In view of projected changes in labour supply, the Government felt at that time that there were grounds for being optimistic about the future for disabled people seeking work. It recognised, however, that disabled people faced barriers which included mistaken attitudes to, or misconceptions about, disabled people and older workers by some employers and others in society.

The document identified negative attitudes as a major barrier facing disabled people and reiterated the view of the Public Accounts Committee (PAC, 1988) that the quota system was ineffective, outdated and unenforceable.

The document stated that the government did not believe that any approach based on good practice through the threat of sanctions could work because they believed that clarity could not be achieved concerning the reasonableness of employers actions since disability, unlike race or sex, was considered relevant to performance (ED, 1990). Furthermore it argued that disability is not a clearly definable condition which makes it impossible to operate effectively any legislation which imposes numerical targets on employers. The government also reiterated its commitment to removing unnecessary burdens on employers which may inhibit job growth. There was however, the government conceded, some case for retaining the symbolism of the quota, in that abolition would send the wrong signals to employers. This is an important recognition that law has a symbolic role to play.

The government proposed to develop further the existing voluntary approach through reinforcement of arrangements for encouraging and supporting good practice. It also sought comments on how to involve employer based organisations in the promotion of good practice. In addition the government announced that it would introduce a new good practice 'symbol' to replace the 'Fit for Work Scheme' which employers could adopt to indicate that they were committed to good policies and practices in the employment of disabled people (ED, 1990).

The government's reliance on voluntarism is underlined by the fact that the new symbol, launched in October 1990 with a £400,000 publicity drive (Disability Now, November 1990), may be displayed by employers without any obligation to demonstrate this commitment. Not disability, the symbol has been criticised

by both disabled people and employers. British Petroleum representatives, for example, giving evidence to the House of Commons Employment Committee in 1991 stated their belief that:

> The value of the symbol is likely to be short-lived, providing initial publicity, but no real impact on equality of opportunity (Employment Policy Institute, 1992, p. 1).

The government has responded to these criticisms by strengthening the commitments required of symbol users but its permissive nature remains. The most recent attempt to improve the process has resulted in what amounts to minor changes within a system that for almost fifty years has celebrated in its own failure.

As from June 1993 employers using the new symbol with the added words 'Positive About Disabled People' are required to commit their organisation to five action points:

1) Guarantee interviews to disabled applicants who comply with the essential requirements of the job.
2) Provide awareness training for managers.
3) Retain employees who become disabled.
4) Review annually equipment and training needs of disabled employees.
5) Publish annually achievements on the four points above.

There is no compulsion for any employer to adopt this approach and no effective systems are identified to ensure the compliance of those who do. Thus the voluntary approach chosen as the way to address discrimination experienced by disabled people still continues.

The main changes proposed by the consultative document relate to the arrangements for the delivery of assessment, rehabilitation and placement through the integration of the DAS, DROs and Employment Rehabilitation Services into a single specialist service, later named the Placement Assessment and Counselling Team (PACT) administered by Disability Employment Advisers (DEAs). The intention was to place greater emphasis on the use of mainstream placement services and training provision through the contractual requirements of Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs), a re-balancing of sheltered employment in favour of Sheltered Placement Schemes and a restructuring of advisory bodies.

Fears have been expressed that, in spite of the rhetoric of integration, choice and opportunity contained particularly in the training provisions of the document, disabled people will lose out in times of resource scarcity and market competition (Bruce, 1991). In addition training opportunities would be more available to those already in employment and to those potential employees who, under market force conditions, were perceived to be most employable.

Training delivery through the TECs was expected to yield certain advantages, some of particular relevance to disabled people. The new locally based employer led companies were thought to be more sensitive to the demands of the local economy, resulting in more appropriate training opportunities generally. They were also expected to be able to respond more positively to groups which are usually discriminated against in training and employment (Shephard, 1992). In addition, the Government, through its apparent commitment to 'training for life' - to making training and education available to all people of all ages, whether in work or unemployed - appeared to be emphasising that there should be equality of access to mainstream training.

However, in practice, a well-conducted Spastics Society survey (Smith, 1992) which covered the whole range of disabled people, including learning and sensory impairments, has illustrated that the funding and organisational arrangements of the new training structure have actually tended to reinforce the disadvantage already have faced by disabled people in the labour market. Some of the initial safeguards are already being abandoned. Although TECs are obliged to conform to certain guide-lines and obligations set out by the Employment Department such as that to make available suitable high quality training for all trainees shown to have a disability (ED, 1992), these obligations are open to very broad interpretation and will lead to considerable regional variation. The original designation of disabled people as an 'Aim Group' was abandoned with other 'Guarantee' and 'Aim Groups' in April 1993 and the TECs will no longer have to target their Employment Training and Employment Action, which in April 1993 were replaced by 'Training for Work'.

Individual TECs have responsibility for allocating a proportion of their budgets to be used in provision for people with 'special training needs'. Although information concerning special needs training budgets is difficult to obtain from individual TECs because of the lack of formal accountability to the local communities they serve (Smith, 1992) it seems probable that 'special needs' training budgets have been disproportionately squeezed as the TECs struggled to

meet the requirements of 'Outcome Related Funding' which have resulted in training providers 'creaming' trainees who they consider to be more likely of achieving positive outcomes in relation to obtaining NVQs. The TECs have complained of difficulty in meeting their obligations to the 'Guarantee' and 'Aim' groups in the face of overall net long term reductions in training budgets (Emerich, 1992). As early as November 1991, The Guardian (4th November, 1991) reported that a survey by a Commons Employment Select Committee revealed that the two central guarantees to young people and the long-term unemployed were not being met because of lack of funding. Convery (1992) estimated that the overall Employment Department budget was slashed by over £1.75 billion in real terms between 1987/88 and 1992 and that training budgets were likely to lose a further £53 million in 1992/93.

In addition to undermining the availability of resources to meet the additional costs of training disabled people, a further effect of the low level of government funding is the emphasis TECs are forced to place on budget generating National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs). Through ORF (Output Related Funding), 25% of the TECs Youth Training and Employment Training budgets are dependent on quotas of trainees reaching performance criteria established by the Employment Department. Some disabled people may need additional time to accomplish the NVQ requirements or may be unable to accomplish them in their set forms. Although this difficulty has been recognised and to a limited degree addressed by the recently introduced basic literacy and numeracy qualifications which have now been included as output measures, RADAR claim 'creaming' is practised by many TECs (RADAR, 1992). The Royal Association of Disability and Rehabilitation has also noted, as a result of these factors, an emergent picture of disabled people increasingly being pushed into a narrower range of special courses. The choices offered by 'special courses' are being further restricted as many of these are found in the voluntary sector which has suffered disproportionately from budget cuts. Although there was an overall decline in TEC training places of 30% in 1991-1992, voluntary organisations lost more than 50% of their training places, 72% of which were previously taken up by people with 'special needs' (Emerich and Peck, 1992).

In view of the above, it is not surprising that the Spastics Society survey (Smith, 1992) found that recent training and enterprise provision has shown little or no improvement. In many cases it is reported to have deteriorated. Even young disabled adults, while seen as enjoying more improvement than older disabled people, are still viewed as experiencing more deterioration than improvement in provision since their TEC came into operation.

One reason for this is that the contractual obligations and the available guide-lines from the Employment Department do not promote the interests of disabled people to compete equally with their peers. In addition the true costs of training are not met in full, a factor which is exacerbated by the increasing pressures on TECs resulting from the current recession. However, notwithstanding some examples of good practice (Smith, 1992), it is only realistic to recognise that, being employer led, TECs are highly likely to replicate the types of institutionalised discriminatory behaviour and culture which are to be found in common employment practice (see Chapter Three, pages 35 - 79).

If the new training arrangements do not provide the anticipated improvements in training opportunities for disabled people, the hardening of the government's preference for persuasive measures or 'socially responsible voluntarism' (Birkitt, 1991) to address the inequality will result in further discrimination. The reluctance to deploy legislation which would aim protect the rights of disabled trainees and limit the impact of 'creaming' will lead to further disadvantage.

Disabled people are not alone in their experiences of limited opportunity for training and employment. Other disadvantaged groups, including women and Black and ethnic minority people, are affected in a similar way (Straw, 1989). It appears that the notion of 'active citizenship' has created such intense competition at a time of limited employment opportunities that these are restricted to a privileged few. The sharing of opportunity and the ability to participate on a democratic basis appears to have been replaced by a kind of socio-economic Darwinism. Despite the reality of evolution which maintains the survival of the fittest and elimination of unsuccessful specimens the Government cannot escape the need to be seen to be intervening in certain areas. The National Health Service, free education and welfare provisions to prevent people from starving are all examples of these interventions. However, 'active citizenship' underpinned by a particular ideology which promotes individualism, appears to limit the degree to which other interventions are applied to ensure the opportunity for everyone to participate on a democratic basis.

Neither employment statistics, in so far as they are available, nor quota compliance rates, indicate much ground for optimism in conditions of either high or low levels of general unemployment. Perhaps one of the most telling indications of this is in Whitehall itself where not only is the proportion of disabled staff well below the 3% quota (although the government is exempt from the 1944 Act, it has still recognised an obligation to attain the 3% figure), in

many government departments compliance is actually decreasing. For example, at the Department of Transport the number of registered disabled people employed fell from 166 to 153 from June 1989 to June 1990 despite there being a Ministerial commitment to comply with the 1944 Disabled Person's Employment Act which should have prevented redundancy amongst disabled employees. At the Health Department the proportion of disabled staff fell from 0.7% to 0.6% during the same period (The Times, 2nd December 1992).

Furthermore, government monitoring shows that 13 years after the first publicity campaign, only 21% of all employers had a formal written policy regarding the employment of disabled people, only one fifth of employers had received the Code of Good Practice and only 2% had seen the accompanying video (Morello, 1990). Of those who had seen the Code of Good Practice, only one third felt that it had highlighted the employability of disabled people. These results do not present a very positive outcome, a factor which is reflected by unemployment levels amongst disabled people which remain disproportionately high.

The failure of current policy is illustrated by the disproportionately higher levels of unemployment and underemployed experienced by disabled people. A new approach is required which challenges institutional discrimination and opens up opportunities for disabled people in employment so that they can fulfil their role as citizens by contributing to the common wealth and benefiting from the opportunities available.

A recent independent analysis of employment opportunities (Mainstream, 1990) concluded that persuasion through voluntary means has not worked. The current government, however, seems wedded to the persuasion approach apparently expecting improved performance to result from changes in service delivery.

Supplementary policies of inducement seem to have similar limitations. Take up of the Adaptations to Premises and Equipment Scheme was initially so low that, within five years, funding allocated to these schemes was reduced to less than one third of the original amount (Lonsdale, 1986). In the late 1980s applications for grants from the scheme have remained static at around 250 per year (Graham et al, 1990). This may have been due to lack of information among employers about the schemes. As reported above the Employment Department's own commissioned research estimated that the DAS teams had only achieved a penetration rate of about 20% of all business establishments.

Although the Capital Grants Scheme and the Special Aids to Employment Scheme do undoubtedly facilitate the employment of a number of disabled

people, the individual based manner of their operation has been criticised as being potentially counter-productive (Barnes, 1991). The extra time and administrative costs involved in claiming subsidies and liaising with specialist agencies for one particular employee may deter employers from initiating or repeating the process. The disabled person's own occupational mobility and career development may also be restricted by the disincentive effect of incurring further paper work and causing disruption when some accommodation has already been made.

Another inducement scheme, the Job Introduction Scheme (JIS), available through the PACT Teams has also been criticised as potentially counter productive. The rarely used JIS scheme is intended to enable disabled workers to demonstrate their worth to employers. Under this scheme a grant of £45 per week is paid towards the salary of the disabled person for a trial period of up to twelve weeks. The very act of offering an inducement to employ a particular worker tends to reaffirm the belief that that worker is of less value and may therefore reinforce discrimination both by the employer and among co-workers.

The pattern of post-war employment policy towards disabled people has remained largely determined by the Tomlinson principles (Tomlinson, 1943). Provision has been adapted in various ways and undergone some shifts in emphasis. There has been a greater use of mainstream services in placement and training and de-institutionalisation away from Employment Rehabilitation Centres towards mobile Asset Teams. However the basic assumptions of the 1944 Act remain. These are that once assessed and adequately rehabilitated or trained, the majority of disabled people should be able to compete in the labour market on equal terms if the problem of discrimination, defined in terms of employer attitudes are to be addressed. The success of this approach depends on the assumption that a policy aiming to improve employer attitudes towards disabled people will result in the discriminatory behaviours of employers being changed. This has never been demonstrated.

The quota system was originally intended to confront the barrier of discrimination through compulsion but, in policy terms, the stick has been long since abandoned in favour of a fairly tasteless carrot. The preference for persuasion based on marketing and inducement has led to the much maligned but never properly enforced quota scheme now being consigned to only symbolic significance.

Yet for many the quota represented the central plank of the Tomlinson principles. That is, the quota appeared to recognise explicitly that disabled people's right to equal participation in the work force would not be achieved merely by adjusting or rehabilitating the disabled individual. Writers such as Massie (1981) ask whether the quota can properly be said to have failed when, at best, it has only ever been passively implemented. In recent years, it has been administered rather than implemented with block exemption permits being distributed "like confetti at a mafia wedding" (Massie, 1991). Certainly quotas cannot be said to be inherently unworkable as the experience of one determined London Borough has proved (LBDRT, 1988). The London Borough of Lambeth tried for two years to reach the 3% quota by persuasion and encouragement. Having failed, the Councillors decided not to apply for their exemption certificate and to comply with the 1944 Act by recruiting only disabled people. They reached the 3% quota within four months.

Comparative data from other countries also provides evidence for the potential effectiveness of quota systems. Both France and Germany operate more effective quota schemes at a level of 6%. Fines imposed on employers who do not comply are 200 Dm per month in Germany and the equivalent of £1000 per annum in France for every disabled person the employer is short of quota. Funds raised are ring fenced centrally to improve access, provide equipment and train disabled people for employment. Employers may choose to pay the fine or recruit disabled people. These systems do not prevent discrimination in employment but at least employers have to pay a fine to do so. More importantly, the legislation covers employment only. This leaves all other barriers, like those in transport, telecommunications and education, intact. Evidence indicates that this form of quota is also ineffective (Daunt, 1991).

An understanding of the reasons for the UK quota's alleged failure is required, not only to judge whether the government's preferred approach is likely to be more successful, but also as a point of departure from which to assess the promise of alternative responses. The following various explanations have been put forward to explain the lack of effectiveness of the quota provisions of the 1944 Act.

One justification concentrates on the shortcomings of the mechanisms developed to implement the quota scheme, particularly on the pivotal role of the DROs. It has often been pointed out that there is a major contradiction in the dual role of the DRO, now DEA, in 'policing' the quota system among local employers and at the same time attempting to 'sell' the quota to the very same people. This has

lead DROs to resolve this inherent contradiction by increasingly interpreting their policing role as one of persuasion rather than legal enforcement. This interpretation, which has been encouraged by successive governments, has contributed to the weakening of the provisions they were originally intended to implement.

DROs have also been subject to other pressures. Case loads increased dramatically with the staff cuts that followed the splitting in 1982 of the Disability Resettlement Service (DRS) into the DRS and Disablement Advisory Service (DAS). Lonsdale and Walker (1984) estimated that a DRO's case load may have included as many as 700 people which is twice as high as most would consider manageable. Mainstream (1990) also reported that the case loads of DROs were unrealistically large.

Other writers have argued that the training of DROs was inadequate. Training was not mandatory and consisted of four, four-week courses largely concerned with delivery of information about existing employment schemes and common medical conditions. Stubbins (1982), commenting from an American perspective, was particularly critical of the DRO's lack of vocational rehabilitation training and he noted that their value attitudes tended to resemble those of employers.

On the other hand, Robbins (1982) indicated that some employers felt that DROs lacked sufficient industrial experience for them to have a good knowledge of the types of jobs available in the areas for which they had responsibility.

Stubbins (1982) also noted a tendency to stereotype impairment categories, as in guiding people with previous mental health problems into routine, non-stressful work. Other writers have suggested that DROs generally undervalue the potential of disabled people and tend to direct them towards menial, low status and low paid work (Morris, 1989).

In the report of the Committee on Restrictions Against Disabled People (CORAD), respondents criticised DROs and Careers Advisers for pushing them towards areas of employment unfitted to their qualifications and abilities and for an over reliance on sheltered employment (CORAD, 1980). This assertion is supported by Prescott-Clarke's finding, in the SCPR (1990) survey, that most of the people assessed by DROs as suitable only for sheltered employment were in fact working in open employment.

Some of these points are symptomatic of the lack of an identifiable career

structure within the resettlement services. Stubbins again noted that resettlement work was largely regarded as within the competence of anyone at clerical officer level (Stubbins, 1982). This observation was supported by a leaked Government Report of July 1989 (Review of the Organisation and Staffing of the Employment Service) which revealed that work with disabled people is given little status and even less priority within the Employment Service (Graham et al, 1990). The report also noted that there is little senior management commitment to work with disabled people and that resources of the service were sometimes diverted to other areas considered more important (Graham et al, 1990).

In all, the contradictory nature of the DRO role, work pressure to deal with both large numbers of people seeking work and administering the large number of exemption permits in a scheme which has lost departmental momentum, would help to explain not only the lack of enthusiasm for the quota scheme within the Employment Service (Stubbins, 1983) but also the low morale reported in the Disability Resettlement Service generally (Mainstream, 1990).

The most commonly voiced criticism of the quota system and the explanation usually put forward when declaring it 'unworkable' (NAO, 1987) is the current mismatch between the number of disabled people on the voluntary register and the quota itself. Between 1950 and 1986, the number of registered disabled people fell from 936,000 to 389,000 representing only one per cent of the work force. It was therefore possible for the Minister of Employment to state: Only 1% of the work force have registered as disabled, so by definition it is not possible to meet the 3% quota (Hansard, 1990).

There are two explanations for the numerical decline in registered disabled people which suggest that the actual number of those who could register has not fallen. The abolition of compulsory registration for work as a pre-condition for receipt of unemployment benefit, in 1982, was recognised by the NAO as one reason for the decline in registration. Other contributors, including the Institute of Personnel Management (IPM), have indicated their view that many disabled people do not register because it is believed that registration is stigmatising (IPM, 1981).

A different explanation for the failure of the quota is put forward by those who wish the quota to be retained. They believe that the failure of the quota is due to lack of political commitment to its enforcement. Massie (1991) argues that although the stigma argument may obtain for some disabled people, it is probably more likely that people do not register because registration is seen as

conferring no advantage and may actually lead to disadvantage by pin-pointing an assumed problem. He cited the popularity of the 'orange badge' scheme as evidence that stigma may be risked if advantage is anticipated.

Foster (1990) reported that many disabled people would register if they felt that a positive outcome would result but passive implementation of the quota has meant that a vicious circle has been created. It appears that disabled people do not register because they believe registration is a waste of time and the Employment Department policy simply confirms that belief.

Other writers (Lonsdale, 1986) have pointed out the anomalous nature of the quota scheme in the context of general employment policy. Throughout the post war period, direct labour market interventions by successive British governments have, with one or two mainly temporary exceptions, remained minimal. Instead there has been a reliance on fiscal, monetary and incomes policies to maintain a natural balance between supply and demand for labour. The Employment Service has responded to increases in unemployment by periodically restructuring training programmes with the implied assumption that unemployment derives from lack of skills and training. This is despite the fact that in periods of high unemployment training seems to provide a substitute for employment.

Another explanation for the quota system's failure is put forward by Bolderson (1980) who argues that the answer lies in the development of the Tomlinson principles themselves. She argues that the negotiations which shaped the 1944 Act were informed by pre-war sectional interests, not directly concerned with the interests of disabled people.

Bolderson contends that the quota, the register and the provisions for sheltered employment were agreed in negotiations with employers and trades unions whose concern was not to upset their own interests in the labour market. The unions' concern that unfit workers should not go into competition with fitter people was based on a fear of repetition of the pre-war problems of light work, and the possibility of cheap labour. In addition, the employers desire to be protected from unproductive workers, resulted in a scheme whereby only fully rehabilitated workers were intended to take their places in open employment. This was made viable by an extended scheme of sheltered employment in which 'unfit' workers could be placed and an intermediary stage supplied by the rehabilitation centres. The Tomlinson committee, in emphasising that the only satisfactory form of resettlement for disabled workers is one in which they could

take and keep on their merit as a worker in normal competition with colleagues, were therefore framing their proposals to ensure acceptability to vested interests (Tomlinson, 1943). The Disability Equality Training package developed by the researcher which is described in Chapter Five has been designed to challenge this kind of reasoning and reframe it by identifying institutional barriers which limit opportunity.

Bolderson (1980) argues that, in addition to being compromised by the need to serve sectional interests, the Tomlinson principles were also flawed by a reliance on two faulty assumptions. The first was based on expectations of the wartime pattern of full employment being continued into the post-war era. The second placed an over reliance on new developments in rehabilitation techniques which were expected to return fully competitive workers to the labour force.

Certainly the full employment experienced during the war and the belief that it could and should be sustained after the war with greater state intervention meant that full employment remained a common theme of policy for the next two decades. The Beveridge Report on Social Insurance and Allied Services (Ignatieff, 1989; Bynoe et al, 1991), which laid the foundation of the post-war welfare state, itself rested on an assumption of full employment being achievable, for without it the planned social insurance fund would never have been maintained.

The 1944 commitment, published by the coalition government in a White Paper on employment policy, which stated that the maintenance of a high and stable level of employment was a primary aim and responsibility of government was retained by both political parties until the late 1960s (Bolderson, 1980). Then unemployment began to rise above its average post war rate of 1.7%. There appears to have been a link between these developments and declining political commitment to the quota, culminating in the first attack on it in 1973.

Bolderson's third point, that the Act incorporated an over reliance on the ability of rehabilitation techniques to enable the majority of disabled people to compete on equal terms in the labour market, is also a contributory explanation. Bolderson noted that, even at the time, some reservations were expressed concerning the way in which people with fluctuating conditions involving fatigue would fit into the Tomlinson model. So it is likely that a realistic assessment of the contribution of rehabilitation was overtaken by the need to negotiate a consensus with the sectional interests of employers and unions.

The theories behind the 'failure' of the quota scheme therefore include: the flawed arrangements of the scheme itself; its compromised origins; the conditional relationship between political commitment to the quota and the maintenance of full employment; and the general disinclination of British governments to make direct interventions in the labour market. All have some explanatory merit but in total only present part of the picture.

In a major sense they can only be secondary explanations because they do not address the fundamental question of why disabled people are so disadvantaged in the labour market. They have all accepted, in essence, the beliefs pervading UK employment policy which assume that all inequality is due to the functional limitations of disabled individuals wishing to work. This, in combination with employers' negative attitudes about both the real and presumed limitations, is thought to be the basis for the employment discrimination that disabled people inevitably experience.

The assumption that employment discrimination results from attitudes is considered in detail in the next chapter. This is important because if the discrimination experienced by disabled people in work were contingent upon the negative attitudes of employers a training programme could be developed in an attempt to improve these attitudes. It would follow that these seminars could be evaluated simply by using pre- and post-seminar attitude measurements with a long-term follow-up to determine how long positive attitudes last.

This research method and the associated evaluation techniques based on attitude measurement were considered for the study reported in this thesis. In order to explore their utility research evidence from the US is examined in the next chapter. This analysis reveals that there are many unanswered questions about the application of research methods based on attitude measurement. More importantly, it is revealed that an approach which views employment discrimination as resulting from individual attitudes is fundamentally flawed. To carry the debate forward it is argued in Chapter Three that employment discrimination is far more likely to result from deep rooted institutional barriers, like segregated education, negative charity images and assumptions of limitation, which have developed in response to the prevailing ideology rather than being based solely on the attitudes of individuals in the workplace.

# Chapter Three

# Discrimination and Attitudes

## Introduction

In this chapter, it is first established that much of the disadvantage experienced by disabled people in the labour market is due to discrimination. Evidence is cited to demonstrate that such discrimination does not appear to be justified by the available evidence relating to the actual performance of disabled workers. Where possible, UK evidence is cited but, because this is relatively sparse, the results of supplementary international research are also included.

Having established the existence of employment discrimination, consideration is then given to its nature. Implicit in the UK employment policy approach, as evidenced by the measures taken to address it, is the definition of discrimination as a function of the negative attitudes of employers and others. Policy initiatives, including inducements, information campaigns and contact opportunities (e.g. through the Job Introduction Scheme), have been developed to persuade employers to adopt more positive attitudes. Although UK employment policy depends heavily on persuading employers to change their attitudes, this approach does not appear to stem from any research findings in the UK based on the study of attitudes towards disabled people and their relationship to discriminatory behaviour. There has been little consideration in the UK literature of the nature and origins of negative attitudes towards disabled people, so policies based on attitude modification seem to be based on a set of unsupported assumptions.

In the US, on the other hand, a whole research tradition has grown up investigating individual attitudes under the assumption that these hold the key to discriminatory behaviour. A considerable research effort has been expended on defining attitudes and identifying their origins, determinants and the means for their modification. Many of the reported attitude studies have been concerned with attitudes towards particular groups, including disabled people.

US attitude studies towards disabled people are considered here as providing a surrogate theoretical basis for current UK employment policy. They are examined in some detail as a method of establishing whether approaches to

employment discrimination based on attitude change really have much promise. The studies are discovered to have considerable methodological problems, many of which are highlighted by the attitude theorists themselves.

More importantly the attitude research approach is found to be conceptually flawed. It is revealed that there is a misplaced focus on the attitudes of individuals towards disabled people, when, as disabled sociologists have argued, the disabled identity is itself socially constructed and created (Finkelstein, 1980; Brisenden, 1986; Abberley, 1987; Morris, 1989; Oliver, 1990; Barnes, 1991). These factors have led to the development of a different way of examining the problems experienced by disabled people - The Social Model of Disability. This model is discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

# Discriminatory Employment Practices

There has been a number of studies by organisations representing disabled people which have sought to demonstrate the experiences of disabled people in seeking employment. These studies should be seen in light of the statistical data which show significant disparity in employment of disabled people compared to their non-disabled peers. Such studies tend to focus on the responses of organisations and employers to the attempts of disabled people to secure employment. These studies do, therefore, shed light on the way that employment processes and decisions differ when disabled people are involved in ways that might attract legal action if women or people from ethnic minorities received such responses.

The Fourth OPCS Report (Martin et al, 1989) found that although 27% of disabled men and 20% of disabled women 'actively seeking work' were unemployed, 86% of disabled men and 65% of disabled women who defined themselves as 'not seeking work' had in fact made some efforts to find employment and were therefore more accurately 'discouraged workers'. The evidence of unequal treatment cited below provides some explanation of how employment practices can result in disabled people abandoning their responsibilities of citizenship to become dependant upon welfare.

In 1979, CORAD conducted a survey soliciting the views on and details of personal experiences of unfair treatment from a large number of people with physical and sensory impairments. In their report (CORAD, 1980) employment

emerged as a major area of concern for many respondents and the detailed personal accounts of individuals supported the view that discrimination in employment took many forms and occurred at all stages.

Some respondents detailed examples of employers denying that they had vacancies when a disabled person telephoned or called personally about an advertised job. Individuals were able to demonstrate that they received more invitations to interview when they did not declare their impairment than when they did, even if they specifically explained that their impairment would not effect their employment performance. There were even instances of invitations to interview being withdrawn when it was realised that the existence of a candidate's impairment had initially been overlooked.

It was claimed that employers often made assumptions about disabled people's abilities to perform satisfactorily or to cope with the working environment on the basis of no evidence. People with hidden disabilities reported being dismissed from jobs which they had been performing satisfactorily when their impairment became known. Instances were detailed of individuals being forced to give up jobs because colleagues refused to work with them.

A former Assistant DRO was quoted in the report as saying that the moment 'disability' or 'handicap' was mentioned, the personnel officer's attitude would change. This is underlined by the statement that:

> Many had not even the courtesy to listen and find out what the
> disability was in the first place, let alone whether or not it would
> affect the ability of the person concerned to do the job efficiently
> and safely (CORAD, 1980, p. 15).

Following up the CORAD report, Fry (1986) completed a report for the Spastics Society which focused on the operation of negative employer behaviours. The report showed that a non-disabled person is 1.6 times more likely to receive a positive response from an employer than a disabled person with the same levels of qualification and experience.

These findings were supported by a follow up report for the Spastics Society by Graham et al (1990). As in the previous survey, applications were made in the London area for secretarial posts requiring a few years experience. At the time the London Labour Market Review (1989) reported that there were shortages of secretaries and typists across a number of sectors. Against this background,

vacancies for which applications would be made were selected from various sources including the national and local press. Paired standard letters were sent from two candidates who had similar skills and experience. One of the paired letters stated that the applicant was a "person with cerebral palsy and registered disabled. However, as I think my education and work history show, my disability has not restricted my working life." (Graham et al, 1990, p. 2).

In spite of increased labour shortages, the 1990 survey results were almost identical to the 1986 results. The non-disabled candidate received 1.5 times more positive responses than the disabled candidate. The report also revealed that employers sometimes made assumptions about mobility difficulties or the disabled applicant's ability to work under pressure. These assumptions were, typically, not checked for accuracy and in most cases worked to the disadvantage of the employment prospects of the disabled applicant. The disparity between the responses given to the two kinds of application suggest that disability played a part in the decision, but that part was not revealed in the reasons given to the applicants.

It is interesting to note that a local survey in the Brighton area (Simpson, 1992) concluded that employment opportunities for disabled people are likely to be better among small firms and very large firms. This suggests that larger firms are more likely to have policies on the employment of disabled people and trained personal officers but there is no explanation by small firms are better at employing disabled people. One possible explanation might be that they are closer to the community within which they operate and therefore have greater contact with the disabled members of that community. Discrimination was most likely to be found in medium sized firms, employing 26 - 249 staff. Among this group over two thirds of employers reported that they viewed disabled people as unsuitable potential staff.

In the Spastics Society's Report it is argued that the findings do not reflect the true level of discrimination, as application is only the first stage in recruitment. Whether the candidates would subsequently have been given equally fair interviews and have stood equal chances of eventual appointment is questioned. In one case study an applicant reported being told that "I was being interviewed only because it was policy to give automatic interview to people with disabilities. It wasn't as if they were seriously considering me for the job" (Graham et al, 1990, p. 8).

This section shows that the treatment of disabled people in the labour market

differs significantly from other groups, and that such treatment is unfair since appropriate evaluation of their capacity to perform the job is the exception rather than the rule.


# Variable Responses to Disability

Other studies suggest that some impairments arouse more negative responses than others. A survey of employers in the Southampton area, in which those responsible for employing about 80% of the local work force were interviewed, showed that a person with epilepsy is less likely to be employed than one with chronic bronchitis, heart disease, diabetes or having one leg or one eye. Only 58% of employers interviewed felt that they had jobs that could be filled by a person with epilepsy, compared to 80% for all the other types of impairment suggested. Employers also showed their lack of information about the significance of epilepsy. Of those interviewed, 72% would not allow a person with epilepsy, who held a current driving license, to work with heavy machinery. These factors demonstrate unfair treatment since most people with epilepsy have fewer accidents at work and less time off sick (John and McLellan, 1987).

These results support those in an earlier US study by Rickard et al (1963). They found that people who had epilepsy or who had had a mental health problem were likely to experience most discrimination in employment. The level of discrimination for all categories of impairment increased when the disabled person was conceived as applying for a teaching post.

A survey of 108 employers in Minnesota (Williams, 1972) also indicated that employment prospects for disabled people varied according to the type of impairment and the position sought. Over 50% of the employers said that they would never consider hiring a "blind person" or "a person with a significant back ailment" for a production job. "Blind persons" would also be rejected by over half of the employers if they applied for a management, clerical or sales job, whereas less than a quarter of employers said that they would never employ "a person with a significant back ailment" for management or clerical posts.

People with learning disabilities would only be considered for employment by 20% of employers in the area of production work thought to be suitable by those employers. People with epilepsy and those who had experienced a serious heart attack would not usually have been considered by over half the employers for

production, management or sales jobs. Job seekers with diabetes or one leg would usually have been considered by half the employers for all job categories and the same applied to those with one arm, except in the case of production work where 60% of employers said they would never or not usually consider an applicant with this type of impairment.

Disabled people may also expect to meet similar attitudes from co-workers. A survey of public attitudes toward the work competence of disabled people (Bowman, 1987) indicated that 97% of respondents stated that they would be willing to work with a disabled person when no particular impairment was specified. However where particular impairments were assigned to explicit examples (e.g. a former alcoholic, a facially disfigured person, a person with epilepsy, a person with paraplegia, a person who had had a mental health problem, a deaf person, a blind person, a person with cerebral palsy and a "mentally retarded" person) fewer than 97% stated a willingness to work with people in any of the categories and the mean positive response dropped to 83%. Only 62% and 73% respectively stated a willingness to work with a "mentally retarded" person or person with cerebral palsy. The research shows a generalised rank ordering of impairment in public perception.

This is further supported by Pfeiffer's (1991) analysis, following Pfeiffer & Poole's (1989) survey of a sample of 733 disabled people in Massachusetts, revealed that certain types of impairment were more highly correlated with unemployment among disabled people. The highest included those who were head injured, mobility impaired, multiply impaired, visually impaired and those who have had a stroke. It also became clear that, within the disabled community, the same socio-economic characteristics linked to advantage or disadvantage in wider society were likely to be influential. Pfeiffer concluded that disabled white males were more likely to be employed and to be employed in professional and managerial occupations. They received higher incomes than disabled women, who were more likely to be employed part-time, and disabled people from minority ethnic communities. This adds to the complexity of the existence of unfair discrimination experienced by disabled people and suggests that the likelihood of unequal treatment will be significantly different on the basis of the variables of sex, race and type of impairment.

Even where job placement has occurred, attitudes have been thought to be a significant factor in the career development of disabled people. Simpson (1992) used pay and broad responsibility definitions to establish that disabled people tended to hit a 'glass ceiling' in career progression. Only 29% of firms reported

instances of any disabled employee breaking through the £20,000 per year ceiling which compares far less favourably than the pay levels of their non-disabled peers.

It has been argued that attitudes toward employees who are disabled can affect the employees' performance and integration into the work force. Attitudes are equally pertinent to the post-employment problems of employees such as involuntary termination and career stagnation (CORAD, 1980; McCarthy, 1988).

Although there has been much research on the effects of labels on the attitudes of service providers in a school setting, particularly in the US (Foster et al, 1975), there has been relatively little work on the effect of labels on employers in determining career development for disabled employees. A US study by Schloss and Schloss (1982) indicated that there is a difference between employers' training plans and expectations of job success for applicants labelled "mentally retarded" and managers' plans for work skill development when comparing similar job applications from applicants labeled "normal" and "behaviour disabled".

Disabled people, themselves, identify employer attitudes among the factors inhibiting employment and career development. The Fourth Report of the OPCS revealed that of those disabled people who were working, over half (55%) thought that their current work and prospects of finding another job were influenced by responses to their impairment. Only 30% of men and 23% of women thought that their employer had done anything to make it easier for them to work and 57% of men and 61% of women felt that nothing had been done to meet their employment needs (Martin et al, 1989).

In the US, a Harris Survey (1986), revealed that 25% of disabled people in employment felt that they had encountered job discrimination. Of those not in full time employment, 47% believed that employers did not recognise their work capability.

Employer attitudes and behaviours towards disabled people do not appear to be readily influenced by the substantial body of evidence which shows that where disabled workers are appointed, they have, on average, performed at least as well as their non-disabled counterparts with respect to productivity, absenteeism, injuries and turnover.

# Evidence of the Ability of Disabled People

There is little doubt that there are particular jobs that could not be done by certain disabled people. However, this is also true for non-disabled people. It is important to assess a worker's ability in accordance with their skills and qualifications to carry out the tasks in the job description. In addition, there are also some tasks that may take certain disabled people longer to achieve. This is illustrated by blind people using either personal assistants or computer scanners for reading documents, as both are considerably slower. However, if disabled people are employed in jobs which match their skills and aptitudes there appears to be little evidence which demonstrates that they are less able to fulfill work requirements than their non-disabled colleagues. The assumed limitations of disabled workers may, in part, be based on the assumption that all non-disabled people are exemplary workers.

It is also important to consider that the experience of disability may itself lead to the development of additional skills. Disabled people living in a predominantly inaccessible world have to develop highly refined problem solving skills to conduct their day-to-day lives. In addition, they have had to manage a significant change in their personal circumstances after the onset of disability. These two skills, problem solving and managing change, are recognised as being of paramount importance to todays employment market. These skills may enhance the productivity of disabled people in areas where their impairment does not have an impact to such a degree that they compensate for any impairment related reduction in productivity.

Indeed, there is a substantive body of research which has focused on the ability of disabled people in employment to carry out their work effectively in comparison to non-disabled employees. Such research directly relates to the typical assumption that a disabled person will be less effective.

As early as 1929, the US Western Electrical Company (Kettle, 1979) found that disabled employees had 7% less absence and 5.6% fewer accidents than non-disabled employees. Supervisors reported that the productivity of disabled employees was equal to any in their departments.

An extensive study was conducted during 1944-48 by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the Veterans Administration (US Department of Labor, 1948). In this, the performance of 11,028 disabled manufacturing workers employed in plants including most industry groups and located throughout the country was

compared with that of 18,258 matched non-disabled workers employed by the same firms, subject to the same job incentives and exposed to the same job hazards. This large sample included different kinds of impairment in different working conditions and provided results which can reasonably be extrapolated to the likely performance rates of disabled people in general.

The outstanding feature of the comparison was the similarities of results between the samples. The study found the differences in the measures of work performance between the two groups to be fractional for the most part, with the balance slightly in favour of the impaired worker group; impaired workers produced at a slightly better rate and had relatively fewer disabling work injuries than did unimpaired workers in identical jobs. The two groups had identical frequency rates of non-disabling injuries, and average rates of absenteeism showed only nominal differences. The voluntary leaving rate was higher for the impaired groups but not significantly so.

These findings have been reproduced by subsequent surveys in the US. A survey between 1958 - 1963 by Abilities Incorporated (Kettle, 1979) found that disabled people lost only 4.1 days per annum from accidents, had 1 day per 100 working days sick leave (the national average was 1.3 days) and an absentee rate for reasons other than illness of 1.1 days per 100 working days (national average being 3.3 days).

A 1963 report conducted at the Naval Shipyard, San Francisco (Kettle, 1979) found that with proper placement and follow up, all people (disabled employees who comprised 6.6% of total work force) were doing their full share of productive work and all were effectively performing their jobs to the complete satisfaction of their supervisors.

A survey by Wolfe (1973) found that disabled workers were more safety conscious than non-disabled people in the Du Pont Company, 91% rated average or better on job performance, 79% rated better on attendance, 93% rated better or average on turnover. Furthermore these ratings showed no correlation with the severity of impairment.

Recent research published by the Organisation Resources Counsellors (ORC, 1991) in which 400 senior human resources executives throughout the US included an analysis of performance ratings and corporate turnover rates, compared employees with identified disabilities and those without identified disabilities. Based on a limited number of responses because of the lack of any

formal requirement to keep statistical information on disabled people within the work force, 14% of respondents felt that disabled employees performed better than other employees, 84% rated them equally and 2% reported worse performance. The general corporate turnover rate was found to be 9.8% but only 2.1% for disabled employees.

One of the few UK surveys of this type was undertaken in 1985 (Kettle, 1979). Three private sector employers and three Post Offices in the West Midlands were involved. The six employers employed an average of 9% disabled people. Disabled people, however had only 7.4% of all accidents. Absence was marginally higher for disabled employees but it was found that disabled people with no on-going illness e.g. polio or controlled epilepsy actually had lower absence rates while those with progressive impairments or back pain recorded higher absence rates. The overall picture was skewed by a few people who had been absent for over a year.

An earlier British study (Goldring et al, 1976) revealed that employers reported positively on the performance of tetraplegic employees when the subsequent employment paths of 299 former patients of Stoke Mandeville Hospital were followed up.

The above studies are mainly concerned with people with physical or unspecified impairments. Less evidence is available on the employment performance of people with learning difficulties because of the small numbers of this group actually in employment. However some studies have indicated that, where employed, people in this group have a capacity for reliability and an ability to perform routine tasks without becoming bored (Rosenberg, 1967). Another study by a toy manufacturer reported that although employees with learning difficulties had a 5% lower production level than other workers, this was more than offset by low absenteeism and high accuracy (Sleit, 1966).

There is a similar shortage of performance information on people with sensory disabilities. Such that exists tends to emphasise the effect of sensory loss on the heightening of other abilities (Sterling, 1966; Freund, 1973). Clearly, much more research in these areas are needed. The available material, however, strongly supports the view that work performance comparisons do not provide clear grounds for refusing employment to a disabled applicant or treating them unfairly in training or career progression.

# Attitudes: From Individual to Ideological

In view of the evidence that employers do discriminate against disabled people and that a substantial body of evidence exists to demonstrate that disabled people in employment can perform as effectively as non-disabled employees, the conclusion of Rickard et al (1963) seems inescapable:

> It is generally accepted that unwarranted discriminations exist in the employment of the disabled. Since such discriminatory practices are unwarranted in terms of the actual performance of the disabled, they constitute prejudice (Rickard et al, 1963, p. 53).

The source of this prejudice has commonly been attributed to a fundamental negative bias (Wright, 1988) discernible in attitudes towards disabled people. Among some researchers, in the US particularly, where race had already been the subject of similar studies by social psychologists, the pin-pointing of an attitudinal component in the disadvantaging of disabled people has led to a massive research effort (Finkelstein, 1980). This has aimed to identify the causal roots of attitude development toward disabled people, attitude structures and methods of attitude measurement and change. The purpose underlying the research was to establish that effective interventions could be developed to change negative attitudes (Siller, 1984).

Researchers have concentrated their efforts in order to create "a distinct framework for thinking about, investigating and intervening in attitudes toward the handicapped" (Jones and Guskin, 1984, p. 11). An identifiable 'attitude research approach' has emerged which focuses on the disabled individual as an attitude object or referent for individual non-disabled subjects. It is essentially an individual based approach in which the level for study has been the individual response analysed collectively.

The most common attitude modification techniques based on this approach are contact with disabled people and information about the effects of particular impairments or the experiences of disabled individuals themselves. The argument has been that these interventions will result in improved attitudes toward disabled people with an assumed behavioural change.

The current UK employment policy towards disabled people, though not based on any indigenous attitude research tradition, is very much in line with this

approach. Accordingly, there is an emphasis on persuasion, inducement and information as the means to change employer attitudes towards disabled people and thus address discriminatory behaviour.

Increasingly, the approach taken by attitude theorists has been challenged, notably by disabled sociologists (Finkelstein, 1980; Brisenden, 1986; Abberley, 1987; Oliver, 1990; Barnes, 1991). They reject the concentration on the individual, inherent in the attitude research approach, as being misleading in identifying the causal roots of the limited opportunities available to disabled people.

# Attitude Research: Individual Centred Approach

The development of the individual based attitude research approach is described first in order to determine its value as a method for tackling the employment discrimination experienced by disabled people. A brief history of the development of the attitude approach is given, followed by an analysis of the application of this concept to the disability issue. A synopsis of the main research findings is presented next and their use in the attempt to develop modification techniques is then described.

The problems of this approach are then considered and the methodological difficulties are described. It is concluded that the most serious flaw results from the simplistic approach to definitions of disability predominantly used in attitude research.

One of the earliest uses of the term 'attitude' to describe something other than the physical, was in "First Principles" by the psychologist, Henry Spencer (Spencer, 1895). In this he argues that to arrive at a correct judgement on disputed questions, much depends on the attitude of mind we hold while listening to, or taking part in, the controversy. For the preservation of a right attitude it is needful that we should question the validity of assumptions about commonly held human beliefs.

In the field of laboratory psychology, the first explicit recognition of attitudes was gained through Lange's (1888) study of reaction time. Lange's identification of a task attitude was found in subsequent German work (Bogardus, 1931; Jahoda and Warren, 1966)) to be applicable in other

investigations of perception, recall, judgement, thought and volition, where the central importance of the subject's preparedness became universally recognised.

A controversy then developed over the place of attitudes in the consciousness. The Wurzburg School attempted to study attitudes by introspection, establishing attitudes as an indispensable concept, but obtaining only meagre results so that attitudes tended to be regarded as a manifestation of the unconscious mind (Titchener, 1910). Freud's psychoanalytic work strengthened this interpretation by emphasising the role of the unconscious mind in human behaviour (Freud, 1961).

This emphasis on instinct (nature) was soon challenged by social scientists. Thomas and Znaniecki's (1920) study of Polish peasants established the study of attitudes as a permanent concept in sociological research, identifying it with social psychology. According to them, attitudes were the individual mental processes which determine both the actual and potential responses of each person in the social world. Since an attitude is always directed toward something, it may be defined simply as a state of mind of the individual toward a value (, 1954).

The definitions of attitudes and the refinement of these definitions concerned many writers and the study of attitudes became central. Indeed, Allport (1935) claimed that the attitude unit had become the primary building stone in the edifice of social psychology.

In general, attitudes are now accepted as descriptive concepts, not themselves directly observable or measurable but able to be inferred from observations of behaviour. They are postulated as latent psychosocial processes, within the subject's self, which lie dormant unless evoked by specific stimuli or referent objects. Allport (1935) argued that in this sense, attitudes mediate between observed environmental stimuli and specific behavioural responses. Examples of potential stimuli would include individuals, social groups, (including ethnic, religious and demographic descriptors), situations, events and social issues. By their perceived psychosocial value, these referents are then able to elicit an attitude response from the subject (Antonak and Livneh, 1988).

Unanimity is still lacking among writers seeking to establish a universal acceptable definition of attitudes. The current most commonly used working definition is that of Triandis (1971) which states that:

An attitude is an idea charged with emotion which predisposes a class of actions to a particular class of social situations (p. 2).

This is an all inclusive definition which incorporates the heuristic components of attitude outlined below. Within attitude research terminology the word 'object' is commonly used to denote a particular class of social situations.

The 'idea' element of Triandis's (1971) definition refers to the cognitive component. This is believed to be the way a person mentally conceptualises the attitude object: their thoughts, beliefs, ideas, perceptions or opinions about the attitude object. The cognitive component is involved in the use of the individual's critical facilities to categorise experience such as in learning through labelling.

The emotional element of Triandis's definition refers to the affective component. The intensity of an attitude is a function of the affective component which is best described as the feelings toward an attitude object. These feelings are expressed, for example, as liking or disliking.

Triandis's definition includes a conative component i.e. the predisposition to behave in a certain manner toward the attitude object, in addition to the behavioural component which refers to the actual reaction to the attitude object. Some researchers, including Triandis, perceive the conative and behavioural element as being virtually inseparable while others such as Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) see them as operating independently.

As a result, attitudes have been broken into three or sometimes four components by different authors for reasons of convenience of analysis. It is recognised that attitudes are complex, multi-component structures operating at a variety of social levels. The section below explains why attitudes relevant to particular groups, for example employers, are not normally considered in isolation.

As disabled people have become the focus of a branch of attitude studies, they have accordingly been referred to as an 'attitude object'. As discussed later, this approach has had negative consequences resulting from the objectification of disabled people. This leads to depersonalisation, stereotyping and their relegation to the mere passive recipients of others' views.

# Employer Attitudes and General Influences

Initially, it may appear that in order to gain a picture of how the attitude factor operates in employment, it is merely necessary to identify common attitudes among employers and develop ways by which they may be changed. Indeed some researchers have concentrated on this approach (Schroedel and Jacobson, 1978).

Altman (1981) has added to the complexity by identifying three distinct but interacting social levels at which attitudes operated to affect the lives of individual disabled people. At the first level the attitudes of a disabled person's family, friends and peers will influence the development of the disabled person's self-image and socialisation. Altman included employers in the second level of interaction with 'professionals' involved in rehabilitation, special education and providers of services. The attitudes and expectations of this group influence family and peer reaction as well as mediate the societal reaction.

The third level at which attitudes operate is at that of the general public where there seems to be limited contact with and general ignorance about disabled people resulting in a heavy reliance on stereotypical images. Yet it is the subtle but pervasive influence of public attitudes that governs the day to day interactions of disabled people and affects the lifestyles they develop (Altman, 1981).

This tripartite division is helpful in illustrating one of the complexities of attitude research, for it is the interaction of these elements which complicates the development of any potentially useful modification strategies.

Employers, for example, through recruitment policies do directly affect work opportunities for disabled people. In evolving these policies they may, however, rely on the advice of other 'expert' services at the second level e.g. medical, rehabilitation or specialist employment services, thereby importing some of the attitudes of those disciplines. Equally, employment strategies will be affected by national employment policy (in part arbitrated by public opinion) and by the company's own ethos and the way in which it wishes to be seen to be interacting with the local community. Ultimately, of course, employers are also members of the general public although they may also have family members or friends who are disabled people.

The complexity of these interactions has led the majority of attitude researchers

to believe that it is necessary to try to understand in general terms the possible origins, determinants, roots or sources of negative attitudes towards disabled people.

However, upon examination, it is argued here that the resulting literature contains a disparate and unstructured collection of explanations based on a variety of approaches and observations referring to anthropological sources and laboratory experiments. Ultimately findings are unsatisfactory as negative attitudes appear to result from a myriad of potential determinants. The most commonly suggested of these are described below.

# Determinants of Negative Attitudes

The sources of negative attitudes toward disabled people have been grouped according to various classifications including psychodynamic, socio-cultural, historical and childhood related factors. In addition, the operation of negative attitudes has been shown to be affected by other variables such as the demographic and personality characteristics of the subject, the disability characteristics of the referent and the context of the encounter.

Among socio-cultural determinants cited in the literature are included social emphasis on personal achievement and productivity and the individual's ability to be vocationally competitive (Safilios-Rothschild, 1970). The role of religion in defining socio-cultural norms has also been considered.

Historically, religions have supplied the human race with a framework, within which to tackle the major questions of its existence. Disability has commonly been explained as a punishment for sin, personal or ancestral, among world religions (Hentig, 1948). Indeed, it may be that humans need to feel that suffering and punishment are deserved in order to retain notions of a 'just world' (Asch, 1952; Heider, 1958). The concept of Dharma in the Hindu religion explains the existing personal condition in terms of behaviour in previous incarnations (Hanks and Hanks, 1980). Hamza (1964) writes that the Muslim religion views disability as a punishment from God for sins committed, as a result of 'the evil eye' or as an arbitrary consequence of divine will. In Judeo-Christian tradition the approach to disability has been essentially negative. Cain, after all, was marked for his sin and in Leviticus 21:18 it is stated:

> For no man who has a blemish shall draw near (the altar), a man
> blind or lame, or one who has a limb too long.

A list of similar disqualifications was subsequently much extended in the Talmud and later applied to Catholic Priests (Hentig, 1948). Kokaska et al (1984) catalogued 180 references to disability in the Bible, identifying 46 of the references as negative in some way. The remain 134 were simply used in a neutral or descriptive manner.

Religions are not alone in the way they promote negative images of disabled people. Other researchers have identified the role played by the arts and the media (Byrd et al, 1980; Byrd and Elliott, 1985) in portraying negative images of disability. These have important implications for disabled people because religions, the media and arts, and prevailing social norms form a part of, and contribute to, the ideological framework of each society. Each has contributed to, and participated in, the development of an approach which has been considered in the previous chapter as outmoded and inappropriate to be used as a basis for promoting equal opportunities for disabled people.

Researchers (Reiser and Mason, 1990) have also identified that another norm, common to all societies and cultures, is an emphasis on some concept of physical perfection. This does not imply a fixed aesthetic absolute. The concept of perfection varies both historically and culturally in its manifestation. Indeed the desired norms of some cultures may appear disabling or distorting to others - foot binding in Imperial China being one such example. In the West, currently, much value is placed on perceived notions of a perfect body and physical fitness (Roessler and Bolton, 1978) so that health clubs have become big business and people who have bodies or faces not approximating this desired norm are devalued, and may devalue themselves. In the extreme, the impact has been powerful enough to create an large industry which puts people's lives at risk by undergoing surgery simply for cosmetic gain.

This devaluation is amplified by a psychodynamic tendency outlined by Wright (1983) such that characteristics of physique may be regarded as a guide to inner nature. Although most of the inferences about personality based on physical signs have found no actual support in systematic investigation (Dembo et al, 1956; 1975), she and her co-workers demonstrated the power of a single characteristic to evoke inferences about a person. Given a negative attribute, like disability (as defined by social norms such as those above), negative associations

frequently result, particularly when there is little other information available.

This phenomenon was identified by Dembo's team as 'spread'. Common examples of spread in operation are assumptions that people who lack motor co-ordination are intellectually 'uncoordinated' as well, and the often observed tendency to shout at those who are visually impaired as if they are also unable to hear.

The effect of spread goes beyond physical assumptions. Proceeding from socio-cultural norms, disabled people are commonly expected to be unemployed because they are not expected to be productive, or without a sexual partner because they do not have a standard body image. From these expectations proceed stereotypical assumptions that disabled people are dependent and poorly socially adjusted.

Some of the more obscure suggestions of the psychodynamic causes of negative attitudes are those based on psychoanalytic concepts. Freud (1923; 1961) argued that the ego is first and foremost a bodily ego, it is not merely a surface entity, but is itself the projection of a surface. As some disabilities have physical characteristics, the concept of the ego being developed from bodily sensations has been held to have profound implications for the way in which individuals relate to the physical aspect of disability.

Siller (1988) noted however that the study of intra-psychic attitude determinants is one of the more neglected areas of attitude research relating to disabled people. Among the more frequently suggested intra-psychic origins of negative attitudes to disability are theories based on castration and general mutilation fears, unresolved infantile separation anxiety, death anxiety, the requirement of mourning, guilt based mechanisms and those which result from attempts to reduce ambivalence or psychic tension which threaten the ego.

The theory that the fear of mutilation is aroused in the presence of a disabled person and evokes a negative attitude toward the person is addressed by various authors (Novak and Lerner, 1968; Roessler and Bolton, 1978). It postulates that since disabled people are not directly harming people who feel threatened in their presence, projection, a defence mechanism of the ego, is involved. When at a subconscious level, the individual is unable to separate their own personality from another, ego boundaries are weak and permeable and over-identification with the physically disabled person occurs. Thus people with high distressed identification (Siller, 1988) are more likely to project unconscious fear onto the

disabled person.

Death anxiety is also postulated to occur when interacting with a disabled person, whose loss of a body part or function is equated with the loss of one's ego (i.e. death), thereby denying one's unconscious and infantile sense of immorality (Parkas, 1975; Endres, 1979; Fish, 1981).

The 'Requirement for Mourning' is thought to be a further psychoanalytic source of negative attitudes toward disabled people. This involves the expectation that a disabled person should be in a perpetual state of mourning for the loss of a body part or function (Dembo et al, 1956; 1975). As Wright demonstrated in her discussion of insider versus outsider perspectives and "the Fortune Phenomenon" (Wright, 1983) and "Mine-Thine Problem" (Wright, 1980; 1983), devalued groups rarely perceive their own condition as negatively as outsider groups do and are more likely to emphasise positive aspects of their situation e.g. 'skill at coping' rather than to 'mourn'. The failure to mourn threatens the non-disabled person's need to safeguard their values regarding the importance of a whole and functioning body. This is believed to trigger ego-defensive mechanisms which result in negative attitudes toward the object.

According to Siller et al (1967) disassociating from disabled people also serves as a guilt reducing response whereby non-disabled people are thought to feel guilty for being 'able-bodied' or 'able-minded' in lieu of the 'suffering' and 'injustice' supposedly experienced by disabled people. Other authors have indicated that because physical disability is perceived as dissimilar and strange by non-disabled people, the ego is threatened by being presented with a cognitively unstructured situation resulting in withdrawal (Yamanoto, 1971; Weinberg, 1973).

The popularity of 'disability jokes', which ridicule blind people as bumbling fools or poke scorn at disabled people in other ways through humour, can also contribute to this process of devaluation (Reiser and Mason, 1990). In "Jokes and their relation to the Unconscious" Freud (1905) claimed that jokes express a normally censored, aggressive or libidinal impulse but that this is made socially acceptable by the joke's 'form' (its wit or word play). It is perhaps significant that even so called 'alternative comedians' who are usually wary of racism or sexism in humour, still not infrequently include 'ableist' jokes in their routines.

The role of attitudinal ambivalence has also been explored by researchers who believe that disability arouses ambivalent responses. Barker et al (1953), in a

review of early empirical studies, concluded that the public's verbalised attitudes toward disabled people were generally favourable whereas deeper non-verbalised feelings were frequently more rejecting. This ambivalence is claimed to result from the fact that disabled people can trigger fluctuating feelings of sympathy and compassion and of aversion and distaste.

This state of ambivalence creates behavioural instability toward the object of ambivalence which poses a threat to self-esteem by intensifying feelings of guilt (Carver et al, 1978). Threat is reduced by lowering the perceived value of the disabled person. Katz et al (1988) believe that what occurs in the threat reduction effort is response amplification which may result in extremely negative or extremely positive behaviour toward the attitude object. This mechanism is held to account for the lionising of some disabled people who are perceived to have succeeded in some way in contrast to the general under-valuation of most disabled peoples' skills and abilities.

A variant of the ambivalence model suggests that ambivalence is experienced in the conflicting desire to explore a novel stimulus i.e. to examine a physically different appearance and to violate the social norm against staring, again resulting in negative feelings toward the object of ambivalence (Doob and Ecker, 1970).

Historic and childhood related factors cited include early life experiences associated with childrearing practices. These include associations between illness and adult standards of conduct whereby children are urged to avoid dangerous practices and not to neglect certain dietary or hygienic requirements in case impairment results. Parents may also transmit negative cultural, social and moral beliefs about disability. The factor of specific negative experiences relating to illness or disability has also been cited (Livneh, 1988). Wright (1983) also suggests that the impact of public health care messages and charity fund raising campaigns should be considered.

Researchers have identified numerous variables which are thought to influence the operation of these generalised determinants. Religious and cultural variables have already been mentioned in the discussion of social norms. Hamady's (1960) research on guilt and shame in Arabic and Western societies is an example of a comparative study considering such variables. The work of Tseng (1972) and Florian (1977) suggested that the effect of cultural modernity should also be considered.

Evidence is also cited that attitude determinants vary in operation according to the demographic and personality characteristics of the subject. In pen and paper psychometric testing, women displayed more favourable attitudes towards disabled people than men, as did young adults compared with adolescents or the elderly (English, 1971; McDaniel, 1976; Schneider and Anderson, 1980). Socio-economic status and educational level are also thought to be relevant variables (English, 1971) and some correlation has been demonstrated with political orientation (Schwamm, 1980).

Other research has concentrated on common attitudes exhibited by individuals in particular professions and the effect of occupational socialisation particularly in health care professions (Cohen and Streuning, 1962; 1965; Durfee, 1971). Several of these authors indicated that professional training actually has a negative impact on measured attitudes.

A growing list of personality variables have been held to influence attitudes including ethnocentrism, authoritarianism, rigidity, narcissism, ego-weakness, level of body satisfaction, anxiety, lack of self-insight, low self-esteem and ambiguity intolerance (English, 1971; McDaniel, 1976; Cloerkes, 1981; Pederson and Carlson, 1981).

The amount and quality of previous contact with disabled people experienced by the attitude subject is also held to be a variable with sources indicating that attitudes become more positive the more there has been previous positive interaction on an equal basis with disabled people (Golin, 1970; Schneider and Anderson, 1980).

Research has also indicated that different types of impairment are perceived more negatively than others. People with learning difficulties or mental health problems and people with cerebral palsy often being perceived more negatively than other physically or sensory disabled people (Safilios-Rothschild, 1970; Furnham and Pendred, 1983). The degree of impairment, visibility (saliency) and cosmetic involvement are also factors (Safilios-Rothschild, 1970) as are the body part or functions impaired.

Finally, the circumstances in which interaction takes place will also affect the operation of attitude formation or expression. Wright (1988) indicated that positive circumstances will constrain negative spread while a negative context will increase it.

## Attitude Measurement

The majority of suggested determinants of negative attitudes are based on theoretical or speculative formulations but some result from the use of, or have been tested by, a variety of techniques to measure attitudes. The way forward for attitude research is seen as developing psychometrically sound instruments to collect data to allow researchers and policy makers to answer questions concerning the formation, structure, correlation and modification of attitudes towards disabled people (Antonak, 1988).

The taxonomy of direct and indirect measurement techniques used in attitude experiments by Antonak and Liveneh (1988) identified eleven different direct methods of measurement: opinion surveys, interviews, ranking, Q-methodology, sociometrics, adjective check-lists, paired comparison scales, semantic differential scales, probabilistic rating scales, deterministic rating scales and multidimensional rating scales. There are also four groups of indirect measurement techniques; projective techniques, disguised procedures, behavioural observations and physiological methods.

The most commonly used among these are picture ranking methods - sociometric techniques which claim to measure behaviour and include experimental procedures, sometimes employing contact with a disabled person, and paper and pencil survey methods involving only verbal communication and responses (Altman, 1981). The latter are usually analysed according to one of the scaling techniques mentioned above.

Examples of research using picture ranking methods include those reported by Richardson et al (1961; 1968) who sought to establish preferences among children for other children both without and with a range of impairments. Further studies by Chigier and Chigier (1968) and Richardson and Emerson (1976) incorporated gender, cultural and socio-economic differences among the subjects as variables to be studied.

Most reported sociometric studies have investigated the interactions of disabled and non-disabled school children in integrated school or camp settings. 'Choosing' behaviour, for example preferences to play with or to sit next to, is observed (Gottleib and Davis, 1973) or social status or popularity is determined by the use of a peer acceptance scale (Bruininks et al, 1974). Experiments using

contact involve interaction components similar to those used in sociometric studies. The most widely quoted studies of this type are those of Kleck et al (1966; 1968) who found that subjects interacting with disabled people terminated the interaction sooner, showed less variability in their verbal behaviour and distorted their opinions in the direction of making them more consistent with those assumed to be held by the disabled person. The later experiment further showed that the subjects tended to demonstrate motor inhibition and formed a more positive impression of the disabled confederate. Kleck interpreted this as meaning that disabled people will find it difficult to acquire accurate feedback from their environment.

Survey methods are the most commonly applied measure in attitude studies. They are usually based on the construction of a scale of one of the types listed above, or the use of an existing scale. These studies have focused on four aspects of attitudes towards disabled people which are:

1) The affective component by which the favourability / unfavourability of attitudes towards disabled people are measured (Mussen and Barker, 1944; Jaffe, 1966).
2) Perceived characteristics of and cognitions concerning disabled people such as physical health, psychological attributes and social stimulus characteristics (Yuker et al, 1960; 1966; Linkowski et al, 1969).
3) Social distance responses (Jones et al, 1966).
4) Simple ranking of impairments (Tringo, 1970).

Independent variables associated with attitude development, such as those cited previously have also been commonly investigated using these techniques. The origins and determinants of negative attitudes towards disabled people indicated by this type of research are various and largely unrelated. Some of the factors suggested are based on the hypothetical ideas described earlier, while others are based on the supposedly more scientific approach of attitude measurement, the problems of which are described in the next section.

However, all presuppose that the essence of discrimination lies in the process of individual attitude formation towards disabled people. Even though the literature includes references to the influence of religious, cultural and social norms on attitude formation there is no attempt to understand the genesis of these norms in either a historical, sociological or ideological sense. Nor have any attempts been made to understand how historical and sociological developments have defined the relationships which currently exist in our society, including the one under

study.

Despite this there is an assumption in the literature that a greater understanding of attitudes and the ways in which attitudes might be changed will produce changes in the behaviour that currently discriminates against disabled people. This belief, despite being unsupported by any significant evidence, has led to further substantial research efforts to develop both attitude change techniques and reliable measurement instruments with which to evaluate them.

# Attitude Research and Attitude Change

Broadly, attitude change is considered to occur through a number of mechanisms. Researchers accept that there is a tendency for consistency among the components of any attitude, so that a change in one component - cognitive, affective or behavioural will be reflected in changes in the other components (Triandis, 1971).

Consequently, attitude change techniques, developed within this approach, are usually targeted at particular components. Thus attitude change is sometimes attempted by changing the cognitive component (e.g. through the provision of new information); the affective component (e.g. through pleasant experiences in the presence of the attitude object) or the behavioural component (e.g. by prescribing a particular course of action).

Within the process of attitude change a number of independent and dependent variables have been identified. The independent variables include the source of the attitude change (a person, a group, a particular newspaper); the message content; the conditions in which it is delivered; and the receiver (McGuire, 1969).

The dependent variables refer to the steps characterising the attitude change which McGuire (1969) identified as attention, comprehension, yielding, retention and action.

The independent variables have frequently been demonstrated to have interactive effects upon the dependent variables. For example, Hovland and Weiss (1952) demonstrated source / message interaction by presenting the same message concerning the feasibility of atomic powered submarines as coming from the

Chairman of the Atomic Energy Authority or from Pravda. Among students 35 per cent changed their views towards the position advocated when they believed it was coming from the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Authority, but none when they believed that the message came from Pravda. When the same two sources were then cited in a message about 'the future of the cinema', the source effect was much smaller.

Triandis (1971) warned that attitude change is a complex area, where interactive relationships are common, and where change in one variable may have widespread results in many other variables within the system. From the description of the components of attitudes above and the complexity of the whole approach it could be argued that Triandis's anxiety is no more than a gross understatement.

# Modification of Attitudes

Research into attitude change towards disabled people has tended to concentrate particularly on a few techniques: contact, information and role playing. Much of the research is not directly comparable, varying from laboratory experiments with college students to monitoring experimental techniques in real life situations such as classroom interventions responding to the implementation of US Public Law 94-142 requiring mainstreaming in schools. An analysis of the application of each of these techniques follows in order to assess their strengths and limitation, and to evaluate their relevance for changing attitudes to disability.

## Contact

Discrepant results have been reported in the many studies of the relationship between contact and attitudes towards disabled people. In studies of the effect of contact between students and disabled people for example, some have found that contact had beneficial effects on attitude and behaviour; others found a deterioration while yet others recorded no relationship at all (Anthony, 1972; Emerton and Rothman, 1978; Cloerkes, 1979; Antonak, 1981; Fichten et al, 1985). Triandis's (1971) warning concerning the interaction of many operational variables is obviously relevant to these discrepancies.

Yuker (1988) reviewed the available research literature on contact in an attempt

to determine which variables are associated with a positive change in attitude towards disabled people. He adapted McGuire's (1969) paradigm in order to consider the characteristics of the variables grouped according to:

a) Source and message variables (the characteristics of the disabled person);
b) Receiver variables (the characteristics of the non-disabled person) and
c) Conditions and message variables (the characteristics of the interaction between them).

Yuker concluded that for positive attitudes to result from contact the disabled person should be (i) competent in values valued by the receiver(s); (ii) socially skillful and able to communicate successfully; (iii) 'accepting' of their disability and willing to discuss it. Demographic and disability characteristics were also shown to have significance though they tended to diminish in importance under conditions of extended contact.

For positive attitudes to result from contact, the non-disabled person should (i) not believe that disability is the most important characteristic of disabled people; (ii) not believe that disabled people are different, inferior or have negative characteristics and (iii) should not believe that they (the receiver) are unable to 'cope' with disabled people. In addition, the non-disabled person should (iv) have demographic and personality characteristics similar to the disabled source and (v) similar status. The previous educational and occupational socialisation of the non-disabled person should not have emphasised negative beliefs about disabled people.

In addition, he concluded that the interaction should (i) involve cooperation and reciprocity; (ii) be rewarding to both disabled and non-disabled participants; (iii) result in the participants getting to know one another as individuals and (iv) persist over time.

The reviewer could only conclude that, if this impossibly high level of requirement were met, the right attitudes would have to exist in the first place for the right attitudes to result from contact.

## Information

Variable results have also been recorded by researchers who have attempted to demonstrate attitude modification through the provision of information. Again

much of the research is not directly comparable and ranges from attempts to evaluate public information campaigns to studies of peer attitudes in a college context.

While Yuker (1976) reported that information campaigns have not been particularly successful in improving public attitudes towards disabled people, and Anthony (1972) concluded that providing information about disabilities or the people that have them, by itself, appears to be an ineffective means of changing attitudes, Hannah (1988) in a review of teacher attitudes concluded that teachers who have more information about medical conditions are more willing to teach disabled children. Even so, she noted an empirical question mark. Does a positive attitude lead teachers to seek out information about disabled children or does information engender popular attitudes?

Much of the research on the effect of information provision has focused on peer attitudes among students. Frequently non-disabled students have been provided with information about the causes, characteristics and learning problems of disabled students (Horne, 1988). Findings have been generally inconclusive. Gottleib (1980) reported that more positive attitudes resulted in third graders following a video and discussion on the causes and characteristics of "mental retardation". Other studies have not supported this result (Miller et al, 1981; Westevelt et al, 1983). Limited detail is available for reviewers on the type of information provided and researchers seem to have made little attempt to evaluate this in either form or content. It appears that the predominant messages conform to the medical and dependency models of disability. They have broadly neglected the importance of the social dimension which underpins Disability Equality Training (DET) as described later. The lack of a comprehensive research approach makes it impossible to draw conclusions about the relevance of these studies, or the committee of the medical and dependency aspects of individual attitudes to disability.

## Contact and Information

Many researchers have concluded that schemes providing both information and contact are generally more successful in promoting attitude change (Anthony, 1972; Bender, 1981; Horne, 1988), though even here findings are mixed.

In the college context, for example, in studies based on students in a

rehabilitation programme Anthony (1972) as well as Rounds and Neubauer (1986) found that advanced students, who were regarded as having both received information and experienced contact with disabled people, exhibited more favourable attitudes than new students on the course. Rowlett (1982), however, found that students, in a hall of residence, who were given information about impairments and who lived on the same floor as students with disabilities did not exhibit more favourable attitudes than non-disabled students living on the same floor who received no information. Horne (1988) noted similar variations in findings in her review of reports dealing with the modification of peer attitudes among school children.

These contradictory findings may be explained simply by the failure to agree standard evaluation methodologies for message content and context. Adequate measurement methodologies for the contact variable, which take into account variations in time and quality, would seem to pose a major problem for researchers as described later. Although the information variable would be easier to standardise, there has been a failure within attitude research to do so. This is, in part, due to the weak theoretical basis of the definition of disability underpining this type of research. Although not specifically acknowledged, the definitions used in attitude research are conditioned by the medical and dependency approaches to disability.

## Role Playing

The most usual form of role playing used in attitude research are modification exercises which have involved 'simulating disability' (Morris, 1976; Chaffin and Peipher, 1979; Wood, 1990). In the UK these techniques have been employed by groups such as the Understanding Disability Educational Trust (Grant, 1991) and marketed as Disability Awareness Training. Packs have been produced to be used in primary schools with the aim of helping children to understand visual, hearing, physical and learning impairments and training is available for teachers wishing to use the packs.

Usually the exercise takes the form of requiring participants to use a wheelchair or to be blindfolded for a set time, or even to wear rubber gloves, and then reporting on the experience. The exercises are usually enjoyed by participants perhaps because they resemble children's party games. This may itself be damaging because of an implied association of disability with childhood (Cassel, 1985). Advocates have claimed that this use of role play can lead to attitude

change (Clore and Jeffrey, 1972; Marsh and Friedman, 1972). Other research has not supported these conclusions (Wilson, 1971; Margo, 1983) and some writers claimed that such exercises actually have the reverse effect. Simulation exercises have been criticised for leading to disability being perceived as an entirely negative experience (French, 1992; citing Richardson, 1990).

Apart from the fact that it is actually as impossible to simulate disability accurately as it is to simulate being Black or being a woman, disabled writers (Barnes, 1991; and French, 1992) have criticised simulation exercises for focusing on the impairments of disabled people and the difficulties they create, for which disabled people may have evolved numerous 'coping' and management responses. Moreover, these exercises fail to encompass the social aspects of disability such as poverty, segregated education, unemployment and access restrictions. Finkelstein (1991) maintains that, by doing this, simulation exercises actually insult disabled people by trivialising disability. In the absence of simulation and role-playing which reliably approximate to the experience of disability, conclusions about the relevance of these methods cannot be drawn.

# Criticism of Measuring Attitude Change

Although a diversity of measurement techniques have been developed and numerous experiments conducted, it has to be said that nearly sixty years of endeavour by the researchers have not provided very fruitful tools for dealing with prejudice. Attitude measurement seems to require levels of effort and resource not justified by the findings. Once all the variables have been allowed for, these often seem too specific to be useful or to too general to the point that they do not prove to be very helpful (Soder, 1990). Indeed, reviewers (Gottlieb, 1975) of the literature have pointed to a number of contradictions in the literature while some of the attitude theorists themselves have concluded that there are justifications for strong criticism of much of the past research literature on a variety of grounds (Siller, 1984).

Advocates of the attitude research approach tend to ascribe the difficulties in their studies to methodological problems compromising both the reliability and the validity of the research. Reliability, here, refers to whether a consistent and precise measure of a true attitude is obtained; validity is concerned with the extent to which a particular instrument measures what its developer intended.

Particular criticisms have included the extensive use of unrepresentative subjects.

Researchers have been criticised for taking the cheap and easy option of using mainly college students (usually taking introductory courses in psychology or education or majoring in a discipline involved with service provision to disabled people) in their studies of attitudes (Antonak and Livneh, 1988). This biases the sample in terms of age, education and socio-economic status.

Other writers have highlighted the susceptibility of survey methods, particularly, to response bias factors including reactive responses such as the social desirability tendency (Feinberg, 1967) and the various response styles that have been identified among respondents (Couch and Kenniston, 1960; Nunnally, 1978).

The problem of neglected variables has been raised by writers in various ways. Soder (1990) noted that the social context of situations is uniformly neglected in sociometric studies so that factors such as the social climate of schools are not taken into account in assessing integration. Wright (1988) noted that the categorising of people according to variables selected by the researcher, which characterises survey type studies, leads to the danger that any differences found between groups will be attributed to the variable under study while other likely confounding factors are not considered.

Further problems are caused by the nature of particular variables. Altman (1981) argued that the variable of 'contact' had no external validity for there were as many concepts of contact as there were studies that used it.

Another weakness of survey methods is that most attitude scales so far developed are uni-dimensional whereas attitudes are now generally accepted among attitude theorists as being multidimensional (Antonak and Livneh, 1988). The original, much used, Attitudes Towards Disabled People (ATDP) scale (Yuker et al, 1960) for example, crudely suggests simply that disabled people are either the same or different from non-disabled people in their personalities or needs.

Yuker and his associates assumed that belief in the difference of disabled people denoted non-acceptance. This was challenged by Siller and Chipman (1964) who, using factor analysis on responses to the ATDP-O scale from two samples to obtain a two factor solution and a four factor solution, showed that respondents can recognise difference without being rejecting. A growing number of measures designed to be constructed as multi-dimensional scales are now being developed but their construction depends on the researchers' *a priori* conceptions of relevant dimensions (Siller, 1970; Schmelkin, 1985).

For Altman (1981) a major problem of attitude research is the ambiguity in the literature of the attitude object. Much emphasis has been placed, in many studies, on the subjects' simple ranking of different types of impairment. Social Distance Scales, for example, rank disabling conditions in relation to each other rather than any other criteria. Picture ranking, although non-verbal, features abstract characters all alike apart from a variety of impairments. In each of these instances the subject is likely to be responding to the impairment itself, on a subjective level, rather than to individuals who may have that impairment. Whiteman and Lukoff's study (1965) obtained more favourable reactions towards "blind people" and "physically handicapped people" than "blindness" and "physical handicap." Yet many studies fail to make this differentiation leading to doubts about what has been measured.

A further major difficulty with the attitude measurement approach, recognised by practitioners (Rabkin, 1972; Siller, 1984) as requiring investigation, is the relationship between attitude and behaviour.

Wicker (1969) reviewed empirical research in several areas on the attitude-behaviour relationship and found that overall attitudes are unrelated or only slightly related to overt behaviours. Several explanations have been offered for the discrepancies highlighted by Wicker. Relatively unsophisticated attitude measures were used in some of the studies and research findings showing a close relationship between attitude and behaviour may have been seldom published because such findings would be considered unexciting (Insko and Schopler, 1967).

Other writers have argued that there are many attitudes or values relevant to a given behaviour. Thus the relationship between the behaviour and a single attitude may appear to be inconsistent because other attitudes have not been taken into account (Newcomb et al, 1965). Wicker (1969) noted that it is also possible that there may be many behaviours relevant to a given attitude so that if inconsistency is observed, it may be due to a failure to consider other behaviours. Some writers have suggested that subjects may experience competing motives. Kutner et al (1952) demonstrated this in a study of restaurant owners who had competing desires to refuse to serve Black patrons and desires to avoid disturbances.

Wicker (1969) offers a general postulate that the attitude-behaviour relationship will be more consistent if the situations in which the verbal and overt behavioural

responses are obtained are more similar. The situational environment can have a number of variable dimensions including the presence of other people, normative prescriptions of behaviour, alternative behaviours available, specificity of attitude objects responded to, extraneous unforeseen events and expected or actual consequences of various acts. Wicker states that maximal attitude-behavioural consistency would obtain when responses were gathered in situations which were very similar on all dimensions.

Attitude researchers appear to believe that many of the problems identified in their studies can be overcome by the development of yet more scales, for example to enable a single concept of contact (Altman, 1981); or greater use of multi-dimensional scaling methods (Schmelkin, 1985), facilitated by advanced computer software and greater use and development of indirect measures to reduce susceptibility to the influence of response bias.

Researchers have also been urged to assure the adequacy of the psychometric characteristics of whatever method is used (Antonak and Livneh, 1988). Leading workers have agreed that too few of the reported studies can be judged psychometrically sound (Yuker, 1988; Antonak and Livneh, 1988). Some authors have argued that greater effort is required to investigate the relationship between the subject's verbalised expression of attitude and overt behaviour (Rabkin, 1974; Siller, 1984; Antonak and Livneh, 1988).

The criticisms of attitude research so far described have not deterred researchers from their endeavours. Despite major methodological weaknesses attitude researchers appear to belive that the approach is amenable to improvement. Many still feel that greater equality for disabled people will result from an approach based on changing attitudes towards disabled people. Indeed, Siller (1984, p. 201) expressed optimism that:

> studies are becoming increasingly sophisticated and more
> appropriate to the complexity of the subject. It is to be hoped that
> systematic programs of research towards specific problems of need
> will be accomplished by attention to basic theoretical and
> measurement concerns.

This conclusion excuses researchers from examining the basic ideology which underpins their approach by encouraging researchers to have greater zeal in the pursuit of an end which is itself suspect. As a result it appears that researchers involved in attitude studies in the US will continue to express confidence in the

value and potential of their work. Even where legislative change has occurred which removes some of the social restrictions previously placed on disabled people, such as US Public Law 94-142 concerning the education of disabled children, the US Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the recent Americans with Disabilities Act (1990), researchers appear to believe that their contribution will facilitate the process of integration. It is argued here, however, that this approach pursued for over one hundred years, has failed to demonstrate significantly improved opportunities for disabled people as a result of the efforts of its protagonists.

Although a comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation package has yet to be adopted in the UK, a recent indigenous contribution to the literature has made a similar claim. Hudson and Barrett (1993) argue that little is known about the effect on public perceptions of recent social integration policy by which people with multiple impairments move out from institutions into the community. Accordingly they felt that research should speedily be conducted to discover the interaction between 'ordinary people' and people with multiple impairments. They proceeded to conduct their own study, obtaining results, consistent in many ways with the general findings of the US studies.

The belief that research into attitudes towards disabled people can either precipitate or facilitate social change has been fundamentally challenged during the last decade. In 1980, Finkelstein argued that:

> Gathering information so as to change attitudes which hinder
> re-integration into the mainstream of social life entrenches the
> view of disabled people as passive recipients of others opinions (p.
> 20).

Finkelstein also claimed, although without clear evidence, that:

> The more extensive the application of such techniques.... the more
> we can expect such attitudes to become current in society
> (Finkelstein, 1980, p. 20).

This kind of response suggests that the inadequacy of the methodology and research activities surrounding attitudes not only has a detrimental effect on the quality of research into disability and discrimination, but also may exacerbate the disadvantages of the very objects of study, disabled people themselves. For Finkelstein, change through attitude change becomes possible only when the

focus of concern shifts from disabled people onto environmental control systems, social interventions and social relationships. This argument and the development of the Disabled People's Movement have led to the development of the social model of disability.

The alternative, social model of disability identifies definitions of disability as being culturally produced and socially structured. It goes so far as to argue that previous definitions based on the individual approach have actually helped to create institutionalised discrimination in social policies and practices. Within the new approach, individual attitudes can only be understood within the context of prevailing ideologies, which are themselves both culturally and socially determined.

The considerable importance of the effects of these ideologies on discourse and policy concerning disability can not be underestimated. Discrimination against disabled people can no longer be identified as a function of individual social psychology but as a feature of our society, embedded in its social institutions and ideology.

This new approach identifies social change as the only realistic solution to removing the disadvantages experienced by disabled people in our society. In so far as attitudes need to be changed, this approach suggests that the focus needs to be redirected onto our social institutions and away from disabled people.

From the evidence presented above it can be concluded that the individual attitude approach is fundamentally flawed. The social model, however, in adopting principles based on institutionalised discrimination, may offer greater explanatory power. The social model is considered in more detail in Chapter Four and an assessment is made of its utility in challenging employment discrimination.

# Chapter Four

# Institutionalised Discrimination

## Introduction

The failures of UK employment policy in its attempts to tackle the discrimination experienced by disabled people either seeking work or already in employment were described in Chapter Two. An analysis of US attitude research in Chapter Three revealed fundamental flaws both in its utility as a research tool and in its appropriateness as a means for understanding the nature of discrimination against disabled people in employment. In this chapter an alternative approach to tackle employment discrimination is considered in more detail - The Social Model of Disability. This model rejects the assumption that employment discrimination results from the negative attitudes of employers directed at a disabled person's impairment in favour of viewing it as a process institutionalised within social organisation.

Initially the experience of discrimination is considered with reference to the changing nature of work. Then the social construction of the 'disability category' is described with regard to the development of the social model of disability as based on the underlying ideology. The utility of the social model in challenging employment discrimination is considered by contrasting its application with the individual (medical and tragedy) model. Next the social model is developed to suggest a new and probably more realistic reason for the failure of the quota scheme. This discussion concludes by presenting a new definition of disability. Next a balance is sought between the polar views expressed by the individual and social models. This concludes by arguing that the social model provides a more useful framework to understand and challenge employment discrimination. No attempt is made to provide a detailed description of the application or utility of this model to solve the 'non-employment' problems experienced by disabled people.

Following this the application of anti-discrimination legislation to challenge racism and sexism is considered and the campaign to gain similar protection for the rights of disabled people is described. Next an international comparison is drawn between the two principal approaches selected by a variety of countries to

address employment discrimination.

The chapter continues by describing the development of disability politics. The relationship between the development of the social model and disability politics is considered next with regard to progress in challenging discrimination. It is argued that training based on the social model of disability can be of value in challenging employment discrimination, is more appropriate and attitude change based training.

The chapter concludes by introducing the hypothesis to be tested by the research project described Chapter Five. The research aims to test the utility of Disability Equality Training in creating equal opportunities for disabled people at work.

# The Changing Nature of Work

During early industrialisation, impairment probably did exclude many disabled people from the labour force. Work typically involved heavy physical labour in large and small factories, mines and on the land. Conditions were harsh and demanding, often resulting in the disablement of the workforce, who were then unable to perform their work tasks. Since the second world war, however, the nature of work itself in industrialised nations has changed substantially with the steady decline of heavy manufacturing industry, the introduction of new technology to replace human labour and the expansion of the service sector. In addition, new technologies, particularly information technology, and the emergence of new science-based industries have dramatically transformed the labour markets of modern societies (Cornes, 1984).

Thus there are many more kinds of jobs, requiring different sets and levels of skill, in the workforce. For a whole range of jobs, some sort of technology is required in the conduct of the work. It is this kind of technological development which has transformed the employment potential of people with impairments, since modern technology can eliminate most functional limitations in employment. It is, however, difficult to envisage how all impairment related difficulties, like the fatigue experienced by some people with multiple sclerosis and the cognitive problems of people after a head injury, can be overcome by technology alone. Other changes like flexible working hours and support workers may also be required.

Notwithstanding, some writers have heralded these technological developments as paving the way for a significant expansion in the range and number of jobs which disabled people might undertake (Bowe, 1980). This was expected to occur through the development of a new generation of equipment and adaptations, through technologies which reduced the need for physical strength in many processes and through increased opportunities for remote working brought about by developments in communications. In addition to changes in the economic base and developments in new technology, legislation has ensured a shorter working week and improvements in working conditions which are favourable to all workers. These particularly affect some groups of disabled employees, such as people who experience early morning stiffness resulting from arthritis who may require flexible working hours or people who experience additional tiredness as a result of multiple sclerosis.

Finkelstein (1980) anticipated the impact of the benefits above in an idealised three phase account of disability. Phase I refers to feudal society, seen as a cooperative community of agriculture and small scale industry which did not preclude most disabled people from participating, in some way, in the process of production. With industrialisation, i.e. Phase II, the nature and speed of factory work and the hours and discipline required resulted in many disabled people being excluded from the labour market, not to mention disabling many in the process. Disabled people came to be seen as a social and educational problem resulting in their segregation within institutions of various kinds. Finally, Finkelstein believed that the late 1980s would be characterised by an emerging Phase III. He anticipated that during this period disabled people would be liberated from the segregating practices of society by new technologies and by closer partnership between professionals and disabled people.

In some respects Finkelstein was right to anticipate the distinctiveness of Phase III. It is difficult to find a class of employment that is not currently being carried out by a person with some kind of impairment. This is supported both by reference to disabled luminaries, in fields ranging from cosmology to politics, and to numerous examples in the literature on successful employment projects involving disabled people (Tackney, 1989; Murray and Kenny, 1990).

Even where a job requires the most rigorous selection tests of physical and intellectual ability, disabled people need not necessarily be excluded and may actually offer some advantages as demonstrated by Rogers (1991) in his only partially tongue in cheek 'Case for the Amputee Astronaut'. This is not to say that every disabled person can do any job, or that impairment will not be a factor for

some in certain employment options, but that the changing nature and conditions of work should mean that disabled people could become more adequately represented among all occupations than is presently the case.

However, the range of employment and the new opportunities afforded by technology have not yet ameliorated the position of disabled people described in Chapter Two as the most marginal in the labour force. Indeed, technology may even further contribute to the disadvantage experienced by disabled people. Over a decade ago, Schworles (1983) identified an emerging 'culture gap' in the expertise of using new technology between disabled people and their non-disabled peers.

In light of these technological developments it is worth considering the additional cost to employers of employing disabled people. This is important when trying to justify the expenditure of scarce resources. For example, it would be difficult to defend significant investments in employing one disabled person when the same resources could have been used to create three jobs for three 'less expensive' disabled people. A review of these cost implications (RADAR, 1994) reveals little concern since the total cost of complying with anti-discrimination and making 'reasonable accommodation' in employment in the UK is about £16m. Most of this sum is available from the Employment Service to support disabled people in work so the issue of cost should rarely, if ever, be a factor.

If Finkelstein's Phase III has failed to materialise for most disabled people, this is less likely to be due to the failed promise of technology than deficiencies in training and the resistance provided by other barriers. Nor can blame be laid at the door of disabled people's ability as discussed earlier.

It has previously been demonstrated that within UK employment legislation the principal barrier identified is that of discrimination which is implicitly and explicitly assumed, as defined by policy, to be resulting from the negative attitudes of individual employers. Success is held to be dependent upon changing those employer attitudes by persuasion to bring about non-discriminatory employment practices. Such a claim has never been demonstrated as being achievable. Its utility has been challenged in the previous chapter.

This incumbent approach contrasts with an evolving alternative explanation for the disadvantage experienced by disabled people in employment which views discrimination as institutionalised within society's beliefs and practices rather than as a function of individual attitudes. The inequality resulting from

institutionalised discrimination has led some commentators to view the disadvantage experienced by disabled people as a particular form of oppression (Abberley, 1987). Advocates of the view that disability is institutionalised express their views both nationally and internationally through such organisations as the British Council of Organisations of Disabled People (BCODP) and Disabled Peoples' International (DPI). The utility of this approach which harnesses the social model of disability in combating the employment discrimination experienced by disabled people is contrasted with the individual model approach.

# The Individual Model

There are always a variety of ways that can be used to explain particular situations. Historically, disability has been conceptualised as a problem of the individual. The approach is underpinned by an assumption that there is something intrinsically wrong with disabled people which results in their experience of limited opportunities. This model positions the impairment as the primary focus of concern for employers. Candidates for jobs are often judged according to their impairment rather than the skills, aptitudes and qualifications they have to do particular tasks.

The individual deficiency, as defined by this model, can be viewed as a personal tragedy resulting in people who need to be looked after and cared for. It can also be seen as a medical problem requiring therapeutic intervention to help resolve the situation. The tragedy approach has assumed that the experience of disability devastates the individual to such a degree that there is little hope of participating as an active citizen. The individual is deemed to have become dependent and is defined in terms of their diagnostic label. Charities were established, based on impairment categories, to help these 'unfortunate' individuals and their fund-raising efforts to support this work have often adopted an approach based on the tragedy model. This sociological phenomenon has had a significant impact on the employment prospects of disabled people and does not measure up to the facts about the ability of disabled people in employment which were described in Chapter Two.

The medical model also positions the impairment as the primary focus of concern. It has been underpinned by an assumption that the quality of life of disabled people can be best improved by resolving or limiting the impairment through treatments aimed at curing the individual. Whilst these are laudable expectations,

there are problems in maintaining this approach as the only or even the primary focus is that when interventions do not 'cure' the individual, disabled people are likely to be perceived as having a permanent medical problem which will result in limiting their opportunities.

Notwithstanding the inadequacies of the medical model, it is difficult to challenge for a variety of reasons. First, for any individual who has just lost a degree of motor, sensory or intellectual functioning their initial desire would be to regain it as fully and rapidly as possible. However, research by Martin et al (1988; 1989) demonstrates that this is not an option for 6.2 million adults in the UK as 14.2% of the adult population who experience an impairment through accident or illness will not be cured.

The second problem in challenging the medical model results from the considerable level of expertise developed by practitioners working in this field. They have gained a great deal of knowledge about impairment through research and practice and have been vested with considerable power over disabled people's lives by society. Any challenge to the status of the medical model is a challenge to this knowledge and the power which underlies it.

However, the challenges to this model can be illustrated by specific examples. For instance, people with spinal injuries are often instructed and encouraged by medical practitioners to use a 'standing-frame' two or three times a week for an hour at a time. This frame is a device which helps a paralysed individual stand in one position with the assistance straps and posts. People with high level injuries require the help of two assistants to achieve this and the process can be quite painful and time consuming. People with spinal injuries are advised that this will help with kidney function, reduce bladder infections, improve psychological well-being and reduce spasms, yet there is no evidence to support this.

This 'therapy' is expensive not only in terms of the cost of the standing frame but also in paying for the personal assistants that would be required. The pain involved and time needed adds a personal component to the cost involved for participating in a 'therapeutic' process which has dubious scientific merit. There is a possibility that the whole regime may be based on a deep rooted assumption that it is 'normal' to be upright and that attempts have been made to validate this position through scientific theory and medical research. Similar problems can arise when people with mobility impairments are encouraged to walk with the assistance of a cane or crutches rather than using a wheelchair which is often considered as the solution of last resort. In addition, a powered wheelchair is

often perceived less favourably than a manual wheelchair.

These ideas may be based on assumptions which presume that quality of life can best be enhanced by attempting to approximate 'able-bodiedness' rather than equipping disabled people with the most effective tool to get them from one place to another whilst leaving the person with enough energy to complete a day's work.

No model is capable of providing all the answers to a particular situation but it is clear from the discussion above that the individual model, encapsulated by the tragedy and medical approaches, is very problematic when considering how best to improve opportunities in employment. The scenarios outlined above could deny employment for a variety of reasons. First, disabled people may be too busy undergoing therapy to have time to work or train for work; second, they may be too tired to work competitively on their arrival at the job because of the high energy used getting to work; third, employers may associate disability with illness; and fourth, the tragic images of charity fund-raising may encourage corporate donations whilst limiting employment opportunities.

Under these particular circumstances it is not surprising that an employment policy to promote opportunities for disabled people which seeks to change negative attitudes has not been fruitful. It is clear that an alternative approach is required which is discussed below as the social model of disability.

# Developing the Social Model of Disability

To shift the focus in the definition of disability has been the driving aim behind the work of disabled sociologists (Finkelstein, 1980; Abberley, 1987; Morris, 1989; Oliver, 1990). They have set themselves the task of applying sociological perspectives to the issue of disability as the basis for producing a new social theory of disability. They have identified the 'Grand Theory' implicitly underpinning almost all previously mentioned studies of disability as 'personal tragedy theory' leading to the medicalisation and individualisation of disability (Oliver, 1990). More recently, the socially created 'dependency model' of disability current in social theory and policy which has resulted in institutionalised discrimination in our society has also been introduced (Barnes, 1991).

A recent, refined version of this approach (Oliver, 1990) explores the roots of personal tragedy theory. Oliver argues that disability as a category can be

understood only within a framework which suggests that it is both culturally produced and socially structured. Central to this framework is the mode of production and the way in which the production process is organised. This does not however imply straightforward historical materialism. As Oliver asserts, the core or central values of a society, such as superstitious, religious or philosophical values, also have a role to play.

The existence of cultural factors explains the variation in the experience of disabled people in different societies noted by anthropologists (Hanks and Hanks, 1980). There is however a relationship between the mode of production and the prevailing mode of thought within society. This results from the requirement to redistribute the economic surplus according to the needs of the mode of production and social perceptions about how this should be appropriately achieved. Social practices are therefore underpinned by a set of values or beliefs which, according to Oliver, comprise 'ideology'.

In describing the ideological construction of disability, Oliver adapts the work of Gramsci (1971) to distinguish between interrelated core and peripheral aspects of ideology. Core aspects are those historically necessary to the mode of production. They are equivalent to Gramsci's 'organic' ideologies which have a psychological validity in that they organise human masses and create the terrain on which people move (Gramsci, 1971). Peripheral ideologies are related but more equivalent to movements or trends.

Under capitalism one core aspect of ideology is that of individualism because of the requirement for individuals to sell their labour in the open market. This necessitates a break from collectivist notions of work as a product of family or group involvement. The construction of the disabled identity was a corollary of this development as an idea of individual able-bodiedness or able-mindedness was thought of as being essential to the development of individual wage labour (Stone, 1984). Applying Foucault's (1965) work on madness, Oliver stated that it is only this idea of individual 'able-bodiedness' which makes possible the idea of disability as an individual pathology justifying exclusion with the focus on the body. This, combined with the scientific revolution in medicine, has contributed to the 'medicalisation' of disability.

Various theories have been put forward to explain the dominance of the medical model of disability, including Finkelstein's (1980) structural explanation which linked 'medical control' with the rise of institutions and the success of hospital based medicine. To this Oliver added the influence of 'germ theory' and, latterly,

the ability of the medical profession to expand its activities into the field of rehabilitation.

One of the consequences of the medicalisation of disability and its consequent definition as an individual pathology was the widespread acceptance of the concept of adjustment. This emphasised the requirement for the disabled individual to undergo medical treatment and rehabilitation in order to be as 'normal' as possible and also presupposed a process of psychological adjustment or coming to terms with disability.

However, Oliver contends that if the ideological construction of disability has been determined by the core ideology of capitalism i.e. individualism and the peripheral ideologies associated with medicalisation and underpined by personal tragedy theory, this is not the whole story. Disability has also been socially created. In ideological terms, disability has been defined as an individual disadvantage requiring a set of particular social policies, rather than incorporating provision into general social and environmental planning. The effect of special policies has been increasingly to create or reinforce dependency among disabled people.

This process is traceable to the origins of the welfare state. Prior to the second world war, the position of disabled people in society was predominantly a picture of institutionalisation or isolation within the family. The proliferation of war time and post-war legislation, of which the 1944 Disabled Person's Employment Act was part, appeared to offer the promise to disabled people of full citizenship. The welfare state as envisaged by the Beveridge Report was based on a philosophy of active citizenship within a framework of entitlements, providing cradle to the grave security for all individuals. In translating this philosophy into practice, the welfare state became side-tracked into a form of provision which emphasised need, and created passive rather than active citizens (Ignatieff, 1983).

Needs-based welfare provision, though providing disabled people with more access to services, also promoted socialisation into dependency through the way in which services were provided, the interventionist nature of professional practice and the language in which it is all described (Bynoe, 1991).

Thus, while the 1944 Education Act specified that disabled children should be educated alongside their peers in primary and secondary education, the regulations concerning the Act in 1946 first introduced the concept of 'need' and in due course disabled people came to acquire 'special needs'. Evidence of the

disadvantageous effect of segregated education on the social development of young disabled people has been accumulated in recent years (Paediatric Research Unit, 1985; Hutchinson and Tennyson, 1986).

Although the Warnock Report (1978) and subsequent Education Act (1981) proposed greater integration, progress in mainstream schools has been minimal and hampered by staff responses (Danks, 1989) and lack of local education authority (LEA) commitment to change (DES, 1989), reflected in resourcing and policy development. The Education Reform Act has exacerbated the problem of differential provision by the policy of opting-out and the stress on high academic achievement by tests, leading to greater selectivity by schools. There is little therefore to challenge the perpetuation of educational environments in which medical need predominates over educational need (Oliver, 1990) and from which young people emerge often conditioned into accepting a devalued social role as sick, pitiful and a burden of charity (Hutchinson and Tennyson, 1986). Such young people are lacking the skills to face the tasks of adulthood and ignorant about the main social issues of our time (BCODP, 1986).

Similarly, among the health and social support services, the National Assistance Act (1948) and the Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act (1970) both extended services for disabled people but, in their style of provision, also facilitated the emergence of a dependency creating professional / client relationship. Oliver (1990) documented the factors which trap both professionals and disabled people in this relationship:

> economic structures determine the roles of professionals as gatekeepers of scarce resources, legal structures determine their controlling functions as administrators of services, career structures determine their decisions about whose side they are actually on and cognitive structures determine their practice with individual disabled people who need help - otherwise why would they be employed to help them (pp. 90-91).

Barnes (1991) points out that even the recent Disabled Person's (Services, Consultation and Representation) Act 1986, in spite of its rhetoric, extends this approach to disability through its statementing procedures. The Act originally afforded disabled people the right to be assessed, consulted and represented, and included in its provisions reference to meaningful collaboration between users and providers of services.

Subsequently, it has been announced that important aspects of the act regarding

the right to an advocate, the right to have a written statement on needs assessment and the right to ask local authorities for services are not to be implemented. There is also evidence that there has been little attempt by local authorities to interpret their obligations towards consultation within the spirit of the Act (Barnes, 1991).

Institutionalised discrimination is also evident in housing policy where accessible homes form only a tiny percentage of total housing stock. Much of what exists forms ghettos in public sector 'special needs' developments leading to homelessness among disabled people, often masked by disabled people remaining with families. Housing difficulties will compound the employment disadvantages of disabled people by decreasing their occupational mobility.

Disabled people also experience institutionalised discrimination in transport policy. Adaptation of production cars is often prohibitively expensive for disabled people while most urban 'public' transport, buses and local rail systems are inaccessible to many, leading to a reliance on more expensive methods, such as taxis, or segregated transport provision e.g. Dial-A-Ride which is not sanctioned for regular journeys such as to the work place.

Problems in the built environment for disabled people have been somewhat ameliorated recently with building regulations stipulating that structures erected after 1987 should be accessible. However, the voluntarist approach to buildings erected before that time means that disabled people will continue to experience institutionalised discrimination in the built environment restricting access to both work, leisure, social and political life.

In this way, therefore, disability is not merely socially constructed but also socially created and 'dependency' has supplemented 'personal tragedy' as a prevailing peripheral aspect of ideology in service provision.

The creation and reinforcement of dependency has a political basis in the way in which the legislative approach to disability is locked into a professional and service based approach rather than a civil rights approach. This is perpetuated by the way in which political discourse about disability is conducted in a particular linguistic form illustrated by such descriptors as 'community care', 'care attendants' and even 'carers'.

The political context determines the professional basis for the creation of dependency which is apparent in modes of service provision incorporating little consultation, unequal professional / client relationships and inflecting patronising

social attitudes.

The influence of the medicalisation of disability, the personal tragedy thesis and the creation of dependency are all reflected in modern cultural and media images of disability. The Broadcasting Research Unit (BRU, 1990) reported that the most common feature of factual reporting in broadcasting on disabled people concerned medical treatment, particularly 'cures' for impairment. Other disability issues tend to be referred to specialist slots.

Broadsheet newspapers similarly tend to report on even non-medical disability issues in the health section. The influence of the personal tragedy thesis is especially evident in, but by no means confined to, tabloid newspaper reporting, particularly if some celebrity can be seen to be intervening on behalf of a particular group of disabled people. Intrinsic to the personal tragedy approach and also popular in 'human interest' style reporting is the 'brave cripple' approach which applauds any disabled individual who is deemed to overcome personal tragedy often by accomplishing perfectly normal acts (Reiser and Mason, 1990).

Fictional representations of disabled people, television programmes, films and literature demonstrate the ideological content of cultural images of disability. Many have the historical, religious or superstitious roots also identified by attitude theorists. Only rarely in any of these areas, however, is disability treated realistically, i.e. incidentally, as a situation occurring naturally in a percentage of the population. It is more often employed as a symbolic device for a range of metaphors. Disability has been used to portray or enhance a variety of characterisations ranging from malevolence to helplessness (Thurer, 1980; Kent, 1987) or to convey a parable on adjustment (Longmore, 1987) ultimately conveying the essential soundness of prevailing social norms. Many examples can be found which appear to validate even the most extreme emotions such as revulsion. The following passage expresses the thoughts of a book's hero when he realises that the beautiful woman he has noticed seated across the dance room floor happens to have a mobility impairment resulting from polio:

> I was appalled. I felt like one who, stooping innocently over a flower, is
> stung by an adder. If the hyper-sensitive creature had struck me, reviled
> me, spat at me, I should have been less disconcerted, for in view of her
> uncertain temper I was prepared for anything but this one thing - that she,
> an invalid, a poor afflicted cripple, should be able to love, should desire to
> be loved; that this child, this half woman, this immature impotent creature
> should have the temerity (I can not express it otherwise) to love, to desire,

with the consciousness and sensual love of a real woman.... I began to have an inkling of the fact (suppressed by most writers) that the outcasts, the branded, the ugly, the withered, the deformed, the despised and rejected, desire with more passionate, far more dangerous avidity than the happy; that they love with a fanatical, baleful black love and that no passion on earth rears its head so greedily, so desperately, as the forlorn and hopeless passion of these step-children of God who feel that they can only justify their earthly existence by loving and being loved (Sweig, 1985, pp. 205-6).

The failure to use realistic images of disabled people is also obvious in advertising which is the section of the media most directly targeting our behaviour. UK advertising agencies have so far generally declined to 'risk' using disabled people in general advertising to sell their products, implying assumptions of negative association.

The impact of ideological representations of disability is readily apparent in charity advertising. Historically, charities have commonly made quite aggressive use of both the personal tragedy and dependency images in their efforts to raise funds. Reiser and Mason (1990) point to the reliance formerly placed by the Spastics Society on pathetic and pitiable images of disabled children begging outside shops. The Winged Fellowship, a charity providing holidays for disabled people, has emphasised the perceived burden that disabled people place on their families and hence assumptions about their dependent position. This approach has been moderated in recent years to suggest that readers focus on 'ability not disability'. Campbell (1990) noted that this is still misleading for it retains the focus on the disabled individual rather than on society.

Other charities, particularly those seeking funds for medical research, still rely heavily on the personal tragedy image with an emphasis on the solution being provided by a cure. This is seen, for example, in the recent Multiple Sclerosis Society advertisements or the Schizophrenia - A National Emergency campaign.

Finally, ideological definitions of disability are also reflected by the language commonly surrounding it. The medicalisation of disability is reflected by the fact that disabled people are often collectively grouped in depersonalised terms by their impairment - "the deaf" and "the spinal injured". The influence of the personal tragedy model is illustrated by such phrases as "suffering from", "afflicted by", "a victim of" and "struck down by". Disabled people are also spoken of as "bound" to their wheelchairs or "confined to their homes" by their individual impairments in a way which neglects the restrictions imposed by the built environment.

The implications of this analysis for improving employment opportunities are important because it supports the need for a shift away from defining individual disabled people as being the root cause of the problem. An alternative strategy is required which values the contribution disabled people can make and questions the way social barriers that limit opportunities - the social model. When this model is applied to the disadvantages experienced by disabled people in work alternative solutions can be developed. The explanatory power of the social model is revealed in the next section when it is used to demonstrate an alternative explanation for the failure of the quota system.

# Applying the Social Model

The analysis offered by the social model provides a compelling explanation for the failure of the quota system. It was a maverick policy. The quota, by recognising, even in a compromised way (Bolderson, 1980) disabled peoples' rights, was incompatible with a whole range of other post war policies which emphasised need and dependency and which largely determined the societal approach to disabled people.

The quota system recognised the employment rights of disabled people, but did so within a social environment which effectively restricted their access to exercise that right. The scheme did not take account of the institutional discrimination experienced by disabled people in all other areas of public provision: education, training, transport, environmental planning, housing etc. This meant that disabled people were generally less well educated, less able to have access to transport, less geographically mobile and even less likely to be able to enter the very work places where the jobs that they were supposed to have a sanctioned and assured right to, existed.

Instead of recognising the need to address the social restrictions faced by disabled people, other parts of the 1944 legislation placed a reliance on the rehabilitation profession to 'adjust' the individual disabled person to compete equally in the labour market. Emphasis on individual adjustment was, itself, consistent with the individualisation and medicalisation of disability.

The emphasis has subsequently been criticised both theoretically (Finkelstein, 1980) and empirically (Silver and Wortman, 1980). Bolderson's (1980) point

about over-optimistic expectations of the rehabilitation profession described in Chapter Two is really therefore a point about the limits of individual adjustment as a means of accessing equal rights.

The result of this was that when presented with an unqualified and socially inexperienced disabled school leaver or a disabled applicant unable to move freely around the work place or use the existing office equipment, employers could simply refuse to recognise disabled applicants as suitable or fully rehabilitated or capable of competing on equal terms in their interpretation of the quota. That they were furthermore not required to do so was ensured by the prevailing political discourse, which defined disability in terms of personal deficiency, and which resulted in the passive implementation of the scheme.

This analysis of the nature and place of the quota system in the legislation indicates that the concepts used in respect of disability play a key role for understanding the situation of disabled people in the labour market.

# Re-Defining Disability

The on-going development of a discourse which employs a social model of disability by both sociologists and disability rights activists has led to the attempt to re-define key concepts:

> **Disability** is the loss or limitation of opportunities to take part in the normal life of the community on an equal level with others due to physical and social barriers.

With an accompanying definition of:

> **Impairment** is the functional limitation within the individual caused by physical, mental or sensory impairment (Barnes, 1991, p. 2).

In other words people who have impairments are disabled by the society they live in. Therefore, it can be argued that once all the disabling barriers to employment are removed disabled people will enjoy equality of opportunity in work. However, this situation will only ever by achieved if the social model is robust enough to provide all the solutions, which remains open to question.

In beginning to develop a social model of disability, disabled sociologists are linking the understanding of disability with developments in social theory in other areas. The dependency and personal tragedy models of disability may be compared with other 'victim blaming' social theories (Ryan, 1971) such as individualistic explanations based on the character weakness of the poor and unemployed and the 'sickness' of the criminal. Alternative models incorporating social and economic factors have been constructed.

In the social model definition the causation of disability is shifted from the individual's biological pathology and directed towards society and social organisation.

Social approaches argue that those who seek to address the disadvantage experienced by disabled people in society, with particular reference to employment discrimination in this thesis, by changing public attitudes or the attitudes of specific groups towards them are focusing on the manifestations and not upon the root causes of disadvantage. The majority of the mechanisms revealed by the attitude theorists, based on ambivalence, guilt or fear of difference, are apparently supported by polls such as the recent Harris findings (Harris, 1991). These identified admiration, embarrassment, pity and fear as the predominant ways in which disabled people are viewed. Such views are likely to result from social organisation including segregating practices and the ideological construction of disability.

A few of the more intangible mechanisms identified (Freud, 1961), e.g. those relating to narcissism and death anxiety, are based more firmly within individuals and may have some relevance to the aesthetic and existential anxieties acknowledged by Hahn (1986). Oliver (1990) concedes that these may reinforce the ideology surrounding perceptions of disability.

Some researchers (Stubbins, 1980; Siller, 1984), who write from an attitude research perspective, have expressed concern about the general orientation of their discipline to disability. For, by failing to look beyond the idea that only individuals develop attitudes and neglecting to examine the institutionalised patterns of behaviour and definitions of situations within the structural framework of the society that affect the disabled person (Altman, 1981; Siller, 1984), they have realised that they are neglecting the most major variable of all, social organisation, which is not susceptible to analysis at the level of the individual.

In addition, researchers into attitudes towards disabled people, being part of

society and part of the body of people who write about or do things to disabled people, are themselves influenced by prevailing ideological approaches and approaches which individualise and medicalise disability (Oliver, 1990). This happens both at a general level and at the more specific level of the discursive effect of these models on their particular disciplines.

This process by which a blend of science and culture constitutes the wisdom of a particular applied social science was discussed by Foucault (1965), although other writers have since recognised the need to be aware of the role of forces current in the larger society in shaping the evolution of a discipline (Kuhn, 1971).

In other words, however well-intentioned the basic approach of attitude research, with its focus on the disabled individual, is both informed by and a manifestation of social organisation which itself causes the devaluation of disabled people. This implies a further problem with the attitude research approach. It appears to involve a degree of circularity, because it relies on a definition of disability which is created and sustained partly through the researchers' own activities.

# The Individual and Social Models

It has been suggested earlier that no one model can provide all the answers to a particular problem. A model is simply a set of ideas that have been developed to explain a particular situation. They can only ever be used to approximate the true picture. It is argued here that the individual model of disability and the social model represent the opposite poles of a continuum. This spectrum is considered next in order to determine the most effective approach currently available to tackle employment discrimination against disabled people.

Historically, the individual model has been far more influential by presenting the impairment as the principal focus for intervention. Despite this, medical model practicioners have also recognised the existence of 'disabling barriers' which they often refer to as the 'handicapping' effects of disability. The derivation of this relationship is important because if, under medical definitions, the handicap results from the disability which in turn results from the impairment then logic would dictate that resource allocation and research effort should be directed primarily at ameliorating the impairment. This imperative is reflected by the dominance of impairment centred research as reported in the majority of 'disability' journals, magazines and books.

Proponents of the social model take the opposite view. Their arguments lead to the conclusion that:

> It is in fact the posture of society at large that constitutes the most disabling parts of being disabled, not the physical effects of whatever condition one happens to have, unless it leaves the individual utterly bedridden or completely fatigued. On the whole, it is the organisation of society, its material construction and the attitudes of individuals within it, that result in certain people being disabled (Brisenden, 1986 p. 175).

Despite stressing the organisation of society, Brisenden also recognised the importance of impairment - 'unless it leaves the individual utterly bedridden or completely fatigued'. It is important to note he has acknowledged that some features of a disabled person's experience are not socially defined. Indeed, the most recently refined definitions, as reported above (Barnes, 1991), refer to both disability and impairment.

> **Disability** is the loss or limitation of opportunities to take part in the normal life of the community on an equal level with others due to physical and social barriers.

With an accompanying definition of:

> **Impairment** is the functional limitation within the individual caused by physical, mental or sensory impairment (Barnes, 1991, p. 2).

In practice, however, the importance of the experience of impairment to the individual and the way in which they function with respect to others has not received the same degree of attention, nor has their been much campaigning on this aspect. This has happened for a variety of reasons.

First, disabled academics who are aligned to the social model have sought to redress the major imbalance resulting from medically dominated ideas relating to 'disability'. Second, individual disabled people have not tended to go against the latest ideological emphasis on the social model by discussing personal concerns about pain or progressive impairment for fear of being thought of as not 'politically correct' enough to be part of the movement. Finally, the disability movement does not represent the views of all disabled people.

The differences of opinion over the most appropriate model to employ in disability research have emerged in a recent unpublished report presented to the Commissioning Group on Physical and Complex Disabilities (NHS R&D Programme, South and West Regional Health Authority, 1993). A sample of disabled people gave a higher priority to research on reducing impairments than they gave to questions based on the social model.

It is a fact that the majority of disabled people are over the age of 65 (Martin and White, 1988). If the social model is to gain greater acceptance then the concerns of this group, and many other disabled people, who are still impairment-focused needs to be considered. Continuing with an extreme polarisation of views might inhibit a broader acceptance of the social model and may result in a large number of disabled people adhering to the individual model. Partnerships are needed to gain a consensus perspective which represents the broader views of a larger number of disabled people about the balance between the individual and social models.

To achieve this, moderation may require shifting from a constraining adherence to a model which presents one particular pole of a spectrum of experiences. That is not to say that the social model or the individual model are wrong, each simply contains part of the true picture. This implies that there is a need for proponents of the social model to address the concerns of disabled people who focus on their impairment. Shakespeare (1993) has argued that:

> in order to reach out and foster collective identity, the disabled people's movement will have to work out new ways of dealing with the issue of impairment, and of developing conscienticization among the wide majority of disabled people (p. 257).

This development is needed not only to help those disabled people who view the social model as an anathema but also for non-disabled professionals who feel threatened by recent developments. Avoiding the issue could lead to many important views being dismissed as belonging to a 'non-representative' minority. Non-disabled professionals are still, in the main, the gatekeepers of scarce resources which disabled people need to develop the application of different solutions. The US experience suggests that significant progress can only be made when positive partnerships are developed between the disabled people's movement and employers, politicians, journalists, broadcasters, lawyers, rehabilitationists, academics, service providers, educators and other key social actors (Lunt and Thornton, 1993).

The latest demands from disabled academics have been in favour of developing the concept of research based on an emancipatory model which strictly adheres to a method in which the research question, methodology, analysis and distribution of reports should be developed and conducted by disabled people and their representative bodies (Oliver, 1992). Shakespeare (1993) has questioned this concept of 'disabled people only' doing research. History is full of examples of the danger of any group within society believing that they are the only custodians of the truth.

A change in emphasis may be required to start shifting away from simply acknowledging that impairments exist towards developing a new way of thinking about the experience of being impaired which is a balance between the individual and social model. The experience of pain, even if the individual does not 'suffer' from it, needs to be considered in relation to productivity at work. The psychological impact of recurrent remissions for people with progressive impairments and the experience of people with expressive dysphasia are two further examples of many which require more thought. Although many of these problems can be answered by the social model the impact of the individual experience of impairment is important both to the employee and the employer.

This balance point in the spectrum of disability has yet to be reached. Despite this, and the relative explanatory powers of the social and individual models in our understanding of disability and impairment, there is still a concentration on the individual model by most employers who favour medical retirement when an employee becomes disabled or when they justify not recruiting disabled applicants because of assumed sickness and low productivity. In research about disability, there is additional evidence of a bias towards the medical model. This is illustrated by considering the pain experienced by someone with juvenile onset arthritis. Research describes the development of treatments, therapies and drugs to limit the individual experience of pain but much less appears to have been done to explore the social model component. However, research on the impact of: the different height of seats; the benefits of using a wheelchair; the application of voice activated computers; self-medication; unemployment; the height of the step on to a bus; the thickness of pens; the design of door knobs; social isolation or the distance required to walk to the shops are much more difficult to obtain, despite the importance of these considerations.

The social model is also helpful in understanding assumptions about dependency. The model proceeds from the *a priori* assumption that all human beings are

dependent on each other. The presumed independence of non-disabled people is accompanied by a tendency to underestimate the interdependent nature of social existence. A routine flick of a switch to turn a light on actually engages the interrelated input of many thousands of people. The social apparatus is dependent upon many such groups and activities, no matter how unremarkable and normalised the activity. These considerations put into context the view that certain people are dependent.

Oliver (1986) argued that the underlying ideology and associated concepts of individualism have made a large contribution to this emphasis on the individual model. Stone (1984) has added that there can be significant legal, medical, individual, political and economic pressure to change the number of people defined as 'disabled'. She argues that the flexible nature of the 'disability category' is important in times of either high or low unemployment. In other words, definitions based on the individual model can be deployed for ulterior motives.

In conclusion, it has been argued above that although the social model of disability is a useful way of examining the problems experienced by disabled people, the individual model may also be of value in considering the needs of newly disabled people, those with rapidly progressive impairments and those where medical intervention can improve function as is the situation for some people with mental health problems. In this thesis it has been necessary to consider the appropriateness, or otherwise, of the two models with respect to the cause of employment discrimination and measures taken to address it. While recognising the impact of particular impairments on productivity, an approach based on the social model has been selected as being more relevant and more effective. The social model can also be applied to the reduced productivity of people who experience pain or progressive impairments by providing solutions like part-time work, job sharing, disability leave (like maternity leave) and flexible working hours. To date the individual model approach has led to a focus on attempts to rehabilitate people to fit them back into current work patterns with limited success. It has also been used to sanction early retirement on medical grounds and to segregate significantly disabled people in to institutionalised employment. Social model solutions offer greater utility and may be more appropriate when used to tackle employment discrimination. The next section explores the relationship between the social model and discrimination.

# The Social Model and Discrimination

The conclusion that the social model has considerably more power than the individual model to explain the disadvantage experienced by disabled people in employment has several important implications. In Chapter Three it was demonstrated that an approach attempting to change negative employer attitudes based on an individual's impairment has definite limitations. The social model, however, presents a variety of solutions to the problems experienced by disabled people at work which otherwise would not be available.

First, it enabled an analysis of the 'failure' of the quota scheme which is more complete than those previously advanced. The rights element of the quota scheme was seen to be incompatible with concurrent social policies and beliefs concerning disability which increasingly recognised need and dependency. Furthermore, it was recognised that access to the equal right to employment conferred in the 1944 Act was further limited by the other provisions within the same legislation. These only recognised the need for individual adjustment rather than the adjustment of society. This is a further consequence of the individualistic definition of disability in the prevailing ideology.

Second, it highlighted the deficient basis of current UK employment policy under which disability is still largely defined as an individual problem. Changing employer attitudes towards the potential disabled employee is still seen as the most promising route to improved employment opportunities for disabled people. Although, some aspects of current policy appear to be a step forward in implementing an approach more consistent with the social model of disability, it is argued here that the way in which these policies are presented emphasises rather than diminishes individualistic definitions of disability. These aspects are considered below.

The Code of Good Practice on the Employment of Disabled People (MSC, 1984) is a publication which sets out some examples of best policy and practice in relation to the employment of disabled people. The Code is voluntary and is promoted to employers by the Placement Assessment Counselling Team (PACT) on the basis of the employment potential of disabled people. In effect, good practice is contingent upon employers' attitudes to disabled people being changed. This first line in overcoming discrimination is thus still very much focused on individual attitudes towards disabled people. The video 'It Worked Fine' used to promote the Code and subsequent videos 'It Can Be Done' and 'Flying High',

which recount the experiences of employers of particular disabled people in the work place, and the essential premise behind the Job Introduction Scheme are reminiscent of the information and contact techniques employed by attitude researchers in the US.

Similarly, although the Aids and Equipment Schemes and Capital Grants Scheme address the problem of the physical environment, their delivery is primarily individually based. Both depend on the prior recruitment of a disabled person and concentrate on that individual's immediate environment. They are much more likely to come into play in the absence of discrimination at point of selection and do not, therefore, constitute the systematic approach to tackling environmental discrimination required by the social model.

Finally, once it is recognised that discrimination is not a function merely of employer attitudes directed at individuals' impairments, but of social policy and practice, the focus of attention for challenging discrimination should be widened to include these factors.

# Combating Race and Gender Discrimination

In two areas where institutionalised discrimination has been recognised in the UK, namely sexism and racism, legislation has been employed in the Sex Discrimination Act (1975) and the Race Relations Act (1976) to establish the illegality of discriminatory practice. That the Acts, in themselves, have not been completely successful in eradicating sexism and racism in the UK (Gregory, 1987) is indicative that the mere existence of anti-discrimination legislation does not provide a total solution to the problem of institutionalised discrimination. It has been suggested that legislation will only work effectively as part of an integrated approach comprising an independent structure for implementation, freedom of information and adequate funding for representative bodies to provide mechanisms for redress (Barnes, 1991).

Legislation, however is an important first step. In addition to providing a framework for the enforcement of anti-discriminatory measures, it provides public confirmation that citizens from disadvantaged groups should enjoy the same rights and freedoms as other citizens and should not be subject to discrimination. In the terms of earlier discussion, anti-discrimination legislation for disabled people should reflect a change in ideological and political emphasis from individual needs

to social rights.

The concepts of basic social rights and freedoms of citizens have increasingly become synonymous in international law and the national laws of some states with human and civil rights. Because these rights are not envisaged as divisible, legislation confirming civil rights is usually framed to be comprehensive. In the context of civil rights, therefore, another view of the 'failure' of the 1944 quota legislation is to recognise its partial nature as rights legislation.

Although there is no written constitution in the UK embodying the fundamental rights and freedom of citizens, successive governments have signalled a conceptual recognition of human rights, both through criticism of the human rights records of other nations and through subscribing to a number of relevant international Declarations and Conventions. These include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the particularly relevant United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons (1975) which specifically includes the right to freedom from discrimination.

The inclusion of disabled people in the concept of human rights was explicitly recognised in the UN Programme of Action (UN, 1988) which in outlining a global strategy for preventing disability and realising the full potential of disabled people also recognised the right of all human beings to equal opportunities.

None of the instruments mentioned above have been formally incorporated into the British legal system but the concept of civil rights has influenced the context of campaigns against racism and sexism. In the same way, organisations of disabled people in the UK, campaigning against institutionalised discrimination, have directed their campaigns towards asserting the human rights of disabled people and to obtaining equal civil rights in the community.

As there is no existing constitutional definition of individual rights, enforceable measures to prohibit or redress the effects of discrimination must be by statute. There has therefore been a growing campaign among UK disability organisations during the last fifteen years for comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation in the field of disability.

# The UK Campaign for Comprehensive Anti-Discrimination Legislation

As early as 1978 MIND (an organisation seeking to help people with mental health problems) called for the introduction of equal opportunities legislation to counter the discrimination encountered by people with current or previous mental health problems in employment.

In 1982, CORAD, which had been set up by the Labour government in 1979, (following the recommendation of the Silver Jubilee Committee on Improving Access for Disabled People), surveyed the extent of architectural and social barriers facing physically impaired people, and concluded that, while not being a universal panacea, legislation does have an extremely important part to play in combating discrimination and in providing a framework on which to base an integrated society.

The Conservative governments which have been in power since 1979 have, however, not accepted the arguments for such legislation and have, as has been seen in employment policy, preferred measures which emphasised the need for persuasion and encouragement. This is entirely consistent with their other policies of minimalist intervention although this is usually held to be within a regulatory framework of law.

In recent a letter to Peter Large of the Association of Disabled Professionals the Prime Minister wrote:

> Many acts of apparent discrimination arise through thoughtlessness or ignorance of the special needs and the abilities disabled people, and we will carry on working to bring about the changes in attitudes and improved awareness among the general public, which are an essential step in removing barriers to full integration (Major, 1993, p. 6).

Major's chosen language reveals the type of assumptions he makes about disability, change mechanisms and ultimate goals. This statement indicates a commitment to address individual attitudes despite the evidence which points toward the need for more effective approaches to challenge institutional behaviours. Moreover, the mention of integration as the goal suggests that the norm is a non-disabled society into which disabled people must somehow fit.

The Government position is that discrimination should be tackled by education, persuasion and assistance. This has been maintained despite several attempts by individual MPs and peers to introduce various forms of anti-discrimination legislation. Jack Ashley introduced the Disablement (Prohibition of Unjustifiable Discrimination) Bill in July 1982, under the Ten Minute Rule. After an unopposed first reading, the bill ran out of time but was taken up by Donald Stewart MP as a Private Members Bill in the next session. The bill proposed to make unjustifiable discrimination on grounds of disability unlawful. Categories of disability and activities to be covered were to be defined by the Equal Opportunities Commission who would also have had the task of investigating complaints and attempting to resolve them through conciliation. The Bill was effectively talked out in February 1983, failing to secure sufficient votes for Closure.

A similar Private Members Bill was introduced by Robert Wareing MP in the following parliamentary session. This Bill proposed to amend the Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act (1970) so as to outlaw discrimination on grounds of physical, mental or sensory disability. In this case, a Disablement Commission was proposed with powers to investigate charges of alleged discrimination, to issue guidance on avoiding discrimination and to keep the Act under review. The powers of the Commission and the categories and activities to be covered were to be defined by later regulations. Yet again Government opposition ensured that this Bill also failed to reach the Committee stage.

A subsequent attempt by Lord Longford to re-introduce the same bill in the House of Lords foundered in April 1984 after failing to secure a Third Reading. A less interventionist form of legislation proposed by Lord Campbell of Croye did receive a Third Reading in the Lords but was not moved to the Commons because of Government opposition.

Parliamentary debate on the issue of anti-discrimination legislation has continued since in the form of a further Bill introduced by Robert Wareing MP, under the Ten Minute Rule procedures on 3rd April 1987, and unsuccessful attempts in both Houses by Robert Wareing and Baroness Seear to amend the Government's Employment Bill (1989) to include making illegal any employer discrimination against disabled people.

Most recently the Civil Rights (Disabled Persons) Bill (1992) presented by the Shadow Minister for disabled people, Alf Morris MP, failed to receive a second

reading in the House of Commons on 31st January 1992 after again being talked out. The same bill was then successfully steered through the House of Lords by Baroness Lockwood in the autumn of 1992. Lord Henley, government spokesperson in the House of Lords stated that the government would neither oppose or support the bill in its subsequent progress through the Commons (Disability Now, December 1992). Alf Morris, once again taking up the baton, worked to obtain all party support. A motion supporting the bill was signed by 286 MPs (including 20 Conservatives) and Alf Morris led a delegation to lobby the Prime Minister on 23rd February 1993. However, the bill finally failed to receive its delayed second reading on February 26th 1993 after a Conservative Whip's shout of "object" and Nicholas Scott's statement that the bill would not be the right way forward, incurring huge costs for the government while mostly benefiting lawyers.

The Government's stated position of benevolent neutrality on this issue has been exposed to considerable question. However, there is mounting pressure to change the government stance from a variety of sources (on February 17th 1993 the Sun railed against disabled people being treated as second class citizens), and the government may be reconsidering its options. In March 1993, Disability Now reported rumours that the Government is considering offering an anti-discrimination law, applying only to employment, to replace the Quota scheme. This was confirmed in 1994 when The Minister for Disabled People, William Hague MP, announced the pending publication of a White Paper on this topic (Hansard, 1994).

Such a move may threaten the consensus emerging between the main disability groups, rival political parties and the minority group of conservative MPs supporting comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation. If certain groups agree to legislation targeted at particular areas of discrimination then the lobby for an all encompassing law will be weakened.

In other countries the drive towards gaining recognition of disabled people's human and civil rights has met with varied responses. Substantial progress has been made in America on a civil rights act for disabled people which has provided a model for disabled activists elsewhere. It is interesting to note that in the country which has lead the world in attitude research and techniques to bring about attitude change there has been a realisation that anti-discrimination legislation, consistent with the social model of disability, is required.

# International Responses

The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) came into force at the beginning of January 1992. On signing it President Bush declared, "let the shameful wall of exclusion come tumbling down", while Senator Edward Kennedy referred to it as "a bill of rights for the disabled" (IHT, 1989). These do not seem to be unduly extravagant claims for such an inclusive, comprehensive and prescriptive measure. It should be noted that the contrast between the language of the Conservative John Major and these Republican and Democrat politicians is quite marked. The ADA introduced detailed provisions to prevent discrimination in four main areas - employment, public services (including transport), private sector services and telecommunications.

Although it is as yet too early to judge the effect of the Act, disability rights campaigners are optimistic that it will make a major difference by removing institutionalised discrimination. Sufficient resources have to be available in both public and private sectors if changes are to be made without widespread invocation of the "undue financial burden" defence.

Although the ADA is unique in that it is the first example of a unified piece of rights-based anti-discrimination legislation in respect of disability, similar law has also been developed in Canada and in some states of Australia as a result of case law developed from complaints under the human rights charters adopted by these countries and states.

On the basis of these developments some disability rights campaigners have looked to the European Union (EU) as a potential source of pressure on UK domestic policy. However, it would seem that the EU is unlikely to affect substantially British domestic policy towards disability, at least in the short term. Promotion of the social and economic integration of disabled people does not fit easily into the pattern of EU powers which were originally viewed as solely economic in nature. Certainly, it is not presently even within the powers of the Union, as defined by the Treaties which established them, to introduce EU wide anti-discrimination legislation.

Conceivably, the EU could recommend that member states adopt comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation and provide a model act, but in practice such a Recommendation is likely to have little impact. Daunt (1991) notes that there is little significant commitment among national authorities to the idea of a European

policy on disability. He believes that this stems from the tendency for national policies towards disability to have been developed in a largely *ad hoc* way.

Even if political will did exist for such an EU policy, there are numerous problems of subsidiarity which would need to be overcome before such a measure could be effective. For example, agreed definitions of disability and discrimination would be required in all EU languages. Yet Denmark, as a matter of policy, does not have an official definition of disability. There would also be considerable problems in the harmonisation of existing national provisions.

No European country has yet adopted comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation to protect the rights of disabled people. For further information Appendix I (see pages 250 - 265) contains a detailed description of the international perspective on anti-discrimination legislation. Some of the reasons why change has been so slow in coming are explored next.


# Disability Politics

Perhaps it is not surprising that traditional political activity has so far failed to ensure equal rights for disabled people in the UK or in Europe. Fry (1987) cited a MORI poll which showed that 9% of the UK electorate considered themselves to be disabled and 27% said that another member of their family was disabled, but the political influence of disabled people as a constituency has always been far lower than these figures would suggest. Historically, disabled people have found it difficult to participate in traditional party political activity. They face barriers to political participation such as lack of access to polling stations (Fry, 1987; Enticott et al, 1992), constituency meetings and to election and party material for those who have visual or hearing impairments. The emergence of disabled people as a recognisable political constituency has also been complicated by the variety of social characteristics within the disabled population and the fact that many people will have formed their political affiliations before disability became a factor in their lives.

Borsay argues that the variations within the disabled population have been underscored by the classifications of disability associated with medicalisation (Borsay, 1986). Daunt (1991) perceives a reluctance among "serious political players in Europe" to associate themselves with the disabled constituency "since one's image must not be tainted with anything that smacks either of charity or

failure" (p. 45). Low priority is evidently given to disability issues by politicians both in Britain and Europe.

Enticott et al (1992) report in their survey of the 1992 General Election that:

> Although some disability issues were sporadically covered through the election period the coverage did not relate to those issues that most concern disabled voters. The political parties consistently failed to address the concerns of disabled people and their carers even when they had policies that would have been attractive to them. While disabled people will not necessarily vote just on disability issues alone, it was clear from our reference group that many felt that the election was not relevant to them and that the issues had not been communicated to them (p. 40).

In consequence of the above, the interests of disabled people have tended to be represented by voluntary organisations or charities acting as pressure groups often representing the interests of people with particular impairments. Historically these groups developed from welfare organisations. An example is the Royal National Institute for the Blind founded in 1868. Such organisations have aimed to raise public awareness of particular groups and to encourage the state to assume certain responsibilities for group members.

The advent of the welfare state meant that the state assumed responsibility for the welfare of all citizens, including disabled people but, instead of withering away, traditional voluntary organisations continued to provide services often in partnership with statutory services (Oliver, 1990). These partnerships, with associated charitable status, were disallowed from engagement in political activity. This undermined the representative effectiveness of these traditional voluntary groups in acknowledging the deficiencies of existing provision and led to the formation of single issue pressure groups of which the Disability Income Group (DIG), established in 1965, and the Disability Alliance are the most prominent in the disability field.

These groups have campaigned in broadly similar ways for the introduction of a comprehensive disability income scheme. However, they have also been criticised for their approach to producing change for disabled people. This approach presupposes that if disabled people can be shown through research to be experiencing severe financial difficulty and a national disability income can be proven not to impose an undue burden on the economy, rational decision making and consensus values will ultimately ensure political acceptance for the measures

advocated.

Social security benefits and social service provision have been criticised on the grounds of naivety of the way in which ideology affects political processes (Oliver, 1990); particularly for neglecting to consider whether a policy of enabling people who do not work to enjoy a comparable standard of living to those who do is ever achievable. In addition, these approaches have been criticised (Barnes, 1991) for focusing on the symptoms rather than the cause by concentrating on the issue of poverty and dependency among disabled people rather than on the institutionalised discrimination which produces it and for providing an 'expert' rather than representative view of the problem.

Disillusionment with traditional voluntary organisations for disabled people and with single pressure group organisations was one of the factors leading to the development of more populist forms of representative groups of disabled people according to Oliver (1986). The former groups, being run mainly by non-disabled people, were seen to deny the possibility of disabled people taking control over their own lives and therefore to locate the problems faced by disabled people within the individual rather than in social organisation. Far from serving the interests of disabled people, there was the danger that such groups contributed to the strengthening of the medical model.

The rise of movements such as those representing Black people and women and the subsequent passing of anti-discrimination legislation in these areas, both in the UK and abroad, influenced the development of the disabled people's movement. The development of the Independent Living Movement (ILM) in the US (De Jong, 1983) was also highly significant as was the work of the disabled writers and sociologists who began to establish a theoretical basis for the movement.

A significant UK development in the evolution of a disabled peoples' movement was the proliferation in the 1970s of self-help groups such as the Spinal Injuries Association and the Greater Manchester Coalition of Disabled People and of UK versions of Centres for Independent Living, the first of which was established in Derbyshire. The ILM is now a world-wide movement which has consultative status to the United Nations through its representative body Disabled People International. At a local level, the ILM seeks to develop services which empower disabled people as well as campaigning for legislation to eliminate discrimination. Their impact has been crucial according to Barnes (1991, p. 223) who asserts that: "It is these organisations alone which have provided an effective framework for the political and cultural emancipation of disabled people in modern Britain."

Within this framework, there have been some major developments. The British Council of Organisations of Disabled People (BCODP) was formed by representative groups of disabled people in response to the International Year of Disabled People in 1981.

The Royal Association on Disability and Rehabilitation (RADAR), for example has retreated from its earlier position of support for the abolition of the 1944 quota scheme and the Spastics Society now supports anti-discrimination legislation. In 1985 Voluntary Organisations for Anti-Discrimination Legislation (VODAL) was formed and marked an alliance of organisations both of and for disabled people to campaign to get anti-discrimination legislation on the statute books.

These campaigns have been successful in attracting support for anti-discrimination legislation from other organisations such as the Trades Union Congress and both the Labour Party which, prior to the 1992 general election pledged to introduce a civil rights bill and the Liberal Democrats who proposed to incorporate anti-discrimination legislation into a general bill of rights (Disability Now, April 1992).

Barnes (1991) has argued that as a result of these developments in the last decade, a significant number of disabled people have gained a sense of empowerment in determining their own destiny. He believes that this has inspired and facilitated the appearance of new political groupings of disabled people both nationally and internationally. Contributing to this development have been the civil rights campaigns in the areas of race and gender. However, just as important as these developments has been the development of the social theory of disability which has offered a unifying and coherent explanation of the experience of discrimination.

The sense of empowerment that disabled people have gained from these developments is manifested in the phenomenon first seen in the 1980s of disabled people using direct action and demonstrations to protest their views. A "Rights not Charity" march was organised in July 1988 to oppose proposed changes to the benefits system and similar direct tactics have been used by the Campaign for Accessible Transport (CAT) and the "Block Telethon" Campaign in 1992. Other disabled people have grouped together in organisations such as Disability Arts Forums. Within these groups there is a clear intention that disabled people should establish their own clear cultural identity, in opposition to the one imposed by the prevailing ideology, because, in a multi-cultural society, according to Finkelstein:

> Real integration can only be achieved on the basis of a full
> recognition of our differences and this in turn will depend a great
> deal on us making the free choice to identify ourselves as a social
> group (Finkelstein, 1987, p. 3).

The practical and theoretical developments outlined above suggest that enough momentum has now developed by which anti-discrimination legislation in the UK must ultimately become a reality. Nevertheless, the existence of legislation which protects the rights of disabled people within a truly multi-cultural society will not remove the need for other approaches to challenge and overcome discrimination, such as education and training.

# Summary

Disabled people face discrimination in our society regardless of the model used to describe it. Discrimination contravenes conceptions of social justice but, in the field of employment, existing evidence seems to indicate that discrimination may also be unwarranted on pragmatic grounds. There is evidence to show that employed disabled people perform at least as well as non-disabled people across a broad selection of criteria.

In terms of British government employment policy, discrimination is defined as a function of individual attitudes and anti-discrimination policy is confined to trying to change these attitudes through information and persuasion. The force of law has not been applied in spite of the existence of a statutory tool. This policy stance contrasts dramatically with the approach adopted to address racism and the unequal treatment of women. Although the current employment approach does not use an explicit definition of attitude, it shares the central assumptions found in attitude research literature in which attitudes are seen as abstract individualistic concepts, whose existence is assumed to explain regularities in behavioural responses. Although group attitudes may be studied, as in employer attitudes or peer attitudes, such studies merely provide an aggregation of the individual's attitudes within these groups to a more generalised level.

The attitude research approach was then considered in more detail in Chapter Three to see whether the discovery and modification of individual attitudes towards disabled people was likely to have great utility in removing disadvantage.

Attitude research has revealed a plethora of determinants and variables which are thought to determine attitude formation towards disabled people. The excessively varied and complex nature of its findings and lack of success in evolving modification techniques based on them is partly due to methodological problems. Primarily, however, it is because this approach does not consider the effect of the prevailing ideological framework on individual attitude formation and on the very definition of the disability itself. By concentrating on the individual manifestations of institutionalised discrimination, such research does not acknowledge the existence of institutionalised discrimination.

In an examination of the ideology relating to disability in our society, disability emerged as a category which is both socially constructed and socially created. This calls for a re-interpretation of the discrimination experienced by disabled people, away from the view that discrimination as a function of individual attitudes and toward the view that discrimination is a process which is institutionalised throughout our society in policy, ideology and social practice.

On this account, attitude change programmes, by accepting prevailing individualist definitions of disability and discrimination, and by identifying the disabled individual as the focus, can be seen as participating in the larger process of discrimination. Approaches based on the same assumptions i.e. those which rely on changing the attitudes of individuals towards disabled people as a means of obtaining their equality of opportunity share the same conceptual and practical limitations, and are subject to the same criticism. This applies as much to attitude studies focusing on disabled people which are designed to accompany social change as to approaches which rely on attitude modification to produce change.

This chapter carried the debate over individual attitudes and institutional behaviour one stage further. It has been argued that approaches using persuasion and education, which adopt the individual model of disability and aim to change the attitudes of individuals towards disabled people, will never result in substantial improvements in employment opportunities.

The individual attitude approach, which has become so deeply entrenched within UK employment policy, is rejected in favour of adopting a solution using the social model to tackle institutional discrimination. Comparisons have been made with approaches used in the UK to tackle discrimination based on race and gender, and the international response to the use of anti-discrimination legislation to protect the rights of disabled people has been presented.

In other areas where institutional discrimination has been identified in the UK (i.e. with respect to race and gender), anti-discrimination legislation has been adopted as a primary form of redress. Internationally there are precedents for a similar approach to disability. However, in the UK, institutionalised discrimination against disabled people has become so deeply entrenched that neither traditional political activity nor the direct action employed by populist groups of disabled people has so far resulted in legislation.

In the absence of comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation other approaches are required. This has led to the development of complementary strategies for change. Disability Equality Training (DET) is one such development. DET has been designed to enhance the case for the adoption of the social model of disability. It is based on an approach to training which is founded on the principles of the social model of disability and aims to challenge employment discrimination within an institutional framework.

# The Hypothesis

The central core of this thesis involves a description of the design, delivery and evaluation of Disability Equality Training. The hypothesis to be tested by the research project is:

> *Disability Equality Training can be used effectively to challenge employment discrimination and bring about significant organisational change to create equal opportunities for disabled people at work?*

# Chapter Five

# Disability Equality Training

## Introduction

The original objective of the research project reported in this thesis was to develop, implement and evaluate a programme of Disability Equality Training (DET) which aimed to challenge employment discrimination. This is the primary focus of this chapter. However, recent developments and publications have provided the author with an opportunity to explore how DET can complement the broader campaign to bring about social change. The relationship between training and other 'social model' solutions have been introduced in Chapter Four and will be given further consideration in this chapter and later parts of the text. In this chapter the design, delivery and evaluation of a series of six two-day seminars is considered in the form of a research project to test the hypothesis developed in Chapter Four (p. 107).

## Disability Equality Training and Disability Politics

The development of Disability Equality Training (DET) has been a natural progression from the growing sense of empowerment felt by many disabled people which has stemmed from the process of political emancipation described in the previous chapter. The work of disabled sociologists in developing a social theory of disability has provided a theoretical basis for the pioneering work of disabled activists associated with the disability movement. The influence of both have enabled the emergence of a disabled identity based on the common experience of oppression by people with different impairments.

This new identity is one that disabled people can be proud of in a similar fashion to the way that other minority groups have declared that there is 'Strength in Sisterhood', 'Black is Beautiful' or that they are 'Glad to be Gay'. This has begun to challenge the historical divides created by the medical model among people with different impairments and identified contemporary social

organisation, characterised by institutionalised discrimination against disabled people, as the alternative cause of limited opportunities.

Since the gradual theoretical transition from the individual model to the social model was initiated by disabled people, the political agenda also began to change. Anti-discrimination Legislation (ADL), as the first line in removing institutionalised discrimination, came to be seen as the principal political objective of the newly emerged organisations of disabled people. It also came to be adopted by many of the traditional organisations for disabled people as the logic of the social model proved to be a catalyst for change. The emphasis on legislation as a primary requirement to combat institutionalised discrimination was reinforced, as described in the previous chapter, by national precedents in the fields of race and gender and international examples of ADL being incorporated into the statute books in respect of disability.

Various strategies have been developed among disability groups to maintain political pressure on the government or to press for change through other routes. These range from parliamentary lobbying through new alignments of disability groups (VOADL) and attempts to understand and redress the under-representation of disabled people in mainstream political activity (Fry, 1987), to direct action against particular manifestations of institutionalised discrimination (Disability Now, June 1990; Findlay, 1990). All such strategies have in common a shared theoretical basis in the social model of disability and a shared concept of discrimination as an institutionalised process.

DET is a further strategy for change that has been developed by disabled people. It is underpinned by the same theoretical models of disability and discrimination as the more overtly political strategies outlined above. It also recognises that the achievement of ADL is an essential step in eradicating institutional discrimination. In the absence of political progress in this area, however, DET is primarily conceived as a practical tool for tackling employment discrimination within current service provision and the employment policies and practices of organisations.

The first formalised and structured approach to training around disability, using the new theoretical model was developed under the auspices of the London Boroughs Disability Resources Team (LBDRT). This was set up following the abolition of the Greater London Council in 1986 and funded by a number of London boroughs to provide a range of services including training and policy advice to funding councils and other organisations. By 1988 training strategies

for potential trainers were developed and a register of trainers set up, initially London-based but developing towards a National Training register through the establishment of local training consortia. The new Training Forum outlined their view of the purpose of DET as follows:

> A Disability Equality Training Course will enable participants to identify and address discriminatory forms of practice towards disabled people. Through training they will find a way to challenge the organisational behaviour which reinforces negative myths and values which prevent disabled people from gaining equality and achieving full participation in society (LBDRT, 1991, p. 3).

DET is therefore designed to spread acceptance of the social model of disability and demonstrate to different organisations their role in the model by showing how common organisational policies and practices may discriminate against disabled people. These policies may be shown not only to infringe the human rights of disabled people but also to be against the interests of the discriminating organisation.

DET is thus an essentially complementary activity to the political activities of the developing disabled peoples' movement. Within the present context it may be expected to achieve, if in a somewhat piecemeal fashion, some reduction of built-in discrimination within organisational policy and practice.

# The Lessons from Race Related Training

When first practiced, RRT tended to concentrate on relaying cultural and legal information. This approach was subsequently criticised on a number of grounds which have been summarised as follows. The Commission for Racial Equality, while acknowledging that improved cultural awareness may be helpful, warned that concentration on cultural variation could lead to the minority group being seen as the problem. Other writers (McIlroy, 1981) also noted that courses concentrating on the provision of technical information regarding race relations and the relevant legislation amounted to a concentration on solutions to the problem without an analysis of the problem itself. This he argued could lead to superficial compliance or actually contribute to enabling people to continue discriminating with less chance of getting caught.

The next phase of RRT was influenced by an American approach, the "White Awareness" programme, designed by Judith Katz (1978) which offered principles, objectives and model exercises. This programme provided a new focus for the development of RRT in the UK. Trainers working in the public sector, particularly, adapted this model as Racism Awareness Training (RAT) (Straw, 1989). The objective of RAT was to help white people understand how racism affects their lives and to help them change their racist attitudes and behaviours. It presented racism as a "white problem" through confronting people with the discrepancy between what they say and actually do. In addition, a re-education process is attempted by examining history and perspectives through new perceptual filters. RAT was attractive because it appeared to address racism as a practical problem at both the structural and individual level. After a brief period of great popularity, among trainers, RAT too began to attract criticism.

Although Katz had warned about using guilt as a training tool, Gurnah (1984) noted that in practice RAT was often accusative in tone leading to individual guilt which rarely resulted in positive action of the right kind but could lead to the entrenchment of racist attitudes or a wallowing in guilt. The bulk of criticism, however, referred to the weakness of the link between the conversion of individuals' attitudes and changes in the way that black people were subsequently treated by organisations.

McIlroy challenged the notion that the attitudes of trainees could be transformed by the mixture of facts, patient rational argument and the practical problems that they encounter in role play or case studies and converted into non-racist behaviour within organisations. Rather, the relationship between attitudes and behaviour is more complex than is suggested by this approach and it exists within a framework of powerful influences in the workplace which are much stronger than the effect of the 'cleansing' race relations course. Instead of leading to the practical solutions it claimed RAT may have the effects of simply arming white officials with the language of anti-racism leaving them more free to discriminate unchallenged, or it may simply encourage tokenism (Gurnah, 1984).

Although apparently discredited by the late 1980s, the more useful elements of RAT have in fact been retained and incorporated into broader courses, which now focus on organisational behaviour but include coverage of individual attitudes and beliefs. Drawing also on mainstream management training techniques, RRT now represents a training methodology of somewhat eclectic

origins and methods some of which, in turn, have been adapted and modified within DET.

In summary, the evolution of RRT appears to confirm the importance of the essential premise of the social model of disability. Employment discrimination appears to be less a direct function of individual attitudes than it is a process institutionalised within social policy and practice. Accordingly, training should aim to address those discriminatory policies and procedures which have become established within the delegates' own organisations.

The earliest experience of RAT showed that training which concentrated on providing information about a minority group was likely to focus attention on that group as the cause of the problem. Subsequent methods were geared directly at the attitudes of individuals. These were unlikely to provide the substantial behavioural change required because of the complex relationship between attitude and behaviour.

Their potential was also limited because these approaches often relied on guilt as a motivator for change. In its extreme, training based on attitudes could also prove counter-productive when delivered in its more threatening form. It could also provide delegates with the rhetoric needed to mask the fact that no substantial change in organisational behaviour was taking place.

RAT evolved, therefore, into an approach that focussed on organisational change. However, elements of the original RAT were retained so that delegates were able to understand the development of their own attitudes and how these have been conditioned by prevailing assumptions. The attitudinal component was realigned to enable delegates to understand the role played by individual attitudes in sustaining institutionalised discrimination. It was also useful to identify the source of these attitudes.

The experience of RAT, confirming as it does the logic of the social model of disability, has informed the development of DET. DET contains both behavioural and attitudinal elements but the latter is concerned, not with attitude modification towards a disadvantaged group, but with a understanding of how these attitudes have been created by social organisation and underpinned by the prevailing ideology. The motivating force in bringing about this new understanding of the genesis of negative attitudes and the expected subsequent agreement about the need for behavioural change is within the strength of the social model itself.

Self-interest is likely to be a more powerful motivating force than guilt in producing positive outcomes. Therefore, the thrust of DET is to present the social model of disability with its revelation of institutionalised employment discrimination and then to equip delegates with practical ways of addressing it. Strategies charged with guilt and blame should be avoided by adopting techniques which encourage delegates to take ownership of addressing these problems in partnership with disabled people.

# Development of Disability Equality Training

In light of the lessons learnt from RRT various DET packages are now available from different training organisations and companies. There is debate within the disability movement about the appropriate use of training, as happens with all new movements. This debate focuses on degrees of conciliation, appropriateness of confrontation and even questions as to who should or should not benefit from training. As a consequence, training packages may vary accordingly, although all are based on the same basic principles.

An important element of all DET is that it should be delivered only by disabled trainers. This does not mean that trainers are able to claim to represent all disabled people. Trainers can only claim to be expert about their own experiences of discrimination. However, even though these experiences may be unique there are many parallels that can be drawn. Although there are many variations and differences between disabled individuals and many groups within what appears as one category, there is an ideological framework which is discernible. Above all it is important that the trainer has some direct experience of this particular form of social oppression otherwise the message will become weaker. In addition, the very presence of disabled trainers adds an experiential component to the seminars.

DET is usually divided into two parts. The first part of the seminar is designed to familiarise participants with the social model of disability and the concept of institutionalised discrimination. The second part of the course is designed to address, in a practical way, measures and improvements which organisations may take to identify and redress employment discrimination within their own policies and procedures.

# The Social Model and Attitude

The social model is introduced to delegates by a series of exercises designed to show how people are disabled by the arrangement of the physical environment and transport, by segregative social policies and by prevalent negative images and false assumptions. In short they are asked to identify the many and varied social barriers and attitudes while exploring how they have been generated in order to understand that they result from social organisation and practices rather than from people's impairments.

This transition by delegates away from viewing individual attitudes as the cause of employment discrimination towards regarding the institutional barriers as the main problem is essential. However, the first part of DET may superficially appear to have some similarity to the attitude modification model rejected in Chapter Three. This is because of the inevitable discussion about attitudes. However, there are two important differences between the attitude research approach rejected in Chapter Three as being not only ineffective but also inappropriate and DET. The first is that, although DET is addressed to individuals as a first line, these individuals are intended to experience it within the context of their organisational roles. DET is thus targeted at a level between the individual and the state, recognising that organisations are both important political actors and major practitioners of institutional discrimination.

The second crucial difference is that DET and the attitude research approach are underpinned by radically different models of disability. Attitude research, in line with the medical and personal tragedy models, views disability as a problem of individual pathology. In line with this model, attitude research is directed toward modifying attitudes concerning disabled people as a means to removing discrimination. In contrast, DET views disability as being primarily caused by social organisation. Accordingly, it rejects the uncritical acceptance of a view which argues that employment discrimination, or prejudice, results from negative attitudes in favour of considering social organisation, and the underlying ideology, as the critical factors to be challenged in an attempt to remove employment discrimination.

A major difference in focus has been noted between the attitude or persuasion approaches and the approach used by DET which is based on the social model. While it is true that both approaches concern attitudes, DET recognises that the attitudes of individuals within society are conditioned by prevailing

misconceptions and the underlying ideology. It is these factors which are oppressive to disabled people and inevitably result in the disadvantaged position that disabled people experience and the negative perceptions about them.

By introducing the social model, therefore, trainers are asking delegates to identify attitudes and redirect their understanding away from viewing the individual's impairment as the problem, towards considering how contemporary social organisation, and the underlying ideology encapsulated by individualism, is responsible for creating the many disabling barriers. In many ways this approach parallels the current application of RRT and, in effect, requires delegates to adopt a new paradigm.

# Attitudes - The Effect of a New Paradigm

Attitude studies which focus on disabled people as the object of attitudes have been rejected in Chapter Three as being less effective and often counter-productive in addressing the problems of employment discrimination. In addition, this approach, which was adopted by practitioners of RRT, has also been jettisoned because it has not been found to be very effective. However, among the more general insights of social psychologists regarding attitude, one largely neglected approach appears to have some merit in explaining the rationale behind the adoption of this new paradigm based on the social model and the rejection of the individual model in order to develop a more useful way of understanding employment discrimination. It provides a structure which helps explain how delegates may come to move from one way of thinking to another.

Katz (1960) postulated a functional approach to attitudes which goes some way towards providing an understanding of the relationship of individual attitudes to ideology. It can be argued that this approach is applied to attitude realignment during DET and suggests how delegates might be enabled to adopt a new paradigm.

For the purpose of this research, Katz's approach has been adopted to address the dynamics of what occurs during the training process. Katz argued that attitudes are best understood in terms of the functions they perform for individuals within a social world and predicts that they will change if they no longer adequately fulfil those functions. Katz identified four functions that attitudes serve for the individual; knowledge function; adjustive or utilitarian function; ego-defensive

function and value expressive function. Each of the four functions are considered below in the context of DET to provide a theoretical basis for the process of change in adopting a new paradigm which this training aims to stimulate.

The 'knowledge function' is considered to be critical in linking individual attitudes with prevailing ideology. The purpose of this function for the individual is to give meaning to an otherwise chaotic and disordered universe. Katz noted that:

> definiteness and stability are provided in good measure by our
> culture which give the otherwise perplexed individual ready made
> attitudes for comprehending his universe (Katz, 1960, p. 175).

In any culture, some of these attitudes are organised and systematic, providing ideological frameworks for understanding. There are complex ideologies relating to politics, but there are also non-partisan ideologies which organise conventional wisdom relating to groups such as women, for example. The same is true for disabled people as a group. Although there are many variations and differences in this group - many groups within what appears as one category - there is an ideological framework which is discernible. These, as Oliver (1990) claims, are dominated by ideas about tragedy and dependency. These ideas provide the individual with ready-made attitudes. Functioning in an ideological way they appear to endow the institutionalised discrimination experienced by disabled people in our society with 'naturalness'. Oliver (1990) has therefore argued that these personal tragedy and dependency models are now so prevalent in society that they have become accepted by many as 'the truth'.

However, according to Katz, in seeking a meaningful picture of the universe, individuals will seek to modify their beliefs to try to obtain cognitive consistency. It has been argued in Chapter Four that the social model of disability is more adequate than individual based models in explaining employment discrimination. In essence the evaluation of the effectiveness of DET in this thesis is an attempt to test the utility of one application of the social model in challenging employment discrimination. The attitudes of individual delegates should begin to reflect the claims of the social model and result in a shift in focus from the individual disabled person onto social and organisational structures. In addition, as attitudes tend towards consistency within individual delegates, the attitudes serving other functions are also expected to be affected.

In accepting that the social model is an alternative but superior ideology when used to tackle employment discrimination it is important to remember that no single ideology can present a total picture of the truth. This dilemma was discussed in more detailed in Chapter Four (p. 89) in a section which concluded that the application of the social model to employment discrimination may prove to be more fruitful than the individual model. This does not mean, however, that the social model can answer all the problems experienced by disabled people in the current employment market. It is hard to envisage how the social model could answer the problems experienced by people with significant, ongoing mental health problems or those with such limited intellect that they are not capable of work. This results from the fact that the social model, as it now stands, provides a partial picture of reality.

Notwithstanding, the application of Katz's (1960) attitude functions helps to explain how individuals may shift from concentrating on the individual model of disability in favour of accepting the social model. The 'adjustive or utilitarian function' of attitudes described by Katz (1960) is derived from the utilitarian model of human nature but is also expressed in behavioural learning theory. This function recognises that people strive to maximise their rewards in their external environment and to minimise the penalties. Attitude formation with regard to the adjustment function is therefore dependent upon present or past perceptions of the utility of the attitudinal object for the individual. Attitudes serving the utilitarian function are more readily changed when people perceive that they can accomplish their objectives through revising their existing attitudes. Essentially, the existing attitude and activities related to it no longer provide the satisfactions they once did or the aspirations of the individual have been changed.

If DET is successful in changing the focus of attitudes towards social organisation, disabled people will be freed from the labels of 'tragic' and 'dependent' which both contribute to their inequality in the employment market. This has consequences for attitudes serving the utilitarian function. For example, in the employment context, discrimination against disabled employees would no longer seem to have a logical or evidential basis. As a result critical attitudes towards organisational barriers to employment and their career development will replace earlier utilitarian attitudes based on the perceived non-productivity of disabled people. In terms of personal self-interest, delegates may also consider adopting the new model of disability into working practices as innovative and therefore useful to their own career progression.

The 'ego-defensive function' was identified by Katz (1960) as a mechanism by which individuals protect their egos from their own unacceptable impulses and from the knowledge of threatening forces without. Attitudes serving this function stem basically from internal conflict and consequent insecurities. Defence mechanisms can be positive in protecting the individual from the sharp edges of inner conflict but they may also restrict the individual's social adjustment.

Miller and Swanson (1960) identified two classes of defence mechanism. The first consists of denial and avoidance. The second includes rationalization, projection, and displacement. The formation of defensive attitudes proceed from within the person. The objects or situations to which they are attached are merely convenient outlets for their expression.

This attitude function has the least relevance of the four with reference to the dynamics involved in DET. Proponents of the social model have recognised the existence of certain aesthetic and existential anxieties which reinforce the 'common sense' of an individual approach to disability and help to perpetuate negative cultural images (Hahn, 1986; Oliver, 1990). These anxieties were also identified or inferred by the attitude researchers, e.g. threat to body image, fear of a similar impairment and death anxiety. DET recognises those attitudes but does not overtly attempt to confront them in training. This is consistent with the view that such attitudes are only able to continue to flourish as a result of institutionalised practises in society which it is the prime aim of DET to address.

Inevitably, however, it is recognised that because DET trainers are themselves disabled, some entrenched attitudes may initially impede effective communication with participants. For that reason some of Katz's observations regarding threat reduction inform the training format in respect of the use of an 'objective, matter of fact' approach, particularly where the issue addressed is highly emotive, and the use of humour to establish a non-threatening atmosphere.

It should also be recognised that delegates who are given the opportunity to identify any negative attitudes that they may have held initially towards disabled people will experience a sense of relief as these are subsequently recontextualised and redirected towards social organisation. The uncertainty of delegates as to the source of these negative feelings is revealed as the seminar unfolds. This process is thought to be based on a combination of the 'knowledge and ego-defensive functions' as described earlier.

The final function identified by Katz was the 'value expressive function' which reflects the fact that the individual gains satisfaction from expressing attitudes which reflect personal beliefs. This helps to clarify self-image and gain social acceptance by internalising the values held by their peer group. Modification of attitudes serving this function occurs, according to Katz, under two conditions. The first arises when the individual becomes dissatisfied with their self-concept or associated values. They no longer see them as adequate in preserving a favourable self-image in a changing world or when presented with a new model of the world. Second, individuals may perceive that their old attitudes are no longer appropriate to their values and self-concept and that a central value may be better served by an alternative attitude.

In terms of this function, the acceptance of the social model can encourage change in individual and organisational values relating to good management and personnel functioning within the employment context. By concentrating on the functions of attitudes rather than their origin and nature, Katz's model offers a constructive framework for considering the way in which delegates may receive a new model with which to understand disability. This can lead to a realignment of attitudes which will help to motivate them to seek to improve the procedures and practices within their organisation.

Once delegates have become familiar with the social model, the remainder of DET is devoted to helping delegates to identify and redress discriminatory procedures and practices within their own organisations. This emphasis is not only a natural result of the development of disability theory and the identification of institutionalised discrimination, but is also an illustration of the way in which DET has benefited from the experience and changing emphasis of Race Related Training (RRT) which developed earlier.

# The Market Need for DET

Finally, for DET to be effective, there had to be demand among organisations for the training. Furthermore, for the training to be sufficiently valued and treated as a resource investment, it had to be offered at normal commercial training rates.

During the 1980s disabled people were commonly used by many local authorities on an ad hoc, informal and usually unpaid basis to provide training for staff. The support given to the London Boroughs Disability Resource Team by

participating London boroughs illustrated, however, that there was a perceived need for professionally presented and organised equal opportunities training on disability issues.

In addition, the personnel function of many organisations, in line with trends in human resources training, had already developed equal opportunities policies in race and gender and were using training developed specifically by trainers from within the groups concerned. Extension into the disability field would be a logical next step. This trend which was sharpened, in the late 1980s by concerns surrounding the projected shortages of school leavers in the next decade and the need to develop new sources of labour.

# Synopsis of the Research Study

In summary, the research study described in the next two chapters sets out the content of one particular two-day Disability Equality Training seminar designed by the researcher to challenge employment discrimination. This section presents the component parts of the modular training programme in sufficient detail to provide adequate information about the content of the seminar but no attempt is made to elaborate on the various intricacies that were involved in each of the six training events.

This section is supported by Appendix II which contains a full copy of the training notes provided for each delegate. The description of the modular training seminars reveals how the social model is introduced and demonstrates the gradual progression required to present information to delegates about the behavioral changes required within their organisations to reduce or eliminate employment discrimination.

In the next section the selection of delegates is described and the problems involved in evaluating DET are introduced. The research study focuses on the participation of 66 delegates from large employers who attended one of a series of six two-day seminars. In order to attract the 8 - 16 delegates required by the seminar design, a data base of 2,150 personnel managers was constructed using The Personnel Managers year book (Kaminsky, 1989) of 5,300 Members of the Institute of Personnel Managers in London and the South East of England. Seminar publicity was then mailed to publicise the seminars. As a result, 66 delegates self-selected to attend the 6 scheduled seminars.

Next, the evaluation tools selected for the purpose of this research project are critically described. This discussion reveals that three principal methods are selected to evaluate Disability Equality Training. The first involves an immediate post-seminar evaluation which is used by many training providers and is an evaluation tool often described as a 'happy-chart'. It provides an opportunity for delegates to give their initial response to the seminar content, intensity, style and delivery. The second approach involved an investigation into the effectiveness of the implementation of an action plan developed by the delegate during the last day of the seminar. Delegates were required to complete an action plan form, a copy of which was retained by the researcher. After twelve months a questionnaire was sent to delegates in order to evaluate how much of their action plan each had managed to complete. The final evaluation tool was a longer term (2-3 year) follow-up of four selected organisations to identify what further action had been taken to improve opportunities for disabled employees and applicants. These evaluation tools are critically analysed and it is concluded that despite significant problems with their application they are currently the best tools available.

The results indicate a positive response to immediate post-seminar questionnaire and that delegates' action plans were based on the social model of disability. They also provide good evidence which demonstrates that Disability Equality Training proves to be a potent tool in effecting change. However, on considering the limitations of these seminars, it is revealed that the success of Disability Equality Training in challenging institutionalised discrimination throughout the UK employment market will be contingent upon the introduction of comprehensive and effective Anti-Discrimination Legislation.

# DET - The Disability Matters Seminars

The remainder of this chapter describes the content of one particular Disability Equality Training seminar as used in this research project. This was developed by Disability Matters Ltd., a management training company established by the researcher in 1989. Seminars were devised to address the employment policies of organisations in both the private and public sectors.

DET, as practised by Disability Matters, was a series of open seminars, for between eight and sixteen participants, conducted over two consecutive days by

two disabled trainers. Each of the trainers had considerable training experience from running 'in-house' seminars for the London Boroughs Disability Resource Team and other organisations. However, the seminars described in this project were unique in the sense that they were advertised publicly to a range of different organisations. So although the application of this training was new it was based on a tried and tested approach. In order to maintain continuity between the events the researcher trained on each of the seminars. Three other trainers - Simon Brisenden, Jane Campbell and Raina Haig were used.

The Disability Matters seminar used a variety of training techniques. Overall, there was an emphasis on self-discovery and group work. Participants were encouraged to be responsible for their own learning, particularly in discovering the elements of institutionalised discrimination that constitute the social model and in formulating methods of redress. Because the seminar had specific aims and objectives, the methods of achieving them and the timetable were largely determined by the trainers.

Within those limits, the trainers used a variety of methods to increase the flexibility of the course and to make it accessible to as wide a range of learning styles as possible. Time constraints meant that it is sometimes necessary for the trainer to use didactic methods to cover as much ground as possible but most of the course consists of group work activities such as brain-storming, task work and discussion. Colleagues from the same organisations were usually allocated to separate groups by the trainer to maximise learning opportunities. Flip charts were used for group feedbacks and some training exercises.

Video material was used in the course both as a discussion trigger and to summarise points made by the trainer. Participants were also given a training pack (Appendix II) of seminar material which included supplementary information. The seminar also had an experiential component in that the trainers were themselves disabled. Thus trainers were available for informal discussion and comment during breaks.

Disability Matters placed great importance on the quality of trainers who were not only familiar with disability issues but also comfortable working in the professional training environment.

Attention was also paid to details suggested for mainstream management training such as appropriate room layout. In these seminars, a U layout was preferred as contact would not be restricted. This stimulated interaction between and among

trainer and trainees and it allowed easy division into syndicate groups. It also did not restrict the movement of trainers or participants who were wheelchair users.

## Aims and Objectives

The aims and objectives listed below were written on a flip chart and presented verbally by one of the trainers. The overall aim was described as "to increase opportunities for disabled people in employment" with the objective "to remove the structural and attitudinal barriers which prevent disabled people from gaining meaningful employment."

Two negatives to begin with:
>    We are not trying to teach delegates how to do their job.
>    We do not claim to be 'experts' on disability.

AIM 1: To create a structured space in which to think and talk about the subject of disability.
AIM 2: To put disability in its social context.
AIM 3: To help people address their attitudes to disabled people by challenging any preconceptions.
AIM 4: To provide a positive perspective on disability.
AIM 5: To motivate change in working practices so as to create equal opportunities for disabled people.
AIM 6: To give participants an opportunity to formulate plans to promote equal opportunities in the work place.

## Training Programme

Katz's observations on the ego-defensive functioning of attitudes were believed to be significant in explaining the early behaviour of many delegates before the shift in attitude away from the disabled person to social organisation had been attempted. Trainers have observed that delegates tended to depart from the usual social norms in a new situation. They were less likely to shake hands and more likely to avoid eye contact with trainers than might have been expected in a similar situation where trainers were not disabled people. Enquiry has tended to confirm that although most delegates saw themselves as having had some previous contact with disabled people, they rarely classified it as close contact.

Emphasis was therefore placed on 'threat reduction' during the introductory phase of the course.

# Programme

**Day 1.**

| | |
|---|---|
| 09.30 | Arrive:  Coffee and registration. |
| 09.45 | The Course:  Introduction. |
| 10.00 | Access:  It is not just your 'flexible friend'. |
| 11.00 | Coffee break. |
| 11.20 | Feedback on Access:  Examples of good practice. |
| 12.00 | Diagnostic Assumptions:  What do they mean? |
| 12.30 | Lunch break. |
| 13.30 | Images:  Turning negative to positive. |
| 14.45 | Disability:  Facts and figures. |
| 15.00 | Tea break. |
| 15.15 | Advertising:  How to attract disabled applicants. |
| 15.45 | Case Study:  Employment matters. |
| 16.30 | Wind up exercise and close. |

**Day 2.**

| | |
|---|---|
| 09.30 | Recruitment exercise:  From policy into practice. |
| 11.00 | Coffee break. |
| 11.15 | Images of disability:  Employment matters. |
| 11.45 | Disabled people at work. |
| 12.30 | Lunch. |
| 13.30 | Role play:  Marketing disabled people. |
| 15.00 | Tea break. |
| 15.30 | Brain-storm:  Areas for positive action. |
| 15.45 | Action plans and Feedback. |
| 16.15 | Evaluation sheets. |
| 16.30 | Wind up session:  Final comments |

During the introduction trainers began by asking delegates if they thought they were 'normal'. Very few would respond. This was used by the trainers, in a light hearted way, to point to the dictionary definition of normal as: appertaining to the norm or belonging to the majority. This resulted in delegates concluding that nobody in this world is normal, or more importantly, it is normal to be different. This allowed the trainers to claim that disabled people were just as normal as anyone else and not the 'standard deviants' or 'standard deviations' previously determined by statistical norms.

Next, delegates were asked to raise their hands if they had ever had a 'problem'. Invariably all delegates did, along with the trainers. One trainer explained that the problems faced by all in day-to-day life were the same as those experienced by disabled people, e.g. going to school, gaining qualifications, moving house, crashing the car, having relationships, paying the bills or getting on with the family. These problems fell into the same essential categories for everyone and were in no sense special. Additional problems may exist for disabled people but the delegates were asked to consider whether these were a result of impairment or consequent upon contemporary social organisation. For example, they were asked if they thought that the wheelchair user could not get on a bus because the individual could not walk or because the bus had not been designed correctly. This, and similar examples, were used deliberately to introduce the social model at a very early stage.

Trainers tried to create a 'safe' environment with a very clear presentation of the course aims and objectives as described above. The guide-lines were presented next and these are outlined below. In addition, it was important for the trainer to have been aware of the relevance of other 'feel good' factors such as a pleasant setting for the seminar, the use of a variety of training techniques and plentiful opportunities for refreshment.

# Disability Equality Training: Guide-lines

1. No smoking in the training room.

2. Everyone is responsible for their own learning. Do not expect to be spoon fed. You get out what you put in.

3. Challenge each other - do not expect the trainer to do it. We all have a responsibility to work together and to help each other.

4. Challenge the person's views, not the person.

5. Ask if you do not understand. Remember that your contributions are
   valuable.

6. Take responsibility for your own views. Always say 'I', not 'We'. Do not
   assume that your views are held by everybody.

7. Respect confidentiality. Allow people to be open and to  speak freely
     by treating as confidential any personal or emotional statements
   made      during the seminar.

8. Try not to make assumptions about whether people have or do not
     have disabilities. Some people have hidden disabilities, e.g. epilepsy.


A copy of these guide-lines were included within the training pack (Appendix II,
p. 279). Having been read out by the trainer they were formally accepted by
delegates and trainers, or amended if the consensus agreed, to establish the basic
ground-rules for the rest of the seminar.


# Access

The first modular session was titled 'Access: It is not just your flexible friend'.
It aimed to enable delegates to realise that access was about more than ramps,
enabling them to discover for themselves the social model of disability. A brief
video trigger (Dreams are the Worst, 1985) was shown. This was based on
Finkelstein's short story about a young disabled man recounting a dream of a
world constructed solely by wheelchair users. A few non-disabled people
arrived in this world and found that on entering a building they had to bend
double because of the low ceilings and they bashed their heads on the door
lintels.

Their 'suffering' in this disabling environment became the responsibility of
medical professionals who designed braces to help them bend low and provided
crash helmets to protect their heads. They failed to secure employment because
they did not look right and could not make eye contact because of their posture.
As the story unfolded the wheelchair users set up charities to help these poor
unfortunates. They raised money with collecting days and by placing plaster

models in the more popular shops of non-disabled people bent double with slots for money in the top of their heads.

The video was selected to challenge delegates as the reversal of roles emerged but no provision was made at this stage for discussion. The delegates were then divided randomly into three groups and asked to read the following passage. This was part of an article written by Brisenden (1986) and was contained within their packs (Appendix II, p. 280). They were then asked to consider one of the questions listed below.

## Access Handout

Divide into three groups, take a piece of flip chart paper and a pen, read the text below, and answer one of the questions.

It is in fact the posture of society at large that constitutes the most disabling parts of being disabled, not the physical effects of whatever condition one happens to have, unless it leaves the individual utterly bedridden or completely fatigued. On the whole, it is the organisation of society, its material construction and the attitudes of individuals within it, that result in certain people being disabled. We are only people with different abilities and requirements, yet we are disabled by a society that is geared to the needs of those who can walk, have perfect sight and hearing, can speak distinctly, and are intellectually dexterous. If society were organised on a more equitable basis, many of the problems associated with not being 'perfect' (as if such a concept had any logical basis), would disappear. The most obvious example of this has paradoxically been most clearly ignored, despite half-hearted efforts at legislation to rectify the situation. I refer to the problem of access to buildings and facilities in the community, and to the callous disregard with which our needs are ignored despite the efforts of sundry

committees, working parties and other bodies on our
behalf. We are disabled by buildings that are not
designed to admit us, and this in turn leads to a
whole range of further disablements regarding our
education, our chances of gaining employment, our
social lives and so on. The disablement lies in the
construction of society, not in the physical
condition of the individual. However, this argument
is usually rejected, precisely because to accept it
involves recognising the extent to which we are not
merely unfortunate, but are directly oppressed by a
hostile social environment.

Brisenden, S.J., 1986, 'Independent Living and the
Medical Model of Disability', Disability Handicap
and Society, Vol 1, No 2, pp 173-8.

1. List any attitudes, beliefs, feelings, values,
stereotypes and myths that may disadvantage disabled people and
explain why

2. List factors in the built environment including access to
information that may disadvantage disabled people and
explain how

3. List the aspects of institutions and services (e.g.
education and transport) that disadvantage disabled people and
explain how

Take 20 minutes and select a representative to feed back to the
main group. Make sure in considering your question you include
deaf people, blind people, people with learning disabilities,
people with mental health problems, people with hidden
disabilities and people with a mobility impairment, some of
whom use wheelchairs.

After twenty minutes the spokesperson for the group dealing with question two

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was invited to present that group's findings first, followed by group three and finally one. A brief period of discussion after each feedback session allowed the other delegates within the group and those from other groups to contribute to the learning process.

## Built Environment

The feedback by group two on the basic issues of physical access were usually well covered. On their flip chart they may have included:

- steps
- counter heights
- revolving doors
- disabled person's toilet
- slippery surfaces
- cars parked on pavements
- overhanging trees
- dog excrement
- tactile maps

- street furniture
- lift audio floor signals
- fire doors
- parked bicycles
- cobble stones
- split level floors
- lack of drop kerbs
- car parking
- some people prefer steps

- door width / weight / opening direction / threshold / handle height / glass window
- height of security 'key pad' or lock
- lift size / door width / door closing speed
- lift button height / tactile nature
- lift external button height with ash trays obstructing access
- lack of tactile and visual contrast kerb cuts for blind people
- pelican crossing button height / size / ease to push
- access / egress for pubs, clubs, discos, public buildings, shops, offices, housing, post offices, banks, cinemas, theatres
- induction loop for deaf people in cinemas, banks, theatres etc.
- sign language interpreters at interviews and public meetings
- sign language and subtitles on television
- leaflets for the public in Braille, large print or on tape
- internal lay out of shops and offices

Trainers usually needed to assist participants to realise the full range of possible barriers that exist and to explain the adaptations available to improve opportunities for disabled people within the built environment.

The second group covered institutional discrimination within transport and education. Trainers occasionally needed to prompt delegates about issues relating to segregated as opposed to mainstream service provision. The group were encouraged to concentrate more on policy issues to avoid duplicating the work of group two. The feedback from different groups considering this topic could be summarised as follows:

## Transport

This appeared to create many difficulties for disabled people whether on mainstream public transport or using 'special' services, comments include.....

- Dial-a-Ride - very limited service, need to pre book
- social service transport goes mainly from one institution to another
- vehicles are often called 'Ambulances' (inferring illness)
- segregated
- New London taxis now must be accessible by law
- British Rail is getting there - no longer always the guards van
- many countries do provide integrated services e.g. Sweden and USA
- public transport is not public to all
- failure of the transport system is probably the single most isolating factor restricting the lives of so many people to their homes.
- additional costs for mobility aids are not met 'as of right'
- blind and partially sighted peoples' needs are not catered for with information in alternative media and the use of colour contrast in vehicles and stations etc.
- poor announcements for hearing impaired people
- abuse of orange badge scheme by everyone
- disabled people not involved at the design and planning stage

## Education

The problems with education provision for disabled people were summarised as....

- 'special' = segregated
- teaching based around a very 'therapeutic' approach where:

Physical education becomes physiotherapy

Domestic science = occupational therapy

Swimming = hydrotherapy

Trampolining = 'rebound' therapy

- teachers have a lowered expectation of children's potential
- children are over protected and denied many valuable risk taking experiences- segregation results in disabled children not knowing about or interacting with their non-disabled peers and visa versa which perpetuates the notion of 'difference' and negative attitudes
- special schools are often geographically distant and isolated leading to further separation
- disabled school leavers can be several years less developed socially than their peers
- integration does not simply involve putting disabled children in mainstream schools
- parental attitudes may cause problems
- access, non-teaching assistants and a change in attitude and approach by mainstream teachers is required
- cost should be no more if the capital and revenue costs invested in segregated establishments are used to develop a more integrated approach.
- disabled children can be very over protected which restricts their development.

Almost all delegates agreed in principle that there was a need to move rapidly towards a more integrated approach to education. It was acknowledged that there were some very academically good segregated schools but even these prevented disabled children from interacting with their non-disabled peers and *visa versa* . Some delegates considered that integration was a basic human right and that segregation could no longer be excused as it tended to create an 'apartheid' of disability very early in life.

One trainer often commented that, at the age of 21 when he became a wheelchair user as the result of an accident, he was the first disabled person that he had met. This revealing statement was considered to have important implications for anyone who becomes disabled because segregation leads to ignorance which allows the prevailing images of disabled people to create fear. This was considered to have a potentially powerful impact on any person becoming disabled and embarking on their disability 'career'.

## Attitudes

The final group reported on attitudes and usually identified common stereotypes
and beliefs about disabled people, including....

- no sex life
- all wheelchair users
- contagious
- dependent
- super human
- have tragic lives
- require care
- does s/he take sugar
- are always obvious
- deserve pity
- should not take risks
- disability = illness
- all deaf people can lip read
- have a chip on their shoulder
- can live in the community, but NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard)
- enjoy being in a group together
- want to be 'normal' or 'able-bodied'
- should go to 'special' schools
- all blind people should have a dog
- when emotional it is because of their impairment
- are being unreasonable when demanding choices and rights
- having a disability is a devastating personal tragedy
- fire hazard: spontaneously combust?
- blind people should be telephonists
- schizophrenia is a dual personality

- stupid
- dangerous
- fear
- no ability
- special needs
- deaf people are dumb
- can be cured
- are always happy and smiling
- shouting at blind people
- should not have children
- are a burden
- all enjoy sport

After the feedback in the main group delegates were asked to consider where
these attitudes had come from. Within a short time a list similar to that presented
below would usually have been developed.

Ignorance due to segregation

Few role models
Charity advertising
Historic images
Family
Fear of developing an impairment
Rejection of difference
Language and labels
Fictional images
Press and media

The session was concluded by showing a video based on the Swedish experience of disability which was intended to show that change was achievable (Rights not Charity, 1987). The video included an integrated kindergarten, the accessible metro system, accessible public housing and a personal assistant scheme. Delegates were asked to identify the catalytic factor which differentiated the Swedish experience from the British experience. This duly emerged as legislation. The piecemeal effect of disability rights clauses being included in different areas of social policy legislation in Sweden had resulted in vast improvements. Many of these issues were to be discussed in more detail later in the seminar.


## Diagnostic Assumptions

The second morning session was a whole group exercise concerned with assumptions about the meaning of diagnostic categories and how these assumptions lead to discriminatory behaviour. The delegates were presented with a list of impairments and asked individually to record which one they would choose and which they would reject if they were to wake up with one on the next morning. Having come to their decision they were required to develop four or five reasons to justify their choice. The results were recorded on the flip chart as the example below illustrates. The two columns of numbers reflected how many delegates chose or rejected each impairment and the words below 'CHOOSE' and 'REJECT' illustrate their reasons.

| | | CHOOSE | | REJECT |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| BLIND | 1 | Mobile, intellect intact, socially acceptable, play sport, equipment available, still read, hear, communicate | 2 | Cut off, isolated, frightening, can't read, loose job, lost, less mobile, less enjoyment, scared of the dark |
| MENTAL HEALTH PROBLEM | 2 | Treatment, good times, most completely recover, physically fit, see, hear, look normal | 4 | Dangerous, frightening, mad, evil, institutionalised, drugs, ECT, loss of self, unemployable |
| PARAPLEGIA | 1 | See, hear, intellect, mobile, socially acceptable, work, play sport, enjoy life, role model | 1 | Immobile, restricted, dependent, poor access, can't drive, pain, no sex life |
| DEAF | 2 | See, intellect, use sign language, look normal, mobile, play sport, role model | 1 | Cut off, loss of communication, silence, unemployable, not use telephone |
| LEARNING DISABILITY | 3 | Physically able, see, hear, set own goals, achieving things but slower, enjoy life | 1 | Retarded, stupid, different person, loose job, stigma, look strange |
| STROKE | 1 | Minor, recovery, see, mobile, role model, challenge | 2 | Death, recurrence, frustrated, loss of communication, less mobile |
| EPILEPSY | 2 | Treatable, minor, mobile, employable, recover, only at night, role model, employable | 1 | Dangerous, loose job, drugs, frightening, damage self |

Having developed the list on the flip chart, the trainer asked the delegates to note that it was of interest that some had chosen as a preferred impairment what others had rejected as their most feared option.

The trainer then asked the delegates which column, 'choose' or 'reject', they thought was correct in relation to any specific, individual disabled person. By selecting as an example an impairment where numbers were evenly balanced, it was argued that both preferences and rejections were based on assumptions conditioned by the discursive effect of the medical and personal tragedy models. It was, therefore, agreed that neither could be right because all the information on the flip chart had been developed as a result of the attitudes or false assumptions held by the delegates, and that simply identifying a disabled person by their impairment would have given no further information about that person. Next,

the trainer asked delegates to consider which column they might have thought about when they were told they were going to meet a disabled person with a particular impairment. Almost invariably delegates indicated they would focus on the reject column much more often than on the words in the choose column despite the fact that it had already been agreed that both were wrong. It was pointed out that concentration on the reject column would result in discrimination against disabled people in employment.

This factor was illustrated, in the example above, by asking the two delegates who had chosen a mental health problem as their preferred option an additional question. They were asked to consider what would happen at the short-listing or interview stage if they were faced by an employer who had held the views (dangerous, fear, unemployable, mad, etc.) of the four people who had rejected that option. They realised that this would have led to discrimination as the ignorance and assumptions of those involved would mask the reality of what disabled people had to offer. The four who had rejected the option were not blamed for their comments because the effect of discrimination would have resulted in all the other pairing of 'choose' and 'reject'. The point of this section of the exercise was to emphasise to delegates that they and their colleagues may discriminate against disabled people at these stages of the recruitment process, regardless of their possible good intentions.

The final element of this exercise was used to explore the effects of institutionalised discrimination, as a result of other factors, on employment. Delegates were asked to consider the following. They were asked to imagine that they had their chosen or preferred impairment and had been through rehabilitation and become familiar with any new equipment that they required. They were then asked to decide whether or not, under those circumstances they thought they could have done the job they now had. Usually, about 90 per cent thought that they could.

Those who thought that they could do their present jobs were then asked if they thought they would be in their current position if they had had that impairment since birth. Almost all would say no. When asked for their reasoning behind this they indicated that it would have been due to the low expectations of segregated schools and parents, stereotyped views of careers advisers (blind telephonists or piano tuners etc.), internalised oppression causing devalued self-image as a result of charity advertising etc., poor recruitment chances and restricted opportunities in training and career development. It soon became clear that despite the fact that they thought they could have done their jobs they would

not have been in their current positions. More importantly, this would not have been consequent upon their impairments but a result of the way society responds to and treats disabled people.

To finish this session a short excerpt from a video produced to commemorate the United Nations Decade (1981-91) of Disabled People was shown. This depicted a 38 year-old man who worked as a computer programmer for a leading American bank in San Fransisco. He was a manager of 80 people and had also set up a community workshop for disabled people to develop computer skills. He was married and had a three year-old adopted child. Both he and his wife had cerebral palsy, used electric wheelchairs and had profound speech impairments.

After a brief discussion many delegates expressed anxiety over the adoption of the child, until it was pointed out that this was a result of thinking about the 'reject' column rather than concentrating on the 'choose' column. Anxiety over speech development was another issue so the trainer advised that many deaf people, without speech, marry other deaf people and have hearing children who grow up to be bilingual. They develop sign language from their parents and speech from other friends and family members.

Lunch time provided an opportunity for delegates to have a more informal discussion with each other and to ask any outstanding questions of the trainers. It was important for the trainers to be available throughout this period to enhance opportunities for experiential learning. It also provided opportunities for delegates who were becoming more confident in interacting with disabled people to ask if assistance were required and behave appropriately in this situation.

## Images, Language and Labels

The next exercise, after lunch, was concerned with images of disability and was designed to examine how culturally and ideologically produced negative images of disabled people are perpetuated in our society through language, labels and culture.

Each participant was given a coloured badge bearing one of the following words, Invalid, Useless, Afflicted, Inadequate, Impotent and Incapable. These were in fact synonyms for disability taken directly from Roget's Thesaurus, although this was not explained at the time. Participants were then instructed not to pin the badge onto themselves but to stand up and give their badge to someone else in

the room. They were asked not to give it to the person sitting next to them or to either of the trainers to ensure that they had to make an effort to physically label another delegate. In addition, this process randomly divided delegates into three groups depending on the colour of the wording on their labels: the red, the blue and the green groups.

The initial apprehension demonstrated by the delegates as silent disbelief at what they had just been asked to do was usually overcome with a great deal of laughter as the process unfolded. The initial silence and subsequent laughter simply reflected embarrassment at having physically to label another person in the room with a negative badge.

Each of the groups was then required to do one of three exercises in rotation. One was asked to read through a charity trust news sheet and identify phrases they found offensive from a disabled person's point of view (Appendix II, pp. 281 - 282). One person from this group was required to write each phrase on a flip chart so that they could be considered later. The group was also asked to discuss the basic philosophy behind this piece and decide why the article had been written.

Another group was given some newspaper cuttings relating stories about disabled people. Copies of these are enclosed in Appendix III (see pages 314 - 315). Delegates were asked to consider how they would feel, if they were a disabled person, on finding those articles as they skimmed through the relevant newspapers. This group was also required to make notes on the flip chart and consider what is the purpose behind the publication of newspapers?

The final group was asked to brain-storm a list of fictional characters who might have a disability. They were asked to consider historical literature, films, novels, poetry, fairy tales and modern day television programmes. Once they had their list of fictional characters they were asked to identify the portrayal of each character. For example, was the disabled fictional character positive, evil, happy, heroic, or any other in type.

Each group was allowed 15 minutes to consider their particular exercise before being rotated to one of the other two. After a further 15 minutes each group was given the opportunity to undertake the third and final exercise.

Finally, after 45 minutes, delegates were asked to return to the main group. At this stage they were asked if they were still conscious of wearing their badges.

The majority, by this stage, had forgotten. The trainer pointed out that this was often the similar experience of disabled people, in that they were not continually aware of their impairment. It only became apparent when emphasised externally by others or by physical barriers in society.

Delegates were then asked how they had felt when they were told that they had to give their badge to someone else in the room. Most expressed feelings of anxiety and embarrassment and indeed indicated that they chose to exchange their badge with somebody that they knew well or had got to know reasonably well over the earlier part of the seminar. Many also indicated that when they gave their badges to other delegates they held them face down in an attempt to disown responsibility for the wording.

The trainer pointed out that as human beings we are prone to 'label' others, often very rapidly and at a subconscious level, on first acquaintance. This labelling appears to be accepted because it is not immediately apparent but when we are required to label physically others with words from our subconscious the process becomes much more difficult.

Finally, the delegates were asked to consider how they would feel if they had to wear their badges for the rest of their lives and what they would do about it. Each delegate, in turn, was asked to report their thoughts by first saying "I am..." and then the word that was written on their label. Most expressed feelings of anger and resentment at being labelled and reported the several strategies they would adopt. Among these were:

**Hide it; Deny it; Prove it wrong; Joke about it; Hide myself away; Internalize it; Wear it with pride; Get angry; Join together with others wearing the same badge.**

The trainer then explained the origin of the badges and pointed out that the responses described above were commonly met in disabled people who feel labelled. The most profound was that concerned with internalisation. This resulted from the negative imagery and language, so prevalent in our society, that surrounds disabled people. This they had previously explored in their group exercises. It was explained that this, in effect, created a vicious circle of dependency.

Feed back from the group work then followed during which many common examples of disabling images and language were uncovered. These included:

## Charity Trust News Sheet

- Suffering
- Crippled by
- Light at the end of the tunnel
- Beneficiary
- Hope of mobility and life
- Charity
- Mankind and the disabled

These were considered by many of the delegates to be patronising and humiliating in perpetuating both the medical and charity models of disability. They were considered to focus on the words listed previously in the reject column in the 'Diagnostic Assumptions' exercise (see p. 133).

## Newspaper Cuttings

These were considered to be equally damaging to disabled people in that they portrayed either a 'pathetic crippled' image of disability or one where the person who had developed the impairment became a hero. On considering why both the charity trust news sheet and the newspaper articles had been written the delegates realised that ultimately both were trying to make money.

This exploitation of disabled people made delegates very angry. They recognised that without having analysed this form of portrayal they would not have seen it as being a problem. Delegates often debated the dilemma that existed for charities, who seemed to require to portray disabled people in a very negative light for short-term advantage in fund-raising but this created long-term harm with the perpetuation of the old and outmoded concepts of disability.

Most delegates considered that disabled people should be provided with equipment as a right rather than through charitable giving. The more spectacular celebrations of disability as tragic, like those in Telethon and Children in Need, were also subjected to heavy criticism. The fact that the £26,000,000 raised by Telethon in 1990, when divided amongst the 6.2 million disabled people in the UK, came to only £4.19 each was a remarkable revelation to the group.

The final group fed back on the fictional character, some examples of which are listed below:

Captain Cook - Evil
Long John Silver - Evil
Blind Pugh - Evil
Hunch Back of Notredame - Isolated
Tiny Tim - Pathetic
Psycho - Frightening
Ironside - Positive
Cyclops - Evil
Benny in Crossroads - Stupid
Mr Magoo - Bumbling Fool
Phantom of the Opera - Isolated

These examples, with a few notable exceptions generally portrayed disabled people in a negative light, further compounding the misguided images imposed on disabled people by society. It was also interesting to note that there were not many fictional disabled characters that were women, and that when women were portrayed in literature as having an impairment it was, more often than not, a mental health problem. This reflected one of the stereotypical roles imposed on women by society, further reinforcing the relevance of the social model by drawing similarities to the oppression of other groups in society.

At this stage of the exercise delegates had become fully aware of the negative images, language and labels that existed around disabled people. They were next shown a video of a woman called Sarah Duffin who had a learning disability. She was 23 years-old and the video showed her being interviewed about the business she ran making cakes and selling them at the local market. The story continued by showing her sitting in the garden with her father learning the Highway Code in preparation for her driving test. She eventually took the test and duly passed it. The video closed with her jumping out of her car, pulling off the L plates and receiving a hug from her father.

This image of disabled people was used to demonstrate to delegates that, with the right support and facilities, disabled people, given the opportunity to take a risk, will often succeed surprisingly well. It was pointed out that society generally protects disabled people by wrapping them in 'cotton wool' for fear of failure, but it was pointed out that this protection also limits the opportunity to achieve.

Next the delegates were asked to look at the Disability Etiquette on pages 283 -
287 of the training pack (Appendix II). This gave a brief summary of acceptable
terminology and language and also provided some information on how to interact
with different disabled people. Issues relating to guiding a blind person, offering
assistance to a disabled person or communicating with someone who has a
hearing impairment were included. Information that was relevant to interviewing
disabled people was also presented.

Delegates were then shown two more videos. Whilst watching these they were
asked to think of a word related to Dignity, Risk, Team Work or Management
Skills. A flip chart had previously been prepared and the delegates were
requested to write their word on the flip chart at the conclusion of the second
video.

The first video showed an out-door pursuits course whereby integrated teams of
disabled children with their non-disabled peers were competing on a 'death
slide'. People with severe physical disabilities were attached by harness to these
death slides and jettisoned over the edge of a very steep cliff. The joy and
pleasure of all concerned in this programme were clear to see. The final video
depicted a 30 second advertisement by athletes competing at the Seoul Olympics.
Delegates then listed their words on the flip chart which generally included:
challenge, opportunity, achieving, success, personal development, rights, friends,
equality, targets, goals etc.

The images, and the words developed from them, were then contrasted with an
earlier sheet of the flip chart in which the negative stereotypes relating to
attitudinal barriers for disabled people were discussed. This showed that the
latter relate to the mythical victims or the personal tragedy model, whereas real
life images revealed participating, achieving individuals within the correct
framework of opportunity.

## Discrimination in Employment

At this stage of the seminars it was expected that delegates would have been able
to reject many of the ideas relating to outmoded models of disability. Instead
they would view the experiences faced by disabled people within their
sociopolitical context and as consequences of both direct and indirect
discrimination. Their understanding should have allowed them to recognise how
society, and the structures within it, inadvertently served to maintain the unequal

experiences that were so prevalent in employment and many other areas of daily life.

The next stage was for the delegates to use this new way of thinking to analyse the recruitment process by identifying any institutional discrimination, existing within policies and procedures, that could disadvantage disabled applicants and their career opportunities once in employment.

It was important in this training to go beyond simply transforming attitudes in favour of exploring how discrimination operated in practice. Once the problems within the recruitment process had been identified it became possible for delegates to suggest actions required to improve practices and to work toward eliminating any inadvertent discrimination.


## Facts and Figures: Demographic Trends

In order to provide additional evidence of discrimination, delegates were given a summary of the facts and figures relating to the numbers of disabled people in the UK (See page 290 of the training pack, Appendix II). The realisation that disabled people comprise 14.2% of the adult population was surprising to many. It was then pointed out that this 6.2 million people was equivalent to the population of Denmark or Sweden, a much more significant number than most were aware.

Some delegates asked if these were registered disabled people under the 1944 Disabled Person's Employment Act, but it was pointed out that many of these were over the age of 65 and that among those of employment age many chose not to register. However, within the working population unemployment was over three times higher for those who had an impairment. Most delegates realised by this stage that the high level of unemployment was not necessarily consequent upon the individual's impairment but often resulted from the discrimination experienced by disabled people and its effect on their position in society.

Additional information was provided about the make-up of the various impairments experienced by the disabled individuals (See page 291 of the training pack, Appendix II).

The training seminars were conducted between August 1989 and May 1990, a

period when many employers were experiencing recruitment difficulties because of the short-fall in school leavers. The delegates were also given information about these demographic trends. The 'Demographic Time Bomb' as it was then called had become the subject of many seminars for personnel managers and it featured in many personnel management magazines (Personnel Management, January 1990). Employers, particularly those who recruited from the school leaver population, were having to develop both imaginative and highly competitive strategies to recruit from non-traditional sources. The provision of creches, generous relocation packages, career breaks and job sharing; the targeting of women returners and Black and ethnic minority people; and the recruitment of older workers were all evidence of this phenomenon. This was a clear indicator that employers were prepared to invest substantially to minimise the impact of the skills shortage on their organisations.

## Why disabled people do not apply

As many employers were seeking to recruit disabled people, more disabled people should have had greater opportunity in employment but another problem still existed. Apparently, employers were finding it difficult to understand why so few disabled people were applying. So delegates were asked to consider the two following statements:

"Yes we are quite happy about the possibility of recruiting disabled people but very few of them, if any, ever apply for jobs here." A. N. Employer.

And

"I must have applied for 50 or more jobs and never got even as far as the interview. To tell you the truth it is not worth bothering any more." Jo B. Seeker.

It was clear from previous experience that these statements had equal validity, but what was not always immediately apparent was why this discrepancy had occurred. This reflected the delegates' difficulty in understanding how the recruitment process, in its entirety, disadvantaged disabled applicants. They were reminded of the 'Diagnostic Assumptions' exercise (see p. 133) and asked to remember how negative thinking may have led to a higher proportion of people being eliminated at either the short-listing or interview stages. Delegates

were advised that the many other factors involved would be explored in the next stage of the seminar.

## Evidence of Discrimination

Next, the delegates were shown a short video which featured a deaf man who had a good computer qualification. The video pointed out that after applying for over 400 jobs he had received rejections on each occasion. He indicated that he was becoming frustrated and angry about his future employment prospects and assumed that employers were simply rejecting him because he was deaf.

He did eventually secure employment, but this was only a part-time job and he pointed out that many of his friends at the deaf job club had become despondent and were no longer applying for employment. This video was made at a time when employers everywhere where experiencing recruitment difficulties particularly for positions where computer literacy was required.

The next part of the video referred to the research conducted by the Spastics Society (Fry, 1986) which pointed out that, upon applying for employment as a secretary, a declaration of impairment would reduce the likelihood of interview by 2.5. This evidence was cited earlier in more detail. It clearly indicated that discrimination was taking place at the short-listing stage.

## Models of Disability Handouts

For the first time in the seminar delegates were asked to consider formally the different models of disability. They were required to turn to pages 292 - 294 of their training packs (Appendix II) and to identify the usefulness, or otherwise, of the three models in overcoming the problems experienced by disabled people. After a brief discussion, the over-riding view was that the only approach, that would effect real improvements in opportunity for disabled people, was the social model.

Delegates were also asked to consider the implications of any potential additional discrimination experienced by disabled women, disabled Black and minority ethnic people, and by disabled lesbians and gay men. Issues relating to culture, age, religion and class were also considered. Whilst it would be presumptuous for a white, middle class, male disabled trainers to impose judgements on this

issue, one of the co-trainers was a disabled lesbian who contributed an added dimension (Morris, 1991). This implies that mixed sex training teams and the use of disabled trainers from other minority groups represents good practice. It is also important that the contributions from each trainer are equal and the leads for different modules are shared.

Issues relating to ageism, classism, sexism, racism and homophobia were very challenging for some delegates but it was important that they were considered because of the many parallels that could be drawn. During this session it was clear that contributions from women, and Black and minority ethnic delegates added to the debate. More often than not, no firm conclusions were drawn but the fact that the issues had been discussed in an open way enabled the delegates to have more understanding of the various aspects involved.

Next, the delegates were shown a video of disabled people involved in a demonstration campaigning for accessible public transport. The video was then discussed. Some delegates considered the action taken by disabled activists, which involved chaining themselves to stationary buses, as a bit extreme. However, most felt that this added a further dimension to the image of disabled people previously discussed. Whilst it was agreed that the images of disabled people functioning well in a non-disabled person's world were far better than the medical and tragedy approaches, the image of disabled people taking direct action to challenge institutionalised discrimination added a further and far more important dimension (Hevey, 1993).

## Advertising

The next module was designed to help organisations improve job advertisements so as to attract more disabled applicants. Delegates were asked to consider that, if disabled people were facing so many rejections as illustrated by the earlier video, what measures would recruitment managers have to take in order to attract more to apply for particular jobs. In order to gain more information about this, they were divided into three groups and asked to look through the job advertisements contained within three newspapers published on the day of training.

One group looked at a broad sheet newspaper, e.g. The Guardian, another would scan a local newspaper and the third would scan a national tabloid newspaper. Delegates were asked to look through the job advertisements and consider what

aspects would encourage a disabled person to apply and which might deter such a person.

After five minutes each of the groups were required to tear out one particularly good advertisement that would attract a disabled applicant and one bad advertisement that they considered was most off-putting. If delegates wished to select more than one advertisement in either of these categories then they were free to do so. The selected advertisements were stuck onto a flip chart that had been divided into two columns, one headed 'Good' and the other 'Bad'. Each delegate in turn was required to report back on the advertisements chosen.

The majority of those considered bad contained no reference to Equal Opportunities and did not appear very welcoming to disabled people. Many required candidates to have been flexible, dynamic, of a certain age group or to posses particular physical attributes. These were considered very off-putting to disabled people. Whilst it is true that their texts were not overtly discriminatory and it is possible that some disabled people could have complied with the specific requirements, covert interpretation, when reading between the lines, indicated to the delegates that if a disabled person did apply they would not have been considered so favourably. This would have been readily recognised by disabled people with the consequence that few would respond to these particular advertisements.

Other aspects that were considered off-putting included very small print which would not have been discernible to visually impaired people and advertisements that contained an Equal Opportunities statement but were off-putting, within the body of the text, clearly indicating that the statement had been added as a matter of policy rather than because the writer of the advertisement had been committed to it.

More welcoming advertisements were agreed to have been those that had a clear Equal Opportunities statement associated with an advertisement which did genuinely appear to comply with this policy. Additional statements that welcomed applications from disabled people were also considered more positive.

Some advertisements had gone one stage further than this by indicating that they had, at least in part, implemented their disability policy. Examples included - "In recognising that not all our buildings are fully wheelchair accessible please advise us if you have any access needs and we will hold the interview at an accessible venue." Or "Our application form is available on audio tape." These

two statements clearly indicated that the employer had identified potential areas that discriminated against disabled people and had taken positive action to redress this imbalance.

Some advertisements included the statement 'Disabled people only need apply'. These jobs were for Access Officers or Disabled Person's Policy Officers within Local Authorities and were considered to have been both welcoming and appropriate as the experience of disability was considered an essential criterion of the person specification.

No accurate comparison was made between the advertisements of different newspapers, but it did appear that more attention to equal opportunities had been paid by organisations advertising in The Guardian and The Independent.

At this stage, no discussion was introduced about where advertisements should have been placed or how organisations could develop 'outreach' procedures to encourage more disabled people to apply. This was to follow on the second day during a more in-depth review of the recruitment process.

## It Can Be Done

The final training module of the first day was the use of the video 'It Can Be Done' produced by the Manpower Service Commission. Prior to watching this video delegates were again broken into three different groups. Each one was required to answer one of the questions below.

1. What myths are attributed to disabled people in employment and how are they dispelled?
2. What are the specific examples of good management practice?
3. Where do the limits of responsibility lie between the employer and the disabled employee?

The video was then shown. It depicted seven disabled people, with a variety of impairments, working in different organisations and at different levels of employment.

The myths illustrated by the video included: more time off sick; more accidents; cost more; colleagues would not like it; they would not get on with customers; they would not have been able to do certain parts of their

job because of their impairments; more training; greater supervision; less productive; fire hazard; would not fit in; they would have been a liability; and that they would cause a disruption.

These myths were dispelled in the video by the disabled employees and their managers talking about their work experiences, which were reflected also in the views of customers. The resources available, by way of information, advice and funding, from DAS (now PACT) to reduce perceived additional costs were also reviewed.

Specific examples of good management practice that were identified by delegates in the video included: identifying internal and external resources; using Government grants in covering additional costs; developing evacuation procedures; concentrating on individuals abilities; developing employee's skills; providing training and career development opportunities; consulting the disabled person; discussing any perceived difficulties with colleagues and finally, valuing and developing the diversity that disabled people bring to the employment market.

The discussions about where the limits of responsibility lay between the manager and the employee caused a great deal more deliberation. It was generally concluded that there was a two way responsibility. However, it was expected that the manager was responsible for general health and safety and other legal aspects of employment, but should have a management style that was open and inviting to disabled people. This would enable them to express their needs within employment, without creating a feeling of vulnerability, if they were to ask for additional equipment or improved access. Such vulnerability and fear of retribution from their manager, however unwarranted, might restrict disabled people in making known their reasonable demands.

In conclusion, the video pointed out that many of the perceived difficulties in employing disabled people rarely arise, and if they do, very simple measures not costing a great deal nor causing much disruption were available to overcome most situations. This video was considered by many delegates to have provided a good conclusion to the first day and left delegates with a feeling that many of the perceived problems, in reality, did not exist.

One important failing of the video was that it had been solely directed at attitude change rather than at an exploration of the many aspects of institutional discrimination which serve to restrict opportunities for disabled people in

employment. This had been in line with the Government's policy on the employment of disabled people but it was an opportunity missed to provide viewers with the chance to question how discrimination had operated in their own organisations. Showing this video in isolation, as it had been intended to be used, may have tried to change attitudes but it probably did not equip viewers with the level of understanding necessary to effect improvements in their organisations. The problem, however minimised by the video, was still placed squarely within the individual rather than being used to challenge organisational barriers. The video demonstrated that 'It Can Be Done' but failed to explain the problem as a form of discrimination and thus why action was required at a strategic and policy level within organisations.

## Day Two: Consultation

The seminar began on day two by asking the delegates if they had any questions or comments on the issues discussed in day one. This allowed for clarification of any misunderstandings.

They were then given a specific instruction. They were asked to sit on their chairs with their legs un-crossed and turn to the person sitting on their left and, if there were no objections, to cross that person's legs. The delegates were caught off-guard and almost invariably complied with the trainer's request. This resulted in a great deal of amusement and laughter as the process unfolded. Upon completion of this exercise delegates were asked to consider what had just taken place.

It soon became clear that they had done something to a third party at the instruction of the authority figure, in this case the trainer, without asking the individual concerned if this is what they wanted.

The failure of consultation resulted in a great deal of difficulty with and confusion about the 'helper - helped' relationship. The end result may not have been the one desired by the person receiving help. Although this situation was contrived, it proved to be a good learning point for delegates who realised that they should consult disabled people prior to carrying out any action in the disability and employment field.

It was pointed out by the trainer that more often than not important decisions were made by professionals about an individual from whom that professional

was completely remote. Often, instructions were handed down to other professionals suggesting that they did things to a disabled person without ever asking the individual if that was what was wanted. It was further emphasised that this traditional approach to disability was deeply entrenched within many of the statutory services provided by social services and health authorities and that it often extended into the employment field. The net result was one of removing choice and control from the individual and developing a service, which the providers aimed to use in enhancing independence, that inadvertently may have caused dependence.

The trainer made it clear that it would have been more acceptable, first, to ask the persons to their left if they wanted their legs crossed; then if they wanted their left over their right or visa versa; their knees or ankles crossed and finally, if they were comfortable or if the helpers could have improved in any way the assistance provided next time. The message that delegates were expected to take away with them was that, before taking any action on the employment of disabled people, it is important that they consult first.

## The Recruitment Process

The next modular exercise provided an in-depth consideration of the recruitment process. It was used to analyse which aspects discriminated against disabled people and suggested changes in policy and working practices to improve opportunities in the future. The stages of the recruitment process were listed on the flip chart as below. The additional explanation written by each element below was given verbally by the trainer.

Job Description: A list of tasks that is required to be carried out by the person in that job.

Person Specification: A list of skills, abilities and attributes that a person is required to have in order that they may carry out the tasks enumerated in the job description. This list is often divided into essential and non-essential.

Advertisement: The tool used to encourage people to apply to an organisation for a job. It is usually published both internally and externally and may appear at the Job Centre or in the local or national press.

Outreach: A pro-active process to reach out to traditionally disadvantaged

members of the labour force in order to encourage them to apply to the organisation. Recruitment of disabled people would involve contacting the Disablement Resettlement Officer (now Disability Employment Adviser) at the local Job Centre, contacting special schools or colleges, targeting disability organisations or advertising in the disability press amongst several other actions.

Correspondence: This refers to any communication that might take place between the applicant and the potential employer during the recruitment process and may include supplementary information sent out with the application form.

Application Form: A tool devised to collect information about the skills, abilities, attributes and previous work history of any potential employee to match them against the essential and non-essential criteria within the job description.

Monitoring: A procedure to measure the effectiveness of an equal opportunity policy by monitoring the number of applicants from different disadvantaged groups including women, black or ethnic minority people and disabled people. This information is collected for monitoring purposes only and is not used as a tool to short-list candidates and can be used to pin-point potential areas where discrimination is taking place.

Short-listing: A process of sifting through the application forms to reduce a larger number of applicants down to those who may have been suitable to be interviewed.

Testing: The process to assess the skills and abilities of the applicants in order to evaluate their competence to do the job.

Interview: The process by which those candidates who have been short-listed meet with the potential employer in order that they may find out more about the skills and abilities of the individual.

Guaranteed Interview Scheme: Some organisations will offer a guaranteed interview to the disabled applicant if they meet the essential criteria.

Medical: Completion of a medical questionnaire is often required by new recruits or a medical examination is requested.

References: A request from a previous employer or from individuals who know the candidate prior to their employment to give their recommendation or advise

of their suitability for that particular job.

Selection / Rejection Letter: The letter sent to candidates after their interview to tell them whether they have been selected or rejected from that particular place.

Induction: A process of induction is carried out in most organisations to ensure the smooth passage of that individual into productive work.

Training: Training may have been provided to employees on the job upon their initial employment and then in an on-going basis to ensure that they have access to opportunities in career development.

Career Development: The passage of an individual from their initial position within an organisation to gain higher and ultimately managerial grades.

Retention, Retraining and Relocation: This may have been required for disabled people who develop an impairment whilst in employment and can have been utilised to avoid medical retirement and additional recruitment costs.

These elements were then divided into three so that different syndicates of delegates could analyse how each of these stages of the recruitment process might disadvantage a disabled applicant and develop from the problems identified any solutions that may have improved current provision to ensure equality of opportunity for disabled people. The delegates required at least five minutes on each of these sections. At the end of this period of time a spokesperson from each group gave the feedback. The factors listed below provide an overview of this feedback combined with any supplementary information, added as necessary, by the trainers.

**Job Description:** Many delegates indicated that it had been common practice for employers to repeat the use of job descriptions for the previous person in post. Only rarely was the job description reviewed and thus any existing aspects that may have disadvantaged disabled applicants on previous occasions would be retained. Some employers had job descriptions that were extremely long in an attempt to cover all eventualities. These were considered to go into unnecessary detail and were potentially discriminatory against disabled people if they included tasks that did not form a core aspect of the job.

Delegates believed that it was important for the elements of the job description to be specific and written clearly, for example "heavy lifting required", did not

make the task entirely clear. This could have been interpreted in a variety of ways and meant either that the job was that of a manual labourer requiring them to lift 50 bags of cement a day or it could simply have been that of a clerk who is required to lift one box of photocopy paper per month. If the amount of lifting had been specified accurately then it would have been much clearer to the applicants, each of whom should have received a copy of the job description with the application form. This would have enabled them to make some decision about their ability to do the job, building in an important element of self-selection, and reducing the cost of processing unsuitable applicants.

Most disabled people know what their limits are and are no more likely than non-disabled people to apply for employment which they know they are not able to undertake. It was also considered important to build in flexibility at this early stage as organisations are increasingly using a team approach to attain particular outcomes. Some of the aspects of the job that a disabled person may not have been able to do could have been transferred to another member of the team whilst allowing the disabled person to concentrate on the use of available skills and abilities in becoming a full and active member of that team.

It was noted by delegates that technology and working practices were changing so rapidly, that in order to obtain an up-to-date and accurate job description it could have been important to conduct an exit interview with the previous candidate who had held that post.

Delegates also thought that it was important to acknowledge the existence of the Disablement Advisory Service (DAS now PACT) at this early stage. The job description should contain a statement indicating that if access or adapted equipment were required to complete the tasks of the job this would have been provided through DAS.

**Person Specification:** The list of skills, abilities and attributes required by the employee should reflect what was needed to carry out the tasks listed in the job description. Setting higher than necessary levels of qualification would have negatively affected the employment prospects of disabled people who may have experienced an historical disadvantage in education or not attained certain standards due to hospitalisation during childhood.

Disabled people may not have had paid work experience, but may otherwise have worked in the voluntary sector. This voluntary experience should have been valued as much as that of paid employment as this could often have been the

only option for a disabled person.

Employers should also consider transferable skills that disabled people may have. The experience of becoming a disabled person and working through that change in life-style may have equipped the individual with well developed problem solving skills. A person who has overcome a substantial hurdle may acquire a great sense of commitment and thirst for achievement in the future.

The person specification should have been accurate and avoid any unnecessary criteria. One example might have been possession of a driving licence. If a candidate were required to carry out a driving task as part of the job e.g. bus driver or refuse van driver then this would obviously be an essential requirement. If they simply had to travel a great deal around a certain town or have been able to travel to different areas of the country this should have been specified but it does not require the individual to hold a valid driving licence. Otherwise blind people and people with mobility impairments would have been excluded from that particular employment despite the fact that they could have used alternative means to get around just as effectively.

Professional qualifications and academic achievements should have been carefully considered and incorporated in the specification only when essential e.g. chartered status to work as an accountant. Higher than necessary further educational qualifications would limit opportunities for some disabled applicants whose employment potential may never have been fully realised by a discriminatory educational system.

Some delegates thought that it may have been important to cater for any internalised oppression experienced by disabled applicants by offering additional training, if required, after the appointment. This was similar to the provision by some organisations of assertiveness training for women. This could have been specified within the person specification.

**Advertisement:** The advertisement should have been clear and concise, advising the major features of the job and providing additional information based on the person specification. Accurate presentation of this would minimize the receipt of unnecessary applications. The salary range should also have been clearly indicated as this may have been of considerable importance to disabled people who risk loosing addition social security benefits when working.

Employers should have indicated their commitment to Equal Opportunities and

may have considered additional statements that could have been regarded as encouraging to disabled applicants.

Another encouraging feature in the advertisement would have been the provision of a Minicom telephone number so that deaf people could contact the organisation to obtain an application form. The advertisement could have been published within the disability press as well as the local or the national newspapers as the position required. If an organisation had few disabled employees then advertising only internally would result in discrimination. It was also considered important that the wording in the body of the advertisement should have reflected the organisation's Equal Opportunities policy.

**Outreach:** Many employers did not realise that outreach was an important element needed to encourage more disabled people to apply. If disabled people had faced so many rejections in the past then it was important to adopt a pro-active approach to the recruitment of disabled people if they were to present their skills and abilities to potential employers.

Outreach would have involved contacting local disability organisations, sending job advertisements to the Disablement Resettlement Officer (DRO now Disability Employment Adviser - DEA) and any other agencies dealing with the placement of disabled people in work. Delegates were presented with a list of the national contacts on pages 296 - 305 their training packs (Appendix II) with addresses and telephone numbers for organisations such as the Royal National Institute for the Blind and Deaf as well as organisations specialising in the training of disabled people for employment. These national contacts provided a resource list from which delegates could identify their local contacts.

More imaginative approaches to outreach were considered including: work experience; compact arrangements with segregated schools and colleges as well as mainstream establishments; disabled sixth-formers providing interview candidates for trainee interviewers; in-house training opportunities; school visits; sponsoring disabled undergraduates.

**Correspondence:** It was important to provide a flexible approach to correspondence. Applicants should have been offered the opportunity to receive information on audio cassette tape and should have had the choice between telephoning for the application form or writing for it. Large print versions of correspondence should have also been available for applicants with a visual impairment.

Any additional information that may have been sent to applicants, including the organisation's brochure should have contained terminology and images that are positive and welcoming to disabled people.

**Application Form:** The application form was considered to comprise yet another potential hurdle in the recruitment process. Many employers indicated that their application form contained questions relating to the individual's impairment. It was believed by many that if this information had been made available to those involved in short-listing it would almost inevitably have led to discrimination as had been demonstrated by the 'Diagnostic Assumptions' exercise which was described earlier (see p. 133).

The conclusion was that the information concerning race, gender and disability should have been contained on a monitoring tear-off slip as all this information may have led to prejudice. It would have been removed by a clerk upon receipt of the application form and not made available to those short-listing. This monitoring tear off slip should contain an explanation of why the information was being gathered and the question about impairment should have been asked in a positive and welcoming way, e.g. "As our organisation is seeking to employ more disabled people please advise us if you have a disability. This information is required for monitoring purposes only and will help to ensure that you have an equal opportunity in employment."

The application form should also have been available on audio cassette to enable visually impaired people to respond. The process to set this up was quite simple. The questions could have been transcribed on to tape and the candidate sent a blank tape on which to respond. The replies could then have been transcribed on to an application form by the personnel department prior to short-listing.

The application form should have encouraged applicants to provide information about previous voluntary work as well as paid employment and invited candidates to have indicated any transferable skills that they may have developed whilst they were not in employment.

It was considered important by delegates that the job description should always have been distributed with the application form along with any other information that was sent out as standard practice. This information should also have been accessible to visually impaired people. In addition to this some employers thought that it would have been worth while offering assistance to applicants

who required help in completing the application form.

**Monitoring:** The information gathered by monitoring should have been used to identify areas of discrimination. If inadequate numbers of disabled people were applying to the organisation at the initial phase of the recruitment process then more effort was required to improve the advertising process and to reach out to more disabled people encouraging them to apply. If there was a sufficient number of disabled people applying to the organisation but not many getting through to the interview then this indicated a problem with short-listing. Information on this should have been carefully evaluated and published on an annual basis in the employers annual report.

**Short-listing:** If the job description and person specification were written in a non-discriminatory way and the application form contained the required information about the skills and abilities of the applicant with the information about race, gender and disability on a monitoring tear off strip, then the short-listing should have been non-discriminatory. If, however, the application form still contained information relating to the individual's impairment then problems might have arisen. In order to have avoided the elimination of disabled people at this stage, some employers had brought about the guaranteed interview scheme. This ensured that any disabled applicants who met the essential criteria of the person specification would have been guaranteed an interview.

**Guaranteed Interview Scheme:** This scheme was considered a successful way to make sure disabled people were not eliminated at the short-list stage. Anxieties were however expressed that unless the subsequent interviewers were fully familiar and in agreement with the organisation's policy on the recruitment of disabled people the candidates may just have been interviewed for the sake of the scheme rather than because the managers actually wished to consider their recruitment. It had been the experience of the trainer on speaking to people who had been interviewed under this scheme that they felt that they had just been brought along to the interview because of the scheme rather than because they might have had a fair chance to get the job.

This negative experience may have resulted in those applicants not applying again for employment with that organisation and they may have discouraged friends or colleagues, who might have an impairment, also from doing so. It was concluded that if the guaranteed interview scheme were to have been successful it was important that interviewers were aware of the value and potential of recruiting disabled people into the work place.

**The Interview:** The interview was considered an essential area where discrimination could take place. The needs of each applicant should have been established prior to the interview. If this information was not contained within the application form it could have been possible, when writing to each candidate to invite them to interview, to include an additional question asking about any particular access needs. The information gained here could then have been used to make sure that the interview was fully accessible. This could have been a matter of wheelchair access or providing a sign-language interpreter or assisting a blind person from the front reception desk to the interview room.

The period prior to the interview was considered to have been a very nervous time for any applicant and it was important to have ensured that reception staff knew how to assist disabled applicants effectively. The waiting room should also have been 'disability friendly' providing a slot for a wheelchair user and flexible height in seating for those who may have a mobility impairment. Information relating to toilet facilities should also have been available to any applicant.

The timing of interviews was also considered to have been important. It had already been recognised by the delegates that transport created many difficulties for disabled people. It was thus considered sensible to hold the interview at a time when transport would have been easier. Interviewing people who have a speech impairment or those requiring the use of a sign language interpreter may have taken longer and therefore should have been scheduled just before a coffee break or lunch to ensure that the candidate had an equivalent time to answer questions.

Questions relating to the individual's impairment should not have been asked unless they were relevant to the task at hand. For example, asking the question "How long have you been like that?" or "Were you born like that or was it an accident?" are irrelevant. Some situations may have been different, for example it would have been important to ask a blind person who was applying for a job as an accounts clerk how they would manage the accounting system. They would then have been able to explain how they used double entry book keeping with their voice synthesising equipment which gave them access to the computer VDU screen. The same question could have been asked of any candidate applying for that particular post.

The applicants should have been asked questions relating only to their skills and

abilities to do the particular job.  If the employer had any anxieties over access requirements or equipment needs then these issues should have been dealt with later after the appointment had been made and not used as selection criteria.

**Testing:**  Testing was considered by many delegates to have been an important additional stage in the recruitment process.  They considered that, when testing was specifically related to the tasks listed within the job description, the test was correspondingly valid.  Questions were raised about the increasing use of psychometric testing in relation to disabled people as it was thought that the subject group upon which the validity of these tests had originally been demonstrated would not have contained many disabled people.

If interview candidates were to have been tested, delegates considered it was important to have provided this information to the candidates prior to their arrival and to invite them to bring any equipment that they felt might enable them to complete the task more effectively.  Some written tests may have been required to be presented in an alternative medium for visually impaired people and the personnel carrying out the test should have been fully trained and familiar with disability issues.

**References:**  Many delegates considered that references could have been very discriminatory.  Several cited examples whereby good references had been given to get rid of bad employees and bad references were given so that good employees did not move position.  This may not have been standard practice but it had occurred.

Some delegates insisted that they would be provided with better information if the referees were asked questions about the skills, aptitudes and abilities of the candidate in relation to the specific tasks listed in the job description.

Another point was that many disabled people might not have had a previous work reference as they had found it difficult to gain employment in the past.  It was suggested that a personal reference could have been substituted.  Most delegates thought that, under these circumstances, disabled people would not have been foolish enough to choose someone who would not give them a good reference.

As an alternative to a previous work reference delegates thought that it would have been important to value a work reference from an organisation where the candidate had been employed on a voluntary basis.

**Medical:** Delegates considered that disabled people should not have been subject to a higher incidence of medical examination than non-disabled people. A medical questionnaire seemed to have been the standard practice and this was used as a sift to identify those requiring further attention from the occupational health department. The feeling amongst delegates was that disabled applicants did often receive more attention from this department than their non-disabled peers. The delegates considered that this could have been potentially discriminatory as doctors and occupational health professionals may have had negative attitudes and an over medicalised view of disability.

**Selection / Rejection Letter:** Ultimately the decision to appoint had to be made. This resulted in certain candidates receiving rejection letters whilst one would have been appointed. If necessary, the candidate that had been appointed should receive a letter inviting attendance at a pre-employment meeting to discuss any access or equipment requirements. This should have been conducted in liaison with the local Disablement Advisory Service (now PACT) to have ensured that the equipment was available as soon as the candidate commenced employment.

Those candidates rejected from the post usually received a standard letter. It was considered that, if at all possible, an opportunity to receive feed-back by way of a telephone conversation or interview at a later date should have been offered. If the interviewing team were able to identify any specific areas in which the applicant may have required additional skills, delegates thought that this information could have been contained within the rejection letter.

**Induction:** Induction was the last stage of the recruitment process and provision should have been made to provide the induction literature in an accessible format. The colleagues of the future employee should have been briefed about the forth coming appointment and allowed, if necessary, to express their anxiety in a free and open way. The personnel manager would then have been able to dispel any myths or anxieties that their colleagues might have held. This process should not have been over played to a point were further anxieties amongst colleagues were raised.

It was considered of vital importance that the induction process should have been carried out in consultation with the disabled employee and future colleagues.

**Training and Career Development:** Many delegates considered that in their organisations some disabled persons had been recruited to low paid jobs and only

rarely received training and career development opportunities. The employment of disabled people should not have ended at recruitment and many of the considerations outlined above in relation to the recruitment process would also have been required to ensure that disabled people received a fair and equal opportunity in training and career development.

**Rehabilitation, Relocation and Redeployment:** For an individual developing an impairment whilst in employment every attempt should have been made to retain that person rather than subjecting them to medical retirement. An individual who had worked for an organisation for a considerable length of time would understand how the organisation functions. The money invested in their initial recruitment, training and career development would have been wasted if they were to have been medically retired. Additional costs would have been incurred to recruit another person into their post.

Most people who develop an impairment would have been able to return to their original post after a period of rehabilitation. However, some may have required retraining in a different field if their impairment prevented them from engaging in their former area of work.

In conclusion, this section of the seminar highlighted the fact that the recruitment process is a long and arduous one for any prospective employee to have gone through. Additional obstacles existed for disabled people which often resulted in inadvertent discrimination. It was also noted that delegates had become aware of what action was required to improve the recruitment process in order to ensure that disabled people received a fair and equal opportunity in employment.

## Employment Research Findings

The next modular exercise of the seminar required delegates to read a two page summary of research findings about the effectiveness of disabled people in employment (Appendix II, pp. 306 - 307). Delegates were asked, whilst reading through this documentation, to consider what it told them about disabled people in employment. Delegates were then required to work in pairs to discuss this issue and report back to the main group.

The research demonstrated that disabled people had less sick leave, fewer accidents, were more loyal to employers, were equally if not sometimes more productive and had fewer absences for reasons other than illness. This data

clearly indicated that disabled people, once in employment, were equally if not sometimes more effective than non-disabled people.

Delegates were then asked to explain why these statistics presented such findings. Various reasons were considered. The fact that disabled people may have experienced fairly major medical problems during the development of their impairment may have resulted in less sick leave for minor reasons. It was also considered that because disabled people found it hard to find employment in the first place those, upon whom these statistics were developed, could have been the higher achieving disabled people anyway.

Finally, some disabled people may have had a point to prove. The fact that they would have felt vulnerable in the employment market may have led to a higher level of commitment to ensure that their managers did not assume that they have more sick leave because of their impairment

## Choosing the Right Person

The next exercise was for delegates to analyse statements that had been made about disabled people in employment. They were required to read two or three of the statements listed below and on page 308 of the training notes (Appendix II). They were then asked to consider why the statements were incorrect.

1. People with epilepsy should not be employed near moving equipment, near flickering VDU's, photocopiers or electric wires.

2. The colleagues of workers with epilepsy need to have been trained to cope with fits.

3. Deaf people should not be employed on building sites because if you shouted to them 'look out' they would not hear you.

4. Deaf people cannot use the telephone.

5. Blind people cannot cope with a job that requires reading reports and correspondence.

6. People who use wheelchairs cannot work in places where there are steps.

7. People with learning difficulties should not work with food or children.

8. Most disabled people need more support and guidance from their managers than able bodied employees.

9. People who have been through the mental health system should not be put in stressful jobs.

10. People who are registered 'disabled' cannot drive.

11. Disabled people should not work in high rise office blocks.

12. Disabled people in front line jobs may damage an organisation's image.

As they were discussed the reasons why these statements were false soon became apparent to delegates. If any difficulties arose these were dealt with by the trainer.

The reason for introducing these statements to the delegates was to point out that their colleagues may have had similar anxieties and fears based on false assumptions. It was pointed out that they should have been able to identify and deal with assumptions held by colleagues and to develop solutions by advising on how to overcome perceived problems.

## Marketing Disabled People

A role play exercise was next. This was designed to build on the previous part of the course and enable delegates to develop the skills necessary to persuade others of the benefits of recruiting disabled people. The delegates were divided into three groups.

One was a management team who worked for an organisation called Money Maker plc (Appendix II, p. 309). They had a reasonably well developed policy in relation to Black and minority ethnic people and women returners but had never yet considered recruiting disabled people. They were experiencing recruitment difficulties in certain areas but were quite resistant to the idea of employing disabled people. They were required to adopt a very traditional stance

to this issue, by focusing on the problems rather than the opportunities.

The remaining delegates were divided into two sales teams. Each was given 30 minutes to develop a strategy to market disabled people to these reluctant managers. In the context of this thesis there is insufficient space to explain what happened during each role play in the various seminars for each was very different. As discussed later in the results section (Chapter 7) the evaluation indicated that this process was of great benefit to most delegates in developing strategies to bring about improvements in their organisations.

## Areas for Action

The final part of the seminar required delegates to brain-storm a list of action points that they could consider carrying out within their organisations which would aim to promote improved opportunities for disabled people in employment. A summary of these action is given below:

1. Organise / Promote internal Disability Equality Training.
2. Relay course information by presentation / article etc.
3. Consult existing disabled employees.
4. Increase recruitment of disabled people.
5. Increase work experience opportunities for disabled people.
6. Develop own disability equality training seminar.
7. Research absentee statistics.
8. Access Survey.
9. Accesss Improvements.
10. Check / Improve recruitment procedure.
11. Provide organisational material in accessible form.
12. Set up Job Introduction Scheme (JIS).
13. Review career management procedure, including retention.
14. Establish / Support Employers Forum.
15. Improve outreach to disabled people.
16. Offer increased work opportunities to disabled people.

Each delegate was then required to choose one or more of these action points and develop a strategy to carry it/them out within their organisations. They were

given an action plan form (Appendix II, pp. 310 - 313) and required to complete this at the end of the seminar. The action plans were collected by the researcher, photocopied and then returned to the delegates one week after the event.

This had two effects: first it provided information for the purposes of research; and second, the action plans arrived back on the delegates' desks one week after the event reminding each of them what they had intended to do. The action plans were then used to develop a postal questionnaire (Appendix IV) which was sent to the delegates 12 months after they attended the seminar. These questionnaires were designed to collect information which would identify any behavioural changes that had taken place or specific actions that had been taken.

Upon completion of their action plans delegates were also required to complete an evaluation form. This evaluation form (Appendix V, see pp. 320 - 321) gave delegates the opportunity to give their immediate impression of the seminar. The responses to the evaluation form are presented in the results chapter (Chapter Six).

## The Close

Finally, the delegates were shown a brief, humorous video. This video depicted a singer in a wheelchair singing a song "I've Got A Chip On My Shoulder". Whilst watching delegates were asked to think back through the last two days and identify one exercise or issue that they found particularly noteworthy. Then, upon completion of the video delegates were asked one at a time the most significant element of the course for them.

The majority declared that their understanding had been transformed with the realisation that the experience of disability is more similar to other areas of discrimination than they had originally thought. They often pin-pointed one of the modular exercises, videos or discussion points from the first day as being critical for this change.

A significant proportion also pointed to the practical information and advice they received as well as to the development of their personal action plan as being of great value in stimulating future improvements in their organisations.

# Methodology of Evaluation

In this section the selection of delegates is described and the problems involved in evaluating DET are introduced. Other forms of management training evaluation techniques are then discussed and compared to the attitude approach which was initially considered for use in this research project but rejected following an analysis of its effectiveness in Chapter Three. The differences between the 'rights' approach to equality and the 'business benefits' approach to diversity are considered as incentives to provide training within the context of shifting external factors. Finally, the evaluation tools selected for the purpose of this research are critically described.

# Selection of Seminar Delegates

Once the training package had been developed, a series of 6 seminars was scheduled to run from August 1989 to May 1990. In order to attract the 8 - 16 delegates required by the seminar design, a data base of 2,150 personnel managers was constructed using The Personnel Managers year book (Kaminsky, 1989) of 5,300 Members of the Institute of Personnel Managers in London and the South East of England. Seminar publicity was then mailed in one batch publicising the seminars to managers listed in the data base. As a result, 66 delegates self-selected to attend the 6 scheduled seminars.

Delegates were required to attend the seminar for the full two days in order to participate in the training described in the previous chapter. They were further asked to take part in various evaluation procedures in order to make an assessment of the potential contribution of DET to improving employment opportunities for disabled people.

# Problems in Evaluating DET

The evaluation of any training process poses a number of problems. If the training used in this research project simply aimed improve employer attitudes towards disabled people then pre- and post-seminar attitude measurements would have provided the most obvious tools. However, in Chapter Three it was revealed that approaches solely aiming to change attitudes were not only inappropriate but also ineffective. In addition, the whole concept of attitude

measurement is far from satisfactory. In the case of DET, which is not trying to change attitudes but redirect them from disabled individuals onto disabling barriers by bringing about behavioural changes to challenge institutionalised discrimination, there are further complicating factors which are described below.

The first is that of deciding what measurements adequately reflect the impact of training. The previous consideration of the attitude research approach suggests that not only does it have limited utility as a social change mechanism but also that it has limitations as an evaluation methodology. It has been argued that attitudes cannot be reliably measured. In any case, being individual centred they are too loosely related to the institutional changes recognised as necessary by the social model of disability to represent adequate measures of change improving opportunities for disabled people. This view concurs with developments in anti-racist training where changes in organisational behaviour are considered as the crucial area for investigation (Straw, 1989).

Therefore, the evaluation methods selected for this research project were required to measure changes in behaviour. These changes were to be observed at the interdependent levels of the individual and their organisation. They could be measured through the delegates' implementation of their action plans developed during the training seminar and, in the organisation, through improved policies and practices. Such changes may well be assumed to be related to the attitude realignment inherent in the training model. However, changed organisational behaviour was thought to provide a more meaningful measure, in terms of the removal of institutionalised discrimination, than that of changes in the attitudes of individual delegates before and after the seminar.

The identification of organisational structure and behaviour as the focus for evaluation tends to indicate that a combination of mainstream training evaluation methodologies would offer a promising method in evaluating DET. Although, as is discussed below, even this approach has problems in obtaining direct measures.

In addition to being directed towards the same focus of study, organisational behaviour, this approach offers certain other advantages to DET practitioners. The ability of DET to be effective is dependent on organisations allocating resources to purchase it. Mainstream training evaluation techniques enable trainers to evaluate the quality and attractiveness of their packages in relation to other forms of training. Furthermore, the use of evaluation tools such as end of seminar validation questionnaires, action plans and follow-up surveys are

familiar to seminar delegates and have potential advantages in securing a higher response rate.

Having identified the desired focus for evaluation and a usable approach, a second problem for researchers seeking to evaluate DET arises in the validity and reliability of available measures. This has particularly been noted by writers on mainstream training in relation to the 'less specific forms' of training (Rae, 1991). Mainstream training literature places great emphasis on evaluation. Writers point to the need for evaluation and validation of training systems to be seen as an integral part of the training process. Although it is also admitted within the literature that comparatively little evaluation is conducted as stringently or as extensively as the theoretical requirement (Rae, 1991).

'Evaluation' was specifically defined in a Department of Employment publication (HMSO, 1988) as:

> The assessment of the total value of a training system, training
> seminar or programme in social as well as financial terms (p. 3).

Validation was defined in the same publication as being both internally and externally determined. Internal validation depends on whether a training seminar has achieved the behavioural objectives specified. External validation is designed to ascertain whether the behavioural objectives of an internally valid training programme were realistically based on an accurate initial identification of training needs in relation to the criteria of effectiveness adopted by the organisation.

According to these definitions, evaluation differs from validation in that it attempts to measure the overall cost benefit of the seminar and not just the achievement of its laid down objectives.

Both measures are designed to achieve some assessment of the success of the training in terms of particular criteria. Although these may vary from organisation to organisation, such criteria in mainstream training are likely to include whether:

- the seminar fully satisfies its stated objectives
- the seminar fully satisfies the personal objectives of delegates
- the seminar is cost effective for the participating organisation
- the delegates translate their learning into effective action

on return to work

Even with such relatively straightforward criteria, while there is agreement that technical or procedural training can be adequately evaluated, there is less unanimity about whether 'less specific forms' of training such as in the areas of human resources training and some areas of general management training can be accurately assessed (Rae, 1991). The reasons for this are closely related to the problems already identified with attitude research.

Job training analysis suggests that all jobs consist of three broad components - skills, knowledge and attitudes. Skills are related to components of the job that involve 'doing something', encompassing manual, diagnostic or decision making elements. The knowledge component of a job relates to what must be known or understood about a job and may involve technical, procedural or organisational knowledge. The attitude component of a job may vary in significance. Attitude may be a particularly important element in some jobs which involve, for example, courtesy and sensitivity in dealing with customers and clients; flexibility and cooperation when working in a close knit team or calmness and patience when dealing with particular pressures.

Evaluation of training involving attitude change, is for all the reasons outlined previously far more complex than that involving primarily skills and knowledge. Whereas the pre-existing level of skills and knowledge prior to training may be fairly easily ascertained, the attitudinal baggage brought by delegates to training is far less amenable to measurement and the quality of training therefore much more difficult to assess relative to such factors as learner motivation and previous experience etc.. However, as the attitude component comprises only a part of all jobs, there is general agreement within mainstream training on the desirability of at least some measure of evaluation or validation being attempted.

DET, in common with some types of mainstream training, does contain a relatively high attitude component which will mean that it will be at the lower end of any training evaluation scale of precision. This does not mean however that its impact on the skills and knowledge components of delegates jobs should be overlooked or that the potential for obtaining useful indicators to evaluate the impact of DET should be ignored.

A third problem area in using a mainstream training approach to evaluation of DET (and one that, at least in theory, should not arise in mainstream training) is that of matching the aims and objectives of seminar delegates and trainers.

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Within the literature, 'effective' training, particularly in the context of major change programmes, i.e. those which actually involve changes in organisational culture, such as equal opportunities policies or the implementation of Total Quality Management (TQM), is not seen as something which exists in isolation but as something which should be part of a strategic approach to organisational development. That is, it should be part of a cyclical process involving diagnosis, setting aims, spreading ownership, policy development and training (Schneider and Ross, 1992). The seminar offered in this study is at variance with this model in a way which makes the variable of organisational commitment a complicating factor in the evaluation process.

The major way in which the operation of DET differs from mainstream training seminars lies in the area of setting the aims and objectives of the training. At least theoretically, training and policy development in the context of mainstream training follow the process of diagnosis, the setting of aims and objectives and gaining recognition for the value of new initiatives within the context of the organisation's development. Usually, in the private sector this is defined by business interest. The aims and objectives of a DET seminar, on the other hand, are primarily socio-political in nature and pre-set by the trainers.

Those objectives for the DET seminar under study, which spring from the recognition of the social and ideological nature of disability, are set out earlier in this chapter (see pp. 123). The aim of the seminar is identified as being "to increase opportunities for disabled people in employment". The objectives of the seminar are described as being "to remove the structural and attitudinal barriers which prevent disabled people from gaining meaningful employment."

# Equality and Diversity

The relationship between social justice and the benefits to organisations of having a diverse workforce are discussed next. Mere participation in a DET seminar through the sending of delegates, does not mean that an organisation necessarily shares the aims and objectives laid down by the trainer. Within equal opportunities generally, it has been noted that the impetus for change can come from two different but identifiable directions (Straw, 1989). These can be broadly characterised as the justice-oriented approach and the efficiency-oriented approach. In reality, advocates of equal opportunities measures tend to use both arguments to promote their case and both elements are included in the

substantive content of training. This should not obscure the fact that the two approaches are logically distinct. The prevailing impetus behind any equal opportunities training initiative will determine its subsequent susceptibility to changing external conditions with considerable implications for post-seminar evaluation.

Factors such as the onset of the recession in the early 1990s could be assumed to have had an impact on both the demand for training and the ability of delegates to effect change within their organisation when resources were required. Other factors such as the removal of European trade barriers, ecological issues and new technologies may also have influenced the outcome of DET because of competing training and resource requirements. The effect of these factors on the seminar evaluation cannot be assessed.

The justice-oriented approach is consistent with the rights argument put forward by organisations such as BCODP. It is basically a moral and political argument about an organisation's responsibility to recognise its role as a societal actor in helping to create a society free of discrimination and inequality. Occasionally, this argument is given the further utilitarian dimension of proposing that the recognition of equal rights for all citizens is in the general interest of a healthy society. Specifically, in relation to the right to work, Phillips (1992) notes that the fact that full employment is no longer a policy goal, and that certain levels of unemployment are implicitly regarded as acceptable, has implications for the very fabric of society. As unemployment does not fall uniformly upon everyone but strikes particularly at those at the bottom of our society with all the individual consequences already noted, marginalisation will increase and "Britain will become a society as sick and damaged as its individual citizens who have been tossed so brutally aside." (The Guardian, 27 February 1993, p. 14).

These arguments are not dependent on external conditions for their validity. They would obtain even if there were no extra benefits in terms of business efficiency. However, although the arguments may remain valid, external factors such as the availability of public sector finance may still effect equal opportunities outcomes.

Brown and Lawton (1991) note in relation to race related training that public sector and charitable organisations tend to cite justice-based reasoning when initiating equal opportunities programmes while private firms tend to cite business reasons.

The business efficiency case has centred on the inefficiency of discrimination and the costs of blocking potential for development within the labour force. In the 1980s it was concerned particularly with the projected shortage of school leavers during the mid-1990s. Latterly it has been more concerned with projected skill shortages which are expected to coexist with continuing high levels of unemployment. One estimate predicts that by the end of the 1990s between 70 and 80% of all jobs will be knowledge jobs (Schneider and Ross, 1992). Other writers have argued that good equal opportunities practice strengthens the appeal of particular organisations to newly recognised minority markets. Furthermore, in the case of race and gender, business efficiency also suggests compliance with legislation in order to avoid the inconvenience, bad publicity and costs associated with tribunal cases.

The business efficiency argument has been further developed recently by writers (Schneider and Ross, 1992) advocating a move away from ideas of equal opportunity, which focus on the rights of 'minority groups' which they believe encourages 'tokenism', with employers embracing the letter rather than the spirit of the law. They cite as evidence the 1988 survey published by the Equal Opportunities Commission and the Economic and Social Research Council which showed that, of forty employers found guilty of sex discrimination by tribunals, only one in five had subsequently introduced an equal opportunities policy or reviewed an existing policy (Schneider and Ross, 1992). In addition, Schneider and Ross argue that the present approach to equal opportunities which emphasises that minorities should receive equal treatment does not sufficiently challenge prevailing organisational monocultures but rather encourages individuals to fit in through accepting norms such as working long hours and power dressing.

They propose, instead, an approach to equal opportunities based on the recognition of individual diversity. They argue that a flexible response to individual needs and the encouragement of a culture of diversity within organisations will both give organisations a leading edge in attracting skilled personnel and increase the potential within an organisation for creative problem solving. They also emphasise the benefits of diversity in team building which is currently repressed by the traditional white, heterosexual, able-bodied, male monocultures. These monocultures are prevalent in British organisations resulting in hierarchical rather than team-based approaches. In the terms of this analysis, equal opportunities become a business necessity with diversity within organisations being part of the recipe for organisational success in the future.

Whatever the merits of the various versions of the business arguments for equal opportunities, there are also serious difficulties in the apparent assumption that people from minority groups, and this applies particularly to disabled people, have equal access to acquire the skills to meet projected future shortages or creativity gaps. It will therefore be necessary for employers to recognise these issues as they develop their industry / education partnerships.

Whatever the strength of the various business arguments for equal opportunities, there is no evidence that the business case has achieved a sufficiently generalised dynamic among organisations for equal opportunities to have become a general feature of organisational development strategies. Where there is no legislative back-up existing commitment to equal opportunity strategies is likely to vary considerably among organisations. There will therefore be room for considerable variation in the degree of pre-existing commitment to the aims and objectives set by the trainers for the DET seminar among participating organisations.

In addition, unlike the justice-oriented case for equal opportunities, initiatives based on the business efficiency case will be susceptible to changes in external factors such as the prevailing economic climate. The influence of factors such as economic recession, on perceived labour requirements will affect the outcomes of training adding a further variable which will need to be recognised by researchers in making an evaluation of a training seminar.

Brown and Lawton (1991) also noted, with respect to race related training, that often the aims of participating organisations in initially seeking training are not clear. Where aims and objectives are defined these may also vary considerably. Brown and Lawton's research indicated that organisations are generally seeking one or more of the following results from training:

- to get things moving;
- to give a signal that things are moving;
- to develop an equality strategy;
- to win over key staff from indifference or opposition and enable them to promote the policy;
- to deliver technical advice, information and skills that in themselves help the equal opportunities effort of the organisation.

With an open seminar such as DET, the aims and objectives of participating organisations may be even less clearly defined. An organisation may be merely

sampling the training to ascertain its potential relevance to its requirements. Straw (1989) has argued that training may even be undertaken as a substitute for real action. Alternatively, delegates may attend the training as part of their own personal development so that only a very tenuous relationship with organisational policy ever exists.

Separating out the level of organisational commitment to the learning experience offered by training and the purpose of the training itself in terms of organisational policy thus imposes problems for the researcher.

These are compounded by the 'open' nature of the DET seminar under study. During the evaluation period 47 separate organisations were involved. A diagnostic audit of the equal opportunities situation for disabled people within each participating organisation and a full discussion of the aims and objectives of each was clearly not feasible within this study. Future evaluations would benefit from a research design which sought to elicit more information, with a section on the action plan questionnaire asking for the current status of equal opportunities towards disabled people within participating organisations. For example, a question on whether the organisation already had a written equal opportunities policy towards disabled people would provide important contextual and background.

At the time of the study, however, delegates from several organisations indicated a reluctance to disclose much information about existing corporate policy. A less intrusive approach was therefore chosen to ensure maximum co-operation.

A further omission in the research design was whether the organisation was pursuing any other initiatives with reference to disabled people, concurrent with the training, which would need to be taken into account during an evaluation. Brown and Lawton (1991) considered that the problem of singling out the effect of race related training from other measures on the way in which employees and organisations change as indicated through ethnic monitoring and employee profiles means that direct evaluation is not actually feasible. Once again a less intrusive approach was chosen to improve compliance.

In reality, because the seminar was one of the first DET seminars commercially offered and the first to penetrate to many employers outside the London Boroughs and also targeted at the private sector, the significance of these research omissions was minimised. For many organisations, as became apparent during the training and follow-up, the training represented the first significant

foray into equal opportunities in the area of disability although many had better developed policies with regard to race and gender.

Finally, it is probably relevant to make the supplementary point here that the methodologies employed in this research are relatively comprehensive when compared with the norm in mainstream training evaluation. As Brown and Lawton note (1991):

> It appears that the agonising over how to evaluate equal
> opportunities training is not matched by an interest in evaluating
> other types of training (p. 64).

Despite the theoretical concerns of mainstream training text books there has been relatively little attention given to evaluation of training in areas such as health and safety, management techniques and general personnel practices where, typically, training seems to be accepted by employers as a necessary and acceptable part of staff development. Notwithstanding, it is clear that more effort is required to develop more effective evaluation methodologies.

# Evaluation of DET

In spite of the inherent difficulties of the evaluation of training and the complexities discussed above, it was assumed that sufficient data could be obtained to answer the fundamental question posed by this research - that of whether Disability Equality Training can make a contribution towards improving employment opportunities for disabled people through influencing organisational policies and behaviour. Even within this broad aim, it should be remembered that DET is not being put forward within this research as a stand alone solution to the employment problems of disabled people. Instead it is proposed as one of many potential initiatives inherent in the acceptance of a social model of disability. Thus the findings concerning the utility of DET for improving employment opportunities for disabled people should be considered in the context of a partial and limited solution. Some consideration of its potential utility as a complement to anti-discrimination legislation and other related measures would also seem to be appropriate.

In order to evaluate the training package, three main methods were adopted. These were an immediate post-seminar review, an action plan follow-up after an interval of twelve months of all individuals attending the seminar and a

three-year follow-up at organisational level of a local authority, a civil service organisation, a private sector organisation and a further educational establishment. The latter was based on structured interviews with key personnel from a selected sample of participating organisations. A further section describes more recent initiatives which may have resulted from the original training programme.

There are many problems involved in evaluating any training programme. These are discussed in more detail later but it should also be remembered that any delegate responding to these investigations is subject to providing a socially desirable response. In other words, they may provide the response that they think is required of them rather reporting the true picture more accurately. Any evaluation methodology like those described below is subject to this problem.

## Post-Course Review

The immediate end of seminar review was conducted by means of a questionnaire. This device is sometimes referred to in training literature as a 'happiness sheet'. It is conventionally employed by trainers to assess delegates immediate post-seminar impressions and to see if delegates were experiencing major difficulties with any particular part of the seminar. The major indicators for this technique are therefore concerned with how well the seminar works in terms of delegates' reactions.

Some trainers like to ask delegates to take the sheets away for completion. This allows delegates to consider what has been learned, without the intervention of biasing factors such as the 'euphoria syndrome' which has been noted at the end of seminars where there has been a very positive atmosphere (Rae, 1991). The researcher preferred to allow time at the end of the training to allow delegates to complete the questionnaires. This had the advantage of ensuring a 100% return and immediate 'gut' responses which may be more indicative of delegates' true feelings about the seminar. Longer considered responses were felt to have allowed other factors such as 'social desirability' to creep in. In any event, delegates had an opportunity to comment retrospectively on the seminar in the twelve-month follow-up. Ten minutes was allowed for the completion of the questionnaire. It was felt that this represented sufficient time for delegates to make considered responses, mitigating the 'euphoria factor', as well as emphasising the amount of importance the trainers attached to the questionnaire.

Despite these precautions, this procedure had limited value in predicting whether the seminar had achieved its aims. It was recognised that individual delegates may have liked the seminar for reasons that were not related to their own learning or to changes in the way they work. Alternatively they may have responded negatively precisely because their work practices were challenged in the way intended.

The questionnaire (Appendix V, pp. 316 - 319) was divided into nine sections which were prefaced by a statement stressing its value for seminar evaluation and asking delegates to complete it as specifically as possible. In four sections, delegates were given a limited number of potential response options.

The first two sections concerned the length and intensity of the seminar for which delegates were offered four possible ratings, two negative, one positive and one 'reasonable'. Section seven concerned the learning environment. Delegates were required to select from two positive or two negative options or indicate that an 'other' response was appropriate. Similarly in section six, which referred to the trainers' performance, delegates were invited to indicate their agreement with stated levels of preparedness, organisation, responsiveness, concentration and "interestingness" of trainers. This section also included an open element in which delegates could make other general comments and comments relevant to particular trainers.

The other five sections were all open in format. Sections three and four invited delegates to select, with stated reasons, the seminar sessions they found most and least interesting. Section five invited comment on the written materials which accompanied the seminar. Section eight invited delegates to comment subjectively on whether they thought that their working practices and attitudes would be changed by the seminar. Section nine invited delegates to single out which aspect of the seminar had been the most significant for them. The questionnaires were collected at the end of each section and the data were processed.

## Twelve-Month Action Plan Follow-Up

The second evaluation methodology involved delegates completing confidential action plans (Appendix II, pp. 310 - 313) on the final afternoon of the training. In each action plan delegates identified a subject area in which particular goals could be set in order to implement some positive change in current working

practices. These should have been directed at eliminating institutional discrimination within their organisation. Delegates were asked to list the problems they expected and solutions which might be employed to counter these. Delegates were further asked to list, in sequence with an actual timetable, actions to be taken in pursuit of their goals and to meet with line managers to obtain support for possible changes.

The action plans were initially retained by the trainer for photocopying but delegates received their own copies through the post within one week of the training. This process was followed for all six seminars.

On the basis of the completed action plans, a questionnaire (Appendix IV, see pp. 313 - 316) was compiled for completion by the delegates twelve months after training. The questionnaire was sent with an accompanying letter (Appendix VI, see p. 329) which included an assurance of confidentiality.

The questionnaire had sixteen sections some of which were concerned with more general information about the type of organisation and the position within the organisation of participating delegates. Delegates were also given the opportunity to comment retrospectively upon the seminar. In recognition that delegates were likely to be deterred by time constraints from devoting a great deal of time to an evaluation exercise twelve months after the training event, responses were solicited mainly in the form of multiple choice tick boxes, although delegates were also given opportunities for expansion and open comment.

In the first three sections delegates were asked to indicate the type of employer organisation, position held and primary and secondary action plan categories. Section four concerned the proposed meeting with the line manager, where relevant. In the next section delegates were asked to indicate, using a choice of options, whether they were able to implement or partially implement each step of their action plan within, or later than, the proposed timetable or to indicate which, if any, steps were still on-going. Section six requested delegates to indicate how accurate they had been in foreseeing problems to implementation. The tick box format here was supplemented by an open section intended to establish whether any unexpected problems had arisen. An identical format was used in section seven to establish the effectiveness of projected solutions and to discover any additional solutions employed.

Using a three option format, section eight requested a retrospective evaluation of

the training seminar in respect to awareness of the social model of disability, the stimulus to develop new initiatives and the increase of any pre-existing knowledge. Section nine also offered three options for assessment of the utility of seminar material in the implementation of action plans. Sections ten to fourteen, inclusive, presented simple yes/no options to questions concerning new appointments of disabled people within the organisation; whether delegates would recommend that colleagues should attend future seminars; whether colleagues had, in fact, already done so; whether any in house training had been implemented and whether the delegate's action plan had in any way been exceeded. Section fourteen also included an open element in which delegates were asked to detail ways in which action plans had been exceeded if this had occurred. Section fifteen requested delegates to indicate the initial source of information about the seminar. The final section was left entirely open for delegates to add additional comments about the seminar or their subsequent work.

If delegates failed to return the questionnaires within eight weeks, a polite reminder was sent followed by a telephone call. Once these procedures had been followed for each seminar, the results of the questionnaire were then processed. Responses from the multiple choice elements of the questionnaire were categorised and coded for data processing using the Smart Data Base Manager in order to be displayed graphically (Smart, 1986). The open sections of the questionnaires were analysed and reported separately. Respondents were contacted where clarification of particular points was required.

## Follow-Up of Four Organisations

The commercial viability of the DET programme has enabled its continuation for the foreseeable future. This has offered the opportunity for further follow-up with organisations who have continued to use the training. This was useful because training is an on-going process for most organisations. In addition, the use of the action plan method by itself was thought to have some limitations in terms of time-span and the concentration on the organisational roles of particular individuals in gaining a full overview of the potential relevance of DET to overall organisational policy. In particular, the initial seminar was an open event it was not tailored to the specific equal opportunity requirements of individual organisations. This type of follow-up enabled an impressionistic survey of the way in which DET might be further deployed.

Four different types of organisation were therefore selected for follow-up on the basis of an apparent commitment to offer DET to staff on an on-going basis. Liaison was established with key personnel at each of the organisations and consent was obtained for further monitoring. This was carried out on an informal basis throughout a two and a half year period and used to design a semi-structured interview (Appendix VII, see p. 330) to be conducted with key personnel at each of the selected organisations.

These were carried out in December 1992, lasting between one and two hours. The results of these interviews, reported in the third section of the evaluation are contained in Chapter Six.

## Recent Developments

There proved to be a much larger demand for training than anticipated. The company, Disability Matters Ltd., set up by the researcher has developed a large network of contacts, particularly in the private sector where the company was initially the sole practitioner. The company has now become involved in different training formats and numerous other initiatives which were derived from the original seminar. Some of these are documented in a necessarily impressionistic way in a further section of the evaluation because although unanticipated, they provide important supplementary information.

Finally, some assessment of the commercial viability of DET is included in Chapter Six because continuing organisational demand for the training will condition its success as a vehicle in helping to proliferate the social model of disability.

# Summary

The development, delivery and evaluation of Disability Equality Training has been presented in this chapter. The development of the training was described as being based on the social model of disability with the aim of challenging organisational barriers that limit opportunities for disabled people. The delivery of six two-day seminars was described in detail which revealed the contents of each of the modular exercises. It was demonstrated how each of these was directed to help delegates first, understand the social model and second, apply this new way of thinking to develop action plans to challenge institutional

discrimination.

Finally, the problems inherent within seminar evaluation were considered. An approach based on attitude measurement was rejected in favour of developing ways to demonstrate behavioural change. It was revealed that this required an attempt to assess the effectiveness of the implementation of an action plan developed at the end of the two-day seminar. Further problems caused by this method of evaluation are considered in Chapter Six.

# Chapter Six

# Results

## Introduction

After a brief description of the delegate profile there are five sections to this chapter. First, the results of the evaluation by delegates at the end of each seminar are presented. These recorded the immediate impact of the seminar on the delegates. The second section reports the findings obtained through the questionnaire completed by delegates twelve months after the training event. These focus on the effectiveness or otherwise of the implementation of action plans developed by delegates attending each seminar. The third part gives the information gained from an in-depth semi-structured telephone interview carried out in December 1992 with four organisations representing different employment sectors, namely: local authority, civil service, education and the private sector. These interviews provided additional information about subsequent actions taken by delegates from these organisations after the initial twelve month study period. In the next section, an impressionistic overview of some of the consequences of the initial training programme are presented. Finally, the evaluation tools are critically analysed.

## Delegate Profile

A total of 66 delegates attended one of the six seminars during the study period. The delegate profile describes the type of organisation they were representing and their respective positions within those organisations.

### Types of Organisation

Figure 1 displays the distribution of employing organisations who nominated delegates to attend the seminars according to the employment sector they represented. These indicate that nearly one-third of the delegates came from private sector service companies and one-quarter from the civil service. Around 10% came from local government, the health sector and from educational

establishments while only 4% came from private sector manufacturing companies. The 11.3% classified as 'Other' included delegates from broadcasting companies and nominations from individual delegates which did not fit into the main categories.

9.4%

24.5%

30.2%

11.3%

3.9%

9.4%

11.3%

Civil Service

Local Gov't

Plc. Service

Plc. Manufac.

Education

Health Auth.
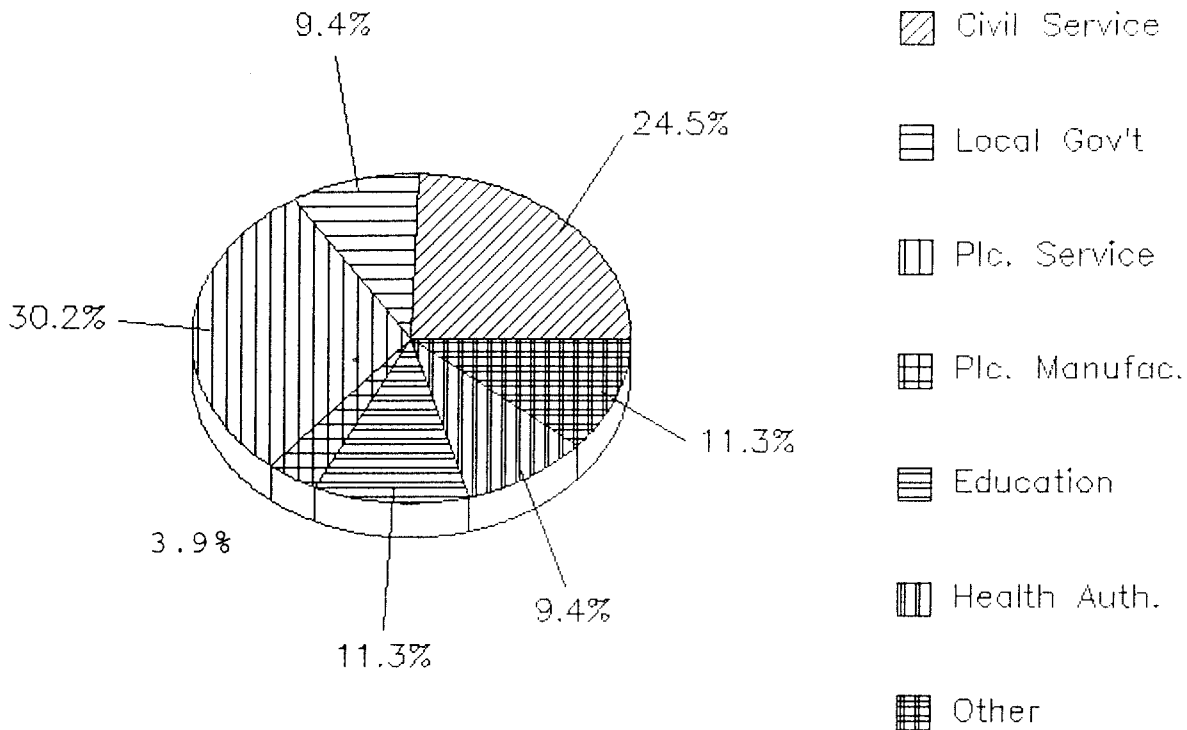
Other

## Figure 1 - Type of Organisation

This distribution is comparable to the national picture in that the ratios between the figures for all but the private sector are similar. This is illustrated in Table 1 (ED, 1991). The disproportionately lower percentage of delegates from the private sector reflects the priority placed on this issue by businesses and may be associated with the lack of effective legal protection against discrimination.

The figures for 'others' are also considerably different because there were a significant number of delegates who were attending the seminar either as individuals or who did not fit neatly into one of the pre-determinded categories.

|                          | Study | ED - 1991 |
| ------------------------ | ----- | --------- |
| Private Sector (Total)   | 34.1  | 76.0      |
| Civil Service            | 24.5  | 8.0       |
| Education                | 11.3  | 5.0       |
| Local Authorities        | 9.4   | 6.0       |
| Health Sector            | 9.4   | 4.0       |
| Others                   | 11.3  | 1.0       |
| **TOTAL**                | **100.0** | **100.0** |

Table 1 - Percentage of delegates by employment sector

## Positions in Organisations

The largest group, over one-third of the sample, were personnel managers while nearly one-quarter were equal opportunity officers. Twenty per cent were recruitment officers, 10% disabled person's officers and 5% line managers. The 7.5% in the 'others' section were mainly individual delegates. This breakdown is presented in Figure 2. The grade levels indicate that most delegates were specialising in human resource development, with a significant number concentrated in equal opportunities, in addition to those who had specific responsibility for the management of disabled staff members.

This distribution was important as staff in these grades would have had greater responsibility for policy development and its implementation in relation to the employment of disabled people.

35.0%

5.0%

22.5%

7.5%

10.0%

20.0%

▤ Personnel Mgr.

▥ Line Manager

▦ Eq. Opp. Off.

▤ Recruit Off.

▥ Disability Off.

▦ Others
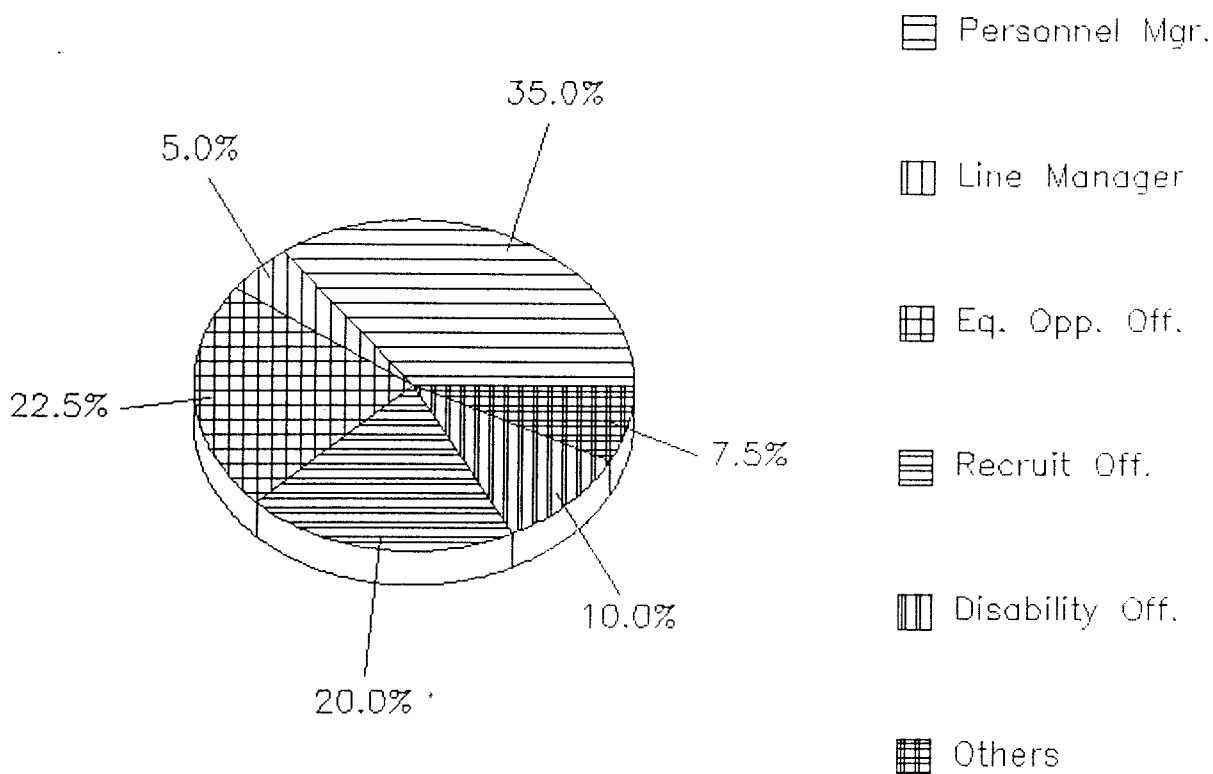
## Figure 2 - Positions of Delegates in Organisations

# Seminar Evaluation

The questions contained in the immediate seminar evaluation and the responses provided are presented below.

```
1. Did you find the length of the course:
       ( )   reasonable          ( )   just right
       ( )   too long            ( )   too short
```

Only two delegates found the seminar too long with eight considering it to be too short. Over half (58%) thought the seminar was just right in length with the remaining 28% finding it of reasonable duration. These figures broadly indicate that most delegates considered the seminar to be of appropriate length.

## 2. The daily schedule was:

    ( )  good                       ( )  reasonable
    ( )  too intense            ( )  not intense enough

Three delegates found their seminar too intense with only two finding it not sufficiently taxing. Nearly two-thirds (65%) found the daily schedule good and the remainder (28%) thought it was reasonable.

## 3. Which particular module did you find useful and why?

In response to this question the majority of delegates identified one particular module as being most useful. Others indicated that two or more were of value with 8% of delegates finding all sessions useful. A further 6% pointed to the modules of day one as being the most helpful.

Among those who found one particular module helpful it is interesting to note that all modules were found useful by more than one delegate. A large percentage (11%) found the Diagnostic Assumptions module helpful with 14% focusing on the exercise based on Language and Labels. The Recruitment Process attracted most responses (18%) with another 16% highlighting the Role Play.

Delegates were asked to explain why particular modules were found useful. A selection of responses is given below:

"Access - realising that the environment is the disabling factor" "Recruitment Process - I am currently responsible for reviewing the departments procedures, both for ethnic and disabled people, to avoid discriminatory practice" "Role Play - Marketing disabled people emphasised the problems and lack of commitment amongst others. It consolidated the whole course" "Language and Labeling - Really brings home unconscious feelings of guilt, fear and stereotyping" "All Sessions - They were well researched and followed a progressive pattern, being complementary to each other" "Diagnostic Assumptions: A very powerful tool to examine how prejudices function in discrimination against disabled people"

**4. Which particular modules did you not find useful and why?**

Only 14 of the 66 delegates commented on this section with the largest number, four, pin-pointing the Role Play as not being useful. These delegates expressed a general dislike or, in one person, hatred of this training technique. Two thought that there was too much use of videos, some of which were considered inappropriate. Three considered that too much time was spent on attitudes as they had covered this before. Others made comment on the large quantity of handouts; did not find the labels exercise helpful; thought that the criticism of charities was unwarranted and indicated that there was some duplication between modules. The information gained from delegates responding to this section was helpful for improving future events.

**5. Have you any comments on the written material:**

Nearly three-quarters (72%) of delegates responded to this question. Only two were critical, with one finding the material too lengthy and the other requesting a summary page. The other comments ranged from "O.K." to "Excellent, very clear and precise"; and "Good additional follow-up material" to "Well prepared and presented"; and "Should be more comprehensive" to the enigmatic "Lots of it".

**6. Trainers were:**

    ( ) generally prepared  ( ) not responsive
    ( ) well prepared         ( ) responsive
    ( ) organised            ( ) interesting
    ( ) disorganised       ( ) easily distracted
**Other:**
**Any comments you want to be conveyed to a specific trainer(s)**

Most respondents ticked more than one box, finding the trainers well prepared (79%) rather than just generally prepared (12%), interesting (71%), responsive (68%) and organised (63%). No delegate indicated that the trainers were disorganised, not responsive or easily distracted.

A representative selection of additional comments included:

"More needed on mental health problems"; "Both trainers were extremely helpful and very positive"; "Very thought provoking, but there are dangers if you get too radical"; "High quality trainers, disabled people only should provide this training"; "Course was slanted too much towards private sector"; "Excellent"; "Your tolerant approach was absolutely right"; "Well presented and enjoyable"; "Occasionally the exercise instructions were a little rushed"; "A bit too confrontational at times"; "Very good course. Keep it radical and keep your vision large".


## 7. The learning environment was:

( ) pleasant      ( ) distracting
( ) productive     ( ) uncomfortable
( ) other

Several delegates gave more than one response with the vast majority (88%) agreeing that the learning environment was pleasant and productive (45%). However, some found it uncomfortable (9%) and distracting (6%). A few made additional comments which included: "Slightly cramped"; "Prefer to work with desk"; "Relaxing but thought provoking"; and "A little bit overcrowded".


## 8. Do you think your working practices and attitudes have been changed by the course:

The responses to this question from each delegate who responded are listed verbatim in Appendix V (see pages 322 - 324). From these responses it is clear that the vast majority felt that their attitudes had either been improved dramatically or at the very least reinforced. Many also felt cautiously optimistic about behavioural changes within their organisations with the majority of reservations relating to the attitudes of others. Thus it became clear that those who had been motivated by the seminar were expecting an up-hill battle to bring about change once they returned to work.


## 9. What has been the single most important aspect of the course for you:

These comments are also reported in full in Appendix V (see pages 325 - 328). The responses fall into six main groups which include: Personal awareness, becoming more comfortable with disability issues, greater knowledge, shared learning with colleagues and trainers, the importance of disabled trainers and a commitment to organisational change.

## Summary of Evaluation Forms

In summary, the responses in the evaluation forms, which were completed at the end of each seminar, were very positive. Some of this will inevitably have been due to post-course euphoria or a desire to please the trainers. There were no comprehensively critical responses and most of the negative comments, if they were not contradicted by other delegates, could be used constructively to improve future seminars. The limitations of this method of evaluation have been assessed before, but from the responses described above the actual training events were considered to be successful.

# Twelve-Month Questionnaire

## Response Rate

Questionnaires (Appendix IV, see pages 316 -319) were sent to the 66 delegates 12 months after each seminar. Non-respondents were followed up with a telephone call and second questionnaire if required. A total of 58 completed questionnaires were returned which represented a response rate of 87.9%. The findings from these are presented below and described in terms of this response being representative of all the delegates because each of the eight non-respondents had left their original job.

## Action Plans

At the end of each seminar delegates were required to develop 'Action Plans'

that they expected to implement on returning to their employing organisation. Nearly two-thirds of the delegates (38 or 66%) also developed a secondary action plan.

## Primary Action Plans

The components in the primary action plans are shown in Figure 3. The major areas for action, in order of the percentage of delegates who indicated a preference for particular plans were:

|  | Percentage | Key to Fig 3 |
|---|---|---|
| Organise Internal DET | 22.1% | 1 |
| Improve Recruitment Procedure | 16.4% | 9 |
| Outreach | 13.6% | 12 |
| Relay Course Information to Others | 7.9% | 2 |
| Improve Access | 7.1% | 8 |
| Develop Own Awareness Course | 6.4% | 5 |
| Work Experience | 6.4% | 6 |
| Access to Information for Disabled People | 5.7% | 10 |
| Consult Disabled Employees | 5.0% | 3 |
| Recruit at Least One Disabled Person | 4.3% | 7 |

Other, less commonly selected areas for primary action, included carrying out an Access Survey and Supporting the Employers Forum on Disability.
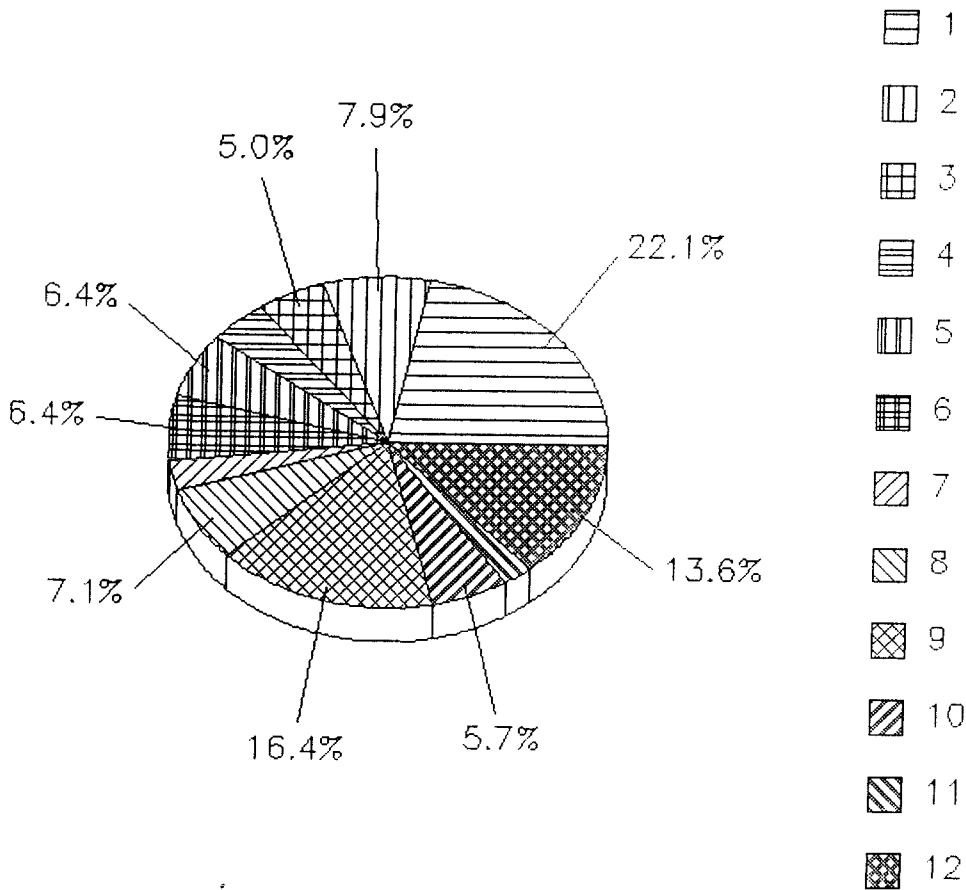
## Figure 3 - Selected Primary Action Plans

### Secondary Action Plans

The major areas for secondary action identified by the 38 delegates who selected a secondary action plan were:

|                                          | **Percentage** | **Key to Fig 4** |
|------------------------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| Improve Recruitment Procedure            | 20.0%          | 4                |
| Relay Course Information to Others        | 11.8%          | 2                |
| Develop Own Awareness Course             | 9.4%           | 6                |
| Organise Internal Disability Equality    | 8.2%           | 1                |
| Work Experience                          | 8.2%           | 5                |
| Improve Access                           | 7.1%           | 7                |
| Access Survey                            | 7.1%           | 8                |
| Support Employers Forum                  | 7.1%           | 11               |
| Recruit at Least One Disabled Person     | 5.9%           | 9                |
| Access to Information for Disabled People | 5.9%          | 10               |

These are shown below in Figure 4 with other, less commonly selected areas for secondary action including Outreach and Consulting Disabled Employees.
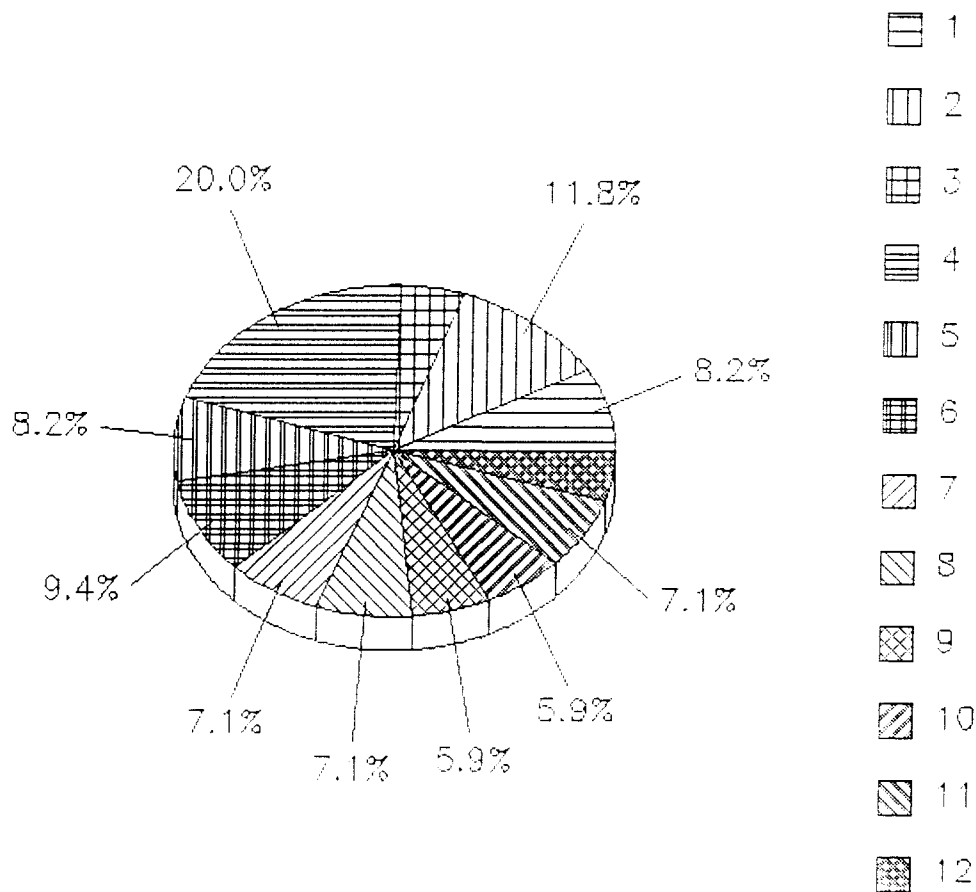
Figure 4 - Selected Secondary Action Plans

## Meetings with Line Managers

At the end of the seminar many delegates (n = 34) decided that they would aim to meet their line manager in order to gain agreement to the action plan and ensure its smooth and effective implementation. Of those who had intended to meet their manager, 21 achieved their meeting by the date expected with 12 having the meeting late. Only one delegate who had expected to discuss her action plan failed to meet her manager.

## Fulfilling Action Plans

Once delegates had selected their primary and, if relevant, secondary action plans, they were required to identify each practical stage that would be required

to achieve the final outcome. Some actions were broken down into only two or three stages but others identified many more. For example one delegate who decided to relay course information to others identified the following stages:

1. Meet line manager
2. Set date and timing for briefing session
3. Review training notes and handouts
4. Identify key local contacts
5. Prepare presentation
6. Photocopy handouts
7. Invite colleagues
8. Give presentation
9. Follow-up new action
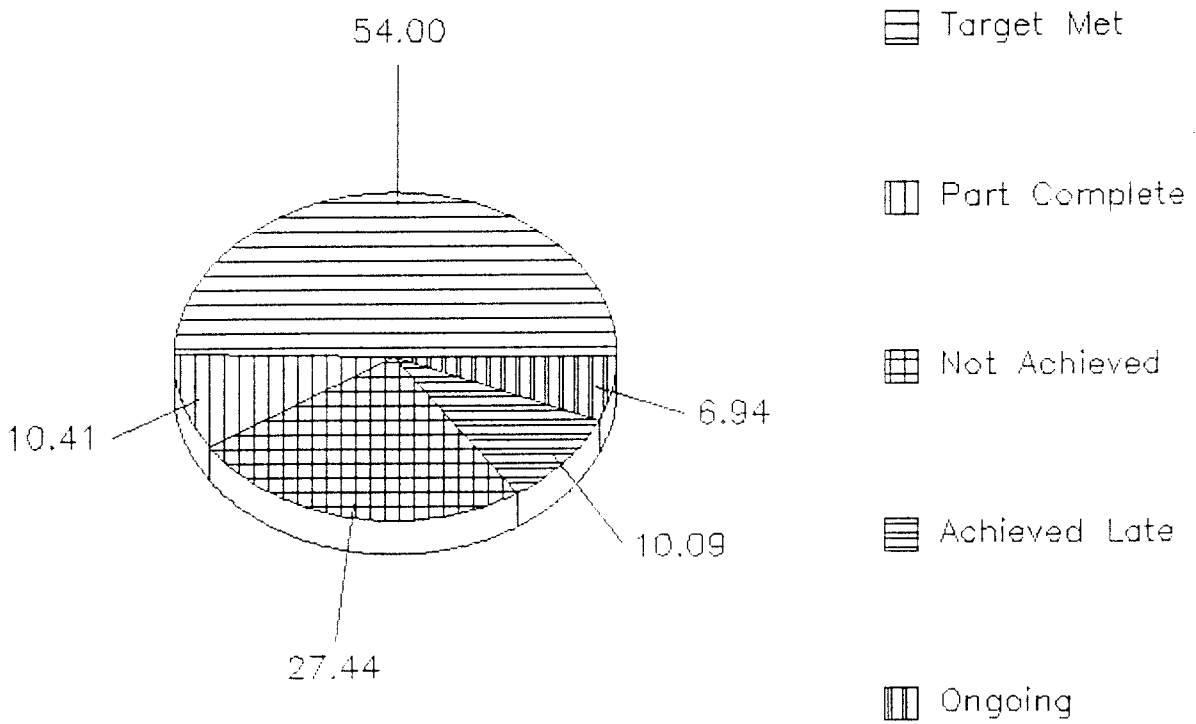


Figure 5 - Achievement of Action Plan Stages

On the twelve-month questionnaire, delegates were each reminded of the stages they had set out in order to achieve their action. They were required to indicate whether they had achieved particular stages and, if so, had they done so on time. Figure 5 shows the responses.

This indicates that 54% of all stages of the action plans were achieved on target. In addition to these, 10.4% of stages had been part completed with 10.1% achieved late. There were 6.9% of stages still on-going when the data were collected twelve months after the seminar. Only 27.4% of the original stages developed to achieve the final outcomes of the action plans had not been completed but all delegates had achieved at least one stage.

## Action Plans in Different Organisations

Analysis of the action plans by delegates from different employment sectors revealed no differences in the five most favoured points. These are presented in order of priority, as:

1.     Internal DET
2.     Recruit at least one disabled person
3.     Improve recruitment process
4.     Outreach
5.     Improve access

## Action Plan Depending on Position in Organisation

The distribution of prioritised action points for delegates with different job titles is identical to that above, with one minor exception. Training and Development Officers, not surprisingly, chose to develop their own DET seminar as the main priority.

## Predicted Difficulties in Implementing Action Plans

At the end of the seminar each delegate was required to attempt to predict difficulties likely to arise in implementing their action plan. The results are presented below in Figure 6.

**Legend:**
- ⊞ Attitude
- ⊞ Time
- ▤ Cost
- ▥ Access
- ⊞ Contact
- ▨ Political
- ◩ Other Practical

Pie chart values: 15.7%, 28.7%, 13.0%, 16.7%, 8.3%, 7.4%, 10.2%
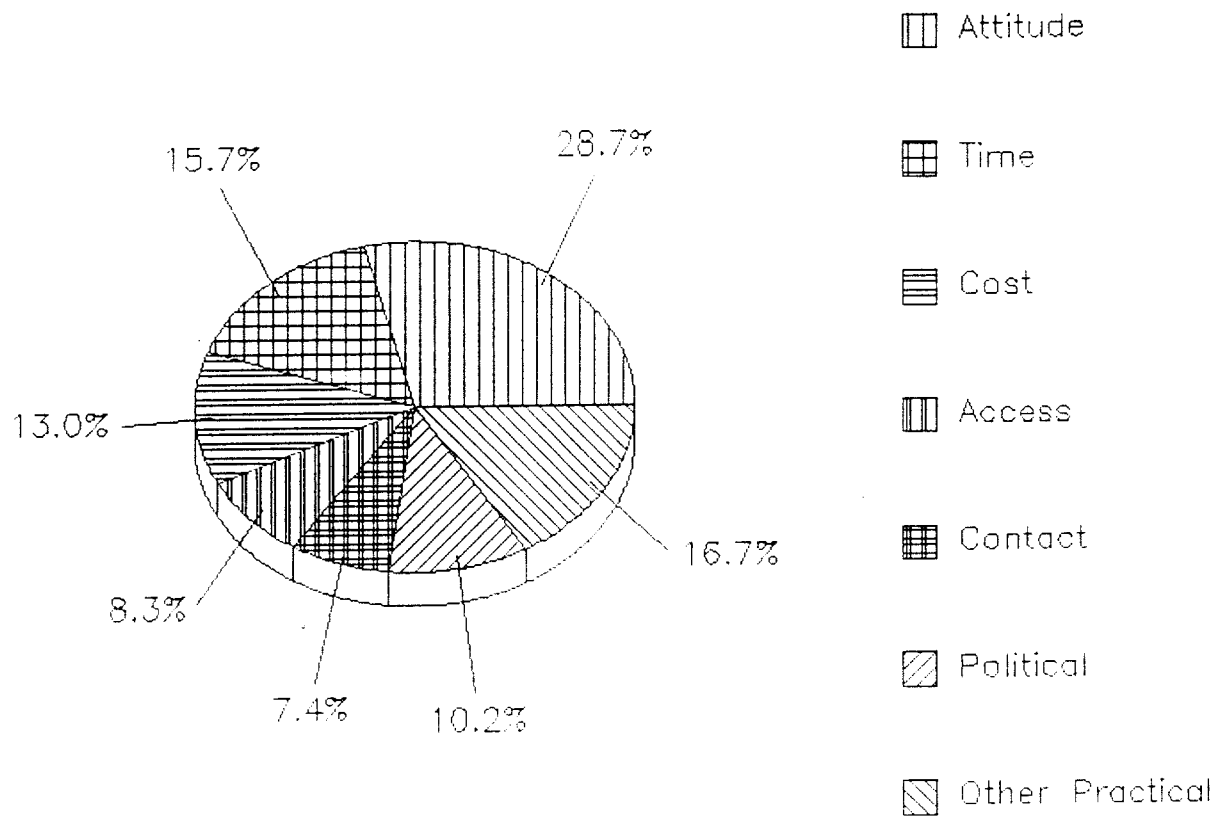
## Figure 6 - Expected Problems

A summary of the expected problems are shown below in Table 2. The most significant of these related to organisational barriers.

## Table 2 - Expected Problems Implementing Action

Attitude

      45% - Non-specific e.g.

           - gaining support / agreement

           - apathy

           - prevailing ethos

           - resistance to change

      19% - Attitudes to disabled people.

13% - Attitudes of managers to change,

10% - Attitudes of other employees.

6% - Avoiding tokenistic response.

7% - Others.

## Political

45% - Prevailing company practice/bureaucracy.

27% - Delegate not in policy making position.

9% - External issues e.g.

- PACT.

- Segregated education.

- Lack of skilled disabled people.

9% - Short term restrictions -> disillusion.

9% - Conflict with productivity targets.

## Other Practical

33% - Action requires policy change

33% - Difficulty with process

11% - Poor information

11% - Identifying suitable trainers

6% - Diversity of sites

6% - Lack of experience / few role models.

The other problems which included time, cost, access and contact with disabled people and disability organisations are not broken down any further in this discussion. It is notable that cost was by no means the most significant problem.

Delegates were also asked to report on any other difficulties that they had not expected. These were reported as listed below and appear mainly to be either highly unpredictable or due to circumstances beyond the control of individual delegates. Difficulties like this are bound to occur in any large organisation.

```
"Crisis in senior management has caused massive organisational
upheaval";
"Pressure of work in other EO areas has taken priority";
"Gaining agreement with the Unions";
"Moved to a new area and have different responsibilities";
"My lack of ability to influence others to bring about change,
despite personal commitment";
"Senior management commitment and access to training suite";
```

"Our firm was involved in a take over leading to redundancies";

"Information in my locality was sometimes confusing";

"Recruitment freeze for over one year";

"Only two people applied for job advertised in 'Disability Now'
- none were suitable".

## Effectiveness of Proposed Solutions to Predicted Difficulties

At the end of the seminar delegates were also required to suggest solutions to any of the expected difficulties. On reporting back one year later 33% of solutions were found effective with just over 50% being partially effective. Only 16.5% did not work.

The proposed solutions are displayed in Table 3 below. This is further broken down as follows:

## Table 3 - Proposed Solutions

Training

- General solution
- Incorporate DET in existing training
- Train other employers
- In house DET by external trainers

Time Management

- Rationalise existing work
- Time-table action plan
- Delegate / Involve colleagues
- Gain agreement for additional time
- Flexible implementation

Finance

- Identify cost benefits
- Tailor plan to existing resources
- External funding from PACT
- Present case for additional funding
- Target optimum use of available resources

**Outreach**

- Talk to segregated schools
- Advertise in specialist press
- Contact disability organisations

**Access**

- General internal improvements
- Minor changes greatly improve access
- Most disabled people have no access needs
- Seek help from PACT

**Information**

- PACT
- RNID / RNID
- Other disability organisations
- Consult current disabled employees
- Training organisations

**Disseminate Information**

- General
- Formal Presentation
- Newsletter / Internal publication
- Information pack

**Persuading Others**

- Statutory requirements
- Keep it on the agenda
- Persevere
- Identify supportive colleagues
- Gain senior management commitment
- Question current practice
- Cite role models
- Develop business case
- Lobby about own equal opportunities policy

**Policy Changes**

- Improve existing system
- Review recruitment documents
- Improve advertising
- Change recruitment procedures

- Training programme
- Mission statement
- New job descriptions
- Monitor

Some delegates applied other solutions which were found to be effective. These included:

"I was appointed as Departmental Disabled Person's Officer and have attended Cabinet Office meetings and seminars to add weight to my original commitment";

"There was no more I could do we were simply not recruiting";

"I ran a workshop for Personnel Directors with DAS";

"I have used the Sheltered Placement Scheme";

"EO issues are gaining strength in our organisation and I keep disability on the agenda";

"I have passed information on to Personnel Manager and Director";

"A new employee has responsibility so I have an ally";

"EO Committee has gained greater commitment".

## Awareness of Social Model Raised by Seminar

In the questionnaire delegates were asked, in retrospect, if the course had raised their awareness of the social model of disability. A total of 50 believed that it definitely had, with six believing that it had done so a little. Only two thought that the seminar had not raised their awareness at all.

These figures indicate that the initial raising of awareness acknowledged as resulting from the seminar by all delegates on the initial evaluation forms was still recognised as being a feature twelve months after the event in all but two delegates.

In addition to raising awareness the questionnaire indicated that the seminar definitely helped 33 to develop new initiatives with another 21 being helped a little. Only four reported that it did not help develop new initiatives at all. Delegates were also asked if the seminar increased their existing knowledge. A total of 51 believed that it definitely did with seven having their knowledge improved a little. Thus all delegates claimed to have gained some increase in

knowledge or practice from the seminar.

## Course Material

On reflection, after one year, most delegates (n = 46) had found the course notes useful, with nine agreeing they were very useful. Only three did not find them of any value.

## Disabled People Employed Since the Seminar

The claim to have employed a disabled person in the twelve months since the seminar was made by 40 delegates, whilst 12 reported that they had not. No response was given to this question by six delegates.

## Recommend Seminar to Colleagues

The results indicated that of the 49 delegates who had recommended the seminar to colleagues a total of 21 employers had nominated delegates to attend future seminars within the next twelve months.

## In House Training

At the end of the twelve-month period 38 of delegates reported that their organisation had implemented a programme of in house Disability Equality Training.

## Action Plans Exceeded

Delegates were also asked if they thought they had exceeded their action plans during the twelve-month period, 27 thought they had. A summary of their additional achievements include:

"I have written an editorial feature for the in house
magazine";
"I have secured the appointment of a colleague who will have

responsibility for disability issues";

"I have gained accreditation from the Institute of Training and Development for my (your!) disability awareness course";

"We have recruited a blind undergraduate and provided work experience for a wheelchair user and deaf person";

"We have doubled the number of disabled staff recruited compared to last year";

"Tremendous commitment from many colleagues";

"I have written an EO Policy for all managers in the company";

"We have been nominated for the 'Fit for Work Award'";

"Employed person under the Shaw Trust";

"Provided training for disabled trainees";

"Parking for disabled drivers and publicising the role of the Disabled Person's Officer";

"Joined NALGO EO Committee and told them of future seminars";

"We have installed a disabled persons toilet and new ramps";

"Recruiting several disabled people";

"Senior management commitment, Sheltered Placement Scheme and use of new disability Logo";

"Gained help from accommodation and IT departments, publicised good practice, running action planning seminars for managers and issued notice to all staff indicating commitment to employ disabled people";

"Developed career pathway for one disabled staff";

"I have launched a Northern Ireland branch of the Employers Forum on Disability";

"Attending a series of lunches hosted by the employment service and met with many unemployed disabled people";

"Providing in house DET by Disability Matters".


## Additional Comments

Few respondents used the space provided on the questionnaire for additional comments. For those who did, the majority were elaborations of facets presented under previous sections. These have been incorporated in the analysis above and will not be presented in any more detail.

# Long-Term Follow-up of Four Organisations

Four organisations were selected from different employment sectors in order to gain a broad view from a variety of perspectives. To this effect delegates, or their successors who had a corporate responsibility for the employment of disabled people, were contacted from the organisations mentioned below. These were selected, in particular, because the researcher had developed a good relationship with the relevant personnel and was aware that all had taken further steps to improve opportunities for disabled people.

| | |
|---|---|
| Local Authority | Hampshire County Council |
| Education Organisation | Southampton University |
| Civil Service Department | H M Customs and Excise |
| Private Sector Company | Barclays Bank plc |

No particular conclusions can be drawn about the other organisations. An in depth semi-structured telephone interview was carried out in December 1992 with the person who had key responsibility for the employment and management of disabled staff. The size and/or geographical spread of these organisations is such that knowledge will have been only partial, but it was sufficient to give an overview of continuing initiatives. The questions asked were based on the Employers Forum on Disability Agenda for Action (EFD, 1992) and were as follows:

1. Policy: Does the employment of disabled people form an integral part of all your equal opportunity policies and practices?

2. Disability Equality Training: Do you take specific steps to raise an awareness of the barriers which restrict the employment potential of disabled people, particularly targeting staff involved in recruitment and selection processes?

3. Access: Do you take reasonable steps to ensure that the working environment does not prevent disabled people from taking up positions for which they are suitably qualified?

4. Recruitment: Have you reviewed and developed recruitment procedures to encourage applications from disabled people?

5. Career Development: Have you taken action to ensure that disabled people have the same opportunity to develop their potential?

6. Retention, Retraining and Redeployment: Are employees who become disabled supported back into employment?

7. Training and Work-Experience: Do you ensure that disabled people are involved in work-experience, training and education /industry links?

8. Disabled People in the Community: Do you respond to disabled people as customers?

9. Consultation: Do you involve disabled people in the decision making process?

10. Monitoring: Do you measure progress and publish an annual report.

The responses from each organisation are listed below. No comparative data was collected from organisations who had not receive Disability Equality Training so it is not possible to conclude that there is a direct relationship between training and long-term change.

# 1. Policy:

Hampshire County Council: In 1990 the council published a new policy document on the employment and career development of disabled people. This was in part a response to some delegates attending DET seminars, but also to the involvement of HCC in the RADAR project on the employment of disabled people. Much of the information gained in the seminars was duplicated by our arrangement with RADAR and has been incorporated in the policy document. This document has been distributed to all staff who have recruitment responsibilities. A post of Disabled Person's Policy Officer, open only to a disabled person, was created late in 1992. This individual has responsibility for policy development and reports to the Chief Executive.

Southampton University: The University had an equal opportunities policy which included disability prior to delegates attending the seminar. A Disability Working Party, which has representation on the University's Equal Opportunities Committee helps strategically with policy implementation. A member of the Personnel Department has specific responsibility for matters associated with disabled people. A member of Estates and Buildings Department has specific

responsibility for access.

H M Customs and Excise: This Civil Service department also had a well established policy based on a Code of Good Practice published by the Cabinet Office. This is overseen centrally by the Equal Opportunities Unit and Departmental Disabled Person's Officer and locally by Local Disabled Person's Officers.

Barclays Bank plc: The Bank had a well developed equal opportunity policy on race and gender issues but was not very comprehensive in its response to disability issues at the time of the seminar. Subsequently, the researcher was invited to carry out a review of the organisation's policy and procedures. This was carried out over three months at the end of 1991 and resulted in a strengthened policy supported by a disability strategy which prioritised five key actions, namely: awareness training; guide for managers; monitoring; recruitment documentation; and customer care training. A member of the Equal Opportunities Team has specific responsibility for the employment of disabled people and reports to the Assistant Director of Personnel.

## 2. Disability Equality Training:

Hampshire County Council: The council has implemented a programme of seminars. The first was held at the end of 1990 for 19 senior managers from each department. This two-day event was followed by three seminars in 1991 and 1992 across departments, one event for library managers in 1991 and two events for the Careers Service in 1992. An executive briefing, a two-hour awareness session, was held in 1992 for Directors, Assistant Directors and Councillors. To date a total of 206 delegates have received training and an additional four seminars have been organised for 1993.

Southampton University: The University has not only carried out training for those involved in recruitment but also for those with responsibility for undergraduates. These have been one day seminars, an abbreviated version of the two day event. A total of 121 managers and staff have been trained and two seminars have been run for support staff. An executive briefing was organised by the researcher in March 1993 for the Vice-Chancellor and Senior Officers.

H M Customs and Excise: This organisation chose to run two day seminars over three days starting and finishing at mid day. During 1991/2 127 delegates

attended seminars. Three executive briefings has also been run for 136 senior managers and a total of 32 individual delegates have independently attended open seminars run by the researcher. Disability awareness is also included in courses for key staff in the personnel function, including trainers.

Barclays Bank plc:  A total of 33 delegates have attended further open seminars run by the researcher and 118 received in house training in the form of one day events. In addition to this another 156 senior managers have attended the two hour executive briefing. These have included the Director of Personnel, other directors and assistant directors within the Bank to gain top down commitment. Several further events are booked for 1993.

# 3. Access:

Hampshire County Council:  The council has had an Access Officer for several years. The person responsible is a wheelchair user herself and has a small budget to help with improvements. Managers have also been encouraged to liaise with DAS Managers over internal and external access needs.

Southampton University:  The buildings section has played a key role on the Disability Working Party and some improvements have been made, including a ramp into the book shop. Some extensive new building projects have, however, been completed without fully accommodating the needs of disabled people. A budget has been set aside for access.

H M Customs and Excise:  This civil service department is no longer able to secure funding from DAS as they are now required to bid for money directly from the Treasury for this purpose each year. Some improvements have been made at a local level and a national strategy is currently being developed.

Barclays Bank plc:  The Bank has no structured approach to access but managers are encouraged to liaise with DAS. Appropriate arrangements have been made for disabled staff and departments / branches are encouraged to consider access when refurbishing in order to attract more customers.

# 4. Recruitment:

Hampshire County Council:  Advertisements of all jobs contain an equal

opportunity statement and some contain a welcoming statement to attract more disabled people. The government's new disability logo is to be used following further development of disability support. Notices of vacancies are sent to DRO's and The Bridge Agency, a local recruitment agency run by disabled people for disabled people. The council guarantees an interview to all disabled people who meet the minimum criteria for a post and has advertised some vacancies in Disability Now magazine.

Southampton University: The University has taken similar action to Hampshire County Council as well as placing a general advert in Disability Now asking any potential disabled applicants to contact the Personnel Department.

H M Customs and Excise: This organisation mainly recruits into a pool and then places successful candidates within the department. In addition to the action above Customs and Excise offer a short-answer test to suitably qualified registered disabled people. Recruitment advertisements have been developed, specifically aimed at disabled people, and work experience has been provided.

Barclays Bank plc: The Bank has conducted a thorough review of recruitment documentation and procedures. Improvements are in the process of being implemented. However, the Bank is not recruiting at present because of the economic climate but expects to create improved opportunities for disabled people in the future.

## 5. Career Development:

All four organisations have recognised that disabled employees have experienced difficulties in career development. These have more often been a consequence of managerial attitude than the employee's impairment. All are tackling this by providing awareness training for managers and some are using positive action training. The Civil Service College provides one week seminars for disabled people to become more assertive in gaining career opportunities. Customs and Excise have developed an in-house positive action course for disabled staff which is proving to be very popular and beneficial. Some have nominated delegates to attend an outdoor pursuits team-work course and Barclays Bank has run a telesales course for blind telephonists in conjunction with the RNIB.

## 6. Retention:

It has been all too easy to retire employees on medical grounds who become disabled during their working life. All organisations are encouraging managers to be as imaginative as possible, by using flexible working practices, to rehabilitate employees into their original job and by use of external support such as that offered by Employment Services. If their impairment restricts this, e.g. a driver becomes blind, then managers are expected to consider retraining and redeployment. Barclays Bank has very slightly increased its percentage of disabled employees at a time of no recruitment and rapidly falling staff levels. This indicates that retention policies have been working. The Bank has also agreed to take part in a nationwide pilot scheme on Disability Leave sponsored by the RNIB. One of the schemes criteria is that newly disabled people are guaranteed a job at the end of a period of retraining. Customs and Excise have produced booklets on specific disabilities which aim to help managers successfully integrate disabled people into the work force and assist those who become disabled during their career.

## 7. Work-Experience:

All four organisations offer work experience to young people from schools in the community where they operate. Disabled children are equally welcome and some have developed close links with segregated schools or colleges on a local basis.

Hampshire County Council are developing work placements for disabled adults to help those who have little work experience or have been required to follow a new career path.

Customs and Excise have established links with 'Friends for the Young Deaf' and are exploring the possibility of work shadowing.

## 8. Customers:

Hampshire County Council: An important aspect of the DET organised for HCC has been directed at improving services for local disabled people. This has included the following departments: Education, Careers Service, Libraries, Social Services, Fire and Police.

Southampton University:  The University has provided training for under-graduate recruiters, improved access to the book shop and library.  Its student accommodation for disabled people, already well in advance of the general University sector, has been further developed.

H M Customs and Excise:  Not relevant.

Barclays Bank plc:  is keen to increase profitability by attracting more disabled customers,  provides good services for blind customers e.g. Braille statements etc., and expects to improve access to branches and cash points.  Personal Sector Marketing Department has produced an etiquette guide for all customer contact staff and has provided DET for 90 marketing managers.


## 9. Consultation:

Hampshire County Council:  The council employs several disabled people in key roles within the organisation and the Social Services Department provides funding to a local group called the Hampshire Coalition of Disabled People who operate partly in an advisory role.  Regular external and internal consultation is undertaken with those who have an interest in disability.

Southampton University:  The Equal Opportunities Committee, which is the Universities largest committee, has a membership which is widely representative of both staff and students and play a valuable role in consultation.  There are 16 Equal Opportunity Policy Co-ordinators located in the 16 main budgetary groups, one of their tasks is to liaise at the grass roots level and report regularly to the EO Committee.

H M Customs and Excise:  In 1992 the department carried out a formal review of the needs of over 600 disabled members of staff.  The research was carried out by the City University and a report was published by the Equal Opportunities Unit.  Disabled staff members also liaise with local disabled person's Officers who have the opportunity to feedback centrally.

Barclays Bank plc:  During the in depth review of recruitment policy and procedures a 'Focus Group' meeting was held with 16 disabled staff.  This lasted for a full day and the information gained has formed a key element in the Bank's Disability Strategy.  Each member of staff is given an annual appraisal during which they are asked if the organisation is meeting their disability needs.  The

Bank also publishes some of its in house documentation on large print, Braille and on audio tape.

## 10. Monitoring:

Hampshire County Council: The council does not monitor the numbers of disabled staff centrally. Some departments do record details but these may not be an accurate representation as they do not include disabled people who choose not to register.

Southampton University: The University monitors staff centrally.

H M Customs and Excise: The department monitors staff both locally and centrally.

Barclays Bank plc: The Bank records information centrally and is currently making this process more effective and accurate by updating the computer system.

It would also have been helpful to ask participants what they had failed to achieve in their attempts to bring about organisational change. This would have provided some interesting data that could have been useful in identifying areas of organisational resistance. This information could also have been used to compare areas of failure with those which were successful. This would have been helpful in further testing the hypothesis of this thesis. However, this information was not collected.

## Summary

The responses above indicate that these organisations have committed a great deal of time and resources to improve opportunities for disabled people. All would, however, admit that this has been patchy as there is no legal compulsion to take action to prevent discrimination. All felt it was important to have commitment and knowledge from the top down to those with the responsibility for policy implementation. The most effective way of achieving this has been by using in house DET as it is important that this issue does not remain solely a personnel department task but becomes part of the responsibility of each manager working for the organisation.

# Impressionistic View of other Initiatives

Since its inception this training programme has proved to be extremely popular.
As a result the researcher established a management training company -
Disability Matters Ltd. The initial demand for training seemed to be stimulated
by the predicted short-fall in skilled labour. However, once key personnel within
organisations had recognised the benefits of adopting solutions based on the
social model of disability, the demand grew even during the recession. This was
reflected by the fact that the annual turnover of the company doubled in 1991-92
and 1992-93.

Disability Matters Ltd. now employs five people on a full time basis and uses
disabled trainers, as associates, in other parts of the country. In addition to the
four organisations mentioned above other large customers include: The Benefits
Agency, Brighton Borough Council, B & Q plc, The Cabinet Office, The
Contributions Agency, The London Borough of Croydon, N E Derbyshire
District Council, The Department of Environment, Grand Metropolitan plc, The
Home Office, The Independent Tribunal Service, The Inland Revenue, The
Metropolitan Police Service, Midland Bank plc, The TSB Group and The London
Borough of Wandsworth.

The main body of work has been one-day or two-day seminars. Specific
consultancy work and research projects have also been carried out. The
researcher has also given an executive briefing to the members of the All Party
Disablement Group of the European Parliament in Strasburg at the invitation of
the European Business Foundation. In addition, a series of seminars were run in
Bermuda over a three week period at the invitation of their government.

The researcher was appointed as the first associate to the Employers Forum on
Disability and regularly advises member organisations on policy issues. He also
gave the key note address at their 1992 Annual General Meeting and contributes
to their news-letter and other publications.

The training, which was originally employment orientated and based within
personnel departments, is now being used in other areas. Local authorities are
provided with tailored training packages to improve opportunities in education,
housing, social services etc. Seminars have also been run for the Marketing
Department of Barclays Bank and executive briefings have been provided for
senior staff within civil service departments. Delegates have included the

Permanent Under-Secretaries of State at the Home Office and Department of Environment.

The researcher has also helped develop a three day training package (Appendix VIII, see pages 331 - 332), with other equal opportunity trainers, which is designed to challenge racism, sexism, heterosexism and ableism - the term now used to describe discrimination against disabled people. In addition, he has been appointed as a Director of the Prince's Youth Business Trust and Member of the Prince of Wales Advisory Group on Disability.

The Labour spokesperson on disability, Barry Sherman MP, has attended an executive briefing. In addition, formal and informal discussions have been held with Gillian Shephard MP (when she was Secretary of State for Employment), David Hunt MP (Secretary of State for Employment), Nicholas Scott MP (Minister for Social Security and Disabled People), Viscount Ullswater (when he was Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Employment) and Peter Thurnham MP (Conservative Disability Group) about local employment initiatives and the need for anti-discrimination legislation.

Disability Matters Ltd has also produced two videos 'Into Action' and 'Valuing Disabled People' which are being used by many organisations for their in-house training programmes. A third video is planned and a comprehensive training package for trainers, which describes the use of the various training modules, is being written. It is clear that these numerous developments were assisted by the detailed information and analysis provided in the course of this research project.

# Criticism of Evaluation Methodology

The results presented above are consistent with the claim that Disability Equality Training was effective. However, the evaluation tools used have not been demonstrated as being either valid or reliable. Therefore it is important to consider the impact of other factors on the data that were gathered and reported on above.

It is well recognised that the immediate evaluation 'happiness chart' is susceptible not only to post-seminar euphoria but also to the desire of delegates to be viewed favourably by trainers resulting in the provision of a 'socially desirable' responses. In essence, many of the problems relating to attitude measurement outlined in Chapter Three also apply to this research tool.

Therefore its validity is highly questionable particularly when the impact of the effect of delegates' attitude realignment is considered. One of the aims of the seminars was to shift delegates' perceptions from focusing on individuals' impairments to look at how people are disabled by the environment. Many delegates reported to the trainers that this transition resulted in a sense of relief at the realisation that it was not individual disabled people who caused the problem. They were also enthused by the understanding that the personalised action plan to challenge institutionalised discrimination they had taken responsibility to implement could practically help improve equal opportunities for disabled people. In addition, delegates probably learnt about interacting with disabled people as a result of spending two days with two experienced professional disabled trainers. These, and other post-seminar 'feel good' factors, are bound to have had an impact the completion of evaluation forms. However, despite questioning the validity of this approach the findings demonstrate that many of the influences that encourage delegates to report more favourably will also improve opportunities for disabled people in employment.

The second and third evaluation tools are the twelve-month and three-year follow-up of the implementation of action plans. The completion of the questionnaire and responses to the telephone enquiry are also subject to socially desirable responses. It is probable that some delegates will have claimed to have achieved more than they actually did in order to demonstrate greater individual effectiveness or promote a better impression of their employer.

Factors like this and questions over the relationship between the impact of training on the implementation of action plans lead to further concerns about the validity of these methods of evaluation. There is no doubt that the nomination of delegates by some organisations to attend DET seminars was part of a complete strategy to improve opportunities for disabled people. The action plans developed by some delegates may simply have been part or the organisational strategy and have happened anyway even without the training.

These factors add further concerns about the effectiveness of this approach in evaluating DET. It could also be argued, however, that the application of solutions based on the social model would not have been achieved so rapidly or effectively unless delegates had attended the DET seminars.

For these reasons it is impossible to conclude that all the achievements demonstrated in this chapter are simply the results of training. However, on considering the original hypothesis (p. 89), it is probably fair, even allowing for

the researcher,s bias, to conclude that Disability Equality Training can be used effectively to challenge employment discrimination and bring about some organisational change.

In retrospect, it is difficult to envisage a research methodology and evaluation techniques that can eliminate external factors. Perhaps the best way of evaluating DET would be by assessing its use in one region of a national business and using the other regions as controls. This would not eliminate external influences or the impact of internal policy changes but they would remain more or less constant within one organisation.

Notwithstanding the impact of DET, many organisational barriers still exist within all participating organisations. The impact has only been partial and the removal of all barriers not completed. DET is probably not sufficient when used alone to create equal opportunities for disabled people at work. To this end further measures to augment the removal of the many disabling barriers are considered in the concluding chapter. Even if all discrimination in employment is eliminated the interrelated problems caused by transport, education, training and the many other social barriers need to be addressed.

# Chapter Seven

# Conclusion

## Introduction

The original aim of the researcher in this thesis was to present the development, delivery and evaluation of a programme of Disability Equality Training which aimed to challenge employment discrimination. This has been based on the view that employment discrimination should be tackled by an approach based on the social model of disability rather than traditional models deriving from medical and individualist assumptions. The training was based on this novel approach to promote equal opportunities for disabled people in employment. To achieve this a series of six two-day seminars were organised for 66 employers in 1989-90.

The research was influenced by new research containing important claims about disability and discrimination (Barnes, 1991) and the changes in legislation relating to employment discrimination in other countries including the United States (US). These developments provided the opportunity to undertake a comprehensive analysis of two of the principal approaches used to tackle employment discrimination in order to determine their utility in improving opportunities for disabled people. This analysis led to a fundamental critique of the approach used in the UK based on individual attitudes to tackle employment discrimination, and pointed to an alternative strategy that could be more successful. As a result, it became possible to analyse the Disability Equality Training in terms of its infernal effectiveness in the employment situation and in relation to thee broader perspective of demands for social change in the way that discrimination against disabled people is treated.

Chapter Two began by highlighting the importance of the work ethic as an aspect of citizenship. The inequality experienced by disabled people in the labour market, and their reduced opportunity to become full citizens was described next. An analysis of the historical development of existing employment policies demonstrated that they have limited effectiveness, measured in terms of entry into the labour market and vulnerability to unemployment. Conventional explanations for their failure were then discussed and rejected as being both inadequate and inappropriate.

In Chapter Three evidence was cited which demonstrated discrimination against disabled people in employment. Research relating to the performance of disabled workers indicated that this discrimination was not justified. It was then argued that current employment policy attempts to address discrimination by changing the attitudes of individual employers towards individual disabled people. Assumptions about the utility of this approach were challenged by analysing the failure of attitude change programmes in the United States which focus on attitudes toward other individuals. These were shown to be both methodologically and conceptually flawed. An alternative explanation was put forward which challenged the very assumptions on which existing attitude research and employment policies had been based.

In Chapter Four, the notion that discrimination resulted from individual attitudes was rejected in favour of seeing it as an institutionalised process influenced by the prevailing ideology. A detailed explanation of the social model of disability was given next. It was concluded that this model provided, not only an explanation for the failure of previous policies, but also an imperative for a radically different approach.

It was argued that the logic of the social model of disability demanded that discrimination should be addressed by a range of initiatives including legislative procedures. Comparisons were made with approaches towards racism and sexism in the UK, and with international approaches to discrimination on the grounds of disability. It was also revealed that, although the development of the social model had provided the political basis for the emergence of a disability movement, the campaign for anti-discrimination legislation in the UK has not yet resulted in the desired legislative change, despite a number of attempts by backbench members of Parliament. Lack of a political break-through had stimulated the development of alternative approaches to challenge institutionalised discrimination.

The remainder of the thesis was dedicated to describing the development, delivery and effectiveness of the use of DET to remove discrimination in employment. In Chapter Five a detailed description of the process involved in a DET seminar was given. The ways in which this training differed from the traditional attitude research approach were discussed and comparisons were made with similar attempts to challenge racial discrimination.

The chapter continued by providing a detailed analysis of the difficulties in

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evaluating the effectiveness of DET and presented the methods used within this research project. In Chapter Six the results of these evaluation procedures were described in detail.

# Summary of Results

The findings described in the previous chapter were consistent with the proposition that DET had had 'some' impact on challenging employment discrimination against disabled people. A summary of the results is presented below.

The post-course review revealed that most delegates felt that the training was well designed and delivered. They indicated that they had gained an understanding of the need for organisational change and most expected that the seminar would have a positive influence on their working practices.

These findings were reinforced by the twelve-month follow-up questionnaire. The most commonly chosen action plans adopted by delegates were to carry out internal DET, improve recruitment procedures, develop out-reach strategies, relay course information to other staff and improve access. Others chose to provide work experience, consult disabled employees, support the Employers Forum on Disability, improve access to information for disabled employees or recruit at least one disabled person.

Delegates managed to implement most stages of their primary or secondary action plans. All had achieved at least the initial stage with more than half achieving their action plan in full. Action plans did not vary substantially between organisations from different employment sectors and were not dependent on the position of the delegate within the organisation. Most of the predicted difficulties had been overcome with only a few experiencing problems that they had not envisaged.

A total of 95% of delegates still considered their awareness of the social model to have been raised by the seminar twelve months previously. In the intervening period most had found the course material useful. Nearly 70% of delegates reported that their organisations had recruited at least one disabled person. Many had recommended the seminar to colleagues and over half the organisations had implemented in-house training. In addition to this, nearly 40% of delegates had exceeded their action plans.

The long-term follow-up of four organisations clearly indicated that, even across different employment sectors, a great deal can be achieved to tackle institutionalised discrimination. Action had been taken to ensure that disability formed an integral part of any equal opportunity policy and all had used DET in-house to cascade the impact of the training to a considerable number of key personnel. Some progress had been made on improving access, recruitment procedures and career development opportunities. They had begun to explore ways to retain employees who became disabled and offered work experience to local disabled people. The role of disabled people as consumers was being considered and consultation strategies had begun. Finally, all organisations had implemented some form of monitoring process.

As described in Chapter Six, there are clear limitations in measuring accurately the outcomes of training. Although it is practicable to evaluate the extent to which training seminars achieve some of their short term aims through post-course reviews and action plans, long term equality outcomes are more difficult to ascertain for it is hard to distinguish the effect of training within an overall equal opportunity strategy. However, even with these reservations it is possible to say that the training provided delegates with a new theoretical basis, in the form of the social model of disability, with which to understand disability and discrimination. Adoption of the new model should enable delegates to identify discriminatory procedures and practices in their own organisations. As a consequence delegates will no longer tend to view the disabled person as posing 'the problems' which prevent successful employment. Their attention will be re-focused onto the barriers presented by the way their organisations function.

Delegates' choice of action plans indicated that the training was effective in achieving at least partial acceptance of the social model among most delegates. The fact that the majority of delegates were able to complete their action plans indicated that they were able to make progress within their own organisations in instituting new procedures and practices which addressed discrimination. What is more, the continuing popularity of DET among employing organisations means that the potential of DET to trigger change is increasing.

# The Limitations of DET

However, there are inevitable limitations when DET exists in isolation as the sole agent for change. These are described below under five headings.

## Demand for Training

The most important and perhaps most obvious limitation is that organisations may choose not to use DET. This can happen for several reasons: organisations may simply be unaware of the availability of DET; they may decide that it is not a business priority; they may not like the training approach; they may feel that they are already adequately served by the PACT Teams; they may feel threatened by using disabled trainers; they may feel that they have reached their quota; they may believe that their policies and procedures are already non-discriminatory; or they may consider that the investment in such training will result in reduced profitability.

In addition, discriminatory policies and procedures will probably still exist even in those organisations who have invested considerable time and resources in training their staff. Chapter Seven presented the long-term follow-up in four organisation who could claim to be doing more than most. However, using Barclays Bank as an example, the total number of staff (151) who have attended either a two-day seminar (33) or a one-day event (118) is only 0.2% of the total number of employees. Even if these delegates had become totally convinced by the social model and were particularly gifted at influencing their colleagues it is hard to imagine how this level of DET will have had any more than very minimal impact. Large organisations are very resistant to change unless there is a critical mass of individuals with enough power to influence policy and practice (Schneider and Ross, 1992). This has still not been achieved by any of the four organisations described in the long-term follow-up study. Thus it is clear that additional measures are needed to challenge discrimination.


## Organisational Motivation

Organisations which participated in open seminars will vary in their commitment to change and hence the role which they expect training to play. Some organisations may have nominated delegates simply to sample DET and assess its utility for their organisational goals. Other organisations may have sent delegates simply to appear to be 'doing something'. Straw (1989) has even argued that training has been used as a decoy for effecting real change.

Another factor may have been influenced by personnel professionals seeking to

enhance their discipline. During the 1980s, the personnel departments of major organisations invested time and resources in attempts to improve opportunities for women and Black and minority ethnic people. For the personnel function therefore, as evidenced by the Institute of Personnel Management publications (Birkett and Worman, 1989), the logical next step was to tack disability onto the end of the equal opportunity agenda. The fact that personnel departments gained commitment to employ disabled people may simply have been a response to the advancement of their discipline rather than an accurate reflection of their organisation's priorities.

Throughout the study period many organisations were alarmed by predictions about skills shortages in the 1990's. They may have nominated delegates to attend DET as a knee-jerk response rather than as a considered part of their corporate strategy for human resource development. Therefore there would be no guarantee that organisational interest would be maintained as the employment market changed.

More positively, as the results of the study indicated, many participating organisations demonstrated a clear commitment to employ more disabled people. These organisations are the ones most likely to have sent several delegates to DET open seminars or instituted an in-house training programme. Even where this occurs, commitment alone may not guarantee positive outcomes, as approaches to change will vary in effectiveness.

Any successful equal opportunities initiative will usually involve changes in organisational culture. Schneider and Ross (1992) have argued that change can be successfully accomplished only through a strategic approach. This strategy requires leadership from the top, a coherent programme of action and a pro-active approach with broadly based support.

An essential first step in this strategy should be diagnosis. This involves analysing the statistical profile of the organisation, reviewing personnel policies and holding discussions with employees to gain an impression of the organisation's culture. Following diagnosis, senior management should set aims which convey a vision, identify the process to bring about change and establish standards against which progress can be measured. In support of these aims a successful programme requires behavioural change from people at all levels within the organisation. This is best initiated through a series of workshops. The next stage involves policy development to improve personnel systems and create a supportive environment so that all employees can develop their full

potential. The final stage is training to help disadvantaged people compete on an equal basis, ensure the effective implementation of policies and equip people with the skills to manage a diverse workforce.

This insight into the complexity of organisational change has important implications for the effectiveness of DET. For, even when an organisation demonstrates a commitment to the issue, by for example membership of the Employers Forum on Disability, failure to commit resources and time to develop a strategic approach to change will result in piecemeal and tokenistic gestures.

This factor was clearly illustrated by one of the organisations participating in the long-term follow-up study. The action taken by Southamton University, descried in Chapter Six (see pages 191 - 197), clearly indicates a large commitment to promote opportunities for disabled people. Despite this significant architectural, attitudinal and institutional discrimination still exists. Some of these factors are being addressed. However, a decision by the Senate to push for planning permission in the summer of 1992 to avoid the changes in Part M of the building regulations, requiring the installation of a lift in a new student accommodation block, demonstrates that discrimination against disabled people was being sanctioned at the highest level to avoid additional costs.

This action can have only two outcomes. Either the building will continue to discriminate against disabled people long into the next century or it will have to be modified, at a huge additional cost, with the advent of Anti-Discrimination Legislation.

## Individual Motivation

DET open seminars initially rely on the ability of individual delegates to cascade their newly acquired approach to disability within their organisations. Individuals vary in their response to training in general and their receptiveness to this particular approach.

Some individuals may be highly motivated and receptive. Others may be less so for a variety of reasons. Individuals who have been highly involved in charitable fund-raising or evangelical healing missions may, for example, find it more difficult to reject traditional models of disability than others.

Individual motivation can also be undermined by other work pressures and a

reluctance to 'rock the boat'. The anxiety of introducing a new concept, that may not be perceived by management as central to business efficiency, could result in the message learnt from the seminar becoming diluted or even ignored.

If, however, the committed individual had the support of anti-discrimination legislation then their ability to influence change would probably be greatly enhanced.

## Individual and Organisational Interface

From the discussion above, it is clear that training outcomes are influenced by both individual and organisational motivation. In addition, the interaction between these is also important. Factors that will influence this relationship include: size, structure and geographic distribution of the organisation; grade of delegate, their control over budgets and their area of influence; the culture of the organisation; and its management style.

Schneider and Ross (1992) have clearly argued the case for a strategic approach to organisational change. The impact of *ad hoc* and piecemeal interventions may simply indicate that organisations are more interested in appearing to be doing something rather than being committed to removing institutional discrimination against disabled people within their organisations.

In addition, comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation would probably help to create a framework to provide a safety-net of protection against discrimination resulting from the diverse nature of this complex relationship.

## External Factors

As discussed in Chapter Six, external factors such as the economic recession, will have an inevitable influence on training outcomes in organisations who respond solely to the business case. At a time when most organisation's budgets are being squeezed so tightly it is quite obvious that any additional financial implications in recruiting disabled people may lead to discrimination.

Many employers believe that all disabled people will cost more to employ, whereas in reality only 20% of disabled people in employment have additional equipment or access requirements (ED, 1990). Financial help has been available

from PACT teams to minimise this burden on employers and dissuade them from discriminating against disabled people on financial grounds. However, David Hunt MP (Secretary of State for Employment) has recently announced significant changes in these funding arrangements (Disability Now, July 1993).

As from April 1994 all employers will be required to pay 50% of the additional costs of employing disabled people. This dramatic 'double' U-turn contradicts two of the cornerstones of government employment policy over the previous decade. First, it results in a significant intervention in the market place by imposing a new disability employment 'Tax' or 'Levy' on those employers who are good at employing disabled people. This contradicts all previous non-interventionist rhetoric. Second, as a result, the better an organisation becomes at employing disabled people, the more 'Tax' they will have to pay. This disincentive will contradict all previous attempts to encourage and persuade larger employers to recruit disabled people resulting in an inevitable increase in the level of discrimination. In addition smaller employers and self-employed disabled people will also be subjected to this levy.

So the policy change will not only increase discrimination amongst larger employers but also create unemployment if these costs make the difference between small companies and self-employed disabled people remaining in business or not.

The reality of this problem could not have been more clearly illustrated than it was in a research study commissioned by the Employment Department, conducted by the Institute of Manpower Studies and published in October 1993 (Honey et al, 1993).

The researchers who contacted 2,206 employers found that only 351 of the respondents would consider spending more to employ disabled people. Other interesting results demonstrated that: 42% of employers do not employ disabled people at all; 43% of employers thought it would cost more; less than 30% of employers had a written policy on employing disabled people; and only 20% indicated that they were actively seeking to recruit disabled people at the time of the study.

It is also interesting to note that a government commissioned research paper which had the objectives of exploring employer's policies and practices, and identifying the help required by employers to recruit disabled people was titled 'Employers' Attitudes Towards People with Disabilities'. The report rarely

considers employer's attitudes in answering its key objectives. The title simply appears to reflect the approach adopted by the government to challenge discrimination by improving the attitudes of employers. If attitudes are rarely mentioned in the report there is certainly no consideration given as to whether or not an approach based on individual attitudes has any utility.

Even if attempts to reduce discriminated could be achieved by an approach based on attitudes, it seems unlikely that a policy change requiring employers to pay 50% of the additional cost will be of any benefit. If the government has now decided that the time is right to intervene in the market place then it might be reasonable to think that this new 'Levy' would be better imposed on organisations who do not employ disabled people. These funds would provide subsidies for those that do. This system operates in France and Germany (Lunt and Thornton, 1993). It is conceivable that they would protect smaller employers, the bed-rock of the economy, from unnecessary financial hardship in a similar way to that which smaller employers in the US are safeguarded from some of the requirements of the Americans with Disabilities Act.

The response of David Hunt MP appears to be a response to the difficult financial position which the government is currently experiencing and has very little to do with helping disabled people into work. If employers are required to contribute towards the additional costs of recruiting disabled people then the only way to protect their rights against discrimination is through appropriate and effective legislation.

The Confederation of British Industry (CBI) has also expressed grave reservations over the proposed changes to the funding of schemes for disabled people. In a letter from Howard Davis, Director General of the CBI, to the Secretary of State for Employment, he stated that the members of the CBI had three major concerns:

> Firstly, the Government would effectively be taxing the good employers by forcing them to shoulder part of the additional costs associated with employing people with disabilities.

> Secondly, we know of no evidence that justifies the apparent belief that such changes can safely be introduced without reducing the employment opportunities open to people with disabilities.

> Finally, if the outcome of the planned changes was to reduce rather

than enhance employment prospects for people with disabilities,
this would significantly increase local authority or DSS spending
on those unemployed (Davis, 1993, p. 2).

In the same letter Davis (1993) argues for the jettisoning of the quota scheme in favour of enabling legislation based on a Code of Good Practice. Research conducted by the Employers Forum on Disability whose members include many large 'Blue Chip' companies goes one stage further (Schneider, 1993). The vast majority of its members are in favour of replacing the quota scheme with anti-discrimination legislation. They regard 'tinkering' with the current system as unsatisfactory and stress a need for legislation to protect the rights of disabled people. They argue that these changes would present an opportunity to "re-define disability in a more sensible way" based on the social model (Schneider, 1993, p. 7).

# The Need for Anti-Discrimination Legislation

The limitations of training listed above indicate that DET alone will never overcome the discrimination within many organisations. The piecemeal achievements of DET can be acknowledged but a comprehensive approach in which it would be a part is a prerequisite for widespread change. Only new law, which requires organisations to act, which empowers individuals and groups to take legal action, which incorporates effective sanctions and which insists upon appropriate monitoring, evaluation and training, will organisations undertake seriously to eliminate discriminatory practices and procedures.

In previous chapters it has been concluded that a voluntary approach is limited. Education programmes based on the individual model of disability have never been shown to measure up to the claims made for them, and they may even be harmful by reinforcing thinking which acts as a barrier to effective change. In addition, it was shown that the quota system, often criticised, could not properly be said to have failed because it was never effectively implemented. However, even if the quota system had been applied with compulsion it is doubtful whether this alone would have eliminated discrimination against disabled people. For example, an organisation recruiting a workforce containing 3% disabled people would be free to discriminate against further disabled applicants and restrict the career development opportunities of those already employed. Organisations could also legally discriminate against non-registered disabled people. These observations have resulted in other remedies being explored both by the

government (ED, 1990) and by their critics (Law Society, 1992; Cunningham, 1993). Some of these are considered below.

Contract compliance requires organisations tendering for contracts to comply with pre-determined non-discriminatory standards. In the past this approach has been used by central and local government. More recently this principle has been curtailed as a result of the Local Government Act 1988 which prevents such requirements being imposed other than in certain areas of racial discrimination if they constitute an unjustifiable impediment to competition. Despite the fact that, when implemented, contract compliance can obtain significant changes in individual employers, it will inevitably impact only in an *ad hoc* way. In addition, it can prove to be very unpopular and even counter-productive.

Specific statutory duties relate either to an enforceable code of practice or other regulations based on individual statutes. If a statutory duty were applied to a requirement less easily monitored than the quota, such as adherence to a code of good practice, enforcement action would prove expensive and may result in no more than cosmetic and tokenistic changes within organisations. The quota scheme itself is one example of a specific statutory duty. The previous discussion and consequent rejection of the quota scheme would also apply to other such statutes.

A further alternative approach which has been advocated (Graham et al, 1990) is a levy / grant system based on the German model whereby financial penalties are imposed on employers who fail to meet the 6% quota enforced there. Proceeds from the imposed fines for non-compliance are used in schemes concerned with the employment and training of disabled people.

This approach also has disadvantages. Employers may choose to pay this fine rather than introduce positive policies. Evidence for this criticism is that in 1989 the money raised from non-compliance penalties in West Germany totalled £100 million. On the other hand, this contribution is a considerable amount for re-investment to improve access for disabled people in employment.

It is clear that current measures do not combat discrimination and the approaches listed above also appear to have limited application. In a study which reviewed disability legislation and services across fifteen countries two broad types of approach to disability and employment policy were identified (Lunt and Thornton, 1993). First, there are those countries with over-arching anti-discrimination legislation which recognises the rights of disabled people and

seeks to eradicate discrimination against them. These include the US, Canada and Australia. In the second broad type of approach disability policies are compartmentalised, and associated with the policy interests of specific departments of the government. The majority of EU countries fall into this group and have selected policies based on encouragement and persuasion with or without quota legislation.

There is no clear evidence that either of these approaches are successful. However, the fact that anti-discrimination legislation has only been in place for limited periods (Canada - September 1991, US - July 1992, Australia - March 1993) means that more time is required to assess its impact. On the other hand quota schemes and approaches directed at improving the attitudes of individual employers have a long history. The lack of substantive improvement in employment opportunities for disabled people in the UK since the 1944 Disabled Persons' (Employment) Act, despite the efforts of different governments during the last 50 years, demonstrates this approach has reached the limit of its effectiveness. Discrimination, it can be argued, has not decreased under this regime.

Disability campaigners have concluded that the most productive way in which institutionalised discrimination can be comprehensively challenged is through an approach in which the equal rights of disabled people are asserted. This may be through an individual civil rights bill or anti-discrimination legislation. In this way a general duty is created by statute which makes unjustified discrimination against people on the basis of their impairment illegal.

> The issue today is not civil rights vs. free enterprise; it is free
> enterprise for all vs. unjust, unwarranted discrimination and
> dependency that limits the humanity of members of all our
> families, and smothers us all with regimentation and debt. We
> who have disabilities want jobs, not welfare; jobs, not lawsuits;
> respect not pity. We want to be full participants in the free
> enterprise system (Dart, 1992 in Lunt and Thornton, 1993, p. 162).

Effective legislation would ban unfair discrimination against disabled people on the grounds of their impairment and give the individual the right to take their complaint to a court or tribunal. A new law could also establish the possibility of class actions which would result in a stronger position than is currently available under the Sex Discrimination Act (1975) and Race Relations Act (1976). Legislation should be all encompassing to cover all aspects of

institutionalised discrimination. Areas an act should cover include transport, housing, telecommunications, goods, services, leisure, eligibility for pension schemes and insurance, membership of clubs, as well as employment policies and procedures which have been addressed in detail in this thesis.

After more than a decade of rejecting this particular kind of anti-discrimination legislation, initially on the grounds that intentional and unfair discrimination does not exist, there is now some indication that the government is prepared to consider some limited form of anti-discrimination legislation. The short-term financial implications of comprehensive legislation have led the government to consider the viability of applying anti-discrimination legislation specifically to employment (Disability Now, March 1993). This option, however, will be difficult for two different reasons. First, the government's insistence on the individualistic approach leads them to believe that they have no reason or place to legislate on 'social' grounds. Second, the current financial difficulties of the government mean that, even if they do adopt the social model, it will only agree to protect the equal rights of disabled people as long as it does not cost employers too much (Disability Now, March 1992).

The explanatory power of the social model of disability suggests that a piecemeal approach to anti-discrimination legislation will only be partly successful even in the limited field to which it is applied. Anti-discrimination legislation, which challenges only employment discrimination, would fail to recognise the importance of other factors in the relationship such as education, transport, telecommunications, benefits etc. Only comprehensive legislation can begin to address the inequalities experienced by disabled people in employment and all other areas of social activity.

## Disadvantages of Anti-Discrimination Legislation

Critics of Anti-Discrimination Legislation have argued that it is not practicable on a number of grounds. The alleged disadvantages which were summarised in the Employment Department's Consultative Document (ED, 1990) are discussed below.

A primary objection, the document claimed, would be that the compulsory legal requirements of ADL would alienate employers making them more reluctant to employ disabled people. Furthermore, the Consultative Document considered

that ADL would be difficult to draft and uncertain in its application. Difficulties in application are alleged to stem from the fact that impairment may be related to lesser performance in certain jobs, so that discrimination might be difficult to distinguish from legitimate preference. In addition there is scope for uncertainty within the legislation around what constitutes 'reasonable accommodation' by employers and service providers and how far cost implications are considered within this definition. The Consultative Document argued that these uncertainties will further increase rather than decrease the reluctance of employers to recruit disabled people. The substantial cost implications of setting up enforcement procedures for ADL were also cited within the Consultative Document as being a further major disadvantage. Subsequent debate of these points suggests that the government's ideological objections to ADL have led to an overstatement of its disadvantages.

Clearly, one of the more specious objections to ADL put forward by its critics is the suggestion that it will alienate employers and therefore actually worsen the employment situation for disabled people. ADL, by its very nature, would contain enforcement measures to deal with any reluctance. It is also likely that the government overestimates the likely negative effect of such legislation on employers. Those who have already demonstrated a commitment to equal opportunities for disabled people and who have begun to develop policies of good practice are hardly likely to jettison these because legislation to which they already comply has been introduced. The increased reluctance, or otherwise, of those organisations who have not already instituted policies of good practice towards disabled people, will hardly be a consideration as these have already demonstrated their impermeability to persuasive approaches.

Concerns surrounding the complexity of the legislation and the difficulties involved in drafting it would appear to be misplaced. As Cunningham (1993) points out, citing the 1982 Employment Act and the legislation following the Council Tax, governments assisted by their civil servants are habitually involved in drafting complex legislation. Furthermore, as the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) illustrates, other nations have apparently been able to overcome any difficulties that drafting such legislation presents. The Law Society, in its report "Disability, Discrimination and Employment Law" (1992) did not appear to believe that there was anything unique to the UK context which would cause insurmountable problems for drafting ADL. In fact, the report stated that, the substantive law contained in the ADA is well explained and defined and the concepts in that legislation could easily transfer into UK law. Indeed, the Civil Rights (Disabled Persons) Bill (1992) was strongly influenced by the US

legislation and incorporated similar definitions and terminology. The provisions of Morris's bill illustrated that with careful drafting, many of the government's reservations can be overcome. Precise drafting can remove the major areas of uncertainty from such legislation. For example, concerns that disability may sometimes be related to performance were met within the bill by extending the employment rights within the bill only to "suitably qualified" disabled people. Employers would be justified in treating a disabled person differently if the person was unable to perform the 'essential functions' of the job and 'reasonable accommodation' would not alter this position. Circumstances when non-acceptable discrimination might arise were also detailed in the bill.

A further criticism of ADL stems from criticism of anti-discrimination legislation *per se*. Anti-discrimination, it is argued, has not proved very effective in the case of the Sex Discrimination Act (1975) or the Race Relations Act (1976). Certainly there is evidence that improvements for women and ethnic minorities in employment have been slow as measured by such indicators as pay and type of work (Brown, 1984; CRE, 1989; Bynoe, 1991). These authors have argued that it is more likely that the slow rate of progress in these areas is due more to inadequacies of the particular pieces of legislation than to weakness in the general approach. This is recognised particularly by the Commission for Racial Equality which has sought to reform the 1976 Race Relations Act (IRLIB, 1991). The Equal Opportunities Commission also continue to demand improvements to the legislative base.

So, far from being contra-indicative of ADL for disabled people, the experience in relation to race and gender provides an empirical background against which more effective legislation can be drawn up to establish the rights of disabled people. A specific example surrounds the role of the Commissions - whether they should be purely reactive as in the case of the CRE and able to respond only when a complaint is made, or whether they should have more general powers of investigation enabling a more pro-active role. The Civil Rights (Disabled Persons) Bill, as a response to perceived weakness in earlier legislation, included a provision for a commission to have a duty to carry out general investigations with a view to determining whether the provisions of the bill were being complied with.

The greatest barrier which has appeared to influence the government's recent reluctance to support such legislation is the immediate cost. While clearly the establishment of a Disability Commission would involve cost, this has not proved to be an obstacle in the cases of the Equal Opportunities Commission or

the Commission for Racial Equality. The failure to allow a similar body to oversee the protection of the equal rights of disabled people implies a hierarchy of issues which is not consistent with the notion of equal opportunities provided in the Race Relations Act and Sex Discrimination Act.

The current economic climate is bound to have had an influence, but in other countries (Australia, Canada and the US) the cost argument has not excused governments from neglecting their duty to select the most effective tool available to eliminate discrimination (Lunt and Thornton, 1993). The principle of equality could be established even if it were to be funded incrementally. In any event, it is possible that in the long term ADL is more likely to produce financial benefits than costs. As disabled people become more able to participate fully in society as workers, tax-payers and consumers, the increased revenue from direct and indirect taxation and reduced expenditure on benefit payments is likely to far outstrip the costs of implementing ADL.

The cost of unemployment has been suggested to be as high as £9,000 per person per annum which includes both the benefits paid and the loss of taxable income (Prescot, 1993). This figure, which refers to non-disabled people, probably understates the costs for disabled people. So the bill required to support one million unemployed disabled people is probably significantly more than £9bn. This money would be far better invested in creating opportunities for disabled people by removing the barriers created by institutionalised discrimination.

Whilst it is true that the Americans with Disabilities Act has resulted in direct costs for larger organisations it has also had some benefits. A recent report (EFD, 1993a) indicated that 170,000 small businesses and products have been developed, as a direct result of this legislation, to supply anything from text telephones to lever door handles. This may have slightly reduced the profits of the large companies but has inevitably benefited smaller companies, their employees and the local economies where they are established.

A further objection to ADL relates to the perceived cost involved in the requirement for employers to 'make reasonable accommodation' for the employment of disabled people. Measures defined within the Civil Rights (Disabled Persons) Bill as constituting 'reasonable accommodation' included making existing facilities accessible to disabled people; job restructuring; modifying work schedules; reassignment to a vacant position; acquisition or modification of equipment; appropriate adjustment of examinations, training materials or policies; provision of qualified readers or interpreters and making

the use of similar accommodation for a disabled person.

Many of these measures need not involve greatly increased expenditure by the employer. In addition, some employers will already have implemented some aspects of good practice. Clearly, however, other accommodations will have more substantial cost implications which may cause some hardship to employers. Both the ADA and the Civil Rights (Disabled Persons) Bill incorporated guide-lines which form the parameters within which undue hardship for an employer might be defined. The Civil Rights (Disabled Persons) Bill allowed a number of factors to be considered including: the nature and cost of the accommodation; the overall financial resources of the workplace involved in making the accommodation and its effect on the operation of the work place; the overall financial resources of the employer, type, size and location of business; the type(s) of operation(s) of the employer and the availability of grants from public funds to defray the expense of any accommodation. The ADA incorporates a defence for employers in the case of undue hardship defined as "an action requiring significant difficulty or expense" and lists similar factors which may be taken into account. In practice the US Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) anticipates that, in defining "undue hardship" any requirement to make an employer contribute more than 10% of an employee's annual salary may not be reasonable.

There is therefore scope within legislation to draw up fairly specific guide-lines to help with definitions of such concepts as unjustifiable discrimination and reasonable accommodation and to provide legal defence for organisations facing definite hardship. Evolving case law through the decisions of courts and tribunals should assist with the resolution of residual uncertainties.

Despite the arguments above, the government has indicated its intention eventually to eliminate discrimination against disabled people but has chosen to employ alternative methods based on encouragement and persuasion. It is clear that even if these are successful, which appears unlikely as argued in this thesis, the same financial investment will eventually be required as that which would be needed to implement anti-discrimination legislation in the short term.

It could be argued that the selection of less effective measures by the government has been done for other reasons like reducing the unemployment statistics. If the government is serious about the employment of disabled people one might expect the various civil service departments to have a good record. Only the Employment Department has reached their 3% quota level. In 1991 the Home

Office employed 0.4% and the Department of Health 0.7% which was a reduction from their 1989 figure of 1% (Hansard, 1993a). Even if the Department of Health were to reverse this trend and increase their percentages by 0.1% per annum it would be the year 2016 before they complied with even this basic guide-line.

The arguments relating to saving money from benefits and increasing income from taxation also cause a problem for the government. Getting more disabled people into work would mean that fewer jobs were available for non-disabled people. The problem arises from the fact that people receiving disability benefits do not appear in the official unemployment statistics. A recent television news report (BBC, 1993) even indicated that benefit officers were actively encouraging unemployed people to seek disability benefits from their doctors to improve government unemployment figures. It could be argued that the advent of anti-discrimination legislation would require a re-definition of unemployment and necessitate the addition of about one million unemployed disabled people to the register. The government would probably find this pill too hard to swallow.

Despite government policy, employers appear convinced that the tide of change is such that legislation is now inevitable, it is just a question of time. Hobbs (EFD, 1993b), who chairs the Employers Forum on Disability, has indicated that the argument for anti-discrimination legislation has gathered sufficient momentum to ensure that it will be with us in the not-too-distant future.

In the short term, however, the current financial embarrassment experienced by the government; short-term political gains by reducing the unemployment of only non-disabled people and its reluctance to impose perceived additional costs on the business world have undoubtedly influenced their thinking. In addition, further legislation would contradict the policy of minimal intervention within a free market economy, despite intentions to impose a 50% levy on employers for employing disabled people. The government simply has to decide whether ideological arguments can justify the continuing denial of basic human rights to 14.2% of its adult citizens.

# Aiming For Equality

Even with the eventual advent of anti-discrimination legislation it is clear that discrimination against disabled people will not be eliminated overnight. This is illustrated by the fact that the Race Relations Act and Sex Discrimination Act

have, even now, not eradicated racism and sexism. The legislation, however, has given individual women and Black and Ethic minority people the right to challenge discrimination through legal process. However, there is an additional statutory duty for the Commission for Racial Equality and the Equal Opportunities Commission to provide educative programmes to supplement the impact of the law. It is likely, therefore, that anti-discrimination legislation which protects the rights of disabled people will also require an educational component.

There is, however, a fundamental difference between the perceived cause of discrimination against disabled people and that which effects other groups. The prevailing ideology which views disabled people as tragic victims, requiring either cure or care, has become so deeply embedded within conventional wisdom that the traditional approach is hard to criticise and avoid.

It has been argued in this thesis that awareness seminars which adhere to traditional notions and individualist models of analysis which thereby seek to change the attitudes of non-disabled people towards disabled people have severe limitations on their effectiveness. In addition, the research project has demonstrated that educational programmes based on the social model of disability can be effective in challenging institutional discrimination. What is more, these seminars appear to enable delegates to make a fundamental transition in thinking by redirecting the focus of their attitudes from individual disabled people to the way society has been organised.

# Conclusion

It has been argued in this thesis that the attitude modification programmes adopted by US researchers which underpin UK employment policy have never been shown to be effective solutions to resolve employment discrimination against disabled people in work. It has been maintained that strategies based on the social model of disability have greater utility to promote equal opportunities for disabled people. Moreover, it has been argued that policies which recognise the rights of disabled people, like the 1944 quota scheme, can not work in isolation.

To avoid similar mistakes in the future it is clear that any legislation aiming to protect the rights of disabled people needs to be comprehensive otherwise it will

prove to be both costly and ineffective. Attempts to divide the rights of disabled people into particular areas, like employment for example, contradict the foundations of the social model. Such measures will achieve little if disabled people continue to experience discrimination in housing, transport, telecommunications, education, training, services, etc. International experiences indicate an increasing trend to adopt comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation. Similar measures are needed in the UK to support other solutions based on the social model and ensure that disabled people do not remain among the most marginalised members of society.

To support the drive to protect the rights of disabled people further research is needed to assess the impact of Disability Equality Training. The research project described in this thesis attempted to provide a reliable evaluation of the effectiveness of training within the constraints of available methodologies and in the context of the particular type of training. The results presented in Chapter Six indicated that training has some impact. However, the highly questionable validity and reliability of the research tools used lead to the conclusion that the effectiveness of DET in this thesis can only be judged subjectively and in an impressionistic way. Despite this the researcher believes that this innovation has had significant enough impact to warrant further research.

Studies are required to develop more reliable and valid measures of the effectiveness of DET. These tools would be helpful to compare different styles of training, explore the minimum length of training seminar required to achieve real change and assess the impact of new modular exercises.

In addition to studies looking into evaluation tools further research is needed into: the application of DET in other European countries; the business case for employing disabled people; the financial implications of the implementation of anti-discrimination legislation; the use of DET to 'empower' disabled people; and the use of equality training before and after the implementation of anti-discrimination legislation.

Research is also needed to investigate the application of DET in other areas of social policy such as education, training, social service, housing, transport, leisure, television, charities, health service etc. Some modular exercises have already been developed, but others are required. All should be fully evaluated.

In view of the evidence that approaches based on the social model offer greater promise of reducing the employment discrimination experienced by disabled

people than the measures deployed by UK governments over the last 50 years. This approach should be widely adopted and utilised. The fiftieth anniversary of the 1944 Disabled Person's Employment Act could be best celebrated by replacing it with comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation. Disability Equality Training, based as it is on the social model, provides a complementary device to achieve social change by reducing discriminatory barriers and adding impetus to the drive for effective and lasting improvements.

This radical change in thinking is required now, to gain a critical mass of the population committed to the need for anti-discrimination legislation, as much as it will be in the future to ensure the effective implementation of legislation once it is in place. Martin Luther King's observation which was quoted on the 26th February 1993 in a debate in the House of Commons on ADL (Hansard, 1993b) should not be forgotten:

> Morality cannot be legislated, but behaviour can be regulated.
> Judicial decrees may not change the heart but they can restrain the heartless.

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# Appendix I

# International Perspective

This appendix is included to illustrate a variety of international responses to the discrimination experienced by disabled people. The potential imact of changes within EC policy on the UK are also considered.

## The Americans with Disabilities Act

In America, the identification of discrimination as a process institutionalised within society through ideology and social practice has led to the further recognition that this process constitutes a breach in the human and civil rights of disabled American citizens. The momentum for this development was provided by the disabled pioneers of the Independent Living Movement (ILM) which developed initially around the university campuses of Berkeley and Illinois in the late 1960s. The political development of the ILM, whose theorists have contributed significantly to the re-definition of disability, was itself a logical development of other contemporary American movements, particularly the civil rights movement, but also consumerism, self-help and de-institutionalisation (De Jong, 1983). These were themselves influenced by American constitutional history in which the fundamental rights and freedoms of individual citizens are clearly enunciated. The ILM developed both a political campaign and alternative models of service provision, Centres for Independent Living (CILs), controlled by disabled people, which served both to empower disabled people and to underline the essential message of the political campaign - that the barriers to self-actualisation for disabled people were predominantly the hostile physical and social environment.

The ILM's political campaign achieved early success with the adoption of the 1973 Rehabilitation Act. Article 504 of this Act banned discrimination on the grounds of disability in any programme or activity receiving federal financial

support:

> No otherwise qualified handicapped individual in the United
> States, as defined in section 706 (6), shall solely by reason of his
> handicap, be excluded from the participation in, be denied any
> benefit of, or be subjected to discrimination under any programme
> or activity receiving federal financial assistance.

Within the Act, "handicapped individual" was defined as meaning: any person
who (a) has a physical or mental impairment which substantially limits one or
more of such person's major life activities, (b) has a record of such impairment,
or (c) is regarded as having such an impairment.

The Regulations were not implemented until 1977 following major
demonstrations by disabled people in San Fransisco.

The Act was amended in 1978 to specify the means of enforcement, which came
to include all the remedies and procedures provided by the civil Rights Act 1964.
Nevertheless difficulties concerning enforcement still occurred with varying
interpretations of the duty of a service provider or employer to finance
environmental adaptation of premises. While some organisations (e.g. the
Federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare issued regulations in
accordance with an interpretation of the Act which suggested a requirement to
make modifications of programmes and facilities, the Supreme Court ruled in
1979 in the case of Southern Eastern Community College v Davis (Bynoe, 1991)
that accommodation was not reasonable, or legally necessary "if it either imposes
undue financial and administrative burdens" or requires "fundamental alteration
in the nature of the programme".

Difficulties also arose around the coverage and effect of the Act. The relatively
small public sector of the US which, combined with the effect of the reduction in
government spending on federally funded schemes, considerably limited the
scope of the Act.

During the early 1980s, when Reagonomics was in the ascendancy, funding for
CILs was cut and Bills were introduced by the government to dismantle pieces of
legislation which favoured disabled people. Generally, these were countered by
the simultaneous introduction of Bills in opposition to them (Heumann, 1988)
and disabled peoples' organisations concentrated their efforts on demanding the
meaningful implementation of 504. They become adept at using litigation,

lobbying and direct action to try to preserve the impact of the Act, particularly in the area of transportation (Heumann, 1988). In addition, there was a recognition that more detailed and prescriptive legislation was required to supplement the 1973 Act and to extend its provisions to cover the private sector. There is evidence to indicate that during this period, the disabled community began to exert itself as a significant political lobby.

Louis Harris (1991) measured the vote of disabled people for the first time during the 1988 Presidential election. They found 10% of the entire electorate to be disabled people. Within this constituency, an early 11 point Dukakis lead shifted to a 14 point Bush margin on election day because, Harris maintains, "Bush took recognition of the problems of those with disabilities and Dukakis did not". For the first time, it would appear, disabled people were recognised as weilding a significant share of the vote, and the support of the Administration for the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), which received the Presidential signature in July 1990, was probably a direct consequence of this.

The ADA which built partly on the law developed from the '73 Act introduced detailed provisions in four main areas - employment, public services (including transport), private sector services and telecommunications.

## Employment

The Act prohibits US employers with 25 or more workers (15 from 1994) from discriminating against "a qualified individual with a disability".

"Qualified" is defined within the Act to mean ability to perform the "essential functions" of the particular job which may be determined with reference to the pre-existing job description. As with section 504, employers will be expected to make "reasonable accommodation" which the Act specifies may include:

(A) making existing facilities used by employees readily accessible to and usable by disabled individuals (B) job restructuring, part-time or modified work schedules, realignment to a vacancy position, acquisition or modification of equipment or devices, appropriate adjustment or modifications of examinations, training materials or policies, the provision of qualified readers and interpreters, and other similar accommodations for disabled individuals.

In defining unlawful discrimination, the Act sets out the circumstances in which this will occur, particularly those which concern deficient testing or medical assessment procedures. An employer will also be held to be discriminating where "reasonable accommodation" has not been made, unless the employer can show that "the accommodation would impose an undue hardship on the operation of the business" or will cause a "direct threat" to other employees or a health risk to the public. The Act details some of the factors to be considered in assessing whether an employer has failed to make a "reasonable accommodation", including the relative cost of the accommodation to the resources of the employer.

## Public Services

Equally sweeping provision is included in the Act in relation to public services whereby:

> no qualified individual with a disability, shall by reason of such disability, be excluded from participation in or be denied the benefits of the services, programs, ar activities of a public entity, or be subject to discrimination by any such entity.

"Qualification" is once again clearly defined within the Act as meeting the essential requirements for the receipt of services or the participation in programmes or activities provided by a public entity.

The Attorney General was required by the Act to promulgate detailed regulations to establish and enforce the standards required in public services by this section.

In addition, the Act included substantial provision relating to public transport which will have the effect of requiring bus, train and coach operators to accommodate the needs of disabled individuals, including wheelchair users, on both fixed routes and specialised services. A service provider may only avoid some obligations by demonstrating that compliance will impose "an undue financial burden" or is technically impracticable.

## Private Sector Services

The key clauses here concern goods or services provided to the public, by privately owned organisations, such as in shops, cinemas etc. Unlawful discrimination is held to occur in instances of denial of participation, participation in conditions of unequal benefit, and unjustified segregation of services. The act includes specific bans on unnecessary screening practices, failure to modify the service to make it available (where this would not fundamentally alter the service); failure to remove architectural barriers where this is "readily achievable" or to provide appropriate "auxiliary aids", where this would not fundamentally alter the service or present an undue burden.

## Telecommunications

The Act also includes provisions which amend the Communications Act of 1934 and require the adaptation of telecommunications equipment for use by hearing impaired and speech impaired individuals within a set time frame.

On signing The Americans with Disabilities Act, President Bush declared, "let the shameful wall of exclusion come tumbling down" while Senator Edward Kennedy referred to it as "a bill of rights for the disabled" (IHT, 1989). These do not seem to be unduly extravagant claims for such an inclusive, comprehensive and prescriptive measure. Although it is yet too early to judge the effects of the Act, disability rights campaigners are optimistic that it will make a major difference in removing institutionalised discrimination providing that sufficient resources are available in both public and private sectors to enable changes to be made without widespread invocation of the "undue financial burden" defence.

## Other Countries

Although the Americans with Disabilities Act is unique in that it is the first example of anti-discrimination legislation, anti-discrimination law has also been developed in Canada and some states in Australia as a result of case law developed from complaints under the human rights charters adopted by these countries and states.

In Canada, the various provinces have adopted Human Rights Codes and incorporated or, subsequently added, articles or amendments to cover discrimination on the grounds of disability. Although the various provincial codes vary in the scope and range of protection offered to disabled people, most include the right of complaint to the provincial Human Rights Commission for conciliation and referral to a Board of Inquiry for adjudication which may lead to enforcement measures or compensation. As a result of the adjudications, a considerable body of case law is being built up in relation to the rights granted by the provincial codes and there is evidence from the rising rate of complaints that disabled people are finding the law to be a credible means of redress (Bynoe, 1991).

In Australia, four states have adopted human rights statutes which provide some legal protection for physically disabled people against discrimination. New South Wales, Victoria and Western Australia also include intellectual impairment while Western Australia is the only state to include mental disorder. The schemes of protection are similar for each state. All the statutes are complaints-oriented with an emphasis on conciliation. The most recent statute in Western Australia is thought to be stronger in that it has adopted the "unjustifiable hardship" principle as guidance in arbitrating the cost of equal opportunity against the financial burden to the employer.

As stated earlier, there seems, currently, to be little prospect of anti-discrimination legislation along the lines of ADA resulting from British domestic legislation.

The UK is, however, also subject to European Community law and the Jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice and the European Court of Human Rights. However, the potential of european institutions to influence British domestic policy towards disability has so far been limited, in part by the limited scope of the institutions themselves, but mainly by the detail of the various treaties, which restrict the competance of EC institutions.

# Europe

The UK ratified the European Convention on Human Rights and Freedoms in 1951 and, in 1966, accepted the jurisdiction of the Court of Human Rights and

the right of individual petition to the European Commission on Human Rights. However the Convention itself does not appear to include rights which would prohibit or provide redress for discrimination on grounds of disability and successive governments have, in any case, refused to incorporate Convention Rights into UK law so that redress is only available through proceedings in a distant Commission or Court (Bynoe, 1990).

Similarly, membership of the EC has also had only very limited impact to date on the development of the employment and other rights of disabled people.

The Treaty of Rome and its constituted law making institutions are significant sources of UK law. However, historically, the European Community has been chiefly concerned with facilitating economic development. Article Two of the Treaty of Rome sets out the major goals of the EC as being the harmonious development of economic activity, stability and accelerated raising of the standards of living. The ways in which these goals may be achieved are set out in Article Three and include: the abolition of obstacles to freedom of movement of persons, services and capital, ensuring that competition is not distorted, approximating the laws of member states and the establishment of a European Social Fund. The social provisions of the Treaties, laid out in Articles 117-128 concentrate on the improvement of working conditions and improved standards of living for workers.

Unlike the issue of sex discrimination, which is incorporated into the Treaty of Rome under Article 119 concerning the equal pay and conditions of women and which has had a major effect on British domestic law, there is no specific reference to disabled people in the Treaty. In a sense therefore, it is misleading to talk about an EC policy on the integration of disabled people. There has however been a gradual evolution towards a framework for policy development on disability as the EC has sought to extend its social dimension.

Early EC initiatives concerning disabled people were not concerned with the development of policy but stemmed from the establishment of a Community action programme to encourage full and better employment, the improvement of living and working conditions, and increased involvement of management and labour in the economic and social decisions of the community. It was recognised that within the general framework, specific measures would need to be taken to ensure that certain more vulnerable groups in society would benefit. This led to the creation of the Initial Community Action Programme for the Vocational

Rehabilitation of Handicapped Persons (1974-1979).

The main development within the Initial Programme was the establishment of a European Network of Rehabilitation Centres, some 38 in number, for the purpose of information exchange and the sharing of good practice. In addition, a number of short term pilot training projects were set up with funding from the European Social Fund to support on a very modest scale local national efforts to improve services for disabled people. In addition to the Initial Action Programme, the Commission also instituted during this period a limited grants scheme to support practical housing projects for disabled people in member states. The Directorate General for New Technology and the Information Market was investigating the basis for what was later to become Handynet. Then, the approach was very much in line with the medical model with the emphasis on "helping" rather than "empowering", and was concerned to use "experts" without any consideration being given to consultation.

No new action programme was adopted at the end of the Initial Programme although support for the network and demonstration projects continued. In 1981, however, the advent of the International Year of Disabled People provided a new impetus which led to the adoption at the end of the year of the "First Community Action Programme on the Social Integration of Handicapped People (1982-1987)". A new responsible division known as the Bureau for Action in Favour of Disabled People was created. The aims and achievements of the First Action Programme like those of the Initial Action Programme, were limited but slightly more ambitious in that issues related to the general social integration of disabled people were also tackled. Although there was once again a concentration on local projects and centres, the programme marked the first step in EC policy formulation towards disability.

The First Action Programme and those which have succeeded it have been basically structured in three parts:

1) The operation of a diverse programme of cooperation and support.

This element of the programme incorporated further development of the network of rehabilitation centres, the inauguration of a network of "district projects" to promote social integration, the continuation of the scheme to support housing projects and the development of relations with non-governmental organisations of and for disabled people.

2) The development of information initiatives and systems.

The principal development among the information initiatives was the beginning of the Handynet project - a multi-lingual modular system of data bases intended eventually to cover all disability issues addressed by the Commission.

3) The development of Community policy instruments.

Although the First Action Plan marks the first expansion by the EC into policy development in the disability field, it soon became clear that the political difficulties surrounding the issue of harmonisation of member states' policies in other policy areas would be at least as significant in the field of disability. Disappointingly, only one policy instrument derived from the First Action Programme and even that emerged in the non-constraining form of a Recommendation.

Employment was selected as the first field for policy intervention. Three reports were commissioned in the course of the Commission's preparation for its proposal (Croxen, 1984; Vogel-Polsky, 1984; Albeda, 1985). All recognised the need for legislative proposals to redress discrimination against disabled people. However, after discussion, the Commission decided to disregard the advice of its legal service (Daunt, 1991) and decided against putting forward a constraining instrument in the form of a Directive in favour of a much weaker Recommendation. The Commissioner's political advisers had warned that a stronger instrument would meet considerable opposition from the Council of Ministers and would probably not be adopted in any meaningful form. The Commission justified its decision, in the face of criticism from the European Parliament, by arguing that a Recommendation was the most appropriate form because of the legislative, structural and cultural differences existing between member states in regard to disability policies. Only a recommendation could strike a balance between effective common endeavour and unrealistic uniformity.

Even the limited measure put forward by the Commission was weakened by the Council. The principles and targets mentioned in the Memorandum of the Commission were not reflected in the actual Recommendation which also modified reference to equal opportunities to read "fair opportunities".

In its final form the Recommendation, established under Article 235 of the Treaty, encouraged EC member states to adopt policies which would promote fair opportunities for disabled people in employment and in vocational training. States were encouraged to eliminate discrimination, to provide protection from

dismissal on grounds of disability and to ensure that disabled people could go before competent bodies to establish their rights. The Recommendation also encouraged the adoption of a quota system. A European Parliament proposal for general Community 5% quota on organisations with over 25 employees was rejected by the Council in favour of a much more vague and generalised proposal. The Recommendation also encouraged the dissemination of a Code of Good Practice. A "guide-line framework" for positive action to promote employment and vocational training of disabled people which "Member states should consider in drawing up a guide or code of good practice" was attached but not incorporated within the Recommendation.

The Recommendation appears to have coincided with rather than stimulated positive developments in quota legislation among the member states. Prior to 1986, although the majority of EC countries, with the exception of Portugal and Denmark, operated nominal quota schemes developed, as in the UK in the aftermath of World War Two labour shortages, only the German "equalisation" system was operating effectively (Daunt, 1991). In the German system, all employers with a work force of 15 or more are obliged to meet a quota of 6% disabled workers or pay a penalty of DM 150 per month per unfilled place. Funds collected through this scheme are spent on practical action to promote and support the employment of disabled people. Daunt reports that within its own terms the scheme is 83% successful with 5% of the total workforce being disabled. Yet, around the time when the Recommendation was being prepared, three states introduced or updated quota style legislation. In 1986, Greece updated its pre-existing quota legislation and extended it to apply to the private sector, including a provision for representative disabled people to be involved in implementation. In the same year, Holland adopted the new Disabled Workers Act by which employers and trades unions are now legally bound to encourage equal opportunities for everyone. The Act which applies to public and private sector aims to achieve an overall employment rate of 5%. Employers were given three years within which to achieve this voluntarily, after which those that failed would be subject to an imposed quota set between 3 and 7%.

France also reviewed its existing scheme and replaced a 10% but ineffective quota with a firmly implemented one set at 3% in 1988 but increasing by 1% annually to a 6% level in 1991. Employers failing to fulfil their quota obligations or who have not satisfied their legal requirements in a number of other possible ways (e.g. by placing a contract with a sheltered workshop) may make a voluntary contribution at a fixed minimum level or be fined at a rate of 25% above this level.

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There is little evidence to indicate that the Recommendation, itself, has had any significant impact on the formulation of national legislation. On 15th December 1988, as required by the Recommendation, the Commission submitted a Report on its implementation (COM (88) 746). It consisted of a set of twelve national reports provided by the various ministries of member states and a comparative analysis prepared by an independent expert contracted by the Commission. The report contains more in the way of updating and clarification of national initiatives and situations than it does evidence of action taken by member states as a result of the Recommendation. Only three member states have adopted a Code of Good Practice, for example, (including the U.K where a Code had preceded the Recommendation). Daunt (1991) suggests that the little that had been done by member states to improve existing arrangements in accord with the Recommendation's proposals was partially a result of the relatively short interval allowed for implementation but also reflected the freedom felt by member states to ignore a community instrument which is not legally binding. It also appeared from the report that harmonisation of domestic law in this area would prove extremely complex.

The Council responded to the Report on 12th June 1989 with a set of conclusions (Official Journal of the European Communities, 89/C 173 01). It recognised that at best the Recommendation had "contributed to a review" of existing measures and "offered a community reference framework for national measures that were being prepared when it was adopted"!

The Council concluded that disabled people "form one of the most disadvantaged groups in the population" and were continuing "to experience difficulty in gaining access on an equal basis to vocational training and employment". Although the primacy of general policies based on economic growth and job creation was recognised, because the success of such policies did not guarantee equal opportunities for disabled people, special measures were seen to be required to improve the situation on the labour market for disabled people. Furthermore, the Council concluded that all citizens should benefit from the achievement of "the internal market including its social dimension" and no citizen should suffer discrimination with regard to access to vocational training and employment or, when employed, to the pursuit of his employment, on the sole ground of his disability. The Community had a responsibility "to promote positive measures which help make such equality effective".

The Commission was therefore invited:

"to submit to the Council, on the basis of an evaluation of the results of the implementation of the Recommendation, proposals in the field covered by the said Recommendation which will ensure better co-ordination and greater consistency between the measures introduced by member states".

So far the Commission has not responded to this invitation. This may be for a number of reasons. Primarily, it is likely that the Commission does not believe that a more constraining instrument would in the event obtain the necessary votes from the Council of Ministers to be accepted. In addition, the Division of the Commission with specific responsibility for developing policy in this area has very limited resources, including a small core team which was also involved with implementing the rest of the Helios (1988-1992) programme (which followed the First Action Programme) and the transfer to Helios II, and with drawing up proposals for a directive on the mobility of disabled workers which was in itself seen as a partial response to the Council invitation.

The fate of policy development towards disability in the EC is tied up with the internal political balance of the membership between those who, looking towards a more federal Europe, favour greater harmonisation between the social policies of member states and those who wish to limit the operation of EC institutions to the economic area and resist any attachment of a social dimension to EC policy development.

The internal dispute and the way in which it is being mediated are apparent in the political processes which have resulted in recent amendments to the Treaty of Rome. The Single European Act (February 1986) amends and complements the Treaty of Rome. In addition to instituting agreement by "qualified majority" for specific articles of the Treaty, it spelt out certain objectives of the EC, including the completion of the European Market by 1992 and the strengthening of economic and social cohesion within the Community by such means as promoting the development of EC social policy. This Act, reflected the belief of the President of the Commission, Jacques Delors, that economic integration cannot be promoted without a social dimension.

In accordance with this approach the Social Affairs Commissioner presented in 1989 a proposal for a Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights. Initially, it seemed that the Community was about to extend its competence

beyond its previous economic limitations but by the time it was adopted by the Council (with only thr UK abstaining), the original proposal had been modified to the "Community Charter of Basic Social Rights for Workers" which has obvious limitations in terms of providing an impetus for comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation.

The Charter does state in Point 26,Title 1 that: "all disabled persons whatever the origin and nature of their disablement must be entitled to additional concrete measures aimed at improving their social and professional integration".

In addition, it proposes that measures be taken by the EC to ensure the fullest possible integration of disabled people into working life and makes specific reference to vocational training, "professional reinsertion", improvement of mobility and provision of transport and housing.

The Charter is not intended to be legally binding but is a statement of intent accompanied by specific proposals contained in an Action Programme. Some of these proposals will take the form of Directives. Each future Directive will have to be approved either unanimously (if it is based on one of the social policy articles of the EC treaties) or by a majority (if it is based on one of the economic articles) (Gooding, 1992).

Included in the Action Programme was a statement of principle that the social and economic integration of disabled people is not only a question of justice but also an economic issue. It identified the Helios Programme as the basis for overall policy development but, in terms of immediate policy development, the Commissioner gave notice of her intention to bring forward a Council Directive "aimed at promoting the travel conditions of workers with motor disabilities".

Thus, the first effect of the Social Charter for disabled people was the Commissions proposal, presented in February 1991, for a Directive on the Mobility and Safe Transport to Work of Workers with Disabilities. The directive was limited to workers in order to by-pass majority voting rules. The Directive obliged member states to "ensure that means of transport are provided and are accessible" or that measures are taken which have the equivalent result according to prescribed general minimum standards and within a set time scale ending in 1999. States were also to take steps to promote training, information and advice and to ensure that by the end of 1994 there are measures in place which enable a disabled person requiring a travelling companion to be accompanied without charge. Member states were to have incorporated the Directive's requirements

into domestic law by the end of 1992.

Although concern was expressed by disability organisations that the flexibility incorporated within the directive to allow for subsidiarity and its limited application to employment, may have led to more rather than less specialised services in preference to adapted public systems, there was a recognition that the directive was a potentially radical measure in combating institutionalised discrimination. If it were to pass into law and the UK Government failed adequately to implement the directive, then it would have been open for aggrieved individuals to petition the European Court of Justice for a declaration to enforce their rights.

However, by December 1991, the proposal was abandoned, having sustained criticism for both its limitations (in being applicable only to workers) and its ambitions (for allegedly unrealistic deadlines). Instead a Resolution was passed in December 1991 calling for an Action Plan from the Commission on transport and disability, including proposals for legislation.

A further development from the Social Charter is the 1989 Directive concerned with Health and Safety in the work place. This included the stipulation that "work places must be organised to take account of handicapped workers if necessary." This provision applies particularly to arrangements of work stations, access to premises, internal movements and sanitary facilities. In the UK the Health and Safety Executive have issued draft regulations to comply with the Directive but these do not appear to extend to disabled peoples' rights or to employers' obligations in this area.

As stated earlier, the development of an EC policy towards disabled people is itself dependent on a favourable political balance within the Community towards the development of a social dimension to EC policy.

Included in the Maastricht Treaty of December 1991 was an attempt to loosen the constraints of the EC voting system in the development of a social dimension. Britain managed to block the vote for the full incorporation of the Social Charter into the EC Treaties, but all other member states signed a protocol on social policy together with an agreement to implement the Social Charter, using EC institutions to take the necessary decisions. Under the protocol, certain social issues, including "the integration of persons excluded from the labour market" could now be decided on a majority basis. In practice, it is expected that the Commission will still seek to implement decisions through full agreement by all

member states, resorting to the Protocol only in event of a British refusal. Optimists believed that such an arrangement could not be sustained in the long term and that Britain would eventually fall into line with EC social policy.

It would seem that the EC is unlikely substantially to effect British domestic policy towards disability, at least in the short term. The promotion of the social and economic integration of disabled people does not fit easily into the pattern of EC powers which were originally viewed as solely economic in nature. Certainly, it is not presently even within the powers of the Community, as defined by the Treaties which establish them, to introduce EC-wide anti-discrimination legislation. Currently the trend towards greater political union and the development of a social dimension appear to have run into difficulties. Although, conceivably the EC could recommend that members adopt such legislation and provide a model act, in practice such a Recommendation is likely to have little impact (as the 1986 Recommendation on Employment indicates). Daunt (1991) notes that there is little significant commitment to the idea of a European policy on disability among national authorities. This he believes stems from the tendency for national policies towards disability to have been developed in a largely ad hoc way. Even if political will did exist for such a policy, it has been pointed out that there are numerous problems of subsidiarity which would need to be overcome before such a measure could be effective. For example agreed definitions in all EC languages of disability would be required. Denmark for example, as a matter of policy, does not have an official definition of disability. There would also be considerable problems of harmonisation of existing national provision.

These factors have led, recently, to attempts from within the EC Commission to develop specific direct policy measures towards disabled workers in order to retaining the economic element necessary in effective policy instruments. Even this approach, such as in the case of the recent Proposed Directive on safe transport to work of workers with reduced mobility (COM 91), has met with resistance form national ministries and has not yet resulted in any substantive gains for disabled people.

For the time being it seems unlikely that EC initiatives will have any major effect on national policies towards disability, particularly in the UK where further developments from the Social Charter may not in any case apply. However, EC activities in non-policy areas such as networks and local projects may be helpful where rehabilitation is underdeveloped, through their reliance on "experts", they represent an international form of the administrative and medical approach to

disability which is likely to help perpetuate rather than undermine institutionalised discrimination. On a more positive note, there is evidence that disability organisations have begun to recognise the potential of the various lobbying mechanisms offered by the EC and therefor to organise on a Community wide basis.

Although the Helios Programme, for example, is assisted by an advisory committee of "government experts" there is also a liaison group consisting of two government experts per member state, nine representatives of disabled people and two representatives from each side of industry. Both the European Economic and Social Committee (ECOSO) on which the TUC (which supports anti-discrimination legislation) is represented and the European Parliament, within which there is a European Disablement Group, potentially represent useful channels of influence. The Bureau for Action on Behalf of Disabled People has particular consultation mechanisms with recognised non-governmental organisations in the disability field which in 1990 formed their own consultative group. The CEEH (Confederation European for the Employment of the Handicapped), which is seeking NGO status is an example of a recent attempt by disability organisations to form a new community lobby group with consultation rights.

# Appendix II
# Disability Equality
## Two Day Seminar Training Notes

Tutor: *Dr. Stephen Duckworth and an Associate*

**Day 1.**

| | |
|---|---|
| 09.30 | Arrive: Coffee and registration. |
| 09.45 | The Course: Introduction. |
| 10.00 | Access: It is not just your 'flexible friend'. |
| 11.00 | Coffee break. |
| 11.20 | Feedback on Access: Examples of good practice. |
| 12.00 | Diagnostic Assumptions: What do they mean? |
| 12.30 | Lunch break. |
| 13.30 | Images: Turning negative to positive. |
| 14.45 | Disability: Facts and figures. |
| 15.00 | Tea break. |
| 15.15 | Advertising: How to attract disabled applicants. |
| 15.45 | Case Study: Employment matters. |
| 16.30 | Wind up exercise and close. |

**Day 2.**

| | |
|---|---|
| 09.30 | Recruitment exercise: From policy into practice. |
| 11.00 | Coffee break. |
| 11.15 | Images of disability: Employment matters. |
| 11.45 | Disabled people at work. |
| 12.30 | Lunch. |
| 13.30 | Role play: Marketing disabled people. |
| 15.00 | Tea break. |
| 15.30 | Brain-storm: Areas for positive action. |
| 15.45 | Action plans and Feedback. |
| 16.15 | Evaluation sheets. |
| 16.30 | Wind up session: Final comments |

# Disability Equality Training: Guide-lines

1. No smoking in the training room.

2. Everyone is responsible for their own learning.  Do not expect to be spoon fed.  You get out what you put in.

3. Challenge each other - do not expect the trainer to do it.  We all have a responsibility to work together and to help each other.

4. Challenge the person's views, not the person.

5. Ask if you do not understand.  Remember that your contributions are valuable.

6. Take responsibility for your own views. Always say 'I', not 'We'. Do not assume that your views are held by everybody.

7. Respect confidentiality.  Allow people to be open and to  speak freely by treating as confidential any personal or emotional statements made during the seminar.

8. Try not to make assumptions about whether people have or do not have disabilities.  Some people have hidden disabilities, e.g. epilepsy.

# ACCESS

**Divide into three groups, take a piece of flip chart paper and a pen, read the text below, and answer one of the questions.**

It is in fact the posture of society at large that constitutes the most disabling parts of being disabled, not the physical effects of whatever condition one happens to have, unless it leaves the individual utterly bedridden or completely fatigued. On the whole, it is the organisation of society, its material construction and the attitudes of individuals within it, that result in certain people being disabled. We are only people with different abilities and requirements, yet we are disabled by a society that is geared to the needs of those who can walk, have perfect sight and hearing, can speak distinctly, and are intellectually dexterous. If society were organised on a more equitable basis, many of the problems associated with not being 'perfect' [as if such a concept had any logical basis], would disappear. The most obvious example of this has paradoxically been most clearly ignored, despite half-hearted efforts at legislation to rectify the situation. I refer to the problem of access to buildings and facilities in the community, and to the callous disregard with which our needs are ignored despite the efforts of sundry committees, working parties and other bodies on our behalf. We are disabled by buildings that are not designed to admit us, and this in turn leads to a whole range of further disablements regarding our education, our chances of gaining employment, our social lives and so on. The disablement lies in the construction of society, not in the physical condition of the individual. However, this argument is usually rejected, precisely because to accept it involves recognising the extent to which we are not merely unfortunate, but are directly oppressed by a hostile social environment.

**1. List any attitudes, beliefs, feelings, values, stereotypes and myths that disadvantage disabled people and explain why?**

**2. List factors in the built environment including access to information that disadvantage disabled people and explain how?**

**3. List the aspects of institutions and services [e.g. education and transport] that may disadvantage disabled people and explain how?**

Take 15 minutes and select a representative to feedback to the main group. Make sure in considering your question you include deaf people, blind people, people with learning disabilities, people with mental health problems, people with hidden disabilities and people with a mobility impairment, some of whom use wheelchairs.

# Charity Trust - News Sheet

The trust assists people who suffer from any disability of body, hearing, sight or speech, irrespective of age, sex, colour, race or creed. It promotes the material, mental and spiritual welfare of people whose mobility has been limited by impaired or restricted development, accident or disease and who are unable to obtain assistance from the DHSS or other organisations.

Assistance is given in the form of equipment, aids or technological devices, or funding in part or whole, according to circumstances. Mobility aids are given outright or loaned for the life of the beneficiary or until no longer required. Furthermore, the Trust will insure the equipment if the beneficiary is unable to do so.

Some of the cases already helped include a lady in the Bournmouth area with a powered wheelchair, presented by the Nolan Sisters and the Mayoress of Wimborne. Another tragic case, a special wheelchair was purchased for a little blind girl of two years and presented by Miss Hayley Mills. The child lives with her parents in the Wandsworth area.

We have helped a courageous woman, living in the Bedfordshire area to purchase a specially adapted car - she has much courage and the car will give her a chance of mobility and life. A State Registered Nurse, who has devoted her life to helping other, found she had Multiple Sclerosis in November 19 - She approached the Trust and we have bought for her a Supa Scooter which was presented recently by Miss Thora Hird OBE. She also lives in the Wandsworth area.

A little boy of four required a special generator and suction machine - the one supplied by the DHSS meant the family could not go out as it was not portable, and the child needs postural drainage. The Trust purchased this - the family live in Manchester. An elderly lady in Dorset, virtually a prisoner in her own home, was recently seen by the Trust who donated, in a hand-over ceremony by the Mayor of Wimbourne Minster, Mrs Ann

Roberts, at a SHOWBIZ ELEVEN FOOTBALL match, a special kerb climber electric wheel chair.

On Monday 8th September, The Rt. Hon. Viscount Tonypandy and the Mayor and Mayoress of Wandsworth, presented to a lady, living in St. John's Wood, an electric wheel chair,  The lady crippled with Multiple Sclerosis, will now have the chance of mobility and life - she was referred to the Trust by BBC Radio 4, and the presentation was broadcast on 'YOU AND YOURS' the following day.

The cases are coming in daily.  The Trust is voluntary, has no staff and further has no grants from either Government of local council sources. All fund-raising has been done through writing letters to corporations, companies, sponsorships, events and private donations.  We need now to remember that although Bob Geldof did a wonderful job with Ethiopia that charity must now begin, continue and flourish throughout the United Kingdom, so that the many, many, individuals who seek the help of the Trust may be given a chance of life, mobility, and hope that there is light at the end of the tunnel.

The Trust works closely, and interacts with other Trust, Societies and Organisations throughout the United Kingdom as well as hospitals, doctors, G.P.'s, Social Workers, occupational Therapists and physiotherapists.  We must encourage research in colleges, Universities and schools, either through groups or individuals, who have a project which we may be able to sponsor, which in the future will help mankind and the disabled.

# DISABILITY ETIQUETTE.

Many non-disabled people have surprising apprehensions and fears whilst interacting with disabled people. The purpose of the disability etiquette is **to give you a few guidelines** about this interaction but most of it comes down to basic common sense. In all communication with disabled people, it is important to understand that there are some widely used words and phrases that give offence because they reinforce the very prejudices and preconceptions which you are trying to challenge in employing disabled people.

It is important to remember some of these ideas when meeting or interviewing disabled people. This section looks at language, behaviour and common courtesies which should be used throughout this communication process. Having read through the following information it is important that you do not get 'hung up' over language and behave as naturally as possible, however try to avoid language that may offend.

## Language:

1.  Use disabled person rather than the word 'handicap'. This word is derived from a 14th Century horse racing term where those riders with gifted horses were required to ride with a cap in one hand. This 'cap in hand' terminology is offensive to many disabled people as it implies begging.

2.  Refrain from using the word 'disabled' as a noun *i.e.* 'The Disabled', it implies a homogeneous group separate from the rest of society. Disabled people are all 'unique' individuals: 'The Disabled' do not constitute a group apart. Use disabled person or person with a disability.

3.  A person is not a condition, avoid referring to an individual by the condition they have. An 'Arthritic' is a person with arthritis a 'Spastic' is a person who has cerebral palsy.

4.    Avoid attaching labels to people with or without disabilities.  For example, the word "normal" has no real meaning if we are all different. It also implies disabled people are 'standard deviations'.

5.    Words to be avoided:
    VICTIM - use person who has/  with.....
    CRIPPLED BY - use person who has/ person with.....
    SUFFERING FROM - use person who has/ person with.....
    AFFLICTED BY - use person who has/ person with.....
    WHEELCHAIR BOUND - use wheelchair user.....
    MENTAL HANDICAP - use person with learning disability...
    MENTAL ILLNESS - use person with mental health problem.....
    INVALID [literally means not valid] - use disabled person..

**Offering Help:**

1.   Most disabled people do not need any extra help. The commonest reason for requiring help is a restrictive environment.

2. Disabled people are all individuals, some will be very confident in asking for help others will struggle on regardless.

3.   Never leap in assuming what help is needed and how to provide it. Offer help if you feel it may be required by enquiring "Are you O.K.?" Or "Do you need some help?"

4. Disabled people have every right to say no.

5.   Disabled people may get stroppy, which can be for various reasons. For example, they may have been offered help 17 times that day already or they are simply being rude and unreasonable. If you believe it to be the latter you should confront them.  Allowing disabled people to get away with inappropriate behaviour is just as patronising as patting them on the head.

**General behaviour:**

1.  Leaning on a person's wheelchair may be considered annoying, but do not allow it to become a barrier to appropriate physical contact.

2.  When offering assistance to a blind person ask them directly what you need to do, but as a rule allow the person to take your arm.  You should guide rather than lead or propel the person.  Advise on steps and other obstacles as they occur.

3.  To help a blind person sit down place their hand on the back of the chair and tell them what you have done.

4.  Advise a blind person when you are leaving them as they may end up talking to fresh air.

5.  Introduce yourself by name on meeting a blind person as they may not recognise your voice.

**Conversation:**

1.  Talk directly to a disabled person rather than through a companion.  Relax and make eye contact.

2.  Do not  be  embarrassed about using common expressions, such as "See you later" or "I'll be running along then", which may relate to a persons impairment.

3. Establish if a deaf person can lip-read.  Look directly at the person and speak clearly and slowly.  Do not shout or exaggerate lip movement as this will distort understanding.
4.  Facial expressions and gesturing help deaf people understand you.  Face the source of light and keep hands, cigarettes and food away from your mouth when speaking, and do not wear sun glasses. If you are with a lip reading person on a regular basis avoid bright highly patterned clothing.  If difficulties occur use written notes.

5.  Many deaf people prefer to use sign language, it is a language like any other with its own grammar.  Interpreters should be provided if deaf people are present at meetings or in an official interview situation.  Find out if you need BSL (British Sign Language) or SSE (Signed Supported English) Interpreters.

6.  When talking to a person in a wheelchair get to their eye level.

7. Many jokes are based on humour that exploits individual's impairments. These are thoroughly offensive and should be challenged in the same way you should challenge all racist, sexist and heterosexist jokes.  Avoiding this implies silent agreement.

8. Resist the temptation of asking negative or intrusive questions, like 'What's wrong with you?' Or 'Have you always been like that?'  When you meet someone its more constructive if you ask positive questions.

9. If someone has a speech impairment do not finish the end of sentences or pretend you understand them when you do not. Always ask them to repeat themselves, even if it takes several attempts.

**Common Courtesies:**

1.  In welcoming a blind person to a room they have not been in before give a brief synopsis of the 'geography' [shape, size and windows] and contents [furniture and people] of the room.

2.  If you are with a deaf person and an audible warning is given e.g. the change of platform at a station or a fire bell, make sure they understand what is happening.

3. Do not grab the back of someone's wheelchair to push them along.  Wheelchair users can get around under their own power.

4. Do not make any assumptions about the existence or absence of disabilities - some people have hidden disabilities e.g. people who have epilepsy or sickle cell anaemia.

5. If you are organising a meeting or conference, to which you hope to attract disabled people, consult disabled people on access issues. Also, ensure you have a statement on your poster welcoming disabled people and advising on access provision.

**Interviews:**

When interviewing and assessing the potential of a disabled person, the following points should always be considered:

1. Ensure that the venue is fully accessible. This includes common courtesies for blind persons and providing a sign language interpreter for those deaf people who might need it.

2. Many disabled people may have had frequent rejections in the past and are vulnerable to the notion that you may have negative attitudes and assumptions about them as individuals.

3. Many young disabled people will have been to segregated schools and may only have worked in the voluntary sector. They may have less developed social skills than you would expect for non disabled people of the same age. This is usually due to reduced opportunities to integrate and it may mask the full potential of that individual.

4. At the interview it is inappropriate to ask questions that are personal to that individual, however if you are uncertain as to how a disabled person might complete a task required within a particular job consult the individual as to how they might carry it out.

5. Practical issues in relation to the provision of access or additional equipment should be resolved once the person has been selected.

# MYTHS & MISCONCEPTIONS

**MYTH 1. Disability is a devastating personal tragedy.**

The Truth - The lives of disabled people are not tragic. The solution to disability is to remove the environmental and attitudinal barriers which are the real causes of the disabling process.

**MYTH 2. Most deaf people can lip-read.**

The Truth - This skill is never wholly reliable, requires intense concentration and can be very tiring. Deaf people communicate most easily in sign language.

**MYTH 3. Blind people acquire a sixth sense.**

The Truth - Other senses may be used to gain accurate information but there is no such thing as a sixth sense.

**MYTH 4. Children should not ask people about their disabilities.**

The Truth - Some adults find the natural, uninhibited curiosity of children embarrassing. Reprimanding children for asking questions may cause them to think there is something 'bad' about disability. Most disabled people will not mind answering a child's question.

**MYTH 5. Disability and illness are interrelated.**

The Truth - Disabled people are not necessarily sick but are subject to the same illness as any other person.

**MYTH 6. Disabled people always need help and may be dependent.**

The Truth - Being physically unable to do something does not cause dependency - not being able to fly is solved by using the services of an airline company. Disabled people may require different services and it is only when choice over those services is removed that dependency occurs.

**MYTH 7. Most disabled people are unable to have relationships.**

The Truth - People with disabilities, like other people, are sexual beings. They can have relationships and children.

**MYTH 8.  Disabled people are brave and courageous.**

 The Truth - The experience of disability requires an adaptation of life  style rather than bravery and courage.  It should be viewed, in  many ways, as similar to any other significant life event.


**MYTH 9.  Wheelchair users are literally 'bound'.**

 The Truth - A wheelchair, like a shoe or a car, is a mobility aid that enables a person to get around.  Wheelchair users are restricted by an environment that has been designed for able-bodied living.


**MYTH 10. The expectations of disabled people differ others.**

 The Truth - Disabled people go to school, work, form relationships, do their washing, eat, get angry, pay taxes, laugh, cry, have  prejudices, vote, plan and dream like anyone else.

# DISABLED PEOPLE

# THE FACTS AND FIGURES

## Incidence:
6,202,000 disabled adults in Great Britain

14.2% of the adult population

## Where do they live?
93.2% [5,780,000] live in the community

6.8% [422,000] live in institutions

## Age:
41.8% [2,595,000] are 16 - 65 years of age

5.8% [340,000] are 16 - 30 years of age

## Sex:
58.5% [3,631,000] disabled women

41.5% [2,571,000] disabled men

H.M.S.O., 1988 [SEPT.], OPCS SURVEYS OF DISABILITY AMONG ADULTS: REPORT 1.

Unemployment amongst disabled people is 2.5 times higher with
52% of disabled men under 30 years of age are not working.
The Employment Policy Institute in 1992 found that disabled
people were 6 times more likely to be turned down with
identical experience and qualifications.

Different sources indicate that between 600,000 - 1,500,000
disabled people are seeking or capable of full time employment.

# Different Types of Impairment

"Yes, we are quite happy about the possibility of employing disabled people but very few of them, if any, ever apply for jobs here."

A. N. Employer.

"I must have applied for 50 or more jobs and never even got as far as the interview, to tell you the truth it is not worth bothering any more."

Jo. B. Seeker.

# Models of Disability Handouts

# P.A.C.T.

PACT [Placement, Advisory and Counselling Teams] previously
known as the Disablement Advisory Service (D.A.S.) was set up
by the Employment Department to provide equipment and other
services for disabled people seeking employment.  The aim
behind this service is to limit any potential cost to an
employer who employs disabled people.  There are various
schemes for which registered disabled people in employment may
be eligible.  Such as:


* Adaptations to premises and equipment.

* One off equipment to suit the needs of a disabled
  person.

* Personal reader service which funds readers for people
  with a visual impairment and communicators for deaf
  people.

* Working at home with technology which helps with
  setting up home based working and tele-commuting.

* Fares To Work scheme which offers help for the
  additional cost incurred by disabled people who are
  unable to use public transport to get to work.

* The Sheltered Placement Scheme promotes integrated
  employment opportunities for disabled people.

* Job Introduction Scheme.

Disabled employees will be considered for these schemes in
light of their own personal needs and circumstances.  It is
important to realise that once access has been provided for one
disabled person the door becomes open for a large number of
others.  Your region's  PACT Team can be contacted through the
local job centre.

**1. Access Committee for England**
35 Great Smith Street, London SW1 3BJ
Tel. No.   071 222 7980

**2. Arthritis Care**
6 Grosvenor Crescent, London SW1X 7ER.
Tel. No.   071 235 0902
It has 400 branches and a welfare department advises on a variety of subjects and publishes a quarterly newspaper.

**3. Association of Disabled Professionals**
14 Birch Way, Warlingham, Surrey CR2 3DA.
Provides advice on education, training and employment for disabled professionals and employers. Quarterly House Bulletin.

**4. A.S.R.A. Disability Employment Project**
Windmill Centre, 2-4 Windmill Lane, Southall, Middlesex UB2 4NJ
Tel. No. 081 574 5742
An organisation that supports Asians with disabilities.

**5. Blakes Wharf Employment Services**
147 Stevenage Road, Fulham, London SW6
Tel. No. 071 385 9471
An employment service for people with learning difficulties.

**6. The Bridge Recruitment Agency**
Abacus House, 1 Spring Crescent, Southampton SO2 1FZ
Tel. No. 0703 555655 Minicom 0703 555655
A commercial recruitment agency run by disabled people for disabled people.

**7. British Association of the Hard of Hearing [BAHOH]**
7-11 Armstrong Road, London W3 7JL.
Tel. No. 071 743 1110   Vistel: 01 743 1492
BAHOH is a national organisation of those who have lost all or part of their hearing.

**8. The British Computer Society - Specialist Disability Group**
13 Mansfield Street, London W1M OBP
Tel. No.   071 636 0471

**9. British Council of Organisations of Disabled People [BCODP]**
St. Mary's Church, Greenlaw Street, Woolwich, London SE18 5AR.
Tel. No. 01 854 7289
Established in 1981 to act as co-ordinating forum for
organisations controlled by disabled people.  BCODP is the
national constituent member of Disabled People's International
[DPI] which has consultative status to the United Nations.

**10. British Deaf Association**
38 Victoria Place, Carlisle CA1 1HU.
Tel. No. 0228 48844   Vistel: 0228 28719
Many local branches throughout country and provides educational
material [including sign language videos] and a monthly news
magazine.

**11. British Epilepsy Association**
40 Hanover Square, Leeds LS3 1BE.
Tel. No. 0532 439393
Provides practical advice on epilepsy and its effect on
everyday life, mobility, education and employment.

**12. British Limbless Ex-service Men's Association [BLESMA]**
185 High Road, Chadwell Heath, Essex RM6 6NA.
Tel. No. 081 590 1124
Advises on employment and welfare matters.

**13. British Polio Fellowship**
Bell Close, West End Road, Ruislip, Middlesex HA4 6LP.
Tel. No. 0895 675515
Has local branches and publishes The Bulletin, a bimonthly
newspaper.

**14. Disability Alliance**
25 Denmark Street, London WC2 8JN.
Tel. No. 071 240 0806
A federation of over 90 organisations of and for disabled
people who are pressurising for a comprehensive income scheme
for disabled people.

## 15. Disability Employment Project

The Pavilion, 1 Mund Street, London W14 9LY

Tel. No.   071 386 8178

Local coordinating organisation of disabled people and employers.


## 16. Disability Matters Ltd.

Berkeley House, West Tytherley, Salisbury, Wilts SP5 1NF

Tel. No.   0794 41144   Fax. No. 0794 41777

Equal opportunities training and consultancy on the employment of disabled people.


## 17. Disabled Graduates Careers Information Service (D.G.C.I.S.)

University of Reading, Woodlands Avenue, Reading, Berks RG6 1HY

Tel. No. 0734 318659

The D.G.C.I.S. provides advice on career development for disabled people.  It is a useful information resource and has a database of disabled graduates in employment and those seeking it.


## 18. Disabled Living Foundation

380 Harrow Road, London W9 2HU.

Tel. No. 081 289 6111

DLF has an excellent information service with a permanent collection of equipment to assist disabled people.


## 19. Disablement Income Group [DIG]

Millmead Business Centre, Millmead Road, London N17 9QU.

Tel. No. 081 801 8013

DIG, with 40 local branches, aims to promote the financial welfare of disabled people.  Publications include a quarterly newspaper and a biannual journal.


## 20. Disablement Information and Advice Lines [DIAL UK]

117 High Street, Clay Cross, Chesterfield, Derbyshire S45 9DZ.

Tel. No. 0246 250055

DIALs are autonomous associations of people with personal experience of disability with the primary aim of providing information for other disabled people.

**21. Electronic Aids for the Blind**
28 Crofton Road, Orpington, Kent BR6 8DU.
Tel. No. 0689 855655
Provide electronic equipment and services at low cost to blind people.

**22. Employment Medical Advisory Service [E.M.A.S.]**
Magdalen House, Trinity Road, Bootle, Liverpool L20 3QZ
Tel. No. 0519 514000
Advice on medical aspects of employing disabled people.

**23. E.R.C.'s - Employment Rehabilitation Centres**
26 Nationally - contact your Disablement Resettlement Officer at your local Job Centre.  These retrain disabled people who have acquired an impairment whilst in employment.

**24. Employers Forum on Disability**
5 Cleveland Place, London SW1Y 6JJ
Tel. No. 071 321 6591

**25. The Enabled Manager Programme**
West Midlands Regional Management Centre
North Staffordshire Polytechnic, College Road, Stoke on Trent
Tel. No.  0782 412143
Training or retraining for disabled people to gain management skills.

**26. Excel Employment: Recruitment Agency**
2 High Street, Hornsea, London N8 7PD
Tel. No. 081 347 8756

**27. Foundation for Communication for Disabled People**
25 High Street, Woking, Surrey GU21 1BW.
Tel. No. 0486 227848
Set up to find ways in which new technology can help disabled people communicate more effectively.

**28. Greater London Association of Disabled People [G.L.A.D.]**
336 Brixton Road, London SW9 7AA.
Tel. No. 081 247 0107

## 29. Handicapped Persons Research Unit

1 Coach Lane, Coach Lane Campus, Newcastle upon Tyne NE7 7TW.

Tel. No. 0912 358211

The unit offers information services via databases: BARD and BARDSOFT.

## 30. Help for Health Information Service

Southampton General Hospital, Southampton SO94XY.

Tel. No. 0703 777222 Ext. 3753

An excellent resource centre of information.

## 31. I.C.A.N.

198 City Road, London EC1V 2PH.

Tel. No. 071 608 2462

Provides advice for parents and runs four schools for disabled people.

## 32. I.C.A.N.

3 Keith Grove, London W12 9EY

Tel. No. 081 749 1681

Provides extensive training for to disabled people between the ages of 18 and 30 years old to enable them to take advantage of education, training and employment.

## 33. IT World

Asphalte House, Palace Street, London SW1E 5HS

Tel. No. 071 834 6637

Distance learning for disabled people working from home.

## 34. Jobclub for Deaf People

258 Green Lanes, London N4

Tel. No. 081 800 9865

Training for unemployed deaf people provided by deaf trainers.

## 35. Lambath Accord - Worklink

336 Brixton Road, London SW9 7AA

Tel. No. 071 274 2299

Assessment and training service for disabled people.

**36. Link - The British Centre for Deafened People**

19 Hartfield Road, Eastbourne, East Sussex BN21 2AR.

Tel. No. 0323 638230

Link provides residential courses for adults who have become deafened.

**37. Link Employment Scheme**

54 Blythe Road, London W14

Tel. No.  071 603 5686

Advice and training sessions are run to cover all aspects of employment for people who have had mental health problems.

**38. London Association for the Blind**

14 Verney Road, London SE16 3DZ.

Tel. No. 081 732 8771

A national organisation that runs a factory in S E London.

**39. London Boroughs Disability Resource Team**

Bedford House, 125-133 Camden High Street, London NW1 7JR

Tel. No.  071 482 4896

Excellent resource centre providing information and advice on all aspects of disability. The LBDRT has a register of Disability Trainers and publishes codes of good practice.

**40. MENCAP - Royal Society for People with Learning Difficulties.**

123 Golden Lane, London EC1Y 0RT.

Tel. No. 071 253 9433

It is above all a society for parents with over 550 local societies. It produces a quarterly magazine, Parents Voice and a monthly newspaper, Mencap News.

**41. MIND - National Association for Mental Health.**

22 Harley Street, London W1N 2ED.

Tel. No. 01 637 0741

It supports and co-ordinates more than 200 local associations and organises regional meetings and conferences.

## 42. Multiple Sclerosis Society

25 Effie Road, London SW6 1EE.

Tel. No. 01 736 6267

An organisation for people with multiple sclerosis. MS Crack is the younger members arm of the society. It publishes a quarterly magazine MS News.

## 43. National Star Centre

Ullenwood Manor, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire GL53 9QU

Tel. No.  0242 27631

Training college for disabled people.

## 44. Open University

Adviser Disabled Students, O. U., Walton Hall, Milton Keynes MK7 6AA  Tel. No.  0908 653442

Usually has 3-4,000 disabled students registered on courses.

## 45. Opportunities for People with Disabilities

1 Bank Buildings, Princes Street, London EC2R 8EU

Tel. No.  071 726 4963

Operates a register of disabled job seekers organised on a regional basis and administered by secondees from industry.

| | |
|---|---|
| Birmingham | 0213 314121 |
| Brentwood | 0277 201984 |
| Bristol | 0272 869532 |
| Crawley | 0293 543388 |
| Kent | 0622 76744 |
| Leicester | 0533 539963 |
| London | 071 261 2393 |
| Manchester | 0612 241743 |
| Sheffield | 0742 723231 |
| Warwichshire | 0527 854201 |
| Wirral | 0516 452346 |

## 46. Outset

Drake House, 18 Creekside, London SE8 3DZ

Tel. No.  081 692 7141

Employment Development Unit and Information Technology Training Centre for disabled people.

**47. Outset - Hammersmith and Fulham**
Palingswick House, 241 King Street, London W6 9LP
Tel. No.   081 741 2414
The organisation provides I.T. training for disabled people.
Two six month courses are run each year.


**48. The Rehabilitation Resource Centre**
City University, Northampton Square, London EC1V 0HB
Conducts research and provides information on the employment of
disabled people.


**49. Remploy Ltd.**
415 Edgware Road, Cricklewood, London NW2 6LR
Tel. No.   071 452 8020
Training and employment opportunities for disabled people in
sheltered workshops.


**50. Remap UK**
Hazeldean, Ightham, Sevenoaks, Kent TN15 9AD
Advice on engineering design on equipment for disabled people.


**51. Residential Training Colleges for Disabled People**
Queen Elizabeth's Training College, Leatherhead Court, Surrey
KT22 0BN
Tel. No.   0372 842204
St. Loye's College, Fairfield House, Topsham Rd, Exeter, Devon
EX2 6EP
Tel. No.   0392 55428
Portland College, Harlow Wood, Nottingham Road, Nottingham NG18
4TJ
Tel. No.   0623 792141
Finchale Training College, Durham DH1 5RX
Tel. No. 0385 62634


**52. Royal Association for Disability and Rehabilitation (RADAR)**
25 Mortimer Street, London  W1N 8AB.
Tel. No. 071 637 5400
RADAR acts as a co-ordinating body for the voluntary groups
serving disabled people.

**53. Royal National Institute for the Blind (R.N.I.B.)**
224 Great Portland Street, London W1N 6AA
Tel. No.   071 388 1266
The R.N.I.B. runs several training colleges and provides advice
and support for blind and partially sighted people seeking
employment.


**54. Royal National Institute for the Deaf (R.N.I.D.)**
105 Gower Street, London WC1E 6AH
Tel. No.   071 387 8033
The R.N.I.D. runs several training colleges and provides advice
and support for deaf and hearing impaired people seeking
employment.


**55. Scottish Centre for the Tuition of Disabled People [SCTDP]**
Queen Margaret College, Clerwood Terrace, Edinburgh EH12 8TS
Tel. No.   0313 395408]


**56. SKILL - National Bureau for Students with Disabilities**
336 Brixton Road, London SW9 7AA
Provides information about education, training and employment.


**57. The Spastics Society**
12 Park Crescent, London W1N 4EQ
Tel. No. 071 636 5020
The Society runs 56 establishments, including 13 residential
schools, further education establishments, 33 residential
centres and 11 employment units.


**58. Spinal Injuries Association**
76 St. James's Lane, London N10 3DF
Tel. No. 081 444 2121
The SIA is run by wheelchair users and their friends and aims
to help individuals to achieve their own goals.

**59. Terrence Higgins Trust**

BM Aids, London WC1N 3XX.

Tel. No. 071 242 1010

One of the leading voluntary organisations concerned with the problems associated with infection or the risk of infection by human immunodeficiency viruses (HIV) and the development of AIDS.

**60. Waltham Forest Disability Resource Centre**

1A Warner Road, Walthamstow, London E17 7DY

Tel. No.   081 520 8347

The resource centre provides a wide range of services including employment training for disabled people.

**61. Workable**

Room C05, Victoria House, 98 Victoria Street, London SW1E 5JL

Tel. No. 071 915 0054   Fax. 071 630 9096

A collective of voluntary organisations seeking to promote employment opportunities for disabled people.

## Disabled People and Their Employment:   Research Findings

**1929, Western Electrical Company, U.S.A.**
- *Disabled people had 7% less absence and 5.6% fewer accidents.*
- *Supervisors reported "The productivity of disabled people is equal to any employees in their departments."*

**1945, Defence Projects, Georgia, U.S.A.**
- *A study of a workforce including 1,717 disabled employees for 18 months showed that disabled people lost half as many work days due to sickness.  The accident rate was too low to permit statistical comparison.*

**1948, Range of Manufacturing Industries, US Dept of Labour.**
- *A comparison of 11,028 disabled workers to 18,258 non-disabled workers indicted identical frequencies non-disabling  injuries and that these injuries were due to the work environment rather than to any disability.*
- *People with disabilities had significantly fewer disabling injuries, lost fewer working days, and were absent less days per injury.*
- *72.6% of disabled employees produced as good as or better productivity on the same job.*

**1957, National Industrial Conference Board Inc., U.S.A.**
- *Bell and Howell could not identify any compensatable acci- dents amongst disabled workers.*
- *Caterpillar Tractor Company dismissed the idea that employing disabled people left a company vulnerable to compensation in- surance abuse.*
- *The Chrysler Corporation believed that compensation costs were not increased by employing disabled people.*
- *Harvester Company considered disabled employees more careful.*
- *Thompson Products Inc. found disabled people more efficient.*

**1958 - 1963, Abilities Incorporated, New York, U.S.A.**
- *Disabled people lost only 4.1 days per annum from accidents, had 1 day per 100 working days sick leave [National average was 1.3 days] and an absentee rate for reasons other than illness was 1.1 days per 100 working days [National average 3.3 days].*

**1963, Naval Shipyard, San Francisco, U.S.A.**
- *6.6% of 4,387 workers had a disability.*
- *The report stated that "With proper placement and follow-up all people were doing their full share of productive work and all were effectively performing their jobs to the complete satisfaction of their supervisors."*


**1969, Hospital Administration and Path Laboratories, U.S.A.**
- *19.7% of 3515 employees had a disability of which 90% were rated as satisfactory workers which compared favourably with non-disabled workers.*


**1973 - 1977, Du Pont, U.S.A.**
- *Disabled workers were more safety conscious, 91% rated average or better on job performance, 79% rated better on attendance, 93% rated better or average on turnover.*
- *These ratings were not affected by severity of disability.*
- *The report stated "There is no disability great enough to deprive an individual of the dignity of a productive and happy life, provided he is placed in a job suitable to his abilities."*


**1975, Inland Revenue Service Centre, Fresno, California, U.S.A.**
- *No significant difference in overall job performance between disabled people and their fellow workers.*


**1985, Six employers in the West Midlands, England.**
- *Three private sector employers and three Post Offices had workforces consisting of an average of 9% disabled people with a range from 2.6% to 18.7% of the total workforce.*
- *Disabled workers had 7.4% of all accidents.*
- *Disabled people with a stable medical condition e.g.. Polio or controlled epilepsy had generally lower rates than non-disabled workers.*
- *Those with progressive conditions and back pain recorded higher absence rates. The overall picture was skewed a few people who had been absent for more than a year.*

# Choosing the 'right' disabled person for the job.

Read the statements and decide why each one is incorrect:

1. People with epilepsy should not be employed near moving equipment, near flickering VDU's, photocopiers or electric wires.

2. The colleagues of workers with epilepsy need to be trained to cope with fits.

3. Deaf people should not be employed on building sites because if you shouted to them 'look out' they would not hear you.

4. Deaf people cannot use the telephone.

5. Blind people cannot cope with a job that requires reading reports and correspondence.

6. People who use wheelchairs can't work in places where there are steps.

7. People with learning difficulties should not work with food or children.

8. Most disabled people need more support and guidance from their managers than able bodied employees.

9. People who have been through the mental health system should not be put in stressful jobs.

10. People who are registered 'disabled' cannot drive.

11. Disabled people should not work in high rise office blocks.

12. Disabled people in 'front line' jobs will damage our organisations image.

# Marketing Matters - Role Play.

*The Scenario*

Equal opportunities are having a profound influence on employment policies and practice of employers everywhere. There are significant skills shortages in the economy and the placement of disabled workers is a growth industry. Several recruitment agencies have contacted your organisation's [Money Maker plc] Senior Management in order to try and 'sell' the idea of taking on disabled workers.

Representatives from the agency have managed to get an interview with Senior Management, and so they have a few brief minutes to propose reasons for employing disabled people. Senior Management have only rarely had to 'manage' disabled people before but have well developed policies for recruiting women returners and people from minority ethnic backgrounds. The recruitment agency is a new company that has not been in contact with Money Maker before.

You will be divided into four groups:
1. Sales team A    2. Sales B   3. Observers   4. Senior Management

Working in your groups spend ten minutes to prepare:
1 and 2 - A five minute interview with senior managers to encourage the employment of disabled people. Choose an individual or team approach for the interview with management. Sales team B will leave the training arena until team A has completed.
3.   Choose observation strategy and decide how to feedback to main group.  Be prepared to give precise feedback specifying facts.
4.    Prepare questions in response to sales team presentation. What sort of attitude are you going to take ?

Recruitment Agencies *will make their presentation, each will last for five minutes. Senior management can ask questions during or at the end of each presentation. Observers should only make comments after teams have finished.*

**ACTION PLANNING:   What can I do ...............?**


Tick box [/] when you have carried out the following actions:


[ ] Develop policy on the employment of disabled people.

[ ] Implement policy in practice.

[ ] Target disabled people by advertising in disability press.

[ ] Word advertisements to be welcoming to disabled people.

[ ] Set targets of disabled people you seek to employ.

[ ] Consult local and national disability organisations.

[ ] Review recruitment process to ensure equal opportunities.

[ ] Retain, retrain and relocate staff who become disabled.

[ ] Develop links with 'special schools' and careers officers.

[ ] Organise work experience placements.

[ ] Provide Disability Equality [Awareness] Training.

[ ] Publicise successes in the press and 'in house' magazines.

[ ] Liaise with TECs/ET/YT on training disabled people.

[ ] Ensure race and gender included in your disability policy.

[ ] Send vacancy list to DRO and disability organisations.

[ ] Guarantee interviews to suitable disabled applicants.

[ ] Consider unsuccessful applicants for future vacancies.

[ ] Ask if any arrangements are needed at interview.

[ ] Contact DAS Manager to obtain information on grants.

[ ] Ensure disabled employees receive training and career
    development.

[ ] Ensure smooth induction of newly recruited disabled staff.

[ ] Ask DRO to send monthly list of clients.

[ ] Review current facilities carry out access survey.

[ ] Ensure commitment at all levels, from the board to line.

[ ] Monitor the effectiveness of your policy.

# Appendix III - Newspaper Cuttings

# Appendix IV - Questionnaire

## DISABILITY EQUALITY TRAINING EVALUATION

Ref. No......

---

**TYPE OF ORGANISATION**

|                                    | Please Tick |
| ---------------------------------- | ----------- |
| Civil Service                      | [ ]         |
| Local Government                   | [ ]         |
| Private Sector Service Industry    | [ ]         |
| Private Sector Manufacturing       | [ ]         |
| Educational Establishment          | [ ]         |
| Health Authority                   | [ ]         |
| Other                              | [ ]         |

---

**POSITION WITHIN ORGANISATION**

|                                        | Please Tick |
| -------------------------------------- | ----------- |
| Personnel Manager                      | [ ]         |
| Line Manager                           | [ ]         |
| Equal Opportunity Officer              | [ ]         |
| Recruitment Officer                    | [ ]         |
| Manager responsible for disabled people | [ ]        |

Other: please specify.........................................

---

**HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE YOUR ACTION PLAN?**

|                                          | Primary | Secondary |
| ---------------------------------------- | ------- | --------- |
| Organise Internal DET                    | [ ]     | [ ]       |
| Improve Recruitment Procedure            | [ ]     | [ ]       |
| Outreach                                 | [ ]     | [ ]       |
| Relay Course Information to Others       | [ ]     | [ ]       |
| Improve Access                           | [ ]     | [ ]       |
| Develop Own Awareness Course             | [ ]     | [ ]       |
| Work Experience                          | [ ]     | [ ]       |
| Access to Information for Disabled People | [ ]    | [ ]       |
| Consult Disabled Employees               | [ ]     | [ ]       |
| Recruit at Least One Disabled Person     | [ ]     | [ ]       |
| Access Survey                            | [ ]     | [ ]       |

Other.................................................

MY PROPOSED **MEETING WITH LINE MANAGER**, PLANNED FOR..............

Took place on or before proposed date  [  ]

Took place later                       [  ]

Did not take place                     [  ]

Not Applicable                         [  ]

---

**ACTION PLAN STAGES**

In order to complete my action plan, I planned to take the following steps (a please list below), and complete them by (b) I was able to complete the step by the proposed date (c please tick), later (d), partially (e), or unable to complete (f).

| | A | B | C | D | E | F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] |
| 2 | | | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] |
| 3 | | | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] |
| 4 | | | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] |
| 5 | | | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] |
| 6 | | | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] |
| 7 | | | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] |
| 8 | | | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] |
| 9 | | | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] |
| 10 | | | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] |

---

**PROBLEMS WITH IMPLEMENTATION**

The problems I anticipated in implementing my action plan were (a please list). They were as difficult to overcome as expected (b), more difficult (c), easier (d).

| | A | B | C | D |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] |
| 2 | | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] |
| 3 | | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] |
| 4 | | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] |
| 5 | | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] |
| 6 | | [  ] | [  ] | [  ] |

Other problems encountered were.................................
................................................................
................................................................

**PROPOSED SOLUTIONS**

The solutions I proposed were (a).  These were effective (b),
partially effective (c), ineffective or inapplicable (d).

|  | A | B | C | D |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | _____ | [   ] | [   ] | [   ] |
| 2 | _____ | [   ] | [   ] | [   ] |
| 3 | _____ | [   ] | [   ] | [   ] |
| 4 | _____ | [   ] | [   ] | [   ] |
| 5 | _____ | [   ] | [   ] | [   ] |
| 6 | _____ | [   ] | [   ] | [   ] |

Other solutions deployed were.....................................
.................................................................
.................................................................

**IN RETROSPECT DID THE COURSE ...?**

(Please tick a. Definitely, b. A little, c. Not at all)

|  | a | b | c |
|---|---|---|---|
| Significantly raise your awareness | [   ] | [   ] | [   ] |
| Stimulate new initiatives | [   ] | [   ] | [   ] |
| Increase your existing knowledge | [   ] | [   ] | [   ] |
| Convince you of the Social Model | [   ] | [   ] | [   ] |

**COURSE MATERIAL**

How useful were training notes in implementing your action?

Useful         [   ]
Very useful    [   ]
Not useful     [   ]

**HAVE YOU EMPLOYED A DISABLED PERSON** SINCE THE SEMINAR?

Yes [   ]                    No [   ]

WOULD YOU **RECOMMEND** THAT COLLEAGUES ATTEND THE SEMINAR?

Yes [   ]                    No [   ]

HAVE ANY COLLEAGUES SINCE **ATTENDED?**

Yes [ ]        No [ ]

HAVE YOU IMPLEMENTED **IN-HOUSE TRAINING?**

Yes [ ]        No [ ]

ARE THERE ANY WAYS IN WHICH YOU HAVE **EXCEEDED** YOUR ACTION PLAN?

Please specify.................................................
.............................................................
.............................................................
.............................................................
.............................................................
.............................................................
.............................................................

HOW DID YOU **FIRST HEAR OF THE SEMINAR?**

Head Office              [   ]
Senior Manager           [   ]
General Advertising      [   ]
Colleague                [   ]
Friend                   [   ]

PLEASE USE SPACE BELOW TO ADD ANY **FURTHER COMMENTS...**

# Appendix V - Evaluation Form

*Feedback is necessary and valuable for programme growth and improvement.  Please fill out the following evaluation as specifically as possible. Your assistance is appreciate.*

1. Did you find the length of the course:
       [ ]  reasonable          [ ]  just right
       [ ]  too long            [ ]  too short

2. The daily schedule was:
       [ ]  good              [ ]  reasonable
       [ ]  too intense       [ ]  not intense enough

3. Which particular sessions did you find useful and why?

_____

_____

4. Which particular sessions did you not find useful and why?

_____

_____

5. Have you any comments on the written materials:

_____

6. Trainers were:
        [ ]  generally prepared    [ ]  not responsive
        [ ]  well prepared        [ ]  responsive
        [ ]  organised           [ ]  interesting
        [ ]  disorganised        [ ]  easily distracted
Other:

Any comments you want to be conveyed to a specific trainer[s]____

7. The learning environment was:

        [ ] pleasant          [ ] distracting

        [ ] productive      [ ] uncomfortable

        [ ] other

8. Do you think your working practices and attitudes have been changed by the course:

_____

_____

9. What has been the single most important aspect of the course for you:

_____

_____

Department:..............................................

The resposes to most questions were listed in the text.
However, verbatum responses to two questions were as follows:

## 8. Do you think your working practices and attitudes have been changed by the course:

"Been on earlier course so not changed but messages reinforced.";
"Attitudes - much more enlightened and enthusiastic.  Will hopefully lead to ability to persuade others.";
"No this has been on-going in my organisation in the last 18 months - the course has confirmed our actions to date and encouraged my persistence.";
"Yes.  Although I felt that I was unprejudiced and open-minded, I now realise that I am vulnerable to assumptions and lack of fore thought. I also feel that I now have a greater understanding of the problems faced by disabled people and am aware that there can be no generalisations.";
"Not really - just reinforced.";
"Yes.  I now feel that I have positive direction and back-up information to educate my management and achieve a widening of applications to more disabled people.";
"No, but this part of my job here been more sharply focussed.";
"I feel that I have more direction to my course of action.";
"Yes.";
"Yes much less cynical and more positive.  Slowly but surely improve advertising, recruitment and selection.";
"Yes.";
"Yes I have a greater awareness of the difficulties of disabled people.";
"Yes definitely.";
"Yes reinforced and improved.";
"Most definitely on attitude. Changing work practices upon return.";
"Many of my prior thoughts have been cemented and other areas cleared up!";
"Yes.";
"Yes definitely!";
"Yes.";
"Firmed up.";
"Yes the concept that disabled people should run seminars on the

issue.";

"Yes it was a valuable insight into other avenues.";

"Yes in some ways.";

"Awareness very much heightened.";

"Yes greater insight.";

"Yes reinforced all issues.";

"Most emphatically yes. I now have the beginnings of an insight into the issues.";

"Yes.";

"Yes I hope to be able to increase awareness in colleagues.";

"I think it will be very valuable in breaking down prejudices.";

"I was fairly open minded to start with but I have become aware of inherent negative attitudes that disadvantage disabled people within the organisation that I am part of.";

"Yes as regards moving toward equality of opportunity for employment.";

"No - consultation with disabled people reinforced - individual, yes - a lot of areas to address - organisation.";

"Very big change of attitude.";

"I don't think I can say they have been but I certainly hope they will be.";

"Attitude: definitely, Work Practice: I'd like to hope so but I'm not entirely optimistic.";

"Reinforced.";

"I intend to introduce changes.";

"Yes I have become far more aware of disability issues, people with a disability, aware of what can be done to improve work and society. Less segregation!! No segregation!!!";

"Not specifically but it has made me think more about what advice I may offer regarding employing people with disabilities from an occupational health and safety viewpoint.";

"Plenty of food for thought problem is how can I influence others - Answer DET of some sort.";

"Yes";

"Yes";

"Yes - more depth to my thoughts more awareness of my prejudices.";

"It has made me think of our recruitment practices in relation to people with disabilities.";

"Yes";

"I hope so but feel very dependent on the goodwill of many other

people in my work place.";

"Attitudes have certainly been changed. Work practices are not so
easy to change especially at my level in the organisation, but now I
have ideas and information to make a contribution to changes.";

"My attitudes have been influenced and in turn I would hope to
influence work practices.";

"Yes, use correct language I have already identified as important the
course has reinforced this.";

"Not changed - enhanced and consolidated my attitude.";

"Very much so.  I leave highly motivated.";

"Yes I had theoretical empathy and willingness beforehand, now I am
properly informed have clearer powers on how and why to take action.";

"Yes and I think time will tell - no great promise can be made.";

"Will be now aware (much more!) of the need for welcoming recruitment
devices, while my attitudes have been gratified and strengthened.";

"Yes.";

"I hope so - but a lot to retain which hopefully could be lost in day
to day work.";

"My attitudes and practices haven't changed but I am more committed to
doing something (and soon) perhaps this was a honest response - I am
now aware of my own prejudices in respect of labeling people.";

"Yes, although I have been much concerned about the companies lip
service attitude.";

"Well, it has certainly reinforced my feelings about the issues and
given me some useful information to use on training courses and in
discussion with managers.";

"Work practices need to be more pro-active  - I can only say I will
attempt to make them so.";

"Hopefully help to keep motivation on pushing for change.";

"My practices have not been changed but I now have ammunition when I
return to work to convince others.";

"Yes definitely attitude.  Remains to be seen if the work practice can
be changed.";

"Yes.";

"Heightened awareness.";

"Yes more of my prejudices were addressed!";

"Yes.";

"Yes.";

"Yes as ignorance had led to misconceptions which has been expelled.".

## 9. What has been the single most important aspect of the course for you:

"Learning from trainers who have personal and first hand experience of disability which added to their credibility and understanding.";
"Gaining a real understanding of disability and being comfortable with it.  I feel this could only be achieved via disabled trainers and working with disabled delegates.";
"The action plan - we must see it through.";
"The practical ideas presented and my personal action plan.  Also the general raised awareness that I feel I have gained.";
"Exchange of ideas and information.";
"To share with others similar problems and establish action plans to produce constructive realistic possible actions.";
"It provided new information on the problems from the trainers perspective and the stores of information on how to reach disabled people.";
"Working with trainers who are experienced because of their own disabilities and meeting with others who are also genuinely concerned about this issue.";
"Delving into the complexity of disability matters.";
"Meeting people from other companies. Practical solutions to barriers.";
"I am now better equipped to affect changes in the work practices and attitudes of others.";
"Created a determination to encourage others to be more active in their recruitment of disabled people.";
"Enormous progress in terms of awareness.";
"Group work and discussion.";
"Being able to talk openly.  Sharing experiences and thoughts, exchanging ideas and practices.";
"The opportunity to meet and work with people from industry.";
"The way forward for me to go.";
"Feel much more at ease with disability issues.";
"Receiving a lot of information and being aware of the information and being made aware of the issues in a very direct and real way.";
"Exchange of information between all seminar participants.";
"The background material.";

"The comprehensive course content and the attitudes of colleagues on the course.";

"Contacts, addresses, information, literature, talking to disabled people without barriers (dealing with them as trainers and not as disabled people).";

"Being trained by disabled trainers.";

"Listening to the trainers comments supported by videos and the literature.";

"Some understanding of the lack of consultation at all states of life experienced by disabled people and aspects frustration at every turn.";

"Educational. Shared experience in group. Breakdown of personal barriers.";

"Making contacts in the world of disability.";

"The opportunity to address some of the many issues involved in employing disabled people. Need to keep disability as high profile in equal opportunities policy.";

"To challenge my own preconceived ideas about the quality of life of disabled people.";

"To understand the capabilities of disabled people and to focus in on what they can rather than cannot do.";

"Day 2 am. The course seemed well aimed at personnel officers and gave them an opportunity for exchange and exercising their professional thought processes. If you analyse the group - the non personnel types seemed to be the ones wanting more weight - probably because we did not realise a lot of personnel details. Perhaps a different approach is needed to different categories.";

"Interaction with people from other working environments.";

"Information - factual and background.";

"The fact that the course had been prepared and presented by the disabled persons. This dispels myths I have held, dispelled by the positive attitudes of the other participants.";

"Discussing these problems with people who have different viewpoints coming to terms with (if not changing) my own prejudices.";

"Shared experiences workshop exercises were generally quite productive.";

"Where to get local information and assistance.";

"I have opened my eyes! And want to make changes.";

"Hearing views etc from other professionals with whom I do not normally have contact.";

"I suggest that the object of the course is defined at the front of the hand out brochure.  The assessment form can then rate against the objectives.  Then ask for negative comments.";

"Actual experience of disabled people - some aspects I had no idea about all.";

"Being informed and made aware.";

"A greater awareness of the need to outreach and bridge the gap.";

"Practical solutions.  The positive aspect of disablement.";

 Discussion with other course members and trainers.";

"Awareness of the real issues behind official and institutional reluctance to employ people with disabilities.";

"Making me think in greater detail than I expected about the practicalities.";

"Raising my awareness of issues around disability and the problems faced by disabled people.  Gathering ideas and information about different practices from people in other companies.";

"Meeting other people - hearing their ideas and problems - gathering these together and taking them away with me.";

"Being able to experience a disability course that takes a different angle.";

"Meeting people from other organisations and learning from their experiences.  The trainers also provided through their own experiences an invaluable insight into the hurdles disabled people have to deal with.";

"Widening my awareness to the practical problems encountered by a disabled person, - I go away with a greater understanding.";

"Take time out to work thoroughly through the issues and fully arm myself to deal with resistance.";

"Group discussions - Challenging attitudes.";

"To have the time to think about the issues and to gather more information.";

"Confronting my own attitude and changing.";

"It has made me think more and understand a little more about how disability affects people - all people.";

"Confronting my own prejudices when I thought I was reasonably open minded!";

"A common commitment to this cause.";

"Diagnostic categories, images, facts and figures.";

"I am more aware now and have some ideas that might help.";

"Hearing from 'Each Side' disabled peoples views and other employers

problems.";

"Hearing the views of all participants on the course.  Both trainers and students.";

"It has enabled me to have a much greater understanding of the issues surrounding the recruitment of disabled people.";

"Meeting employers - hearing their views.  Seeing a positive message coming across.";

"Encouraging to see attitudes changing in management of major companies.";

"To learn from disabled people directly.";

"Facing my own latent prejudice.  Greater awareness.  Decide to take action.";

"The information sources and learning from the other course participants in addition to the trainers.";

"Chance to pick up feelings of disabled people.  Listen to attitudes and experiences and practice."

# Appendix VI
# Accompanying Letter

Dear

It is now just over 12 months since you attended a Disability
Equality Seminar. I hope that it is not a too distant memory
because Stephen Duckworth is conducting a research project at
Southampton University to evaluate the effectiveness of these
equality seminars.

Stephen has asked me to send you the enclosed questionnaire
which relates to the action plan you developed on the second day
of the seminar. We would be most grateful if you could complete
it as best you can. The data collected will be treated
confidentially and not be reported in such a way which refers to
individual organisations.

We realise that there are many demands on your time and
therefore fully appreciate your assistance with this project.
An addressed, pre-paid envelope is enclosed for your
convenience.

Yours sincerely

Ann Kinder
Research Assistant

# Appendix VII
# Semi-Structured Interview

Interviewees were asked to provide information about the action that their organisation had taken under the following headings.

1. Policy:  Does the employment of disabled people form an integral part of your equal opportunity policies and practices?

2. Disability Equality Training:  Do you take specific steps to raise an awareness of the barriers which restrict the employment potential of disabled people, particularly targeting staff involved in recruitment and selection processes?

3. Access:  Do you take reasonable steps to ensure that the working environment does not prevent disabled people from taking up positions for which they are suitably qualified?

4. Recruitment:  Have you reviewed and developed recruitment procedures to encourage applications from disabled people?

5. Career Development:  Have you taken action to ensure that disabled people have opportunity to develop their potential?

6. Retention, Retraining and Redeployment:  Are employees who become disabled supported back into employment?

7. Training and Work-Experience:  Do you ensure that disabled people are involved in work-experience, training and education /industry links?

8. Disabled People in the Community:  Do you respond to disabled people as customers?

9. Consultation:  Do you involve disabled people in the decision making process?

10. Monitoring:  Do you measure progress/publish annual report.

# Appendix VIII
# The Management of Diversity