

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

**SUPPORTED EMPLOYMENT
AND
DISABLED PEOPLE IN NEW ZEALAND:
FROM ASSIMILATION TO TRANSFORMATION**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at
Massey University

GARTH BENNIE

1996

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the development and current status of supported employment, a relatively recent concept that holds much promise for improving the employment prospects of disabled people. It argues that supported employment offers a positive departure from the poor performance of traditional approaches to vocational rehabilitation and job placement. However the thesis demonstrates that because of the perspectives which inform the current concept of supported employment it can be disempowering and oppressive.

The origins and current status of supported employment are explored to identify the central issues and concerns. The capacity and limits of supported employment in the broader arena of employment support services in New Zealand are revealed. The theoretical orientation of the thesis lies in the critical tradition. Three perspectives that have influenced policies and practices in the disability arena are examined

The views and experiences of fourteen disabled people on the nature and performance of employment support services were obtained through individual interviews in order to reveal the central issues as defined by service users. Many of these people were also involved with the disability rights movement. The findings revealed a great deal of concern about the effectiveness of employment support services. In particular participants identified disabled people's lack of power in the development and use of services.

A policy analysis of employment support services, a critical theoretical analysis of disability and the reflections of a group of service users contribute to the reconstruction of supported employment. An emancipatory model of supported employment is described in which disabled people are empowered to reveal the contradictions and power imbalances of conventional approaches to vocational rehabilitation and job placement. As a result employment support services and related policies are challenged to shift from a focus on assimilation in the workplace to the transformation of workplaces and employment support services in disabled people's interests.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have given me a great deal of support and encouragement as I undertook the writing of this thesis.

In particular I would like to acknowledge the contribution of those people who agreed to participate in the fieldwork interviews. They gave not only their time, but invaluable insights about using employment support services that can only come from the lived reality of experiencing disability in a disabling society. I hope that their passion for change is reflected in this thesis.

My supervisors, Rajen Prasad and Anne Bray have been extremely supportive and very patient, particularly in the formative stages of the thesis. Their support has been invaluable and I have much admiration for their ability to help me see things more clearly. They made considerable time available to me in their very busy schedules, especially during the final few weeks. Thank you for your commitment and support.

A very special thanks must go to Robyn, my partner, who did so much to make room in our busy lives for this thesis and to my sons Matthew and Joshua who were very tolerant of their at times, very preoccupied father.

Thanks must also go to the 'flatmates' who share the offices where I work. They were very supportive and also provided much encouragement.

I would also like to thank Tracy Eagle for the superb job in putting together the formatting touches to the final draft.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	
Supported Employment	1
Critical Theory.....	2
An Emancipatory Model of Supported Employment.....	3
Language and Disability Perspectives.....	4
Format of the Thesis	6
 CHAPTER TWO: THE RESEARCH PROCESS: Supported Employment and the Road to Emancipatory Practice	
Introduction.....	9
The Journey Begins.....	9
Historical and Critical Analysis of Supported Employment	10
The Development of a Theoretical Perspective.....	11
Researching Disabled People’s Experiences and Perceptions	11
Recruiting Participants.....	13
The Interviews.....	15
Analysing the Content of the Interviews	19
An Emancipatory Model of Supported Employment	20
Reflections on the Research Process.....	21

CHAPTER THREE: THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF SUPPORTED EMPLOYMENT: Critical Issues and Current Status

Introduction.....	24
The Origins of Supported Employment	24
Implementation and Development of Supported Employment.....	28
The Current Status of Supported Employment	33
Defining Quality in Supported Employment: Outcome and Process.....	36
Quality Outcomes in Supported Employment	37
Quality Processes in Supported Employment	41
Measuring Quality in Supported Employment	46
Supported Employment and the Transition from School to Work	49
Workforce Development Issues in Supported Employment	52
Cost Benefit Issues in Supported Employment.....	54
Selected International Developments in Supported Employment.....	57
Concluding Comment.....	61

CHAPTER FOUR: THE EMERGENCE OF SUPPORTED EMPLOYMENT IN NEW ZEALAND: Policy Dilemmas and Alternatives

Introduction.....	62
The Policy Context.....	63
The Development of the “Vocational Rehabilitation Industry” (1940-1980)	65
The Disabled Persons Employment Promotion Act 1960.....	67
Accident Compensation Legislation.....	69
The Disabled Persons Community Welfare Act 1975	70
A Crisis of Confidence and Emerging Reform (1980-1995).....	71
The Department of Labour.....	72
Supported Employment: Early Beginnings	73
Policy Tinkering by the State	75
Working Party on Integrated Employment and Training Policies.....	78
The Vocational Opportunities Support Programme (VOSP)	80
Workbridge.....	83
Some Policy Directions	89
The Association For Supported Employment in New Zealand (ASENZ)	92

The Need for Integrated Policy Development	93
Supported Employment: Current Status and Emerging Issues in New Zealand	95
Conclusions	101

CHAPTER FIVE: CRITICAL THEORY, DISABILITY AND ASSIMILATION

Introduction	103
Critical Social Science and Critical Theory	104
Critical Theory and Disability	107
The Limitations of Critical Theory	111
A Positivist Account: Disability as an Individual Problem	114
An Interpretive Account: Disability as a Social Problem	117
A Critique of the Interpretive Perspective	123
Normalisation as Assinilation	124
Conclusion	132

CHAPTER SIX: CRITICAL THEORY, TRANSFORMATION AND SUPPORTED EMPLOYMENT

Introduction	134
Disability as a Political Problem: A Critical Account	134
Oliver's Social Oppression Theory of Disability	138
Disability and its Cultural Context	143
Access to Employment: Structural Influences	146
Critical Theory and Transformation	151
Critical Praxis and the Disability Movement	154
The Disability Movement in New Zealand	158
Critical Theory and Supported Employment	160
Concluding Comments	161

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE EXPERIENCES AND PERSPECTIVES OF DISABLED PEOPLE: Part One: Using Employment Support Services

Introduction.....	167
The Research Participants	167
A Schema for Analysis: Analysing the Content of the Interviews	170
People's Experiences of Using Employment Support Services.....	173
Lack of Choice	174
Lack of Follow-up.....	179
Discrimination by Employers and Providers.....	182
Complaining and Challenging - The Lack of Power.....	187
The Role of Personal Connections.....	190
Education and Training.....	193
Improvements and Positive Developments.....	197
Conclusions	199

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE EXPERIENCES AND PERSPECTIVES OF DISABLED PEOPLE: Part Two: Changes Needed in Employment Support Services

Introduction.....	201
Support.....	102
Consumer Involvement and Provider Competence.....	206
Structural and Policy Changes.....	211
Supported Employment and the Wider Vocational Services System.....	218
Supported Employment and the Labour Market	223
Conclusions	228

CHAPTER NINE: THE EXPERIENCES AND PERSPECTIVES OF DISABLED PEOPLE: Part Three: The Role of Disabled People in Changing Employment Support Services

Introduction.....	231
Personal Involvement in Change	232
The Challenges and the Difficulties	235
The Disability Movement and Change.....	240

The Language of Disability	251
Supported Employment and the Disability Community	254
Revisiting the Schema for Analysis.....	256
Concluding Comment.....	260

**CHAPTER TEN: SUPPORTED EMPLOYMENT AS
EMANCIPATORY PRACTICE: Towards Transformation**

Introduction.....	262
A Framework for Supported Employment as Emancipatory Practice	265
Phase One: Self Reflection and Analysis.....	268
Phase Two: Naming the Issues and Problems	271
Phase Three: Planning for Action	273
Phase Four: Action/Practice and Reflection	276
Emancipatory Supported Employment: Implications for Practice	282
Conclusion	286
Further Research.....	287

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE	289
---	------------

BIBLIOGRAPHY	298
---------------------------	------------

TABLES AND FIGURES

	<u>Page</u>
Table 1: Number of Participants who had used each Type of Employment Support Service	169
Figure 1: Disability: Schema of Theoretical Perspectives	163
Figure 2: Disability Perspectives: Contributions and Shortcomings	164
Figure 3: The Development of Supported Employment as Emancipatory Practice	267
Figure 4: A Model of Supported Employment as Emancipatory Practice	281

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to explore the concept of supported employment and its potential for transformative action in the interests of disabled people. My experiences in working with disabled people suggested that the concept and practice of supported employment needed to respond more effectively to the demands of disabled people themselves.

Supported Employment

The concept of supported employment¹ has emerged in the last decade (1985-95) to challenge many of the conventions associated with traditional approaches to job placement for disabled people (Wehman and Kregel, 1994). It is also an approach to job placement which insists that all disabled people should be afforded the opportunity to participate in regular work settings and provided with whatever ongoing support is required to maintain employment (Powell, Panscofar, Steere, Butterworth, Itzkowitz and Rainforth, 1991; Rusch, 1990). Universal eligibility and the provision of post-placement support that is not limited in scope or duration are defining characteristics of supported employment services.

Supported employment represents a set of values and practices that challenge the conventional emphasis placed on determining eligibility for work and getting people ready for employment. It argues that the focus should shift to matching people with employment settings according to their aspirations and strengths and providing training, adaptations and ongoing support in the context of real jobs (Hagner and Dileo, 1993; Wehman and Moon, 1988). This entails a reversal of the traditional approach to vocational rehabilitation and job placement. These approaches insist that disabled people demonstrate work readiness before placement is considered. Supported employment has thus demonstrated a great deal of promise, particularly for people traditionally

¹ The term "supported employment" is used to refer to a concept (principles and values) and a set of practices that represent a service delivery process, for example "supported employment programmes".

served by sheltered workshops (Bellamy, Rhodes, Mank and Albin, 1988). However, its relevance for the wider disability community and the more widespread reform of the vocational rehabilitation service system has not been fully recognised or developed.

This thesis argues that although supported employment signals some promising departures from conventional approaches to job placement it is still informed by theoretical positions that support the marginalisation of disabled people in a competitive labour market. As a consequence supported employment, as currently conceptualised, finds it difficult to move beyond the assimilation of small numbers of disabled people into the fringes of the work force. The potential for supported employment (as a concept and in practice) to develop a much broader agenda for transforming the vocational rehabilitation and job placement "industry" will be explored. The labour market itself and the workplace are also part of this agenda for transformation.

Critical Theory

The central arguments in this thesis are developed through an historical and policy critique of supported employment which revealed both its capacities and limitations. Critical theory (Fay, 1987) provides the theoretical framework to guide an analysis of disability and supported employment. Three influential perspectives on disability are identified. The origins and impact of a positivist, interpretive and critical perspective are explored. Critical theory also guides an exploration of the experiences and views of disabled people in relation to their use of employment support services.

The views of 14 disabled people were canvassed in detail about their experiences of using employment support services, how they thought such services should be changed and the role of disabled people in bringing about those changes.² A semi-structured individual interview format was used to guide this process. Critical theory is used to construct a schema for analysing the views and experiences of these disabled people. Collectively, their views and thoughts exert a powerful influence in articulating the issues and concerns

² The phrase "employment support services" is used throughout this thesis (including the fieldwork) as an umbrella term to describe the whole range of specialist and generic vocational training, rehabilitation and job placement services (including "supported employment") that purport to enhance the likelihood of employment for disabled people.

that exist for disabled people around the use and effectiveness of employment support services and the development of an alternative model of supported employment.

A critical theory of disability is developed to explain the powerlessness of disabled people. Central to this lack of power is their lack of participation in the labour market which is fundamental in our society to economic and social participation as well as material well being. The economic and social status of disabled people is undermined by their lack of access to the labour market, thus affecting their political status, and with it, the means to alter the situation in their interests (Jongbloed and Crichton, 1990).

Access to the labour market is therefore essential for shifting the relations of power. An emancipatory model of supported employment has a central role to play in challenging these power relations and organising activity that challenge employment support services and the labour market to be more responsive to the needs and aspirations of disabled people. Critical theory (Fay, 1987) is used in this thesis to explain the problems facing supported employment, to understand and explain the experiences of disabled people and to inform a reconstructed model of supported employment.

An Emancipatory Model of Supported Employment

An alternative model of supported employment is developed to address not only the shortcomings of current vocational rehabilitation and job placement services revealed in this study, but also the limits of supported employment as it is currently conceptualised and practised. As emancipatory practice (Shirley, 1982), supported employment is reflective of the actual experiences of disabled people and is intended to evolve in response to the actions and reflections of disabled people themselves, rather than the observations and suppositions of non-disabled professionals. Four phases of an emancipatory model are identified: self reflection and analysis; naming the problems and issues; planning for action; and action/practice and reflection.

In this thesis supported employment is, in many respects, established as the opposite of competitive employment which has, ever since the onset of industrialisation, established disabled people as the antithesis of the "able

bodied" worker and subsequently excluded them from labour market participation (Sullivan, 1991). It is argued that the notion of supported employment as emancipatory practice will include disabled people in the work force in far greater numbers than conventional approaches to job placement. Furthermore, sound practice can create the possibility of structurally altering the labour market and employment support services so that they operate more effectively in disabled people's interests.

Moreover, the value of an alternative model lies not only in the possibility of creating more employment for more disabled people, but in the emancipatory impact of participation by disabled people in a process which they define and control. In this context supported employment can be regarded as the opposite of conventional vocational rehabilitation and job placement services.

Language and Disability Perspectives

There is a widespread view in New Zealand about the political correctness of the phrase "people with disabilities" (Theobald, 1995a). It is based on the notion of "people first, disability second" and its use is intended to emphasise the humanity of people who have disabilities. While not disagreeing with either the sentiments or intent of such a position on the use of language, it became very apparent that such a phrase was not consistent with the emerging critical discourse on disability (Theobald, 1995b). More specifically it does not capture the experience of disability as something that happens to people rather than something that people have. In this thesis disability is a process that happens to people who are identified as being different biologically. These differences are classified as impairments, as deviations from what is regarded as the normal or "able" body.

The position of this thesis accepts that a person's impairment is a disability only when society's response restricts or excludes that person from those opportunities to participate in the social and physical world that people without impairments take for granted (Oliver, 1990). People are disabled, not by their difference, but by society's response to that difference, which constructs the experience of disability as restriction, marginalisation and exclusion. Consequently people do not have disabilities, but are disabled by the experience of living with certain differences in a social and physical world that

does not recognise, value or take account of those differences. They are disabled people, disabled by a society that does not value or organise itself in ways to include people who have impairments.

People living with impairments will therefore be disabled by a society that does not take account of and accept the difference brought about by having an impairment. The cause of disability is not located in impairment, but in society's lack of appropriate response. Disabled people are people with impairments who experience disabling events, circumstances, interactions and settings because of society's inadequate and inappropriate organisation. It is this organisation and the material base upon which it rests that produces the attitudes which discriminate against disabled people. Inappropriate attitudes are therefore not regarded as a natural reaction to people's impairments, but as the product of broader social, economic and ideological structures. This thesis rests upon the premise that it is not people's inappropriate attitudes that need changing but those structural elements that produce those attitudes in the first place.

The phrase "disabled people" is therefore preferred over "people with disabilities". As a consequence, when referring to specific differences the term impairment is used. The intent is to confront and celebrate difference, not hide it, and in doing so to expose and understand the processes that construct such differences as a disabling experience, manifested in restriction and exclusion. Such a perspective asserts that disability is not something separate from one's personality, but is integral to the self as a "disabled" person. Guy, a disabled person who participated in the research explained this point in the following way:

To me disability is an experience you have not a thing that you have. So for me to say that I'm a disabled person, I see that as the best reflection of what it is that is happening to me. Because I'm disabled by the society I live in, I don't have something that belongs to me, that's part of my baggage if you like.... people have conditions but there is something which goes on to transform those conditions into a disability...disability is not what you have, its what happens.

Impairment thus refers to the person's difference in purely physiological terms (the "condition" as Guy refers to it) and disability refers to the restriction and exclusion experienced by the person because the social milieu does not take account of his or her physiological difference. Thus the "cause" of disability is

located within the social and economic fabric of society and not within the biology of the individual.

Albrecht and Levy (1981:14) identify the connection between definitions of disability and their creation as social problems:

We contend that disability definitions are not rationally determined, but socially constructed. Despite the objective reality, what becomes a disability is determined by the social meanings individuals attach to particular physical and mental impairments. Certain disabilities become defined as social problems through the successful efforts of powerful groups to market their own self-interests. Consequently, the so-called 'objective' criteria of disability reflects the biases, self-interests and moral evaluations of those in a position to influence social policy.

The relationship between the terms 'impairment' and 'disability' are explained by Oliver (1990) who uses definitions that were proposed by UPIAS (The Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation) in 1976. In the context of these definitions "impairment" refers to the absence, non-use or partial use of a limb, organism or mechanism of the body. In contrast, "disability" refers to the disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by any contemporary social structure which takes little or no account of people who have impairments and thus excludes them from inclusion in the social and economic fabric of community life (Oliver, 1990:11). As Oliver points out:

What is at stake here is the issue of causation, and whereas previous definitions were ultimately reducible to the individual and attributable to biological pathology, the above definition locates the causes of disability squarely within society and social organisation (Oliver, 1990:11).

Disability therefore is not an inevitable consequence of impairment, but is the consequence of living with an impairment in a disabling society.

Format of the Thesis

The structure of the thesis is intended to parallel the research journey and how it led to the development of an emancipatory model of supported employment.

Chapter two describes the research methods used in the study. The methodology is discussed at this early juncture because the study began with a

review of research on supported employment and a critical analysis of the theoretical underpinnings of disability. The field work was then informed by this analysis. The findings confirmed the need to reconstruct supported employment. Chapter two therefore outlines the research journey that was undertaken and how the concept of supported employment as emancipatory practice emerged.

Chapter three traces the origins, emergence and development of the supported employment concept in the USA. Comprehensive descriptions are provided of how supported employment moved beyond initial demonstration to formal policy at federal and state levels. The international development of supported employment is also briefly canvassed. A range of issues affecting the continued implementation and development of supported employment are explored.

Chapter four examines the development of supported employment in New Zealand. The policy context of employment for disabled people is described as a backdrop to the emergence of supported employment. Those factors that are both facilitating and hindering its development in this country are then explored. This builds on the issues and concerns about supported employment already identified in the previous chapter and describes them as centring on specific sets of relationships that supported employment needs to confront and negotiate. The possibility of an alternative model of supported employment to effectively address these relationships is introduced at this juncture. This chapter also signals the need to examine the theoretical underpinnings of disability.

Chapters five and six provide the major theoretical component of the thesis. Critical theory is introduced in chapter five as a means of understanding disability. Positivist and interpretive perspectives on disability are then critically examined. The assimilationist tendencies of perspectives represented by philosophies such as normalisation (Wolfensberger, 1972) are explored in some detail because these have largely informed supported employment to date. Chapter six uses a critical schema developed by Fay (1987) to extend this discussion on disability and to explore the need for supported employment to be informed by critical theory in order to overcome its current limitations. The theoretical dimensions of disability are examined in detail, drawing in particular on the work of Oliver (1990). The implications for supported

employment and the potential for transformative action (Fay, 1987) are then discussed.

Chapters seven, eight and nine present the findings of the fieldwork. Chapter seven introduces the research participants and the analytical schema that was used to both organise and understand the interview data. This schema was developed from the theoretical analysis, which in turn evolved as a response to the central issues that were identified in critiquing the historical and policy context of supported employment. Chapter seven describes and analyses the experiences of participants in using a range of employment support services. Chapter eight examines the changes participants would like to see in employment support services and chapter nine presents the views of participants on the role of disabled people in bringing about these changes. The findings are discussed as themes that were central to their experiences of using employment support services and their views about changing them in disabled people's interests.

Chapter ten develops a new model of supported employment as emancipatory practice in response to the analysis contained in the previous three chapters. The model is underpinned by critical praxis (Freire, 1981), aimed not at assimilating disabled people into the labour market as it is, but at transforming employment support services and aspects of the labour market in disabled people's interests. The development of supported employment as emancipatory practice completes the cycle of critique and reconstruction in terms of critical theory (Fay, 1987). This final chapter also draws some conclusions about the current status of supported employment and its future potential as emancipatory practice. A number of suggestions are made for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

THE RESEARCH PROCESS: SUPPORTED EMPLOYMENT AND THE ROAD TO EMANCIPATORY PRACTICE

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a detailed account of how the research process was initiated and developed and how this was influenced and underpinned by my personal values and experiences.¹ The research process is presented as a journey which began with doubts and concerns about the future of supported employment. These concerns developed into a search for understanding (through policy critique and theory development) and insight (from in-depth interviews with fourteen disabled people).² The process concluded with the development of a model which re-conceptualised supported employment as emancipatory practice.

The Journey Begins

As with any qualitative research it is essential that researchers comprehensively articulate who they are and where they come from in terms of their own values and experiences (Peck, 1991; Meyer, 1991). This became particularly relevant in this thesis as I have had a lengthy and relatively well known involvement in the arena being researched - in this case as a practitioner, manager and consultant over a fifteen year period.

The decision to undertake doctoral research on the subject of supported employment was initially prompted by doubts about whether the concept could deliver outcomes in a largely deregulated competitive labour market in New Zealand. Furthermore, I was also concerned about the historical absence of disabled people in the development and implementation of supported

¹ Experiences include a decade of involvement in supported employment as a front line practitioner, programme manager/co-ordinator and more recently as a trainer and consultant.

² Because the process began in this way the research methodology is presented at this stage in the thesis to reflect the full range of activities that contributed to the study.

employment. While doubts were being raised about whether supported employment in the mid 1990s was delivering effectively on the promises it signalled in the mid 1980s (Agosta and Brown, 1994; Wehman, 1994) my own tentative conclusions were centred on whether it could deliver any more than it had without some major re-conceptualising.

Historical and Critical Analysis of Supported Employment

The research process began with exploring the concept and underlying issues about supported employment. A review of the history of supported employment and the policy context in which it was being implemented were undertaken. The literature revealed that debates about the effectiveness of supported employment were not about the validity or capacity of the concept itself but about marketing, minor methodological tinkering and the need to promote it on a very crowded and contradictory policy agenda. Questions about the nature of the labour market and assumptions about the notion of disability were not adequately addressed.

The thesis is informed by critical theory. An analysis of the New Zealand context of employment policy for disabled people provided the backdrop to understanding the emergence and development of supported employment in this country. Again, concerns about the future of supported employment did not seem to address underlying assumptions about the nature of disability or of the labour market itself. In addition, it appeared that in New Zealand supported employment was not informed by coherent public policy.

The historical and critical analysis of supported employment proved to be a constructive experience. The analysis provided a disciplined and structured opportunity to bring clarity and understanding to issues and concerns that were the source of considerable frustration and confusion as a practitioner in the field.

The critical review of supported employment raised and clarified some important questions about its capacity and limits as it was then conceptualised. These questions centred around the disabling nature of the labour market and of employment support services. There was also a danger that supported employment was set to become just one more option in a vocational

rehabilitation market place that appeared more adept at creating careers for non-disabled professionals than jobs for disabled people.

The Development of a Theoretical Perspective

A theoretical position that regarded disability as a socially and politically determined phenomenon was adopted to examine conventional assumptions about disability and the employment of disabled people. The work of Oliver and his social oppression theory of disability (1986; 1990) was used as a point of departure for developing a theoretical orientation for the thesis. The research process subsequently turned to the development of a theoretical perspective that exposed, explained and articulated the contradictions and limitations of supported employment and also identified the possibilities it held to respond to the issues and concerns that had been raised.

The development of a theoretical perspective was central to the research process. It began to provide explanations where there had only been questions and it identified problems and specific concerns where previously there had only been vague doubts in my mind. The development of a theoretical perspective enabled me to shift from a position of vague unease to one of clarity and understanding. It also provided a framework for developing an interview schedule to explore the actual experiences/perceptions of disabled people and a basis for analysing these.

Critical theory enables disabled people to take ownership of employment issues including how problems are defined and the policies and services that are designed to respond to those problems. The critical theory process of critique and reconstruction (Fay, 1987) provided the possibility for developing an “emancipatory” model of supported employment.

Researching Disabled People’s Experiences and Perceptions

The research methodology next turned to finding out about the actual experiences of disabled people with regard to their use of employment support services. The aim was to engage with a group of disabled people in a way that would enable them to tell their stories about their experiences of using

employment support services. My intention at this point was not to impose any views or ideal model, but to be guided by the participatory and emancipatory principles of critical theory. The focus was on collecting the views and experiences of participants' use of services that they identified as being there to assist with their employment prospects. The term "employment support services" was thus used in this thesis to collectively refer to the services identified by participants.

This approach enabled an open ended discussion about work, education, employment services and about disability. The relevance, capacity and future of supported employment could then be viewed and commented on from this open context. Furthermore the coherence and relevance of the policy and theoretical work developed to this point could then be used to analyse and understand the experiences and perceptions of a group of disabled people. The thesis subsequently evaluated the match between the views of participants and the current models of service provision which, in turn, led to the development of a model that incorporated their views. The emancipatory model is aimed at overcoming the contradictions and limitations that had been identified and including disabled people themselves in defining problems, designing solutions and engaging in action.

To connect with disabled people's experiences and views the researcher engaged with disabled people and entered into dialogue and reflection about their experiences with employment support services. Inevitably this interaction went beyond issues of employment and touched on more general issues and debates in the disability arena. The interaction took the form of one and sometimes two in-depth taped interviews with 14 disabled people who had recently used employment services or who had been in circumstances that enabled them to comment at some length about the use of employment support services by disabled people.

A comprehensive semi-structured interview schedule was developed to guide the discussions with each participant (Appendix 1). Giving voice to the experiences and views of disabled people about their use of employment support services emerged as one of the central aims of the interview process. To what extent did these experiences depart from or resonate with the intentions, beliefs and practices of employment support services? If there were significant departures, how could employment support services be made more responsive

and relevant and what is the role of disabled people in bringing about such changes? Finally, what is the role of supported employment in this context and how can it respond effectively to these experiences and views of disabled people. These emerged as the central questions which guided the development of the interview schedule and subsequently provided a schema for analysing the interview transcripts themselves.

Recruiting Participants

The methodology utilised to recruit and interview participants and measures used to assure confidentiality, were submitted to the Massey University Human Ethics Committee for approval. Following this approval the process of recruiting participants began. As a starting point I needed to identify and approach people who would be willing to become involved in this aspect of my research. While this might seem like a relatively straight forward process for someone very familiar with the field to be researched there emerged two issues that made this first step problematic. First, it was important that people with disabilities be approached as individuals and not as clients of an agency. A number of organisations found it deeply disturbing that their permission would not be sought for their clients to participate in the research. The spectre of ownership and control by disability agencies over “their” clients was to be a recurring theme as the research proceeded.

Care was therefore exercised to avoid using agencies to identify participants. Through known networks in the disability sector people were informed about the research and were invited to participate. An information sheet was distributed detailing the nature of the research project, how it would involve people and the steps to be taken regarding consent and confidentiality. The information sheet was posted on notice boards, included in newsletters and made available to known networks. The researcher also spoke to two disability support groups³ about the project and invited people to get in touch if they were interested

³ At one of these meetings I was told in no uncertain terms that most disability research is an affront to some people with disabilities. *People come and do their research, ask us questions, take up our time and use our expertise. They go away and never get back to us, but they get their degree or whatever. What do we get ? (Anonymous).*

While these thoughts paralleled my own it was clear that talk of “emancipatory research”, or any other kind of research was not going to be appropriate in this context.

The second issue to emerge was the belief by many consumers that they could not risk in any way being seen to criticise the organisation from which they received services. This belief was reinforced by the researcher having an already established reputation as a critic of many employment support services (particularly sheltered workshops) over a period of years. Despite assurances about confidentiality procedures some people were adamant that participation in the research was a risk they simply could not afford. These views were accepted.

Whether or not there is any tangible evidence to suggest that participating in research that may criticise the performance of organisations could compromise the quality or level of service to a person is not the point here. The point is that this is how clients feel. This is their perception. These feelings and beliefs need to be valued and recognised as real for the people concerned. They also reveal much about the power relations that actually exist between those providing and those using services. This reality is in sharp contradiction to the publicity and marketing presented by many providers about their relationships with the people who use their services.

Two initial contacts were made as a result of responses to the information sheet. In addition 27 individuals were directly approached by myself as people whom I thought might be willing to either participate in the research or who might know of people who would. Two of these people said that they would like to become involved and/or gave me the names of others whom they saw as likely candidates. The remaining 25 either stated outright or alluded to concerns about how their current service providers might regard their involvement. Recruiting participants for the interviews essentially became a "snowballing" strategy as a result of four initial contacts (Babbie, 1995).

From this process a total of 36 contact names was generated from the initial four responses. These people were then contacted by phone. This allowed me to introduce myself and briefly explain the project. It was also an initial screening device as several criteria were used to determine whether I should solicit their participation. First, the person needed to be able to emotionally and physically deal with the interview process. This was done by ensuring that the person was fully aware of the time the interviews could take and the full range

of possible subject areas that might be covered. Secondly, participants were also required to understand that participation would not directly enhance their employment prospects. Thirdly, the person needed to have had a significant level of involvement with employment support services.

Following these introductory phone calls 28 people signalled an interest in participating and were sent information sheets which included further details about the project and informed consent forms. Of the remaining eight, four declined, again because they were concerned about people finding out about their involvement. Four decided, through mutual agreement, that their level of involvement with employment support services did not qualify them to participate. The 28 people who had been sent information sheets were contacted a week later to confirm their participation or otherwise. A further six decided that they had not had enough involvement with employment support services to make a significant contribution, another four decided that their involvement might make their use of services difficult and three decided that they did not have the time. This left a total of 15 people from four different localities around the North Island of New Zealand.

The Interviews

The first interview was conducted as a pilot to ensure that the interview schedule enabled the person to tell his story in an uninhibited manner and produced the information in a format that would be reasonably manageable for content analysis. This person gave permission to have his interview used as a pilot. Following the first interview he was very keen to participate in the remainder of the project and this request was accommodated. The pilot interview also allowed some adjustments to be made to the structure and format of the interview schedule.

Questions were organised around four areas: personal history and demographics, experiences in using employment support services, changes that were needed in services, and the role of people with disabilities in bringing about changes. Most of the personal questions were left until the end of the interview when people usually felt more comfortable talking about such personal details.

Appointments were then made with the remaining 14 candidates to undertake the interviews at a time and place convenient for participants. On each occasion, before the interview commenced, a final check was made to ensure that the person understood the terms of their involvement, the aim of the research and their role in it. Participants signed consent forms which outlined the procedures taken to ensure confidentiality. Participants were free to withdraw or re-negotiate their consent at any time. All interviews were taped using audio cassettes. Interviews were then transcribed and following receipt of the interview transcripts participants were offered the possibility of a second interview. The purpose of this second interview was to give participants the opportunity to identify passages in the transcript or comments that they wanted to change, add to or delete. It also gave the researcher an opportunity, after reading the transcript to pursue some areas further and to clarify points that people were making.

Follow up interviews were held with ten participants. Four of these were taped and transcribed because the participants wanted to explore areas in more depth. In the remaining six the participants only wanted a brief discussion and to check and alter the transcript. I did this as directed by the participant and took notes. Three participants declined the offer of a second interview as they believed they had nothing further to contribute. One person received the transcript on floppy disk, made changes to the transcript and returned the disk. For one person the tape of the first interview could not be transcribed due to a speech impairment. It was agreed that this person would transcribe the tape directly onto a floppy disk and make changes and alterations as he went. Unfortunately the tape was damaged and this could not be done. Although the possibility of another interview was discussed time constraints meant that this was not possible and this person withdrew from the research. This left a total of 14 participants. Two people had their transcripts translated into braille to ensure their full participation in the process.

The second interviews often proved to be valuable for gaining additional and new insights. Providing the opportunity for a second interview also allowed an additional period for reflection and analysis by the participant and the researcher. For many participants it was only after going through the first transcript that they realised the significance of something they had said, realised that they had meant something else entirely or felt they needed to comment or explore an issue or concern further.

The second interviews were also a valuable opportunity for participants to ensure that I was not going to accidentally reveal people's identities. Details in the transcripts were carefully checked and I was advised by the participants of the ways in which I could protect their anonymity. This emerged as a significant issue because several of the participants have high profiles in the disability sector. However this also meant that, more by chance than design, the study was enhanced by the participation of people who have a significant level of involvement in the issues under scrutiny. Thus while some people had not had a great deal of recent involvement as consumers of employment support services they had strong connections either with people who had or through roles as lobbyists, advocates and commentators.

While no attempt was made to gain a representative sample of disabled people, the information and insights they shared as part of the research are an important contribution and have added significance. This is because of who they are and in many instances because of the people they frequently work alongside and or represent - a significant cross section of disabled people who are or have used a wide array of employment support services.

Although an interview schedule was used to guide the discussions with each participant (Appendix 1) not all questions were directly asked of each participant. It was important that they "led the way" in terms of how they wanted to frame their story and what they wanted to give emphasis to. However the same structure was followed in the sense that the interviews began with specifics about the person's actual use of particular employment support services and then moved onto broader issues and experiences around the subject of employment. Following this, the person's views and thoughts on the role of disabled people in bringing about changes was canvassed and this was related back to employment support services in particular, although plenty of scope was left for the person to explore and share perspectives on related issues.

The interviews concluded with recording of essential data such as the person's age, race, gender, disability labels and current employment situation. Finally, each participant was invited to offer a pseudonym which could be used in the text of the thesis. This was done as a means of personalising the analysis of data without compromising the person's anonymity.

Throughout the interviews my questions were exploratory in nature and therefore as open ended as possible. For example "describe for me", could you tell me about". It was only following these kinds of questions that I sought clarification or deeper analysis with questions that began with "Why" and "How". These were often related to the person's feelings or beliefs about certain incidents or situations. For some participants this meant revisiting painful memories and it was important to acknowledge and validate these experiences. At other times the interviews took on a celebratory tone as participants shared moments of success in employment, but more often in simply overcoming the service system itself.

During the interviews there were many occasions when participants were directly using my knowledge of employment services to gain specific information about programmes and agencies. Rather than pursue these directly at the time I would make a note and ask that we return to the questions being asked towards the end of the interview unless it was an integral part of the discussion at the time. In some instances it was a matter for me to follow up by making inquiries on the person's behalf, sending material and forwarding information about services. However I also made it clear that this was their story and that I did not want to undervalue the importance of anything that they were saying.

Each interview took between one and four hours and included introductions, scene setting, cups of coffee and minor interruptions. Follow-up interview sessions ran from half an hour to two hours. All interviews were held at times and places convenient to the person. Usually this was in the participant's home, however some interviews also took place at people's place of work. On some occasions there were post interview discussions about a range of issues and concerns in the disability arena.

The research was designed to explore people's experiences of using "employment support services" This term was used and described as a means of identifying any service that people thought had been used to help with their employment. However the term "supported employment" often came up and almost always as an important development for people who have been disenfranchised by the current services available.

The interviews were conducted between January and August 1994. Initially it was intended that participants would be invited as a group to give feedback and review the researcher's analysis and presentation of material from the transcripts. Due to the time that had elapsed since the field work this was not feasible.

A report was prepared for participants which summarised the research process and outcomes and included the thesis contents pages. Details of where the thesis could be obtained were also included. This report also provided an opportunity to share and confirm with participants my ongoing commitments to further research and involvement in the area. Participants were invited to contact me if they wanted to follow up or discuss any aspects of the thesis. The participants' report was sent in June 1996, two years after the interviews were conducted. Participants were contacted twice during this time, acknowledging the delays and assuring them of the intent to report on the outcomes of the research. No responses were received from this correspondence⁴.

Analysing the Content of the Interviews

A schema informed by a critical theoretical perspective on disability was utilised to analyse the content of the interviews. This schema comprised three parts:

- (1) people's actual experiences of using employment support services;
- (2) the changes that people would like to see in employment support services; and
- (3) the role of disabled people in bringing about changes.

The agenda for these interviews had evolved from ten years of personal involvement in the employment support services arena. This agenda was further developed and refined through a critical analysis of supported employment and its policy context. This led to the incorporation of a critical theoretical framework to guide my inquiries further. It is this policy analysis and theoretical framework that informed the methodology that was used to research disabled people's experiences and views of employment support

⁴ Further details about the participants themselves and their backgrounds are provided at the beginning of chapter seven.

services. This also provided the schema for analysing the interview transcripts. The knowledge and insights generated from analysing the experiences and perceptions of disabled people were thus utilised to make an important contribution to re-conceptualising the theory and practice of supported employment⁵.

An Emancipatory Model of Supported Employment

The final stage of the research process was to develop supported employment as emancipatory practice. This development was informed by the policy critique of supported employment, the critical theoretical perspective on disability and the analysis of a group of disabled people's experiences and views. An emancipatory model of supported employment was designed to overcome the current limitations of supported employment, exploit its potential and respond to the expressed concerns and issues of disabled people. Emancipatory practice is a way of working that is deeply embedded in the lived reality of its practitioners and that rests upon an ongoing process of critical reflection, analysis and action (Freire, 1981). Emancipatory practice has social justice and the removal of oppression as central aims (Ife, 1995).

Supported employment, as emancipatory practice, creates a range of possibilities for disabled people to engage with employment issues at a number of levels and across a broad range of contexts. The disability service system, particularly conventional employment support services, the policy machinery of the State and the labour market itself, all become potential arenas of practice for exponents of an emancipatory model of supported employment. The primary contribution or outcome of the research process is this emancipatory tool, the value of which will, ultimately, be determined by disabled people in their struggle to move from assimilation to transformation. (Fay, 1987).

⁵ A detailed description of the schema and the process utilised to organise and interpret the interview data is provided at the beginning of chapter seven.

Reflections on the Research Process

The degree to which the research process itself emerged as an emancipatory one for those involved can, in the final analysis, only be determined by the participants themselves. Certainly many commented positively on the opportunity to engage as an equal with a researcher and the possibility of having their story heard. It is significant that relationships between some participants and myself have continued beyond the scope of this thesis and moved into partnerships involving the implementation of supported employment services.

In one instance these discussions took the form of some concrete plans and an invitation to involve me in the development and implementation of a supported employment programme. Although not directly within the scope of this thesis the development of a partnership between participant and researcher had developed into ongoing dialogue. This partnership had its origins in the relationship that developed within the context of this research. Subsequently, my skills and knowledge were put at the disposal of disabled people to facilitate change in the context of employment opportunities. This relationship was characterised by reciprocity in that my involvement as a non-disabled researcher/consultant was occurring within a framework that had been established by disabled people themselves. They had defined and negotiated the parameters and extended the invitation which I had chosen to accept.

The interviews with participants were intended as an opportunity for dialogue, for reflection, for analysis and for reciprocity. As a researcher I gained a significant degree of insight into the experiences and perceptions of a small group of disabled people. Their words were at times communicated with intense passion and at others with considerable anger, frustration and despair. Each participant had his or her own world view and a personal vision of how employment support services should ideally function. This information and its dissemination through this thesis are central to developing more relevant and responsive services. For my part I frequently found myself as a provider of information and knowledge during the interviews, putting people in touch with resources and enabling people to clarify and analyse their experiences and views.

The interview process, and the thesis as a whole, was therefore an exercise in reflection and clarification for both parties. While the insight and analysis represented by the words and phrases of disabled people are included in this thesis so too are those articulated by myself during the course of the interviews and their subsequent analysis. New understandings emerged from the interaction between participants and myself. This interaction can be characterised as dialogue in the sense that a reciprocity existed between the two parties. We gained knowledge, insight and a sense of personal development from the interview experience. Connections were made between what is and what ought to be with regard to employment support services for disabled people.

As a non-disabled researcher engaged in researching the lived experience of disabled people and with a commitment to an emancipatory paradigm (Barnes, 1992) it was crucial that power relations that have traditionally favoured the researcher be countered throughout the research process (Zarb, 1992). The question therefore arises as to whether it is ultimately appropriate for a non-disabled person to be engaged in disability research. The alienation experienced by disabled people with traditional research processes is increasingly being exposed and challenged.

Disability research should not be seen as a set of technical, objective procedures carried out by experts but as part of the struggle by disabled people to challenge the oppression they currently experience in their daily lives. Hence the major issue on the research agenda for the 1990s should be: do researchers wish to join with disabled people and use their expertise and skills in their struggles against oppression or do they wish to continue to use these skills and expertise in ways which disabled people find oppressive? (Oliver, 1992:102).

At issue is not whether non-disabled “experts” should be involved in disability research, but how they get involved, who sets the research agenda, who controls the research process and if the outcomes of the research have a manifest and positive impact on those people with disabilities who were involved and on others in similar situations. In other words does the research lead to change that is in disabled people’s interests? Disabled people who are researchers have expressed similar sentiments:

To begin with I am not convinced that it is necessary to have an impairment to produce good qualitative research within the emancipatory model. Analytically, the experience of impairment is not a unitary one. The range

of physical, sensory and intellectual abilities within the disabled community is vast. Some people experience a lifetime of disability while others only encounter it in later life. Having an impairment does not automatically give someone an affinity with disabled people, nor an inclination to do disability research. The gulf between researchers and researched has as much to do with social indicators like class, education, employment and general life experiences as with impairments (Barnes, 1992;121).

Whether the researcher is disabled or not, he or she should be prepared to develop relationships and connections in the arena to be researched that are grounded in people's daily experiences prior to developing a research agenda. This can allow the development of reciprocal partnerships throughout the research process which at least create the potential for removing oppression or at least even out what have traditionally been very unequal relationships.

Emancipatory research is about the systematic demystification of structures and processes which create disability, and the establishment of a workable 'dialogue' between the research community and disabled people in order to facilitate the latter's empowerment. To do this researchers have to learn how to put their knowledge and skills at the disposal of disabled people. They do not have to have impairments to do this. Moreover, for researchers with or without impairments, to gain a comprehensive understanding of the meaning of disability it is essential that they interact with disabled people on a regular basis (Barnes, 1992: 122).

If researchers are going to have any degree of integrity this interaction needs to occur before, and continue after the research. Dialogue must be an ongoing process. In the context of this thesis the development of an emancipatory model of supported employment is offered as a possibility. Its emancipatory potential in practice can only be assessed if and when disabled people choose to embrace all or aspects of it. It is therefore essential that the researcher be committed to ensuring that opportunities are provided for disabled people to connect with the material in this thesis. The final chapter of this thesis offers some suggestions for further research and activity directed at developing such a connection.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF SUPPORTED EMPLOYMENT: CRITICAL ISSUES AND CURRENT STATUS

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the concept of supported employment and to trace its origins and development in the USA. Despite the more recent emergence of supported employment in other countries it remains an essentially American phenomenon. Consequently what is regarded as best practice and innovation in supported employment is still largely directed by practitioners and researchers from the American context. Its current status and issues affecting its development in the USA are explored in some detail in this chapter, including related dimensions such as school to work transition, work force development and cost-benefit issues. This enables a more considered exploration of the doubts and concerns that prompted this study on supported employment¹ and provides the necessary background to examine its particular development in New Zealand.

Selected international developments in supported employment are also briefly canvassed in this chapter. The emergence and status of supported employment in New Zealand is the focus of the following chapter which also examines the wider policy context of employment and disabled people.

The Origins of Supported Employment

The interaction of several factors account for the emergence of supported employment as a distinct departure from traditional approaches to vocational rehabilitation (Bellamy, Rhodes, Mank and Albin, 1988; Rusch, 1990; Wehman and Kregel, 1994). The accumulation of evidence throughout the 1970s (for example Bellamy, Horner, Sheehan and Boles, 1980) that people with

¹ The factors that first prompted research on supported employment are described in chapter one.

intellectual impairments could acquire and maintain complex vocational skills, gave rise to more optimistic expectations about their employment potential.

As a consequence there was increasing experimentation with the successful placement of people from sheltered workshops who had been previously regarded as not ready for employment (Wehman, 1981). This experimentation in turn led to a growing recognition that sheltered workshops were not fulfilling their mandate of preparing people for employment (Rusch and Hughes, 1989). These developments also reflected an increasing acceptance of philosophies such as "Normalisation" (Wolfensberger, 1972) which insisted on the full integration of disabled people into all aspects of mainstream community life, including employment.

Gold (1972, 1973) in particular, challenged prevailing assumptions about the productivity and employability of people with intellectual disabilities. His "Try Another Way" approach to teaching vocational tasks (Gold, 1980a, 1980b) coupled with practical demonstrations throughout the USA during the 1970s were undoubtedly a major contribution to the more optimistic expectations about the vocational potential of people previously considered unemployable. Gold's instructional strategies (Gold, 1980a) were based on already well established applied behaviour analysis principles. These were further extended in vocational settings by the work of Bellamy, Horner and Inman (1979) and Rusch and Mithaug (1980) for whom translating the application of these instructional strategies to integrated settings was a logical step.

By the late 1970s a small number of programmes in the USA were placing and training people who would not normally be regarded as candidates for employment in regular work settings. The idea of "structured employment" (Bellamy et al, 1980) had been introduced through demonstration projects that had been operating as early as 1975 at the University of Washington (Rusch and Shutz, 1979) where systematic instruction was provided "on the job" for extended periods in food service industry settings. Wehman (1981) described a job placement and training model that had been developed through "Project Employability" which was launched in 1977 (Wehman, Hill and Koehler, 1979) at Virginia Commonwealth University. At the University of Oregon, in the Specialised Training Programme, people were being placed in the electronics industry using similar instructional strategies (Bellamy et al , 1979; 1980).

These university affiliated demonstration projects, all serving people with intellectual impairments, represent some of the earliest conceptualisations of what was to become known as supported employment. The challenges encountered by these programmes were met by the rigorous application of applied behaviour analysis (utilising systematic assessment and instructional techniques) in regular employment settings. These approaches met with a significant degree of success, but also brought new challenges:

These problems were new to vocational "habitation" because prior research had been conducted in sheltered or simulated workshop settings. Thus, integrated work settings were not well understood before the mid 1970s. Although a behavioural technology existed it was not widely disseminated and failed to address the varying expectations and demands of co workers, supervisors and the target employees themselves, in addition to fundamental concerns such as travel, housing and income maintenance (Rusch and Hughes, 1989:357).

As a result, there developed a growing acceptance that the long standing vocational rehabilitation practice of "work adjustment" and vocational training in segregated or simulated settings, had to be rejected in favour of a process which incorporated "ongoing support" in regular job sites to ensure successful and continued employment. It had become clear to researchers involved in these new innovations that the complexities of participating in regular work settings by people traditionally regarded as not "work ready" in fact demanded the delivery of training and other support "on the job" (Bellamy, Sheehan, Horner and Boles, 1980; Brown, et al, 1984; Wehman and Kregel, 1985). Such conclusions were also based on an already well established awareness of the particular difficulties that people with intellectual disabilities experience in transferring behaviour and skills across environments (Brown, Nietupski and Hamre-Nietupski, 1976).

A "place and train" approach was therefore advocated to replace strategies that involved prolonged and frequently never ending training in segregated settings and resulted in a "place and pray" approach to job placement (Rusch and Mithaug, 1980). These changes in practice represented a fundamental philosophical shift in the way that vocational rehabilitation services had been traditionally conceptualised. By the mid 1980s a notable shift in the debates about the vocational potential of disabled people had subsequently occurred. There was a change from asking whether or not people could perform productive work in regular job sites to asking what support systems these

people required to maintain employment (Rhodes and Valenta, 1985). In practice, calls were being made for service providers to move to an approach of finding a job to which the person was best matched and then providing the support necessary to maintain the person in that job (Revell, Arnold and Wehman, 1985).

The conceptual shift that informed this new approach had two major impacts. First, disabled people did not have to prove their “readiness” or eligibility for work through endless assessment and training regimes. Secondly, employment was now potentially within the reach of a large group of people traditionally confined to sheltered workshops and day activity centres. The notion of enabling people to shift from welfare recipients to tax paying workers appealed both to advocates of integration and politicians keen to take advantages of perceived opportunities to reduce state spending on welfare.

Consequently an emerging concept of supported employment was specifically directed at those people for whom employment had traditionally been the least likely and whose disabilities were regarded as “severe.”

As we have learned about improved techniques to train complex vocational skills and about effective procedures to manage inappropriate behaviour we have come to believe that even the most severely retarded person has an untapped vocational potential that can be translated into productive and independent work (Rusch and Mithaug, 1980: xv).

The early demonstrations of what became known as supported employment and the research that accompanied them contributed to a new optimism. This sharply focused renewed attention on the inadequacies of sheltered workshops and the propensity for the vocational rehabilitation service system to simply exclude people labelled severely disabled. Whitehead (1979) drew national attention to the under employment and unemployment of disabled people and commented on the irony of a service system that endlessly prepared people for jobs that never materialised. In addition there was detailed analysis of the deficiencies and contradictions of sheltered work programmes and vocational rehabilitation. Not only were people being excluded from regular employment opportunities, but they were also being “warehoused” in day care programmes (“Activity Therapy Centres”) that refused to recognise that participants had any vocational potential at all (Bellamy, Horner, Sheehan and Boles, 1980; Bellamy, O’Connor and Karan, 1979).

The problems associated with traditional approaches to vocational services were summarised by Bellamy, Rhodes, Bourbeau and Mank (1986) as five key issues which clearly demonstrated the origins of the supported employment concept:

- Traditional vocational services were characterised by a lack of accomplishment. People were simply not moving into jobs.
- A continuum of services created an endless training cycle where people were perpetually getting ready for a job.
- Services were based on the incorrect assumption that people would transfer what they learned in sheltered or simulated settings and apply these skills in integrated settings.
- The resulting content of training in sheltered workshops was non-functional and bore little relevance to competencies actually required to hold down jobs.
- Expectations were not being fulfilled for the increasing numbers of students leaving the education system.

These expectations had been fuelled by changing curricula for students with disabilities that were increasingly aimed at successful transition from school to work (Brown et al, 1979). However the adult service system was unable to respond with programmes offering integrated employment opportunities.

Implementation and Development of Supported Employment

By the mid 1980s the term “supported employment” was increasingly adopted to describe the conceptual shift that responded to the calls for reform. Comprehensive descriptions of supported employment were provided by Mank, Rhodes and Bellamy (1986), Bellamy, Rhodes and Albin (1986) and Bellamy, Rhodes, Mank and Albin (1988). They described four models of supported employment which reflected the evolution of a concept that initially focused on reform of existing services, but then moved to a focus on individuals and their unique employment needs. The “bench work” model was essentially a scaled down sheltered workshop which attempted to operate like a small business combining business acumen with the very latest behavioural technology (usually in the electronics industry); the “enclave” represented a small group of individuals being supervised on a full time basis within a regular factory or business; the “mobile crew” was a contract work gang usually engaged in janitorial and grounds maintenance work; the “supported

jobs model” involved the placement and support of people individually matched to jobs.

Similarly, a “supported work approach for competitive employment” was described by Wehman and Kregel (1985) and “competitive employment” approaches were described by Wehman and Hill (1985) which focused on the individualised approach described by Bellamy and colleagues as the supported jobs model. Brown et al (1984) were also describing similar programmes that focused on the transition of students from school directly to integrated work settings.

Supported employment was quickly adopted as the term that collectively embraced these new innovations. Although there were variations in terms of specific approaches there was a common commitment to the delivery of vocational services in the context of a real work setting that broke the cycle of endless readiness training and provided support that was ongoing, rather than time limited. The notion of “ongoing support” emerged as the most distinguishing feature that set supported employment apart from traditional approaches and which ultimately gave rise to a host of subsequent innovations.

Ongoing support has rendered the concept that a person must be “ready” for employment obsolete and indefensible. If effective ongoing support is provided, then such support does away with the need for readiness training (Rusch, Chadsey-Rusch and Johnson, 1991:147).

Because supported employment was largely developed in the context of university affiliated research and demonstration projects, these innovations were disseminated rapidly and initial legislative and public policy support for more widespread implementation was not long in coming. As early as 1984 the Developmental Disabilities Act identified supported employment as a priority area of activity for all State Developmental Disability Councils (Kregel, Shafer, Wehman and West. 1989). This legislation defined supported employment as:

Paid employment which (i) is for persons with developmental disabilities for whom competitive employment at or above the minimum wage is unlikely and who, because of their disabilities, need ongoing support to perform in a work setting; (ii) is conducted in a variety of settings, particularly work sites in which persons without disabilities are employed; and (iii) is supported by any activity needed to sustain paid work by persons with disabilities, including supervision, training and transportation (Federal Register, 1984. Quoted in Rusch and Hughes, 1989:351).

This first official description of supported employment embraced all three of the central tenets of the concept. These included paid work in integrated settings with ongoing support. This first legislation made provision for “system change grants” which were made available to ten states in 1985 and a further 17 in 1986. The intent of these grants was to promote the development of supported employment through demonstration projects, “technical assistance” and the dissemination of information. The aim was to shift expenditure of funds from segregated programmes to supported employment (Mank, Buckley and Rhodes, 1990). The result was that supported employment moved quite rapidly from a small number of university affiliated research projects to an increasing number of practical demonstrations across 27 states. Additionally, these initial grants also contributed to widespread dissemination of information and research about supported employment, keeping it on the policy and legislative agenda at both the federal and state level.

In 1986 amendments to the Vocational Rehabilitation Act established funding specifically for supported employment throughout the USA and extended its availability beyond people with intellectual disabilities.

The Vocational Rehabilitation Act amendments of 1986 (P.L. 99-506) fully incorporated supported employment into the national rehabilitation system by modifying the prior definition of eligibility, providing funds for personnel preparation activities, and authorising demonstration programmes. The Act also established a specific funding stream (Title VI, part C) that provided formula funding to promote the establishment of comprehensive supported Employment programmes in all 50 States (Kregel and Wehman, 1989:88).

This legislation, and the regulations that ensued, were an important milestone for establishing supported employment as public policy and opening the rehabilitation service system (in theory at least) to a group of disabled people whose eligibility for employment support services had previously been denied. The 1986 legislation defined supported employment as being:

- (i) Competitive work in an integrated setting with ongoing services for individuals with severe handicaps for whom competitive employment-*
 - (A) Has not traditionally occurred*
 - (B) Has been interrupted or intermittent as a result of severe handicaps, or*
 - (ii) Transitional employment for individuals with chronic mental illness.*
- (Federal Register, 1987. Quoted in Powell, Panscofar, Steere, Butterworth, Itzkowitz and Rainforth, 1991:4).*

Regulations went on to define “competitive work” as averaging at least 20 hours per week and “integrated settings” as work sites where most workers were non-disabled and did not involve groups of more than eight people with disabilities. Detailed definitions of ongoing support were also provided. As supported employment was increasingly translated into practice, the essential features and characteristics of service delivery and programme operation were described. These features reflected, extended and at times challenged those definitions found in legislation and associated regulations. McLoughlin, Garner and Callahan (1987) identified six essential features of supported employment as:

Employment with all the typical outcomes associated with working e.g. wages, job security, benefits, appropriate working conditions; ongoing support where necessary throughout the working career of the consumer; an emphasis on jobs, not services; full participation; social integration; variety and flexibility in the types and quantities of services provided (McLoughlin et al, 1987:27).

Powell et al (1991) described supported employment as embracing seven “critical characteristics”. These were: integration; wages and benefits; placement first; zero reject (universal eligibility); flexible support; life long support; and choices. Powell (1991) and colleagues went on to describe supported employment as a process involving four “phases”: career planning, job development, instruction and ongoing support. They emphasised that supported employment was not, in itself an outcome, but a process aimed at achieving outcomes like self esteem, relationships with others, exercise of choice, development of new skills, community participation, improved quality of life, wages and economic self sufficiency (Powell et al, 1991: 5-9).

A job was therefore the vehicle for achieving these outcomes, assisted by the delivery of supported employment services oriented to the unique needs of each individual. The notion of “placement first” as opposed to traditional readiness and work adjustment training essentially reversed the conventional strategies associated with vocational rehabilitation. It made the idea of pre-employment training or pre-vocational training redundant. However it also alluded to a different understanding of disability, implying that the problem of participation did not lie within disabled people, but in the exclusionary nature of support services and work settings.

Rusch, Chadsey-Rusch and Johnson (1991), in reviewing the work of others, identified the following “programme components” that make up supported employment: community survey and job analysis, job match and placement, job training (through “job coaches”), follow up services and inter-agency coordination. They went on to distinguish between supported employment and other approaches to job placement:

Programmes that provide on site assessment and training services, but that do not provide ongoing support, would be considered time limited services rather than supported employment (Rusch et al, 1991:148).

Whether referred to as programme components, essential requirements or critical characteristics there was clearly an emerging consensus by the close of the 1980s about who supported employment was for and about the values and philosophies that underpinned it. There was also a degree of consensus about what were the key activities in delivering services.

The 1990s saw an increasing sophistication in the delivery of services as researchers and practitioners enhanced their understanding of employment settings and the kinds of relationships that needed to be forged with the employer community. The role of job coaches, as primarily the providers of on-site instruction, came under increasing scrutiny as the importance of relationships in the workplace emerged as crucial to successful integration (Nisbet and Hagner, 1988). The identification and development of “natural supports” in the workplace was incorporated as central to the role of supported employment, prompting the development of new strategies and practices, that were not just new to supported employment, but unique in the vocational rehabilitation arena (Hagner and Dileo 1993).

The forging of partnerships and productive relationships with business communities has been a recent development with a call for the more deliberate marketing of supported employment to employers as “customers” who have needs that can be matched with those of disabled people (Dileo and Langton, 1993). The following observation reflected the conceptual shift within supported employment as it moved from the delivery of instructional technology to immersion in workplace culture and the business community:

Developing and supporting both friendships and business relationships may be more powerful in maintaining meaningful jobs than our training technology, and focusing our efforts on this process is critical (Powell et al, 1991:125).

In response to a period of review initiated in 1990, regulations governing the implementation of the 1986 Rehabilitation Act were amended in 1992 to clarify and add flexibility to the implementation and delivery of supported employment services. These included the removal of the 20 hour criterion for “competitive employment” and expanding the definition of ongoing support to include a variety of supports other than just skill training. These changes increased the accessibility of supported employment and recognised the variety of activities that could be undertaken to “support” the employment of individuals (Revell, 1992). In addition the amendments stated “unequivocally that all individuals, regardless of the severity of their disability, were presumed to be capable of gainful employment, given the necessary services and supports” (West, Kregel and Revell, 1994).

These amendments appear to have been largely in response to increasing concerns that some state vocational rehabilitation systems were still screening people with severe disabilities out of eligibility for supported employment, and therefore limiting the funding available to supported employment programmes. Concerns about the inability of rehabilitation agencies to serve these individuals, and the resistance of the vocational rehabilitation community to embrace the supported employment concept had been around ever since the original legislation for supported employment was passed (Shafer, 1988).

The Current Status of Supported Employment

The status of supported employment in the USA has been the subject of ongoing research. The Virginia Commonwealth University Rehabilitation Research and Training Centre has been comprehensively tracking the development and expansion of supported employment in the USA since the initial “system change grants” were made available to ten states in 1985. Although this research initially involved only the 27 States that subsequently received system change grants it was expanded to cover the whole country allowing for a comprehensive picture to emerge. A preliminary analysis showed that in 1986 there were 9,633 individuals being served by 246

supported employment programmes. By 1988 this had risen to 24,804 individuals and 629 providers (Shafer, Wehman, Kregel and West, 1990: 319-320). By 1990 there were a reported 51,992 individuals being served by 2,226 provider agencies (Wehman, Kregel, Revell and West, 1990: 8-10). This represented a phenomenal 426% increase in the numbers over a four year period (Shafer et al, 1990:9). Further updates showed that in 1991, 74,960 people were participating in supported employment (Revell, Wehman, Kregel West and Rayfield, 1994)) and 110,000 in 1994 as reported by Mank (1994).

During the late 1980s supported employment developed in the USA as a rapidly expanding alternative for people who had previously been confined to sheltered workshops and day activity programmes, although growth in those states that did not receive the initial impetus from system change grants was much less. By 1991 some consistent trends were beginning to emerge (Revell, Wehman, Kregel, West and Rayfield (1994). While people with intellectual impairments were by far the most significant user group (62.8%) followed by people with psychiatric disabilities (22.2%), supported employment was also showing signs of reaching out to people with physical impairments, autism, sensory impairments and those with brain injury. The individual placement model was emerging as the preferable approach to supported employment (79.8%) with a noticeable drop in group placement approaches. The small business or bench work model had dropped from 7.3% in 1988 to 1% in 1991. Positive trends were also noted with regard to hourly and weekly earnings (Revell et al 1994).

These positive developments were offset by a very low level of involvement of people with severe and profound disabilities in supported employment (only 8.7%) even though the intention of supported employment had been to serve this group. This level of participation was of increasing concern to advocates and echoed warnings issued in earlier reports (Kregel and Wehman, 1989). Supported employment was also expanding as a new option in addition to, and not at the expense of, segregated day programmes and vocational services. These latter services had only declined marginally since the onset of supported employment (West, Revell and Wehman, 1992). Overall the growth of supported employment had flattened considerably during the early 1990s. While this was partly accounted for by the onset of an economic recession in 1991 other factors were also highlighted. These factors included the ending of the system change grants, the reluctance of the wider vocational rehabilitation

system to promote supported employment and contradictory federal and state policies that still made funds easily available for segregated programmes (Davis, 1994; Wehman and Kregel, 1994).

The result of the slowdown in the expansion of supported employment and its reluctance to respond to those with more severe disabilities had been described by some as “the under achievement of supported employment” with calls for “a reinvestment” (Mank, 1994). The Association for People In Supported Employment (APSE) which was formed in 1988, and had done much to promote supported employment, responded to the challenge of a “national agenda for supported employment” described by Wehman (1994) with an “Action Plan” to “revitalise” the supported employment movement (APSE, 1994). Major obstacles to expansion were identified as: conflicting messages from state and federal policies, insufficient funding for long term support, inadequate training for supported employment staff, lack of technical assistance to help with conversion of segregated services and a lack of organised and cooperative commitment by state and federal agencies (Agosta and Brown, 1994).

In the USA, supported employment had moved from early experimentation and demonstration to being firmly established as an employment policy endorsed by legislation. It had, as a result, undergone rapid expansion and development in a short period. However although it was now serving over 110,000 individuals there were still approximately one million potential users across the USA (TRN Infolines, 1994). It faced a formidable challenge as it struggled to move towards more widespread implementation in an already crowded vocational rehabilitation market place, still firmly entrenched in traditional approaches based on readiness training and segregation.

Nevertheless it had established a significant profile across the USA and had been adopted in other countries. It was also widely supported by consumers, parents and advocates and had a sound research and demonstration base. Critical issues remained, including its relevance to those with the most severe disabilities and its relationship with the vocational rehabilitation system. It was also a concept that had evolved, and continues to evolve, as it responds to new challenges and demands. Exploring the issues that arise from these demands and challenges will enable a more considered appraisal of the capacities and limits of the supported employment concept.

Defining Quality in Supported Employment: Outcome and Process

Issues of quality in supported employment have tended to focus on two distinct, but related dimensions: process (those activities and practices that are undertaken to deliver a supported employment service) and outcomes (the results of the process and what it achieves for participants). As Bellamy, Rhodes, Mank and Albin (1988) noted, supported employment is both a job and a social service. Perceptions of what constitutes quality will also vary according to the perspective of the participant (employer, provider, consumer, family member, etc).

There has always been a broad consensus on what the outcomes of supported employment should be and these are related to the core values that prompted its initial development: paid work in integrated settings. Thus evaluations of the outcomes of supported employment have focused on its impact with respect to wages, job retention, job satisfaction, and the degree to which people are accepted, included and valued (i.e. integrated) into employment settings. At a broader level the impact of supported employment on the reform of vocational rehabilitation and overall employment rates for disabled people, particularly those usually confined to segregated day programmes, have also emerged as intended outcomes of supported employment (Wehman and Moon, 1988; Wehman and Kregel, 1989).

The identification of quality processes in supported employment has evolved significantly, and will continue to do so as the "state of the art" constantly shifts in response to new innovations and the dissemination of a growing body of research knowledge. Defining quality in terms of process has involved identifying what constitutes a "quality service". The focus in this regard has been on the interventions and practices that have guided an evolving series of programme components, for example: assessment, individual planning, job search, job development and matching, instruction, advocacy, involving co-workers and marketing services to employers. In addition, the issue of quality has also been about the most appropriate organisational structure or model through which to offer the various programme components or process of supported employment. Each of these distinct, but related dimensions will now be addressed in some detail.

Quality Outcomes in Supported Employment

Implicit in discussions about outcomes has always been the assumption that a job is a central vehicle for achieving significant improvements in the quality of life of disabled people, especially those excluded from the interventions of the vocational rehabilitation system prior to the advent of supported employment.

Quality in supported employment is reflected in how well a job creates choices for the individual with a disability, structures his or her time, provides opportunities for advancement, creates social opportunities and where and how he or she lives (Bellamy et al, 1988: 115).

While there has been a degree of consensus about what outcomes supported employment should be pursuing, their priority, is the subject of intense debate (Hagner, Nisbet, Callahan and Moseley, 1987). More particularly, the importance of wages versus integration reflects the dilemmas faced by a concept that attempts to introduce people to a labour market originally designed to exclude them.

Unfortunately, as long as direct pay is an admission requirement to the real world of work, confinement to unnecessarily costly, anti habilitative and counterproductive programs that never lead to real work will prevail (Brown, Shiraga ,York., Kessler, Strohm, Rogan, Zanella, Van Deventer and Loomis, 1984:262).

For Brown and colleagues the central issue is integration, the inclusion of disabled people with their non-disabled peers in real work settings. Where direct pay cannot be negotiated they suggested a closely monitored "extended training option". However Bellamy, Rhodes, Wilcox, Albin, Mank, Horner, Collins and Turner (1984) provided an opposing view:

We believe that their extended training proposal represents an unnecessary retreat from the values that have guided development of exemplary school and community services for people with severe handicaps...and needlessly sacrifices wages and other employment benefits, distorts the benefits of integration by looking only at the workplace and tolerates unequal treatment of citizens with severe handicaps (Bellamy et al, 1984:270).

Whilst promoting debate, such polarised views may not be helpful when considered against the complexities and barriers faced by disabled people when attempting to move into real work settings. In a sense "they are boldly going where no policy has gone before them" with supported employment

attempting to seek answers to questions that public policy has not yet asked. In addition disabled people themselves may have different perspectives, depending on their personal histories and current circumstances, with regard to the relative value of wages versus integration. Moseley (1988) reported that while some workers with disabilities were prepared to tolerate a job they disliked because of the pay, others were more concerned about the autonomy and quality of the experience than with wages.

What could prove to be more important in determining quality may be neither wages nor integration, but the extent to which the person is enabled to exercise personal choice in determining their own hierarchy of outcomes. Martin and Mithaug (1990) highlighted the propensity of programmes to gloss over the issue of consumer choice with regard to placement decisions. Outcomes are important, but not at the expense of the process which should be just as empowering as the outcome.

Hagner, Nisbet, Callahan and Moseley (1987) offered a constructive perspective by pointing out that Brown, et al (1984) and Bellamy, et al (1984) both agreed that wages and integration were superior to no pay and segregation.

However, persons with severe disabilities should not be required to choose between two undesirable alternatives any more than other workers. The goal must be to ensure that workers with severe disabilities both participate in the same community vocational settings available to others and receive remuneration for the work they produce (Hagner et al, 1987: 45).

The authors went on to examine existing and possible payment mechanisms in the USA that fostered appropriate remuneration at whatever level a person was currently producing. Nevertheless the impact on wages for those participating in supported employment has been very encouraging. Thompson, Powers and Houchard (1992) found that participants in supported employment programmes were generally paid more than those in sheltered workshops and Revell et al (1994) revealed that over the longer term the wage rates paid to supported employment participants were increasing.

The dilemma remains of how to ensure appropriate remuneration (and the absence of exploitation) in a labour market that finds it very difficult to quantify productivity outside narrowly defined limits, and still respond to the increasing demand of people, whose productivity may always be outside these limits, to participate in real work settings alongside their non- disabled peers.

In the USA, as in other countries, supported employment is responding to this imperative for inclusion. In the process it often moves well beyond the capacity of current public policy to provide legislative and legal frameworks that protect participants whose level of productivity is far removed from what is traditionally required to be an 'employee'. However, by refusing to serve people for whom direct payment cannot be immediately negotiated the possibility of keeping the development of a policy framework on the agenda is remote. Such changes are unlikely to proceed without the tangible presence of people with severe disabilities in the workplace to force the issue, even in the perceived absence of fair remuneration.

Because of the degree of segregation, unemployment and poverty experienced by so many disabled people, there is a danger that supported employment can inadvertently forsake one quality outcome for another. While for many the initial experience of working in the community as opposed to a sheltered workshop, or not working at all, can bring a high degree of satisfaction and sense of achievement (Sinnott-Oswald, Gliner and Spencer, 1991), there are also factors that can lead to disillusionment (Pedlar, Lord and Van Loon, 1989). Opportunities for advancement may be very limited. Benefit abatement regimes and the low wages of entry level jobs may result in little improvement in people's financial security. Quality outcomes in terms of financial remuneration have therefore been difficult, although not impossible, to come by (Thompson, Powers and Houchard, 1992). What is significant though, is the central place that appropriate remuneration has retained as a defining characteristic in terms of quality supported employment.

Despite appropriate remuneration being an elusive outcome (particularly for those with more severe disabilities) there appears to be no retreat (in theory) from pursuing solutions to the ethical and policy dilemmas such a challenge brings. However it does possibly account for some of the reluctance to serve people with more severe disabilities in supported employment programmes. Programmes are challenged when they do not serve people with severe disabilities, but when they do they are challenged further for not negotiating immediate direct pay for these individuals. For many providers, retreating from the challenge of not serving people with severe impairments is preferable to responding to accusations of exploitation and slave labour.

The social validation of supported employment (Test, 1994) has been less difficult to demonstrate. Despite the issues related to fair remuneration, the social imperative of including disabled people in all aspects of community life, including the workplace, has propelled the expansion of supported employment along with other inclusive strategies. The social validity of people with disabilities working in integrated settings, even people for whom “productivity” is difficult to quantify, appears to have widespread support, in theory at least, throughout the community (Black and Meyer, 1992; Test, 1994).

While acknowledging the presence of wages as crucial for not only a valued employment experience, but also as the means of increasing one’s economic and social participation generally, it is also becoming clear that it is the quality of integration or the degree of inclusion that ultimately determines the quality of supported employment, and the chances of fair remuneration.

Integration is what the fuss is all about. Typically, we merely focus on physical integration without regard to the texture of participation and the richness of opportunity to become an equal participant in the work place (Rusch, 1990:xv).

Shafer, Rice and Metzler (1989) suggested that while integration may be the most significant promise for supported employment, it was also the most serious challenge. Their work revealed that integration efforts were too focused on competence and argued for more emphasis on the values, perceptions of and interactions with co-workers. Pedlar, Lord and Van Loon (1989) identified six themes that people used to determine the quality of their supported employment experience: job satisfaction, advancement, self worth, self determination, economic well being and relationships. With reference to economic well being it may well follow that this is dependent on the success of integration. An employee who is included and valued implies an equality in terms of remuneration. A situation where the person is seen primarily as a “client” of a social service or a charitable cause rather than an employee of the company may not only compromise the likelihood of fair remuneration, but also of job security.

Studies related to integration as an outcome of supported employment have focused on a number of dimensions: issues such as job retention (Lagomarcino, 1990; Shafer, Banks and Kregel, 1991), job satisfaction (Jiranek and Kirby, 1990; Shanly and Rose, 1993; Test, Bond Hinson, Kuel and Solow, 1993), social

interactions in the workplace (Chadsey Rusch, 1992; Ferguson, McDonnell and Drew, 1993; Parent, Twardzik, Kregel and Metzler, 1992), the involvement of and interactions with co-workers (Rusch, Johnson and Hughes, 1990; Storey, Rhodes, Sandow, Loewinger and Petherbridge, 1991).

These studies all pointed, in a variety of ways, to the challenges associated with the development of truly valued and reciprocal relationships in workplaces that have rarely had to confront diversity. In the absence of such relationships and the strategies to facilitate them, supported employment can frequently mean marginal participation on the social fringes of the workplace with wages, if they are paid, small compensation for social isolation in the "real" world of work. However the calls from disabled people themselves are also quite clear: despite the shortcomings of supported employment, it is a quantum leap from the tyranny of segregation and a lifetime of unemployment.

Supported employment has engaged with such shortcomings through a rapidly evolving process where the "cutting edge" in terms of best practice has constantly shifted in the quest to achieve real pay for real jobs in real workplaces. As the historical record demonstrates, supported employment has led directly to the employment of thousands of people with disabilities across many countries. These people would never have been considered employable under conventional "wisdom". These are indeed tangible outcomes.

Quality Processes in Supported Employment

The focus of supported employment on job outcomes as a means of defining quality has led to ongoing scrutiny with reference to process. In contrast to conventional approaches, supported employment has made it difficult (and justifiably so) to blame the individual for failure. Because it is based on the notion of universal and immediate eligibility and relies on tangible outcomes related to participation in an actual job to define success, the process of supported employment has received considerable scrutiny. As a result what is regarded as best practice in supported employment has evolved quickly in response to the demand to achieve outcomes that can only be measured if the person has a job. The evolution of best practice is also a reflection of programme development where there is an initial focus on developing

resources and organisational capacity and, when these are secured, more attention to the finer points of service delivery (Schalock, 1988).

The earlier conceptualisations of supported employment (Bellamy, et al 1980; Mank, Rhodes and Bellamy,1986) had grown out of research that focused primarily on improving and delivering instructional strategies in integrated vocational settings. It was not surprising that models were developed that allowed this training technology to remain intact. As a result the bench work model, mobile crews, enclaves and, to some extent early individual placement approaches, essentially created social services in employment settings where the disabled worker's primary status remained that of social service client rather than company employee. In this context the "job coach" role emerged as primarily responsible for delivering an increasingly sophisticated instructional technology to workers with disabilities, in integrated settings.

With its tendency to achieve outcomes such as wages and integration more successfully, the individual placement approach to supported employment quickly gained favour over those approaches involving small groups. Subsequently a process emerged with a high degree of model coherency in that the essential components of programme delivery were applied consistently to the delivery of supported employment services. Bellamy et al (1988) suggested an "implementation checklist" to guide the process which included: creating opportunities for work; ensuring employer requirements were met; integration into social and physical environments; ongoing support needs; and maintaining capacity to offer supported employment. Wehman, Parent Wood, Kregel and Inge (1989) described a set of activities that they divided into five components: job development; job placement; job site training; ongoing monitoring and assessment; follow up retention and advocacy.

Trach (1990) reviewed a number of programme descriptions and concluded that although labels varied, the component activities and their sequence within and across programmes were remarkably similar and generally included: surveying the community; job analysis; matching; systematic on-site training and advocacy with co-workers; follow-up training and maintenance; satisfying employers; coordination with related services. Powell et al (1991) described four "phases" of supported employment which interact to provide an individualised approach: career planning, job development, instruction and ongoing support.

Research and practice have interacted to develop aspects of the service delivery process. Examples include: improved training and instruction (Hughes and Rusch, 1989; Likins, Salzberg, Stowitschek, Lignugaris-Kraft and Curl, 1989; Chadsey-Rusch, 1990), improving assessment and matching procedures (Calkins and Walker, 1988; Breen, Haring, Pitts-Conway and Gaylord-Ross, 1985), more sensitive involvement of service users (Martin and Mithaug, 1990) and improving the coordination of ongoing support services (Szymanski, Hanley-Maxwell and Parker, 1990).

The increasing expansion of supported employment in the late 1980s provided a widening scope for research and development. As information on outcomes and other quality issues came to light, new practices and approaches to the delivery of supported employment began to emerge. This was most noticeable in a shifting emphasis from around 1990 which began to acknowledge the importance of workplace relationships over training technology. It was becoming apparent that the role of job coach (the central vehicle for the delivery of supported employment services) could also be very intrusive. Indeed the role often acted as a significant barrier to the development of workplace relationships that would ultimately be essential in sustaining people's employment over the longer term. Nisbet and Hagner (1988) highlighted these concerns and called for a "re-examination" of the job coach role and the need for supported employment to develop a far more expansive approach which embraced "natural supports" in the workplace. They suggested starting:

with an examination of social interactions and supports characteristic of natural work environments prior to considering habitation techniques (Nisbet and Hagner, 1988:261).

The intent was that any subsequent human service intervention support rather than supplant these natural processes and actions. Pedlar, Lord and Van Loon (1989) reported on how employees often expressed problems with the intrusiveness of their relationship with job coaches and challenged aspects of their role. Mcloughlin, Garner and Callahan (1988) revealed similar concerns that they translated into approaches that were far more cognisant of workplace culture and the alliances that could be forged with co-workers.

As a result, specific processes evolved and new strategies were added or incorporated into the delivery of supported employment. Assessment and

planning processes have subsequently been developed which are much more empowering and sensitive to the unique aspirations of the individual concerned (West and Parent, 1992). These processes include a detailed consideration of the person's support network and the resources that this could bring to achieving employment outcomes (Dileo, 1991; Panscofar, Steele and Wood, 1993). Nisbet (1992) has developed assessment and planning processes that are specifically directed at "building relationships" and "planning natural job supports".

Considerable work has been done on the development of strategies that focus on identifying and facilitating the involvement of co-workers, employers, friends and family members as "natural supports" leading to a reduction in the direct (and overly intrusive) support of agency personnel (Callahan, 1992; Curl and Chisholm, 1993; Hagner, Butterworth and Keith, 1995; Hagner and Dileo, 1993; Hagner and Murphy, 1993; Rogan, 1995; Storey and Lengyel, 1992). This development has prompted the need for supported employment personnel to have well developed facilitation skills that go far beyond simply teaching people work skills which was a preoccupation of earlier strategies.

The development of "natural support strategies" however, while creating promising new opportunities, also brings new challenges in that although 'naturally' occurring, the active support of co-workers, family members and others, needs to be cultivated, facilitated, developed and , in turn, "supported". There is a danger that such natural support could be easily exploited as unpaid hours in the absence of the recognition that effective "natural" supports require cultivation and coordination. They are now recognised as a crucial dimension and focus of the ongoing support process in supported employment. The difficulties in securing funding for the ongoing support phase of supported employment has been well documented (Dean, Slovic and Mank, 1995; Griffin, Test, Dalton and Wood, 1995). Care will need to be taken that, in this age of economic rationalism and eroding social service funding, the promotion of "natural supports" does not inadvertently undermine the case for effective funding of long term support for "natural supports" for supported employment participants.

A further aspect of supported employment that has seen some major new initiatives is the marketing of the concept to employers and the business community. Employers and business are increasingly seen as "customers" and

“partners” in the supported employment process (Dileo and Langton, 1993). In this context supported employment is a service which can create diversity in the workplace, maximise the potential of all workers and assist with job redesign or “job carving” which can lead to the creation of new jobs (Griffin, 1994). It is a perspective that regards employers as also having needs, needs for a diversified and effective work force that includes disabled employees (Dileo and Langton, 1993). A business oriented approach has developed around the marketing of supported employment which, in today’s public relations environment, may have obvious appeal to the employer community.

As a result there has been an increasing focus on understanding employer perceptions of disabled people (Kregel and Unger, 1993), expanding their role in supported employment (Rhodes, Sandow, Mank, Buckley and Albin, 1991), and fostering long term relationships with business communities (Code, 1992; McIssac, 1991). The imperatives brought about by legislation that both promotes and protects the rights of disabled people (taking various forms in different countries) have also provided opportunities for supported employment practitioners to assist employers to meet new legal requirements. Not surprisingly, supported employment is likely to interact increasingly with the broader workplace reform movement. Expertise in concepts like workplace diversity, total quality management (TQM) and quality circles are likely to be required additions to the supported employment practitioner’s repertoire. New terms describing the role of supported employment personnel are already beginning to reflect a changing orientation. “Employment specialist” and “employment consultant” conjure up images that are far removed from “job coach” and “job developer.”

Embracing the employer community as partners in the supported employment process and the economic as well as social value of employing disabled people is reflected in evolving descriptions of the concept:

The concept of “supported employment” is one strategy to connect employers with under utilised employees in ways in which each party benefits. Supported employment refers to a process in which people traditionally denied career opportunities due to the severity of their disability are hired in jobs and provided long-term, ongoing support for as long as is needed. It involves individual career planning, employer labour job analyses and the creative matching of a person to a work setting, culture and task. This approach assumes that each person, no matter what disability he or she has, is employable - that each person can bring a return on an investment to an employer when given the proper support for as long as is necessary (Dileo and Langton, 1993:3).

Making the right “connection” between the two “customer groups” (employer and disabled person) is described as “the single most important task facing the supported employment professional” (Dileo and Langton, 1993: 4).

A number of activities have been undertaken to identify those indicators that are suggestive of quality and excellence in supported employment. These activities have provided an evolving range of benchmarks that identify various dimensions of quality in supported employment.

Measuring Quality in Supported Employment

The development of Quality Assurance tools and evaluation procedures to identify exemplary practices and measure the quality of supported employment has been a continuing activity. Wood, Steere, Powell, Rammler and Butterworth (1988) developed quality standards for supported employment, Nisbet and Callahan (1987) provide an evaluation tool which offers a series of quality indicators for supported employment and the Commission for the Accreditation of Rehabilitation Facilities (CARF) have developed a set of standards to be utilised in an accreditation process (The Advance, 1995). Attempts have also been made to catalogue exemplary supported employment programmes and identify those characteristics that put them on the “cutting edge.” The Rehabilitation Network of New England (1989), The National Association of Rehabilitation Services (NARF, 1988) and Lutfiyya, Rogan and Shoultz (1988) all offer compilations describing programmes that practise what is regarded as excellence in supported employment. The Advance, the publication of the Association for People in Supported Employment (APSE), regularly profiles success and best practices in supported employment (for example, Harder and Econs, 1995). Petty, Dukes, Alavi, Henderson and Bourbeau (1994) report that there is remarkable congruity across the supported employment field as to what constitutes best practice, but also a consensus about the lack of widespread implementation of these practices.

A number of themes emerge from this work which identify some essential features of programmes that can offer a successful supported employment experience for participants:

- the ability of a programme to respond without reservation to the unique needs and aspirations of participants and to include the individual's personal network in the planning and support process;
- the presence of intake procedures which make no attempt to exclude people on the basis of the severity of their disability, but in fact actively target this group;
- an ability to involve co-workers in ways that support and develop their participation rather than supplanting their involvement;
- a commitment to wages paid by employers and a readiness to tackle head on those circumstances where people run the risk of not being served because wages are difficult to negotiate;
- a marketing strategy that forges relationships with business where employers understand both the value of employing a disabled person and of retaining the ongoing services of a supported employment provider.

In a review of the American literature and as the result of visiting a broad spectrum of supported employment programmes in the USA and Canada Bennie (1992) offered a series of service delivery and organisational characteristics that were closely associated with quality.

- Service delivery characteristics were identified as:
An absence of assessment and a focus on planning; staff who are well connected to their communities; an emphasis on individuals shaping options rather than imposed models; personnel who facilitated the whole process rather than job development and job coach specialisations; significant placements of those with no work history and complex needs; a person centred job search process; staff with well balanced work loads and a maximum caseload of ten; school to work transition built into the programme; a willingness to work across labels and categories; and strategies that regard job coaches as a last resort rather than a first option.
- Organisational characteristics were identified as:
A well defined vision and philosophy; well developed continuous improvement strategies; small enough so that the senior staff knows all

participants; large enough to employ a team of at least four full time equivalent staff; professional supervision for staff; staff with backgrounds in community development; a clear focus in terms of population, catchment or industry; flat organisational structures; and user representation at Board level.

Supported employment providers are beginning to embrace current practices with respect to continuous quality improvement, signalling an increased awareness of the need to develop and expand organisational capacity (Albin, 1992; Lavigna, Shaull, Feheley, and Willis, 1994; Ramsing, Rhodes, Sandow and Mank, 1993). As a consequence consumer empowerment is now “customer focus” or “customer satisfaction”. One can only hope that such developments remain underpinned by a commitment to the essential values and intent of supported employment, and do not descend into the public relations fantasy and quality “window dressing” that sometimes marks the embracing of such concepts.

A further dimension of quality is the extent to which supported employment has been able to extend its relevance beyond people with intellectual impairments. Although people with intellectual impairments make up almost two thirds of those being served, there is an increasing proportion of people with psychiatric disabilities participating in supported employment programmes. There is evidence to suggest that small group models involving enclaves, mobile crews and small businesses are currently popular with this consumer group in New Zealand (CFA, 1994a). It is not known whether this is the result of the preferences of consumers themselves or a developmental phase of supported employment implementation specific to this country. If it is genuine consumer choice then this serves as a real challenge to those philosophical purists who reject outright such models (for example Brown et al, 1987).

In the USA people with psychiatric impairments who attempt to participate in a supported employment programme find themselves negotiating difficult and persistent cross-boundary bureaucratic relationships between the mental health system and the vocational rehabilitation system (Drake, Becker, Xie and Anthony, 1995; Wool, 1990). Nevertheless, the relevance of supported employment for people with psychiatric impairments has been routinely demonstrated. Challenges exist for aspects of the process, such as the variations

in motivation over time and the insistence by a proportion of service users on non-disclosure of their disability (Gervey, Parish and Bond, 1995).

There have been descriptions of successful supported employment services for people with autism (Juhrs and Smith, 1989; Smith and Belcher, 1994), people with HIV/AIDS (Mason, Carey, Jaskulski and Stuke, 1995) people with head injuries (Kruetzer and Morton, 1988), people with physical impairments (Wood, 1988), people with dual sensory impairments (Goetz, Lee, Johnson and Gaylord-Ross, 1991) and people with “challenging behaviours” (Inge and Dymond, 1994). However the overall impact of supported employment on people with physical and sensory impairments has been negligible by comparison to those with intellectual impairments and those with psychiatric disabilities. Moreover, despite the promising outcomes for people with intellectual impairments and a growing body of evidence that it is equally relevant for other disability groups, supported employment is yet to make a significant impact on the dismantling of segregated programmes and the broader vocational rehabilitation system. Consequently its potential relevance is not understood by the wider disability community.

Supported Employment and the Transition from School to Work

Moving from school to work for disabled people has traditionally been fraught with challenges, not the least of which has been an education system that produces disabled students with little or no expectations or aspirations of employment. The inadequacies of a “non-functional” curriculum were highlighted soon after legislation in the USA mandated opportunities for severely disabled children in the regular school system (Wilcox and Bellamy, 1982). By the late 1970s the development of “functional” and “community referenced” curricula were well under way, based on a view of the adolescent disabled student as a future employee, and aimed at achieving transition from school to integrated employment opportunities along with his or her age group peers (Brown et al 1976; Brown et al, 1979; Brown et al 1981).

The new approach to curricula challenged the prevailing convention of “readiness” by highlighting the need for the direct participation of high school students in those environments that will be available to them post school, and the development of adaptations and personal support strategies that would

ensure maximum participation (Brown et al, 1981). These post school environments included employment settings, and some schools began to develop placement strategies that clearly provided impetus for the development of the supported employment concept (Baumgart and Van Walleggem, 1986).

However there has remained a yawning gap between the promise and the reality of successful school to work transition. The widespread implementation of curricula that include community and vocational content has been elusive, particularly for those with severe disabilities.

Despite the promise and the progress of the last decade, thousands of adolescents and young adults with disabilities are trapped by the wisdom of curriculum design in special education and human services. They are confined not by physical barriers, but by widely shared assumptions about what they should learn and the order in which it should be presented. In effect students with moderate and severe disabilities are trapped by a "readiness" logic. (Wilcox, 1987:1).

The "readiness logic" that has pervaded segregated adult vocational services, has been equally pervasive in the education system, further undermining the likelihood of participation in real work settings. When schools do offer innovative programmes a challenge emerges if there is an absence of post school services to support people in achieving employment and career goals. The sheltered workshop is frequently the only post school work option available and when supported employment programmes do exist there are frequently waiting lists.

While questions may be raised about the content of school programmes and the performance or availability of post school services it is the apparent inability of these two arenas to effectively interact with each other that poses perhaps the greatest challenge. These organisational barriers are the product of a lack of coordination between school and post school support services at one level, but at another, are reflective of attitudes and policies that do not support the employment of disabled people.

Attitudes and values may also not be "synchronised". Innovations in a school setting may not be matched with similar developments in post school services or vice-versa. However, even when there is a consensus around values and policy, school and post school agencies appear to find it extraordinarily

difficult to define respective responsibilities and delineate roles. Contributing to this is a lack of coordinated policy at a national level and funding streams that do not recognise the inherent “duality” of transition services whereby individuals can be simultaneously students and employees.

A host of organisational and service delivery models has been proposed to overcome these barriers. Schools have developed workplace training sites to facilitate work experience (Steinback, Steinback, Nietupski and Hamre-Nietupski, 1986; Pumpian, Shepard and West, 1989). “Cooperative interagency approaches” have been developed by Stodden and Boone (1987). “Interagency agreements” for the planning, coordination and delivery of services (Johnson, Bruinicks and Thurlow, 1987) and “Individual Transition Plans” (I.T.Ps) have been developed to ensure that individual needs and organisational responsibilities are clear and coordinated (Everson and Moon, 1987). The development of “service delivery teams” utilising a “community planning approach” (Everson and Moon, 1990) and the involvement of parents in the transition process (Goodall and Bruder, 1986; Stineman, Morningstar, Bishop and Turnbull, 1993) have been developed to encourage community wide commitment to the process. Issues and approaches to transition have been covered comprehensively by Wehman (1993) and Haugh (1993).

Though the transition issue is itself creating the demand for expanded interagency collaboration, Schalock and Kiernan (1990) comment that the service system around the issue of transition is complex and poorly understood. The research and practice in transition implies that the process of supported employment must start at school. In the absence of well defined policy however, transition from school to work will remain an elusive reality for students with disabilities. At the local level post school support services and schools are going to find it difficult to work collaboratively if their respective policies are predicated on different assumptions about the employability and integration of students with disabilities. The tortuous path of developing interagency agreements and protocols may bring about coherent transition services, but without a common vision and values the likelihood of effective transition is remote indeed.

There is evidence to suggest that supported employment providers can have a crucial role to play in initiating such developments by ensuring that transition from school to work is an integral part of the service offered, thereby propelling

the agency to develop relationships and protocols with local high schools (Gordon and Walton, 1996). There is danger though that the focus on transition could develop into another speciality, translating into yet another layer in the service system for disabled people and their parents to negotiate.

Workforce Development Issues in Supported Employment

Comment has already been made about the lack of widespread implementation of best practices in supported employment (Petty, Dukes, Alavi and Henderson, 1994). There is almost universal agreement that the absence of enough adequately trained personnel is a major barrier to the more widespread development of supported employment (Renzaglia and Everson, 1990). The impact of inadequate work force development manifests itself in several ways. First, it makes the implementation of what are regarded as best practices problematic and undermines the quality of programmes. Secondly, it presents a barrier to the expansion of supported employment services. Thirdly, it means that there are few resources to assist, and little incentive to begin, the process of converting segregated vocational programmes to integrated options.

In the USA there have been calls for supported employment personnel to be recognised as a new profession in their own right with specialised degree level training. "Employment specialist" is a term increasingly used to refer to the "supported employment professional" and embraces the delivery of career planning, job development, matching, placement, on site training and ongoing support (Winking, Trach, Rusch and Tines, 1989; Powell et al, 1991). More recently the issue of certification and registration has been debated, propelled by the perceived need to both enhance the status of a new professional grouping and to establish and maintain standards of competence (Killam, Flippo, Drouet and Keul, 1996; Test and Wood, 1995).

The roles of employment specialists vary among providers of supported employment. Some adopt a "holistic" approach where the employment specialist is engaged with the consumer throughout the service delivery processes, facilitating or brokering other expertise or specialist input as required. Other programmes separate various functions into specific staffing roles creating specialities within the service delivery process (Sale, 1990). This latter option tends to fragment the delivery of services and unfortunately

creates unnecessary hierarchies within organisations, most notably the job developer (as job search and marketer of the service) commonly being senior to the job coach. This has remained a popular option, despite the potential compromises it creates for quality services. While some may be keen to retain it as a means of maintaining their seniority in organisations, it is also likely to persist because of the difficulty of finding staff with the broader range of competencies required for the holistic approach.

Attempts to develop the professional status of supported employment personnel are also motivated by a desire to redress the low wages typically paid to staff and recurrent problems with high staff turnover (Inge, Barcus and Everson, 1988; Renzaglia, 1986; Winking, Trach, Rusch and Tines, 1989). In addition, the recent emphasis on developing natural supports in the workplace is seen by many to be inadvertently undermining the need to have a new professional equipped with a wide variety of skills and knowledge (Test and Wood, 1995). Aside from the dangers of over professionalisation that accompany the development of concepts like certification, the debate is at least giving impetus to the rigorous identification of best practices in supported employment. In turn, this development is leading to the comprehensive identification of the training needs of personnel (Condon, Carson, Freeman and Pellegrino, 1993; Test and Wood, 1995).

It is essential to acknowledge the differences in values and competencies required by supported employment personnel compared with their counterparts in traditional vocational rehabilitation services and facility based programmes (Kregel and Sale, 1988). The same could be said of any personnel working in arenas underpinned by inclusive values and practices which facilitate the direct inclusion of disabled people in community life with ongoing personalised supports. Poor pay, high staff turnover, and difficulties in recruiting staff who can implement best practices are not unique to supported employment. There are certainly speciality areas of knowledge and skills that are unique to supported employment (for example marketing, knowledge of the employer community and the labour market), but not to the extent that there is a need for degree level specialisation.

Supported employment may be more appropriately offered as a specialisation within existing programmes that prepare personnel to work in the social service and rehabilitation arena. An overly specialised approach will leave

traditional programmes free to promulgate outmoded approaches to vocational rehabilitation which in turn will be translated into outmoded and inappropriate services. Advocates of better training and preparation of supported employment personnel must engage with existing and planned pre-service training to ensure that supported employment is offered as a speciality within these programmes. Pre-service opportunities need to be matched with in-service training to respond to immediate requirements, but also as a means of keeping practice abreast of the latest developments and innovations in supported employment. Programme managers in particular need to be acutely aware of the supervision and support needs of staff who, because of the nature of supported employment, have to work with a high degree of autonomy, across dispersed locations, facilitating and coordinating a wide variety of relationships and supports (Griffin, 1994).

A substantial consulting industry has grown up around supported employment in the USA, helped initially by university affiliated demonstration projects and then by the system change grants of the mid 1980s. "Technical Assistance" is commonly available to help develop organisational capacity and train staff in implementing best practices (Steere et al, 1994). However given the high rates of staff turnover and the absence of widespread pre-service training, the impact of this assistance may not be great in the longer term. The demand for a work force able to implement best practices in supported employment is reaching a crescendo in the USA.

Supported employment's expansion beyond 10% of its potential user group in the USA and its impact on the wider vocational rehabilitation system will be limited if it cannot first consistently demonstrate the implementation of best practices. The development of pre-service training opportunities which offer specialisations in supported employment, coupled with access to in-service opportunities, must surely be a prerequisite for further expansion and implementation of the concept.

Cost Benefit Issues in Supported Employment

Assessing the economic viability of supported employment is increasing as its advocates and participants seek to attract a larger investment from funding agencies and service purchasers. It is inevitable that traditional providers will

also make calls for supported employment to justify itself in economic terms as its growing acceptance threatens conventional funding arrangements. As a result there is an increasing focus on the development of reliable strategies that provide accurate analyses of the benefits and costs of supported employment.

Benefit-cost analysis involves the systematic comparison of the benefits of a programme with its costs. A uniform framework is sought for identifying and measuring costs (usually represented by the State's contribution in terms of public funding) and the benefits that are returned for such an investment (usually defined in terms of reductions in benefit payments and taxes paid by new employees). The aim of such a process is to assess the economic viability of programmes.

As Rhodes, Ramsing and Hill (1987) point out however, such an undertaking is replete with difficulties. They identify these difficulties as: methodological inconsistencies, the lack of comparison groups (especially those not traditionally regarded as employable), reducing effects to a single cost benefit ratio, the problem of covering all effects to a dollar value and the lack of available information. Moreover, they suggest that:

The initiation of more longitudinal research on supported employment programmes is necessary to assess the effects of programme maturity on costs and benefits (Rhodes and Ramsing, 1987:179).

One would like to assume that services will become more effective over time by gaining credibility with employers and becoming more adept at matching clients with jobs (Noble and Conley, 1987). As the concept of supported employment has developed over the years, increasing the range and sophistication of methods and strategies, there is also the possibility that it has (and will) become more effective and efficient in terms of resources utilised.

Conley, Rusch, McCaughrin and Tines (1989) and McCaughrin, Ellis, Rusch and Heal (1993) report on the ongoing attempts to analyse the costs and benefits of supported employment programmes in the state of Illinois. They analysed the costs and benefits of programmes from the perspectives of the programme participant, the taxpayer and society. Economic benefits were subsequently identified as: the increase in earnings as a result of gaining employment; the savings (or opportunity costs) from a reduction in alternative programmes (usually sheltered workshops); a reduction in benefit payouts and

the taxes paid as a result of the participant earning wages. Costs of supported employment were identified by adding together all the funds paid to the agency in order to provide services. Results indicate that costs outweigh benefits during the first year of a programme, but begin to be offset by accruing benefits after three years.

This study did not attempt to quantify what Noble and Conley (1987) describe as “intangible benefits”. While these may be very difficult to isolate and quantify in dollar terms they may prove essential in assessing the true economic benefits of supported employment. Employment of the programme participant may release care givers to undertake paid work. Employment may lead to improved self worth and improved physical and mental health, with a consequent reduction in the use of treatment and other habilitative services. These possibilities highlight the need for longitudinal research, not so much on programmes, but on service users and the impact of employment on lifestyles and use of other services.

Improvements in the effectiveness of related arenas could also have a significant impact on the economic viability of supported employment. The presence of a functional and vocationally oriented high school curriculum, incorporating transition planning, would substantially reduce planning and placement costs of any supported employment programme that took referrals from such a context. Better trained personnel would also be likely to have a positive impact on the effectiveness and efficiency (and therefore costs) of supported employment programmes, even if more qualified staff cost more.

There is a possibility that supported employment programmes may simply be displacing other unemployed people who then end up on an unemployment benefit, offsetting much of the economic benefit of the programme. However it is unlikely that significant labour market displacement occurs for several reasons as observed by Tuckerman, et al (1992). For example the hours of work, types of work and wages secured by supported employment participants are unlikely to be attractive to other long term unemployed people. Furthermore, supported employment programmes are becoming adept at creating new jobs which are additional to the labour market through strategies such as job redesign and job carving. It is hoped that the latter reason will prevail over the former which creates an alarming picture of a group of people on the very margins of the labour market where wages are poor and layoffs common.

Hill, Wehman, Kregel, Banks and Metzler (1987) reported on a client group that had been the subject of an eight year study and offered clear evidence that while costs outweigh benefits in the first year, this reversed after between two and three years of programme involvement and the ratio of benefits to cost was projected to further improve as time went on. A "ratio of service quotient" was developed based on the length of time the person had been employed and the number of staff hours spent with each person. Attempts were also made to record the person's level of disability.

There is mounting evidence to suggest that while supported employment is an expensive undertaking initially, (when compared to segregated settings and time limited placement strategies) the benefits and costs become extremely favourable after around three years of programme involvement with benefits continuing to accrue against fixed costs thereafter. Over time wages and hours of work increase at a far greater rate than any increases in the cost of staffing support (Conley and Noble, 1990; Tines, Rusch and McCaughrin, 1989; Tuckerman, 1992). While initial research is providing some encouraging results the lack of widespread empirical evidence on the economic viability of supported employment will need to be addressed urgently (Thornton and Maynard, 1989).

In the final analysis funding and cost-benefit issues can only be resolved with a commitment to research and evaluation that is built into service purchasing strategies.

The answer lies in the power of information to dispel misconception and myths. As legislative support and funding are sought for promising new employment options, advocates should also insist on the collection of uniform benefit and cost data from all service providers regardless of the vintage of their programmes in order to assess their effectiveness (Noble and Conley, 1987:173).

Selected International Developments in Supported Employment

The emergence of supported employment in other countries has been due to circumstances similar to those that prompted its development in the USA. The influence of philosophies such as normalisation and mainstreaming produced policies committed to deinstitutionalisation and integration and the consequent exploration of strategies to assist people with disabilities into regular work

settings. The growing research and literature on supported employment in the USA therefore found a receptive audience in other countries and a ready market for the sale or transfer of demonstration projects to Australia and Canada.²

The Australian experience of supported employment has been dominated by the influence of American developments. In the early 1980s demonstration projects espousing supported employment concepts, and their advocates, joined in the call for the reform of traditional and segregated vocational services (sheltered workshops and activity therapy centres). The Rapid Entry Training programme in Perth (Lewis, Lawn and Navarro, 1987) was modelled on the work of Wehman (1981) and the Specialised Training Programmes in Sydney (Hauritz, 1986), were a replication of the Oregon demonstration projects (Rhodes and Valenta, 1985) and were initially overseen by personnel from the American projects.

In 1983 the Australian Government set up the Handicapped Programmes Review which reported in 1985 (New Directions, 1985) and culminated in the Disability Services Act 1986. As a result of this legislation supported employment was specifically identified as a funding category and defined in the same way as the American legislation. The Act also established Competitive Employment Training and Placement services (CETP), which had the same aims and philosophy as supported employment except that post placement support was time limited. Provision was made to remove public funding for segregated programmes with a five year transition period to enable day activity centres to develop into services promoting integrated training and community experience, and sheltered workshops to convert to supported employment programmes (Ronalds, 1990). In addition to an individual placement approach, enclaves, mobile crews and small business models were readily embraced by the legislation, even more so than in the USA, probably due to the significant influence of the Specialised Training Programme projects at the time.

As of 1990 there were 131 supported employment projects being funded which included 33 new services, 13 demonstration projects and 85 transition projects (Ronalds, 1990). However, as in the USA, the growth in supported employment has been in addition to segregated programmes with little evidence to suggest

² A detailed examination of the emergence of supported employment in New Zealand is provided in the following chapter.

that sheltered workshops are declining. The expansion of supported employment was also predicted to slow during the 1990s (Law, 1990). In contrast, the time limited CETP programme expanded rapidly, but has not included people with more severe disabilities because funding is directly linked to numbers placed. This has caused a concentration of effort on those who are easier to place and support (Law, 1990).

The lack of any significant movement towards integration by sheltered workshops prompted an extension of the initial transition period mandated by the 1986 legislation. Strategies involving small group models also appear to be more popular in Australia than the individual approach (a reversal of the USA trend) and tend to be “add ons” to sheltered workshops rather than new programmes.

Australia experienced an early rapid growth in supported employment, but segregated services are proving just as intractable as in the USA and similarly, other job placement services appear reluctant to serve people with more severe disabilities. There is also the possibility of a “time warp” in that supported employment in Australia, having modelled itself on supported employment as practised by the Specialised Training Programme projects in the mid 1980s, has yet to be influenced by more recent innovations in the individual placement approach such as natural support strategies and marketing techniques with employers.

The Canadian experience of supported employment has also closely followed and been influenced by developments in the USA. In the early 1980s Shelton and Lipton (1983) described an “alternative employment model” which argued for the inclusion of all disabled people in the community’s work force. By the late 1980s supported employment was already a national movement. A comprehensive review of developments was described by Annable (1989), canvassing activities right across the country, excluding small group models. This exclusion decision was representative of the increasing concern about the limitations of enclaves, mobile crews and small business models. The individual placement model was implicitly acknowledged as most accurately representing supported employment’s philosophical and conceptual departure from traditional readiness and segregated approaches.

Annable's research also identified a wide variation in the quality of programmes, the organisational structure of services, the values attached to wages and the status of work undertaken. People with more severe disabilities were also found to be poorly served. Although the report advised against the abandonment of segregated programmes in light of supported employment's infancy, it also recommended that funding of vocational rehabilitation move away from time limited programmes.

There has been significant growth of supported employment in Canada with a more recent levelling off, as has occurred in Australia and the USA. By mid 1988 there were 152 programmes serving 2,400 individuals (Lunt and Thornton, 1993: 35). Sandys (1987) reported on issues around supported employment that mirrored those in the USA.

Britain has also seen a strong American influence with respect to the development of supported employment, although without the legislative provisions that provided impetus in the USA and Australia. In 1984 the Kings Fund Centre released "An Ordinary Working Life" (Towell, 1984) which clearly adopted supported employment concepts, but did not use the term. This publication provided a national focus for discussion and the development of integrated employment services by outlining principles, options and strategies for local implementation. "An Ordinary Working Life" acknowledges the influence of several leading American researchers and consultants. A follow up paper (Porterfield and Gathercole, 1985) reported on progress being made: the concept of supported employment was restricted to people with intellectual disabilities and people with severe/profound disabilities tended to be excluded.

The Pathway Employment Service (a Division of MENCAP: Royal Society for Mentally Handicapped Children and Adults) has provided a job placement service throughout Britain since the mid 1970s. By 1990 it had adopted supported employment concepts and strategies and was supporting 2,152 people, 192 of whom were reported to have "severe retardation" (Konig and Schalock, 1991). Since 1990 other supported employment providers have emerged, prompting the formation of the UK Association of Supported Employment Agencies. One of these (Merit Employment Equity Ltd) has been actively "exporting" supported employment to Europe by assisting new providers to become established (Steele, 1994). There is now a European Union

for Supported Employment and a recently formed World Association for Supported Employment (The Advance, 1996).

The international development of supported employment signals a continuing expansion beyond the USA. This expansion is likely to bring with it a host of new perspectives and challenges which will inevitably impact on the future shape of supported employment. The issues that supported employment faces in the countries that have been briefly canvassed appear to be quite consistent, no doubt due to the fact that they are all OECD countries with similar economies and responses to disability. Notwithstanding these international developments, the vast majority of supported employment activity continues to occur in the USA and this influence is still pervasive.

Concluding Comment

The purpose of this chapter was to introduce the concept of supported employment and to trace its development in the USA. Its salient features, as a concept and as a practice model, have been described in some detail. How quality in supported employment is defined and identified has been examined. A number of related dimensions have also been explored including school to work transition, work force development, cost-benefit issues and the expansion of supported employment to other countries.

A range of issues and concerns about supported employment's current status and future development have subsequently been raised. These include its lack of impact in reforming the traditional values and practices of the vocational rehabilitation service system, the limited response from the wider disability community and the competition that supported employment faces from contradictory policies that still fund segregated vocational options. These factors have meant that supported employment has struggled to move from initial demonstration to widespread implementation. We can now turn to the emergence of supported employment in New Zealand, familiar with its origins and development, the possibilities and challenges it offers, and the issues confronting its future. This will enable a more considered appraisal of supported employment in New Zealand and the specific nature of its development, impact and future in this country.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF SUPPORTED EMPLOYMENT IN NEW ZEALAND: Policy Dilemmas and Alternatives

Introduction

This chapter explores the emergence of supported employment in New Zealand as part of the broader development of employment policy for disabled people in this country. The origins and development of this broader policy context are briefly canvassed. The development of policy is then described in two parts. First, the period from 1940 to 1980 saw the emergence and expansion of the "rehabilitation industry" along with the traditions of readiness and segregation. Second, the years from 1980 to 1995 witnessed numerous reforms, including supported employment. However this period has failed to produce anything approaching integrated or coherent public policy. The rather chaotic policy environment of this period is examined to reveal how events have unfolded to determine the current shape and future direction of supported employment in New Zealand.

A final section draws together the salient issues and concerns about supported employment as they apply to the New Zealand context. This analysis signals the need to re-conceptualise supported employment at a theoretical level and in terms of how it is conceived in practice.

While the policy analysis undertaken in this chapter has relied on a range of published and unpublished material some contribution has also come from my close personal involvement and participation in the policy and programme development process. Since 1990, when the opportunity to undertake research for this thesis presented itself, I have kept a "running record" of my involvement in the development of supported employment services and observations about the evolution of policy in this arena. The record includes programme proposals, papers developed for presentations, lecture notes used for staff training, tapes from lectures, minutes and notes from meetings and relevant correspondence.

The following policy analysis tracing the emergence and development of supported employment in New Zealand therefore draws on the author's role as an active participant¹ in the process as well as a consideration of published and unpublished material.

The Policy Context

Employment policy for disabled people in New Zealand has been characterised by a piecemeal approach that has largely failed to take seriously their participation in the labour market. As a result a great deal of policy has focused either intentionally, or by default, on keeping disabled people out of employment rather than promoting their inclusion in New Zealand workplaces. This approach to policy is consistent with a medicalised and pathological view of disability which ultimately sees disabled people as a potential disruption to the efficient operation of a competitive labour market rather than as participants (Barnes, 1990; Borsay 1986).

However, there has always been a level of economic pragmatism that has competed with such views. This pragmatism is based on concerns about the cost of maintaining ever increasing numbers of disabled people on income support programmes and the trade off that could be made against this cost if enough welfare dependents could be converted into tax paying workers. The Rehabilitation Act of 1941, which was directed at disabled ex-servicemen, was one of the first expressions of this pragmatic approach, prompted also by what was clearly going to be an acute labour shortage after two world wars. A basis for the development of a vocational rehabilitation "industry" in New Zealand was subsequently provided.

¹ The degree of involvement has varied at times, but has included: Managing the transition of sheltered workshops to supported employment programmes, development and implementation of supported employment policy for a large service provider, participation on Government committees reviewing and developing vocational and employment policy, developing and implementing staff training for personnel working in the supported employment area, initiating and assisting with the establishment of new supported employment providers (including programme proposals), chairing the governing body of a supported employment provider, negotiating funding contracts for supported employment services, presenting papers at conferences, critiquing Government reports and proposals, assisting with the development of the the Association for supported employment in New Zealand (ASENZ), Board member and past chairperson of ASENZ.

As a result, employment policy for disabled people has at different times reflected this dual and at times contradictory intent i.e. how to "manage" and support disabled people who could not work and how to assist and promote the likelihood of work for those who could. The vocational rehabilitation industry, as an extension of the medical profession (Oliver, 1990), developed around the need to seek answers and responses to these questions about who was eligible and what the limits of rehabilitation investment would be. Consequently public policies have either focused on who should bear the cost of disability or on how to reduce the cost of disability (Smith, 1991).

The answers and responses to such dilemmas have been expressed in various pieces of legislation and income support provisions, along with funding for direct service programmes paid for, to varying degrees, by the State. The amount of public assistance has varied over time in response to changing regulations and eligibility as a result of legislative changes. These changes themselves were reflective of changing priorities for and sizes of any economic surplus. In addition, the presence of labour shortfalls or oversupply (unemployment) and new innovations in rehabilitation and employment support have also determined the level of public investment. In more recent times, the political advocacy of a disability movement increasingly concerned about continued and persistent labour market marginalisation of disabled people, has come to have an influence on public policy and expenditure (Sullivan, 1991).

The emergence and development of supported employment, as an innovation that has expanded the eligibility of those who are regarded as employable, has therefore at times been bolstered and on other occasions been thwarted by legislative and policy changes. These policies have frequently contradicted themselves in terms of both intent and outcome. These contradictions are a reflection of the underlying policy duality that attempts to manage the conflicting interests that intersect when deciding which and how many disabled people should be "allowed" into the labour market at any point in time.

The Development of the “Vocational Rehabilitation Industry” (1940-1980)

In 1938 the Social Security Act made comprehensive income support available to all New Zealanders who were unable to gain employment. Disabled people were included in this comprehensive package of benefits (the “invalids” benefit). This legislation also formalised intervention in the lives of disabled people that had been going on for some time, under the aegis of the medical profession and mostly within the confines of hospital and institutional settings.

The Social Security Act, 1938 extended intervention in the lives of all disabled people whether or not they were in institutional settings. Eligibility for the new benefits was determined by the medical profession which had responsibility for assessing the validity or otherwise of a person’s disability and for determining whether the person would benefit from any intervention that might lead to an amelioration of the “problem” and possible eligibility for participation in work. Implicit in this function was a determination of whether the person was deserving of assistance on the basis of his or her disability.

Thus while the Act provided much needed income support it was at the cost of an increased level of scrutiny and intervention in the lives of disabled people, not only by the medical profession, but by an emerging rehabilitation service industry. It also cemented the status of those who were not considered employable as “invalid” in the sense of a person not being valid as a worker. Disabled people were thus consigned to be passive recipients of an “invalids benefit”, a term which persists until this day, requiring the person to be “permanently incapacitated” in terms of their ability to work.

A ready supply of disabled ex-servicemen provided the “raw material” upon which the rehabilitation profession and service industry was built. The vocational rehabilitation industry was motivated by two imperatives. The first concern was the moral responsibility to return disabled ex-servicemen to a state as close as possible to able-bodied normality and thus employability. Secondly, there was an economic necessity caused by an acute labour shortage following the First and Second World Wars. The development of vocational rehabilitation activities was a natural consequence, and was first established by legislation in 1930 (Disabled Soldiers Civil Re-establishment Act, 1930) and

again in 1941 (Rehabilitation Act, 1941). Apart from responding to the immediate needs of disabled ex-servicemen, these pieces of legislation provided a platform which established and legitimated the State's involvement in making some degree of investment in the employment of disabled people.

The possibility that civilians who were disabled by accident or since birth might also benefit from the increasing range of vocational rehabilitation activities was not lost on the medical profession or on the emerging rehabilitation profession. They could see that disabled ex-servicemen, notwithstanding the possibility of another war, were a finite market. A developing range of interventions was also making it clear that people previously considered too disabled for work could be "made" ready for work, often with minimal investment. That welfare recipients could be turned into tax paying workers through quite moderate expense was obviously an attractive proposition for the Government.

In 1954 this coverage of the civilian population by the rehabilitation industry was formalised with the establishment of the National Civilian Rehabilitation Committee which eventually became known as the Rehabilitation League New Zealand (Inc). This organisation established a number of "rehabilitation centres" around the country which focused on rehabilitation, assessment and counselling and vocational training and retraining. Because an increasing number of disabled people seemed to require vocational training on a long term basis it was necessary to provide environments that simulated the real world of work yet "sheltered" participants from many of the expectations and rigours of the open labour market. The notion of a sheltered workshop had now been established.

By 1960 there had emerged two distinct client groups in the Rehabilitation League's services. The first group included those whose disabilities could be "treated" or "overcome" during a relatively short period of vocational rehabilitation and successfully integrated into the work force. The second group was those with more severe disabilities who needed long term vocational training in order to prepare them for employment or who were deemed incapable of such an undertaking and needed "sheltered employment" opportunities. This latter group became the participants in the sheltered workshops that became an integral part of the Rehabilitation League's services.

Paralleling these developments a network of local sheltered workshops and day centres began to develop around the country, often initiated by parent groups and supported by local philanthropists and fund raising. Many of these services were initiated by voluntary agencies such as the Crippled Children Society (CCS), the Society for the Intellectually Handicapped (IHC) and the Foundation for the Blind (RNZFB). The facilities and services provided by these groups were run on the same basis as those of the Rehabilitation League - preparing disabled people for employment and when this was not possible, providing sheltered work opportunities.

The development of Vocational Rehabilitation to this point reflected the overarching influence of the medicalisation of disability with its notion of disability as individual pathology. Disability could not therefore be accommodated in a competitive labour market that required able bodied' workers.

Where medical intervention is not successful, the individual patient passes into a system of rehabilitation where he or she is counselled to live with his or her deficit....Where an individual's deficit excludes him or her from open employment, sheltered employment is provided....Such orientation reflects the penetration of medical perceptions of disability into the rehabilitation process which presumes that the disabled person is unemployed because of a deficit; that a person's capacity to work is determined largely by his or her capabilities...More fundamentally, the "flawed individual" approach ignores the issues of architectural barriers, social discrimination, employer prejudice and directs energies towards restructuring the psychological and vocational behaviour of clients (Sullivan, 1991:263).

The Disabled Persons Employment Promotion Act 1960

With sheltered workshops having created a simulated world of work the status of "employees" in these settings needed some clarification. If they were not real work settings then employers could hardly be expected to conform to legislation governing such things as award wages and other working conditions. The Disabled Persons Employment Promotion Act 1960 enabled sheltered workshops to "register" under the Act and receive a blanket exemption from legislation governing minimum working conditions and union coverage. This exemption applied to all people employed in the setting including clients and staff.

While this legislation was motivated by the desire to enable rehabilitation to proceed in a sheltered environment without the constraints of the open labour market, the actual impact was to effectively "enslave" disabled people. Because the majority of participants in these settings were "assessed" as permanently unsuitable for the open labour market, they found themselves in permanent rehabilitation. They were usually referred to as "trainees" and expected to behave and perform as much as possible like real workers, but without the protection of minimum working conditions or union coverage. This enslavement was encouraged by minimal funding regimes which meant that income generated from production of goods and services was central to the financial viability of the service provider.

The collusion of the union movement in this legislation can be explained by the pervading influence of the medical model of disability throughout society's structures. The union movement, like others, did not see sheltered workshop participants as potential workers (or members) and so the Disabled Persons Employment Promotion (DPEP) Act was probably seen as a charitable solution.

Since 1960 there have been 129 registrations under the DPEP Act, with the vast majority of these being granted prior to 1980, reflecting a steady expansion of sheltered workshop facilities throughout the 1960s and 1970s (Department of Labour Report, 1991). The emergence of sheltered workshops has been a significant development with ideological roots that are usually expressed as a charitable response to those poor unfortunates who, not being able to join the real world of work, can at least "pretend" to do so. In this sense sheltered workshops were also an important social control mechanism, upholding the values that underpin a competitive labour market, even for those who are not "allowed" entry.

The 1970s saw two pieces of legislation that provided the framework for a considerable increase in the range of services and supports available to disabled people. The Accident Compensation Act 1972 and the Disabled Persons Community Welfare (DPCW) Act 1975 also signalled a formal recognition that the challenges facing disabled people were also environmental and that a certain amount of collective responsibility was in order on the part of society.

Accident Compensation Legislation

The Accident Compensation Act 1972 (and subsequent amendments in 1973 and 1975) provided a no fault comprehensive insurance cover for all New Zealanders following injury caused by accident. This cover took the form of a partial wage subsidy, lump sum payments and a wide variety of measures (free of charge or heavily subsidised) aimed at assisting the person to return to work as soon as possible. In the absence of successful vocational rehabilitation the wage subsidy was paid for the remainder of the person's life. In exchange for these provisions New Zealanders waived the right to sue for damages.

Rehabilitation services provided by the scheme included: assessment and individualised rehabilitation programmes involving job placement; referral to placement and rehabilitation agencies; work trials and work experience; job clubs; grants for self employment; grants for study and training; and grants for special equipment and modifications in the workplace. The scheme was paid for by contributions from employers, special taxes on motor vehicles, direct Government funding and more recently, by levies on all tax payers.

The scheme was initially demand driven, but mounting concerns about the cost of the scheme saw sweeping changes in 1992 resulting in a raft of regulations that restricted entitlements and eliminated lump sum payouts (Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance Act, 1992). The State was responding to the ongoing dilemma of how much it should invest in the possible return to work by those disabled by accident. There were also wider debates about individual versus collective responsibility. The ACC scheme has continued to be a victim of economic rationalism (Rees, Rodley & Stilwell 1993) and the libertarian ethos (Rees, 1992) that began to dominate Government policy from the mid 1980s. Nevertheless the services and financial support provided by the scheme to assist some disabled people back into employment (whose impairments are the result of accident since 1974) are still a significant part of employment and vocational rehabilitation policy.

The Disabled Persons Community Welfare Act 1975

The Disabled Person Community Welfare Act 1975 (DPCW Act) also delivered a comprehensive range of provisions. Although it effectively defined disability as an individual problem it did establish some programmes that acknowledged the existence of environmental barriers, including the extra costs associated with having a disability. Some of these programmes were directed specifically at enhancing the possibility of employment. These included: self employment loans; provision of specialised equipment; a training incentive allowance to meet the costs of training courses; loans for the purchase and adapting of motor vehicles; a rehabilitation allowance to offset the costs of assessment and rehabilitation programmes; a disability allowance to meet the costs associated with vocational training; and the introduction of a building code to make public buildings accessible to disabled people. Section 27 of the DPCW Act, formalised and made specific provision for the funding of training activities and sheltered workshops through salary subsidies and assistance with the capital costs of facilities.

The Act therefore represented a mix of provisions aimed at both the individual and at removing barriers to participation. What became collectively referred to as "vocational services" subsequently expanded throughout the country well into the 1980s, almost exclusively through a sheltered workshop model and informed by a "work readiness" approach to training and rehabilitation. By the 1990s the philosophy that directed the funding of vocational services under the Act had begun to change significantly with the influence of concepts such as supported employment. That such changes were possible under a 1975 Act is testimony to the enabling nature of the original legislation.

However, some sections of the DPCW Act eventually fell victim to the economic rationalism that had become rampant by the early 1990s, particularly (and not surprisingly) those provisions that were either associated with removing barriers or demand led in terms of funding. Thus the Health and Disability Services Act 1993 and the Health Reforms (Transitional Provisions) Act 1993 effectively removed several provisions that were entitlements and replaced these with programmes dependent on policy and regulations developed by the Ministry of Health and the new purchasing agencies, the Regional Health Authorities (RHAs). For example, funding for special equipment and attendant care services were rationed under the auspices of

capped budgets through a needs assessment process rather than being provided by entitlement.

The expansion in the scope and range of services that resulted from the ACC Act and the DPCW Act saw a corresponding increase in the scrutiny of these services and the policies that underpinned them. Of particular concern was the development of two distinct "systems" for rehabilitation, one for those whose disabilities were the result of accident or injury since the 1974 ACC Act and another for everyone else (people with congenital disabilities and those unlucky enough to have sustained injuries prior to 1974). Duplication and inequities between the two systems quickly gained the attention of professionals, politicians and consumers (Pirie, 1977). In addition, criticisms mounted steadily throughout the 1980s about the lack of success of vocational services and vocational rehabilitation in general, in achieving meaningful employment outcomes.

A Crisis of Confidence and Emerging Reform (1980-1995)

The 1980s was a period of intense debate about the effectiveness of rehabilitation services and related employment policy. These concerns were reflected in a growing number of official reviews and the increasing participation of disabled people themselves in the ensuing debates. Central to these debates was the stark reality that the employment status of disabled people was relatively unchanged, despite a burgeoning vocational rehabilitation industry providing, incidentally, ever increasing employment opportunities for non-disabled professionals.

The United Nations International Year of Disabled Persons in 1981 provided an ideal opportunity to promote disability issues onto the political and public agenda. It prompted the development of the Disabled Persons Assembly (DPA) the only attempt in New Zealand to systematically organise advocacy for and by disabled people on a nationwide basis. No doubt prompted by such a permissive environment the then Director General of Social Welfare commissioned a comprehensive review of rehabilitation services in New Zealand.

The ensuing report (Bolt and Heggie, 1982) drew attention to the lack of coordination of policy and services and the need for a stronger focus on rehabilitation that had employment as a goal. It recommended, for example, that the Rehabilitation League re-focus its efforts in this area. The 1987 Royal Commission on Social Policy further highlighted the lack of planning and policy development, a reluctance to embrace new innovations and the increasing calls for consumer representation (Hunt, 1988).

However, the gathering momentum for change was not going to wait for changes in public policy. By the end of the 1980s some minor developments by the Department of Labour and the tentative beginnings of supported employment were beginning to challenge traditional approaches to vocational rehabilitation (as practised by the ACC and the Rehabilitation League) as well as the relevance of sheltered workshops.

The Department of Labour

Since 1981 the Department of Labour has administered a Modification Grants Scheme to pay for equipment and adaptations needed in the workplace for new employees with a disability. In addition, since the early 1980s, the Job Plus scheme has provided generous wage subsidies to employers who take on people who "experience significant disadvantage in the labour market" and have been registered as a job seeker for more than six months. Since the Minimum Wage Act 1983 there has been the provision of "under-rate workers permits" which have allowed people with disabilities to be employed at below award or minimum pay rates subject to the issuing of a permit by the Department of Labour. The permit struck a wage rate based on an assessment of the worker's output agreed to by the employer, a union representative and the Department of Labour's Factory Inspectors. From the mid 1980s the Department of Labour employed "special duties officers" in its local offices who had a specific brief to focus on the employment needs of people with disabilities (Department of Labour Report, 1991).

These provisions, offered under the auspices of the Department of Labour, were referred to earlier as "minor developments", largely because they were not part of a coordinated package of measures and appeared to have a negligible impact in terms of employment outcomes for disabled people. The

Modification Grants Scheme was not well promoted and even in the 1989/90 year there were only 17 grants totalling \$52,000 from a budgeted allocation of \$120,000 (Department of Labour report, 1991). The Job Plus scheme did not specifically target disabled people who tended not to register as job seekers, because they were not in receipt of the unemployment benefit and therefore did not automatically come to the Department of Labour's attention. Under-rate permits were never widely used, were poorly monitored and took a very narrow view of a person's contribution to the workplace. Their administration became very confused with the introduction of the Employment Contracts Act 1991, although they are still an available option. In the context of people with very severe disabilities and complex needs they could be revisited with a view to fairer and more equitable application.

The employment of special duties officers by the Department of Labour was seen by many at the time as a positive development, but their role was never clear within the Department. They received very little training and they disappeared altogether with the restructuring that produced the New Zealand Employment Service (NZES). As with many of the measures offered by the Department of Labour during the 1980s, they relied on disabled people and their advocates to come forward and "make them work". Use of these measures tended to happen only where vocational and employment services were attempting to break the traditional mould. Many local offices of the Department of Labour had problems with disabled people on the Invalids Benefit registering as job seekers because they are supposed to be "permanently incapacitated" in terms of work. Disabled people would only receive a service or become eligible for programmes like the Job Plus Scheme if there was strong advocacy from disability job placement services. It emerged that these 'disability job placement services' were often the beginnings of supported employment programmes.

Supported Employment: Early Beginnings

In 1985 several groups in different locations began to re-assess the role of sheltered workshops and, influenced by information on supported employment from the USA, started to develop programmes specifically aimed at placing people in jobs with intensive and ongoing follow-up services. Much of this early work took place within sheltered workshops for people with

intellectual impairments, run by IHC (a national organisation accounting for 75% of sheltered workshops at the time). In Rotorua, for example, the local Polytechnic initiated a short course designed to train job coaches (called TIDE: Training Intellectually Disabled Employees) who would then be employed by a new placement agency to provide a supported employment service. This work was modelled on developments in Perth, Australia (Lewis et al, 1987) which in turn was derived from the work of Wehman (1981; 1985) in the USA. In Rotorua this led to New Zealand's first agency solely devoted to the delivery of a supported employment programme².

At the same time major changes were also taking place within IHC, the country's largest non-government provider of services to people with intellectual impairments. During the second half of the 1980s many of this agency's sheltered workshops embarked on conversion programmes to place people in "real" jobs. Although some of this effort was only directed at people perceived as "ready" there was still a significant attempt to embrace the concept and practice of supported employment. The IHC's quarterly magazine at the time (IH Review) was regularly featuring items on work crews, enclaves and work stations, small business enterprises and ongoing support for those individuals placed in jobs.

In 1989 IHC released for discussion a draft entitled "Standards for Supported Employment" (Bennie, 1989)³ which, heavily influenced by developments in the USA, spelt out a reform pathway for this agency's vocational services. A re-drafted version entitled "Employment Support Services for New Zealanders with Intellectual Handicaps (Bennie, 1990) had dropped the term "supported employment" in an attempt to recognise the range of activities referred to as supported employment and the broader debate about individual versus group approaches. Although this remained an unpublished document, it had an obvious influence on the IHC's employment and vocational service policy (IHC Philosophy and Policy Document, 1990) which embraced the concept of supported employment.

Because of its size and historical influence in the policy arena these developments in IHC flowed on to other providers of vocational and employment services. Other sheltered workshop providers began to respond

² Supported Employment Agency (SEA) which began in 1988.

³ At this time I was employed in a national policy role by IHC.

more deliberately to the placement of people in jobs and started to use the term supported employment to describe some services, although frequently there was little change in philosophy or practice. In 1989 the ACC launched a small supported employment pilot in Dunedin utilising job coaches, but the outcomes for participants and of the project are unknown as it was quite short lived.

As part of a response to the work force development needs of personnel in the disability sector a course on supported employment was included in the curriculum for the new Diploma Course in Teaching People with Disabilities (Bennie 1990), later to become known as the Diploma In Human Services. Several Polytechnics also began to participate in the emerging supported employment arena through their focus on work experience and job placement as part of vocational training courses specifically for disabled people, especially those aimed at people with intellectual impairments. These developments in vocational training had been encouraged because of the lack of access for disabled people to generic vocational training courses for the long term unemployed and by the absence of functional curricula in High schools.

Policy Tinkering by the State

A further significant development during the 1980s was the emergence of Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO). The State Sector Act 1988 made EEO policies mandatory for Government departments with the target groups including disabled people. EEO provides mechanisms for organisational change by committing employers to identifying and removing institutional barriers that cause or perpetuate inequality and discrimination. EEO provisions can have far reaching consequences in positively affecting employment outcomes for disabled people because they confront institutional discrimination. In 1990 EEO provisions were extended to the private sector through the Employment Equity Act 1990.

The presence of active discrimination and the need for EEO policies were highlighted in a 1990 report, "The Invisible Minority" (State Services Commission, 1990). The consultation leading up to this report, and the report itself seemed to do much to raise the profile of disability employment issues across the public sector and kept the practice of EEO alive (Sullivan, 1991).

Tangible evidence of this was the launching of the Mainstream Supported Employment Programme in the State Sector in 1991. This programme complimented EEO activities by providing wage subsidies for a three year period as well as follow up support from staff employed to manage and administer the programme.

EEO policies have, for the most part though, failed to live up to expectations. This failure has been mainly due to their implementation at a time when efficiency and profit developed as imperatives within the State Sector, giving rise to a new managerialism that wanted to be unencumbered by State interventions and regulations in the labour market. In the State Sector the result has been that much EEO activity has been reduced to “window dressing” and public relations exercises. Although some people acknowledge that it has served to raise consciousness about disability issues, it has rarely changed the material circumstances of individual disabled people (Sullivan, 1991). In the private sector EEO has languished in much the same fashion. An incoming National Government repealed The Employment Equity Act 1990 a matter of weeks after it became law.

New innovations and programmes proceeded during the 1980s in a virtual policy vacuum. Preoccupation with changes in the State Sector from 1984 meant that little substantial action was taken in terms of coherent public policy until the mid 1990s, and when new policy was developed, it tended to flounder amongst the broader changes that were taking place at the time. Because the State Sector has continued an ongoing process of dramatic change, the public policy arena has had a very crowded agenda, particularly in Health and Welfare (for example the restructuring of the Department of Social Welfare into three separate business units and the ‘Health Reforms’)⁴. Consequently, policy developments in the mid 1990s were lagging behind innovations and practices that had been underway for up to a decade before.

⁴ The Department of Social Welfare was split into three business units comprising Income Support (formerly benefits and pensions), The Children and Young Persons Service (Formerly Child Welfare) and the Community Funding Agency (CFA) which undertook the role to purchase community services in the areas of child and family support and vocational services for disabled people. The “health reforms” is a phrase frequently used in New Zealand to describe the establishment of a funder/provider split in the health and disability sector in the early 1990s. This included the creation of “Crown Health Enterprises” or CHEs (formally Hospitals run by elected Boards) and four Government purchasing agencies known as Regional Health Authorities.

An exception to this policy vacuum was the Human Rights Act 1993 which included disability as an illegal basis on which to discriminate. Its inclusion had been the result of intense lobbying by disability groups for a decade or more, as well as a requirement to meet international conventions which New Zealand had signed. The Act will no doubt provide an important plank from which to address issues of discrimination and exclusion. However it will also require organised activity and pressure to make the legislation work in the interests of disabled people. After three years The Human Rights Act, has yet to be used significantly as a tool by disabled people to pursue employment issues.

In 1988 and 1989 three distinct policy reviews were undertaken in response to concerns about the non-performance of both services and public policy. New policy imperatives were also brought on by the emergence of supported employment. The Department of Social Welfare launched an extensive evaluation of The Rehabilitation League (a large provider of sheltered workshops) with a view to substantial restructuring (which led to the creation of Workbridge) and, quite independently, a review of all other vocational services funded under the DPCW Act (which led to the establishment of the Vocational Opportunities Support Programme - or VOSP programme). In addition, the Disabled Persons Employment Promotion Act 1960 was formally reviewed by the Department of Labour as a result of mounting pressure about the inequities of sheltered workshops and calls for a greater emphasis on job placement activities. The result of this review was a request by the then Minister of Employment for a working party to develop "integrated employment and training policies for disabled people" (Department of Labour Report, 1991).

Although they were undertaken concurrently (sometimes duplicating research and analysis) each of these reviews was to have a significant, and interrelated impact on policy and programme development. They were also the immediate catalysts for the establishment and more widespread implementation of supported employment. These three policy reviews and their consequences for supported employment will now be examined.

Working Party on Integrated Employment and Training Policies

A 1989 review of the Disabled Persons Employment Promotion (DPEP) Act 1960 recommended that any repeal of this Act should be preceded by the “development of an integrated policy to facilitate the employment and training of people with disabilities” (Department of Labour Report, 1990). Cabinet subsequently directed officials to establish a working party to undertake this task. This working party first met in December 1990 and reported back to the Minister of Employment in August 1991 (Department of Labour Report, 1991). The working party had representation from the Department of Labour (which convened the group), the Ministry of Education, the Accident Compensation Commission (ACC), the Department of Health, the Department of Social Welfare, the Treasury, the State Services Commission, DPA and the just formed Workbridge.⁵

To assist with its deliberations the working party commissioned two pieces of research. The first was a literature review of “Employment and Training Policies for People with Disabilities in other developed countries” (Johns, 1991). The second was an examination of the labour force participation rates of people with disabilities (Stroombergen, Miller & Jensen, 1991). This research represented the first systematic attempt to identify the employment status of disabled people in New Zealand. It identified 11.4% of the population as disabled. On this basis, and drawing on a range of international studies as well as New Zealand research, it estimated an unemployment rate of 21.9%. However this did not include those disabled people deemed unable to work, those in training, and those able to work, but not actively seeking work. When these people are added the unemployment rate for disabled people was struck tentatively at 40% (Stroombergen, et al, 1991).

This second group (those deemed unable to work, in training, and able to work, but not actively seeking work) are significant in that it is these people who are likely to have more complex needs and are less likely to gain employment without the intervention of some kind of employment or rehabilitation service. These estimations are consistent with an informal 1989 survey by DPA which yielded an unemployment rate of 41.3% (Stroombergen et al, 1991).

⁵ Workbridge was the organisation that was established following the restructuring of the Rehabilitation League in 1990.

Armed with up-to-date statistics and background on developments and policies in other countries, the Working Party comprehensively canvassed all aspects of employment and training policy in New Zealand. It examined: how the access to generic assistance programmes (operated by the Department of Labour) could be improved for disabled people, looked at strategies to extend anti-discrimination legislation to cover disabled people and also recommended compulsory EEO. It also examined in detail the implications of repealing the DPEP Act and made detailed recommendations to address the future of sheltered workshops, under rate permits and the role of supported employment. The report of the working party also examined in detail the benefit/wage interface and the disincentives created by abatement regimes, improving the performance of ACC, the role of Workbridge, issues around physical access to the workplace and accessible transport. The report remains the most comprehensive and coherent attempt to date to formulate employment and training policy for disabled people in New Zealand.

Most of the recommendations in this report have languished because they did not gain the support of the treasury representatives on the working party as they were at odds, and continue to be, with broader Government objectives related to minimising State regulation and intervention (for example the idea of compulsory EEO and anti discrimination legislation). The repeal of the DPEP Act has not got onto a crowded legislative agenda. There is now an even stronger case for new legislation to clarify the status of people in the remnants of sheltered workshops. These services now tend to ignore the Act because its administration has been lost in endless State sector restructuring. Similarly, the status of the rapidly increasing numbers of people in supported employment arrangements and not on full wages needs urgent clarification.

The Working Party preferred an option whereby under-rate permits or wage subsidies would be required for all people in sheltered workshops and those in supported employment and who were not on full wages (Department of Labour Report, 1991:97-99). This would have the combined effect of reinforcing people's status as employees, halting the enslavement in sheltered workshops and preventing the endless "work experience" in which many supported employment "employees" find themselves. Such changes would require a thorough overhaul and improvement of the under-rate permit system. Some very useful developments in this regard have recently been undertaken in

Australia which could well serve as a model here (Commonwealth Department of Human Services and Health, 1994).

The Working Party also advocated the transfer of some funds from the Job Plus scheme (wage subsidies operated by the Department of Labour) so that they could be targeted for disabled people and used in a range of ways to meet individual circumstances, like job coaching, special equipment and a wage subsidy (Department of Labour Report, 1991: 32-33). This idea was eventually implemented in the 1995 budget with the creation of the “Job Support programme” and is administered by Workbridge.

Surprisingly, the report that published the working party’s deliberations is not a well known document (Department of Labour 1991). It deserves wider attention as it continues to be relevant to many current policy debates and dilemmas. It contains many recommendations ,with supporting analysis, that still demand implementation.

The Vocational Opportunities Support Programme (VOSP)

The second review that was undertaken (conducted in 1989) focused on the funding of vocational services by the then Department of Social Welfare under the provisions of the Disabled Persons Community Welfare (DPCW) Act 1975. These services included all vocational and employment services provided in community settings. The predominant model of service delivery at this time was the sheltered workshop, but several services had been exploring and achieving the implementation of supported employment programmes since at least 1985. The review was prompted by an increasing acknowledgement of the employment outcomes achieved by these innovations and a developing consumer movement that wanted “real jobs for real pay”.

The result of the review was the Vocational Opportunities Support Programme (or VOSP). A document was released in August 1990 (Department of Social Welfare, 1990) which spelt out the issues, policy, and plan that would underpin the programme’s implementation. The document was the product of a “National Advisory Committee” made up of consumer, provider and Department representatives which was convened to monitor the implementation of VOSP. It was concluded that vocational services were

essentially outmoded, lacked a focus on individual needs, were not adequately committed to community integration and were failing to respond to the calls for real jobs.

In summarising the facts so far, it is clear that more effective ways of using current resources for people with disabilities must be found. Some of the needs of people with disabilities are not being met and there is very little effort to reduce dependency on the benefit system...it is clear that new and innovative ways are required to meet the needs of people with disabilities, and a new focus is required (DSW 1990 :6).

The document made it clear that the new VOSP programme would give a very high priority to funding supported employment initiatives, either as new ventures or as conversion projects from within sheltered workshops, as well as other education and training activities that had community integration as the main objective. VOSP represented an attempt to encourage existing providers to move in new directions and to invite new providers to enter the arena. VOSP also provided a policy context for the introduction of contracting as a funding mechanism whereby providers would have to quantify the services that would be "purchased" from them on the basis of a contract.

VOSP was to be implemented through the community sections of the then Department of Social Welfare (DSW) district offices and a "Resource kit" was provided to guide a "community development process" (Department of Social Welfare, 1991). The intent was that local forums of consumer and provider representatives would be convened to elect a steering committee which would then conduct a "needs analysis", look at ways of coordinating services and make recommendations for funding through district offices to the VOSP programme. Contracts for services would then be entered into on the basis of these recommendations.

The VOSP programme quickly emerged as a well intentioned policy developed by naive bureaucrats that changed very little. The reasons for this initial failure were multi-faceted. First, there was a failure to recognise the lack of knowledge in disability issues and awareness of disability politics by local DSW staff. Additionally, the programme carried no new funding so VOSP had to compete with the already stretched staffing resources of DSW district offices. The National Advisory Committee became quite vocal about the lack of resources and expertise at the local level. The committee was disbanded in late 1990. There was also a failure to recognise the fundamental differences in the

positions of power between consumers and providers (Drake, 1994). Consequently the agendas of providers dominated local steering committees. These committees also found it very difficult to make decisions when it became clear that there was little extra funding for new services, again reinforcing the status quo.

The impact of the VOSP programme was further disrupted in 1991 with the formation of the Community Funding Agency (CFA) which resulted from the restructuring of the Department of Social Welfare into three business units. As a consequence existing funding arrangements were “rolled over” while the new funding agency established itself and became familiar with its new role (which included the funding of vocational services for disabled people). This situation continued into 1992 with VOSP existing in a virtual vacuum and funding arrangements, in the main, continuing to be rolled over, along with the policy status quo.

The lack of impact of the VOSP programme was highlighted in a 1992 report “A Blueprint for Change” (Disabled Persons Assembly, 1992) which sought to put the perspectives of consumers firmly on the agenda. This report called for better coordination of services and policy and emphasised the need for more Supported Employment programmes.

In 1993 the CFA announced its intention to review the VOSP programme in response to calls for policy clarity, particularly around the future of sheltered workshops and exactly what constituted a supported employment programme. Because supported employment had become regarded as the “innovative thing to do” programmes used the term (and continue to) to label any service remotely concerned with jobs and disabled people. The original VOSP policy document referred to supported employment as including only the individual placement model, while many providers understood it to include group placement models such as enclaves, crews and small business enterprises. There was also mounting debate about the difference between supported employment providers and Workbridge’s services.

Confusion was intensified by the lack of background of most CFA staff in disability issues and knowledge of what supported employment was (or was not). For example funding was made available for “*supported employment programmes in sheltered workshops*” (CFA, 1994a:4). A lack of clarity persisted.

CFA funding decisions in 1995/6 included the purchase of “supported open employment”, “supported employment in a sheltered workplace”, “supported/subsidised employment in a sheltered workplace” and “employment placement-supported employment” (CFA National Services Plan, 1996).

A working party comprising representatives of consumer and provider groups and the CFA began reviewing VOSP in late 1993, and reported back in March 1994. (CFA, 1994b). A discussion paper was commissioned to canvass the issues and identify benchmark costs for different types of vocational services (Ernst and Young, 1993). This review provided several encouraging signs for supported employment. It attempted to categorise the range of programmes funded by VOSP into four “service types”. One of these was “supported employment” and another was “employment placement” which referred to Workbridge's services. The essential difference between the two was identified as the amount of follow up provided (employment placement being short term and supported employment being long term). The remaining two service types were identified as “Subsidised Employment” (sheltered workshops) and “daily activities” (CFA, 1994b). The report clearly indicated that supported employment should be the highest priority in terms of funding and that extra funding was central to any significant shift away from segregated services. Furthermore, the report also recommended that a strategic direction be established to evaluate all providers at two or three year intervals (CFA, 1994b). Before outlining how this report was translated into policy we need to consider the impact of the third policy review of the early 1990s which led to the establishment of Workbridge.

Workbridge

As a direct result of an evaluation of the Rehabilitation League a restructuring exercise was undertaken in 1990 from which emerged a new agency known as Workbridge. The Rehabilitation League in 1990 had clearly become an anachronism with only five large centres located around the country and a heavy reliance on outmoded assessment techniques and sheltered workshops. The organisation was recreated within a six month period to become Workbridge, a jobs and training placement agency. Gone were the sheltered workshops, replaced with placement teams (of around 3 staff) in 25 locations

around the country. Workbridge began an assertive campaign to register as many job seekers with disabilities as possible, in the process connecting with many sheltered workshops as a source of potential clients. Workbridge also signalled its intention to use job coaches to provide on the job support.

The approach to job placement adopted by Workbridge was one that was sharply oriented to the needs of a highly competitive (and by now largely deregulated) labour market. Employers were regarded as customers as well as disabled people. Outcomes were measured almost exclusively in terms of placement numbers with two thirds of these being into training, rather than jobs. The immediate result of this approach was twofold. First, Workbridge quickly began to focus on those with less severe disabilities so that placement figures would remain high. Secondly, it made a significant contribution to the "training treadmill" which consigned people, particularly those with more severe disabilities, to permanent training. These training courses involved job readiness and preparation courses offered by Polytechnics, sheltered workshops and a host of private training establishments that fed off Government policies which insisted there were jobs and people just needed more training.

The service delivery approach adopted by Workbridge was identical to that used by the New Zealand Employment Service (NZES). This approach included marketing a corporate image conveying a business like-approach which was meeting with runaway success. While such an undertaking was innovative in the context of disabled people, and continues to do much to enhance the value and image of disabled people as potential employees, it is an approach that has also invited scepticism.

There continues to be persistent criticism about Workbridges much publicised job placement figures (15,000 in the first three years) and the tendency to downplay the fact that the majority of overall placements are into training (25,000 in the first three years), rather than jobs (Workbridge, 1994). Job placement figures are also challenged on the basis of not distinguishing between whether the outcome was the direct result of Workbridge's intervention or the result of another agency's efforts following referral by Workbridge. Furthermore, many job seekers registered with Workbridge eventually find their way in to work through their own efforts or with the

support of other agencies, but because they are 'registered', Workbridge still counts these situations as placement outcomes.

Consequently, one or more agencies (in addition to Workbridge) frequently claim success for the same placement outcome. There is also little evidence that Workbridge has made much impact on those in sheltered workshops and other "day programmes" for disabled people. This has led many to ask whether the people that Workbridge is "placing" are those that traditionally found work without the formal intervention of services (other than perhaps the NZES), before Workbridge came along. The spectre of "client capture" is difficult to dispel. A final observation made by many practitioners in the field is the tendency for Workbridge to "count" the same person several times over a number of job placements during the course of a year. While boosting "outputs", this raises questions about the quality of outcomes for "customers" along such dimensions as job satisfaction and job retention. Collectively, these observations about Workbridge's placement statistics may also be completely distorting the actual number of job seekers.

Workbridge has yet to respond adequately to these criticisms. As a result there has always been a degree of scepticism about the success of Workbridge - as reported by Workbridge (Workbridge, 1995). The expansive marketing of the organisation has simply reinforced for many consumers the yawning gap between the fantasy and the reality of using its services. The agency has at times claimed to provide a supported employment service, however it has never been funded or contracted to provide this. It could be argued however, that it acts as a broker or purchaser of supported employment services through referral or the disbursement of funds it administers on behalf of government (the Job Support and Training support programmes). Workbridge has made it very clear in its approach to job placement, an expectation that job seekers be "ready" for employment which is clearly at odds with the central philosophy of supported employment. This probably explains the significant rate of referral and placement into training rather than jobs.

A lack of training and qualifications is frequently cited by Workbridge as a major barrier for disabled people and a rationale for placing people in training more frequently than jobs. (Workbridge, 1994; 1995). In doing so it treats training and qualifications as being one and the same. A lack of training can be understood as the institutionalised discrimination that does not take disabled people seriously as employees (or students) and their consequent restriction

from experiencing a vast array of life experiences that prepare people for the world of work (chores around home, after school jobs, high school work experience programmes, careers advice etc). These kinds of experiences will not be found in a qualification alone, but in the immediate and supported participation of disabled people in real work settings with training provided in this context. Although Workbridge has encouraged many job seekers into tertiary based training to gain qualifications that are of obvious value in enhancing employment prospects, many of their training placements have been into the training “merry-go-round” of endless “life skills”, “pre-employment”, “vocational skills” and “job preparation” courses. Workbridge is consequently a major contributor to the readiness logic that pervades much of the traditional thinking behind vocational rehabilitation.

While Workbridge adopts a traditional “readiness model” in terms of the job placement process, its innovation is reflected in a business-like and customer oriented approach to marketing its services, to its perceived customer groups, employers and disabled people. As a result, the image of disabled people as potential employees is greatly enhanced and it is likely that the overall marketing strategy is performing an excellent public education and disability awareness function. The extent to which this is directly translating into increased employment for disabled people is unknown.

As a result of concerns that Workbridge was not fulfilling its obligation to people with more severe disabilities Government has urged that it focus its services more in this area. A 1993 evaluation was commissioned by CFA and carried out by KPMG Peat Marwick Consultants. This evaluation assessed Workbridge in terms of its cost effectiveness and its performance in terms of contracted outputs and thus did not probe into the validity of the assumptions underlying its operation. In relation to performance around people with more severe disabilities the report concluded that:

Workbridge's philosophy of putting forward the people who have the best skills for a particular job naturally encourages placement coordinators to identify those with lesser disabilities...Workbridge owes it to employers to put forward the best candidate for the job (quoted in Workbridge, 1994:17).

Such comments demonstrate a remarkable lack of insight into the difference between impairment and disability and do much to undermine the humanity and potential of those with more severe disabilities as “naturally” not the best

candidates for jobs. That Workbridge embraces such “praise” reveals its commitment to the readiness model (Brown, et al, 1979) and to the imperatives of employers (and the labour market) over those of disabled people.

While lacking in analysis and insight the report did point out the poor performance in relation to people with more severe disabilities. One response has been a programme called Job Support which used funds transferred from the Department of Labour’s Job Plus wage subsidy scheme in the 1994 budget. These funds (approximately two million dollars) were reassigned to a new programme called Job Support with Workbridge assigned the task of administering it. These funds were targeted to individuals for the purpose of providing disabled people ongoing job support in the form of job coaches, mentors, wage subsidies, workplace modification and special adaptations or equipment. In addition, Workbridge stated its intention to “work in partnership” with other providers to meet the needs of those with more severe disabilities (Workbridge, 1994).

These moves have had some impact on people traditionally excluded from access to job placement services by providing a degree of ongoing post placement support. The coordination, monitoring and delivery of this support increasingly began to come from a growing number of supported employment providers, reinforcing Workbridge’s role as broker and administrator of funding programmes for this group, rather than as a direct provider of ongoing support services. However by 1996 it was becoming quite apparent that Workbridge was being very selective about the disbursement of job support funds, arguing that supported employment agencies were using the job support programme to “double-dip” in terms of funding (Phoenix, 1996) As a consequence job seekers using supported employment agencies were discriminated against for exercising such a choice. In addition, Workbridge insisted that job coaches employed through the job support fund be classified as self-employed. While this is not illegal it exploits a loop hole in current labour law that enables people to be classified as self-employed, yet receive none of the benefits that can be claimed from this status - a curious position for an agency advancing the rights of disabled job seekers to adopt.

By 1996 concerns about the performance and policies of Workbridge were beginning to attract questions about its future role and function, particularly its relationship with a rapidly growing supported employment sector. Because its

philosophy is committed to the imperatives of a deregulated labour market its ability to re-design its services in ways where it can be driven by the imperatives of people with more severe disabilities (which will challenge the realities of the labour market rather than accept them) is highly questionable. If it opts instead to retain a focus on those with less severe disabilities it runs the very real risk of simply duplicating the role of the New Zealand Employment Service (NZES), something which it had already been doing. Workbridge is likely to find itself increasingly caught "between a rock and a hard place", either duplicating services offered by genuine supported employment providers or those provided by NZES.

An answer to this dilemma may reveal itself if Workbridge was prepared to consider a "merger" with NZES. Its operations as a job placement agency could continue as a specialised unit within each NZES office while its policy and marketing roles were incorporated as a specialised unit within the Department of Labour. In this way the corporate identity of "Workbridge" could be retained at an operational and policy level within a "mainstream" service. Retaining this identity would be central to keeping disability employment policy and services firmly on the agenda of the Department of Labour and its NZES offices.

Such "integration" could have a positive impact in the context of employment policy development for disabled people as well as streamlining the administration of programmes. NZES, through its 'Workbridge Units', could then have a clear and consistent role as administrator of funding and support programmes directed at individuals, information, referral and brokerage services for unemployed disabled people. It could also continue marketing disabled people to employers at a national level. For those individuals that needed ongoing support to retain jobs referrals could be made to the local supported employment provider (funded by the Department of Labour) which would access programmes offered by the NZES Workbridge Unit (tailored to the individual's needs). The supported employment provider could then coordinate, provide and monitor ongoing support services.

As well as solving the problem of duplicating the NZES service such a merger would also clarify and address the relationship between Workbridge and supported employment services. Considerable savings in office and administration overheads could also accrue, thereby releasing further funds for

supported employment services. Workbridge has always maintained that it should have a finite life span in its role of addressing the employment needs of disabled people (Workbridge, 1994), although the reasons for its demise as an organisation are probably not those being expressed here.

Some Policy Directions

As a result of the CFA sponsored review of the VOSP programme (CFA, 1994b) the 1994 budget formalised several new vocational 'service types'. These were Employment Placement (Workbridge), Employment Support (supported employment, and sheltered workshops), Daily Activities and Vocational Training and Training Support and Job Support - the latter to be administered by Workbridge. (CFA, 1994c). Although Training Support and Job Support were touted as "increased funding" they were in fact the amalgamation and transfer of previous funding programmes (from Income Support and the Department of Labour) into arrangements that could be used much more flexibly to provide people with longer term support. This strategy was originally recommended in the 1991 Department of Labour Report.

The 1994 budget announcements also represented the first formalised public policy commitment to supported employment by identifying it as a specific funding category. It was grouped together with sheltered workshop funding (referred to as "subsidised employment") under a service type called "Employment Support". The intent was that over time the greater proportion of funding would shift from subsidised employment (sheltered workshops) to supported employment. There was no additional funding provided. Legislative authority for these funding programmes remained with the Disabled Persons Community Welfare (DPCW) Act 1975.

In late 1994 extra one-off development money was made available to assist providers of vocational services to undertake resource development and training, strategic planning and pilot projects to help orientate programmes to the policy objectives outlined in the review of VOSP. (CFA, 1995b). Coinciding with this was an attempt to implement a more formalised approach to contracting using a Request For Proposal (RFP) format in which providers (existing and intending) were encouraged to specify the outputs and outcomes they intended to achieve (CFA, 1995b). The one-off funding provided some

impetus for the growth and development of new supported employment programmes, although it was noted at the time that “there appears to be money to research supported employment, assess for it, talk about, plan for it, but not to actually provide it” (Phoenix, 1994). Up to this point there had still been no increase in ongoing funding for services (as noted by the VOSP review; CFA, 1994b). The consequence was that newly emerging supported employment providers were continually struggling for viability as most only employed two or three staff.

Although 1994 signalled an important policy commitment to supported employment on the part of Government, this was not followed through with coherent implementation in terms of detailed policy to guide the contracting for services undertaken by the CFA. Little work was done to clarify the differences among the new “service types”, particularly the difference between supported and subsidised employment and between supported employment and employment placement. Moreover, the contracting process was implemented by government bureaucrats with little idea of what it was they were supposed to be purchasing and providers unsure of what they were supposed to be delivering. Employment placement was defined as:

“Employment that is carried out in the labour market at market rates.”

Supported employment was defined as

The provision of extra assistance for individuals with disabilities (including those with severe disabilities) in order to make it possible for them to perform a job in open employment with market wages. As with all workers in a specific job, special guidance and support are needed, especially in the initial phase, depending on both the person and the characteristics of the job (CFA, 1994c:2).

These brief statements constituted the entire policy. There was a limited amount of guidance to CFA staff in their manual to give priority to supported employment over sheltered workshops (CFA, 1994c). However there were no further details on supported employment or any other service type: no service descriptions, quality requirements, principles, values, philosophy or details about process. In a “contracting for services environment” it was a recipe for continued and endless confusion.

The result was a myriad of programmes being labelled “supported employment” by both providers and the CFA with many departing from or totally contradicting the philosophies and practices that are supposed to characterise and distinguish supported employment from traditional approaches. Confusion between the role of Workbridge and supported employment providers continued, particularly since Workbridge had the contract to administer the new Job Support Programme and supported employment providers focused their services on those people for whom the programme was intended.

The confusion arose because of the widespread impression that Workbridge reserved the programme for its clients (and continues to) while implying that supported employment providers are using it to “double dip” in terms of funding. Conversely, supported employment providers maintain that Workbridge “double dips” by claiming placement outcomes for people that they have only registered and administered funds on behalf of rather than provided actual services to. In the final analysis funding levels remain a fraction of what is actually required to meet the demand and service providers are forced to operate in a policy environment that lacks coherency and indeed, promotes chaos. Concern about Workbridge's role as both funder and provider remains an ironic situation given that a major plank of Government policy was to separate these two functions.

However by 1996 supported employment had become an established and accepted concept that was being implemented by an increasing number of providers. In 1989 there were just two providers in New Zealand. One of these was the agency in Rotorua already referred to and the other was IHC which operated supported employment programmes (to varying extents) through its approximately 50 Branches. By 1996 there were an estimated 16 programmes with a dozen new programmes in the process of establishment (Bennie, 1996). Of those in operation it was estimated that approximately 2,500 New Zealanders were participating in supported employment programmes (Bennie, 1996), depending however, on how one defined supported employment.

The Association for Supported Employment in New Zealand (ASENZ)

A national association for supported employment was formed in mid 1994. ASENZ (the Association for Supported Employment in New Zealand) was formed in response to the growing number of providers and the isolation that came from being early innovators. Concerns about a lack of funding and coherent policy quickly became a rallying point for those concerned with promoting the concept and practice of supported employment. The presence of ASENZ also meant that supported employment now had a vehicle through which to enter into dialogue with the State.

Creating dialogue with Government had been a very difficult undertaking to this point and those providers that did exist had been largely overlooked by Government in the various consultations and policy reviews. This lack of appropriate consultation meant that supported employment policy had largely evolved without the input of those who were actually practising it, which goes some way to explaining the lack of clarity and detail. As well as networking and supporting its members through disseminating information and promoting training, ASENZ also firmly established itself in a policy advocacy role.

Following a successful conference in early 1995 which attracted over 100 delegates (and further highlighted policy inadequacies and funding inconsistencies) ASENZ was formally invited by Government (through the CFA) to participate in policy development and discussions about the future of vocational services. ASENZ developed a proposed service description for supported employment for consideration by CFA as a means of adding clarity and detail to policy and providing a more informed basis for contracting (ASENZ, 1995). ASENZ had also assigned itself a monitoring role with regard to the performance of programmes such as Job Support which is administered by Workbridge. A regular newsletter provided a valuable networking function and advertised a "help line" where people could get answers to delivery and practice issues. Regular training forums also began, held at different locations around the country, so that providers and other interested parties could share new ideas and information. The organisation also signalled its intention to develop a Quality Assurance Programme for supported employment providers and to hold national conferences on an annual basis (Bennie and Taylor, 1995).

These developments reflected the permanent establishment of supported employment in New Zealand as a distinct practice model for achieving employment outcomes for disabled people and suggested a long term view in terms of continued development and expansion.

The Need For Integrated Policy Development

In late 1995 the State Services Commission undertook an “environmental scan” to canvass the need for any further change in the funding/purchasing arrangements for vocational and employment services for disabled people that had been determined in the health reforms of 1993 (State Services Commission, 1995).⁶ The idea of an “environmental scan” was to establish whether or not such a review was still required. The outcome of this scan had not yet been determined at the time of writing.

The view of CFA was that vocational services should stay under their purchasing umbrella and they cited the progress and reform that had occurred under their management (CFA, 1995a:4). However organisations such as ASENZ (and others) disputed that progress had been made and were highly critical of CFA’s performance (ASENZ, 1995a). They saw a full review as a vehicle to address serious shortcomings in policy and funding that CFA had failed to respond to, although ASENZ had yet to develop a position on who or what should ultimately be the purchaser of vocational services. Vocational services accounted for over a third of CFA’s activity so there appeared a strong incentive for CFA not to give away a third of its “business”, quite apart from philosophical, policy or performance grounds for doing so.

A full review could provide an excellent opportunity to highlight broader and more fundamental policy issues around funding and purchasing arrangements. While this area remains with either welfare or health, employment policy and related issues for disabled people are consigned to relative oblivion as either welfare or health issues and end up as an adjunct to, or isolated from, mainstream employment policy. Currently employment and labour market

⁶ An environmental scan was the result of an undertaking that had been given in 1993. At this time the “Health Reforms” began the process of transferring the funding of all disability services from the Department of Social Welfare (through CFA) to the Ministry of Health and the Regional Health Authorities as purchasers of services. It was decided to leave the purchasing of vocational services with the CFA, at least until 1995 when this decision would be reviewed.

policies in New Zealand are developed with little or no consideration of the needs or position of disabled people. As a group they are effectively marginalised in policy and employment terms because this arena is structured as a welfare or health issue for disabled people. By integrating policy development and the purchasing of employment and vocational services with the Department of Labour, disabled people (and their employment concerns) would enter the mainstream policy arena.

The consequence of such an integrated (and at this stage hypothetical) policy scenario can thus be described in service delivery terms. Workbridge could be integrated with NZES, the Department of Labour could purchase vocational and employment services (including supported employment) and policy for disabled people would be formulated in the context of employment policies for all New Zealanders. In order to retain the disability agenda there would need to be a specific policy unit within the Department of Labour, and as previously suggested, the Workbridge "identity" should be retained within NZES. In addition to bringing disability employment policy in from the margins such changes would do much to clarify Workbridge's role and its relationship with supported employment and vocational training providers. Daily Activities, as a service type that does not have employment or vocational training as a feature, could be transferred to Vote: Health with Regional Health Authorities being the purchasing agent.

However the chances of such changes, and a policy review to examine them, may be unlikely in the short term. The Department of Labour and NZES have historically had a marginal involvement with disabled people and may balk at the prospect of significant new business that brings with it a history of debate and dissension. The abilities of the Department of Labour are demonstrated however, by their stewardship of the "Report of the Working Party on Developing an Integrated Policy to Facilitate Employment and Training for People with Disabilities" (Department of Labour, 1991). This report remains as the most coherent and comprehensive analysis yet produced in this area. CFA will strongly resist any attempts to lose over a third of its business, the enthusiasm of bureaucrats for yet another review is probably not high and with the country's first MMP election looming in late 1996, the prospect of policy changes requiring new legislation are unlikely.

Supported Employment: Current Status and Emerging Issues in New Zealand

The emergence of supported employment as an identifiable model of practice and as a distinct strand of employment policy has had a rather tortuous path in New Zealand. Development has been hampered by a lack of coherent policy and an absence of concerted planning on the part of the State in relation to employment policy for disabled people. At a broader level, the rise of the consumer movement and an increasing focus on achieving employment outcomes for disabled people, through innovations like supported employment, have unfortunately not coincided with a supportive economic or social policy environment. On the contrary, the implementation of supported employment has had to contend with shrinking Government expenditure and the dismantling of policies and legislation aimed at reducing institutional forms of discrimination as well as a period of profound change "right" across the State Sector in New Zealand.

The development of employment policy for disabled people has been a mixture of contradictory provisions with many clearly based on an individualistic and largely medicalised view of disability which understand the 'problem' to lie with disabled people themselves. The resulting provisions have focused on training, counselling, getting people ready, wage subsidies and other provisions that make the employment of a disabled individual attractive to employers. However there have also been policy developments that have, to varying degrees, been informed by social and even political models of disability. These perspectives identify the location of the problem to be in the environment, particularly the attitudinal and structural constraints of a competitive labour market. Provision of human rights legislation, pay equity legislation, access codes for public buildings and EEO strategies have been the result.

Supported employment, in terms of its conceptual foundations, has emerged as part of a social model of disability. In practice it has tended to use strategies from across the spectrum, operating at the level of the individual and as part of a well established disability services system. Nevertheless, the notion of universal eligibility for services, the emphasis on placement first (as opposed to readiness training) and the commitment to ongoing support clearly acknowledges, and attempts to confront, the environmental and

institutionalised discrimination that restricts and excludes disabled people from employment. Supported employment has not yet embraced a broader mandate to engage in social change or social action, but has clearly moved beyond the medicalised and individualistic approaches of conventional vocational rehabilitation and job placement. Implementation of supported employment, as a model of service delivery has closely followed the development of supported employment in the USA.

The development of policy and programmes aimed at encouraging the implementation of supported employment proceeded largely without the knowledge and expertise of those actually providing supported employment services. The recent formation of ASENZ is likely to change this. The lack of coordination with respect to employment policy and programme development and its segregation from the mainstream will likely continue to hamper the development of integrated and coherent employment and training policies for disabled people. Supported employment, as a concept and set of distinct practices, has struggled for recognition in such a marginalised and chaotic policy environment.

Supported employment programmes may be set for a period of rapid growth in this country as policy gradually becomes more oriented in its interests. These developments can benefit from more than a decade of research, development and implementation in the USA and other countries. As a consequence supported employment can incorporate current best practices into services without the experimentation with earlier models and versions that proceeded elsewhere. For example people with psychiatric disabilities (Warriner, 1996) and those with physical disabilities (Klos and Stephenson, 1996) have been included for some time and some providers have always preferred to use job coaches as a last resort rather than a first option, thereby focusing on natural supports in the workplace (Gordon and Walton, 1996). Group models such as enclaves and mobile crews, while embraced to some extent, were challenged early on for their tendency to replicate the shortcomings of sheltered workshops (Bennie, 1991).

Many of the dilemmas associated with the more widespread implementation of supported employment in the USA seem destined to repeat themselves in New Zealand. In developmental terms supported employment is probably about to enter a "growth spurt" similar to that experienced by the USA in the latter half

of the 1980s. Unless coherent and integrated policies are developed, New Zealand can expect to experience a similar levelling off of expansion around the year 2000 as systemic and policy disincentives combine to inhibit further development and consequently, any substantial reform of vocational rehabilitation and job placement services. In New Zealand there are considerable parallels with the USA in terms of those factors that are identified as barriers to the more widespread implementation of supported employment.

The need for effective school to work transition, particularly in the context of new innovations like supported employment, was hinted at almost a decade ago (Westwood, Mitchell, Hunt, & Phillips, 1988). More concerted efforts have been recently considered by the Ministry of Education (O'Connor, 1994) and at least one supported employment provider has made school to work transition an integral part of its programme (Gordon and Walton, 1996). This is difficult in a funding environment that has not recognised the inherent funding duality of transition. Supported employment agencies are not funded to support students during school hours because this is a school responsibility and there is no funding from the education sector because supported employment is not deemed an education service.

In New Zealand (as in the USA and elsewhere) the likelihood of successful transition is also hampered by an absence in high schools of inclusive strategies and curricula content focusing on disabled students as future employees (O'Connor, 1994). There has also been a proliferation of tertiary level courses in polytechnics, many of which aim to enhance transition to work. However most are structured around a special class model and, ultimately, contribute further to a training treadmill based on the notion of "getting ready". There is little evidence to suggest that these programmes directly enhance employment outcomes and calls are being made for a rapid expansion of supported employment services (Reid and Hitchcock, 1996). The current generation of tertiary courses specifically aimed at disabled people are likely to postpone rather than facilitate transition to work.

The integration versus wage debate has also been aired in New Zealand. This is difficult to resolve in the context of the disincentives created by benefit abatement regimes and the consequent high marginal taxes for people who attempt to work while still receiving benefits (Taylor, 1996). A more contained function for the role of work experience and making explicit the notion of

voluntary work could curb the tendency for overt exploitation. A long term resolution lies with replacing the Disabled Persons Employment Promotion Act with provisions that extend and improve the application of “under-rate” permits. These need to be developed in ways that are equitable, status enhancing and closely monitored so that they include a development and training component; a change of name for the permits would be a good starting point. In the absence of such changes, supported employment providers and practitioners will continue to debate the merits of adopting positions that either exclude anyone who cannot be paid at least the minimum wage, include everyone and run the risk of overt discrimination, or attempt to chart a middle road and upset both sides of the debate.

A workforce development crisis has not yet developed to the point that it has in the USA, but the scene is set for a similar crisis in this country. Supported employment is about to undergo rapid expansion without any sign of corresponding developments in the preparation of personnel. Supported employment does not feature as a course or speciality in any tertiary level programmes. In-service opportunities are few and far between with agencies, already struggling to survive with inadequate funding, finding it very difficult to make any human resource investment, particularly if conversion from segregated programmes is planned.

Many of the concerns in New Zealand about supported employment revolve around the lack of an adequate funding commitment from Government. The insistence on the part of the State that all can be achieved with better use of existing funds eventually wears very thin, particularly as outmoded services continue to be supported. Although the research methodologies utilised in the largely USA research on the economics of supported employment are of value, the results need to be treated with caution in regards to the New Zealand context.

Differences in types of services, the people being served, demographic differences and differing economies all make comparisons between programmes and research studies problematic. The answer lies in the undertaking of comprehensive and longitudinal cost-benefit research on supported employment programmes in New Zealand. With supported employment only just beginning, this would be a timely and urgent undertaking. Public policy on supported employment is being developed and

implemented in this country on the basis of anecdote, conjecture and an absence of reliable information about those supported employment programmes that do exist.

While some attempts have been made to identify the costs of supported employment in New Zealand (Ernst and Young, 1990) there is simply not enough reliable information available on actual costs and benefits. A recent review recommended that an hourly rate be struck for the funding of supported employment services with providers being asked to tender for a certain number of hours based upon the client group being served and the numbers using the programme (CFA, 1994b). The idea was that providers then would be free to distribute resources (hours) around consumers based on individual support need. Such a funding mechanism has promise, but also has some limitations.

The hourly rate would have to be a matter of ongoing discussion among stakeholders based upon the ongoing collection of accurate data on the full costs and benefits of the full range of supported employment programmes. There is the possibility that the rate will be struck according to the funding available, not according to the costs of programmes. The subsequent result will be an increasing number of programmes tendering for a relatively static funding pool. In such a context the cheapest, or smallest programme often wins out, usually at the expense of quality and outcomes. There is already anecdotal evidence of this occurring with the average size of supported employment programmes being only two to three staff, arguably not large enough to sustain organisational capacity. A number of programmes funded as supported employment are clearly engaged in time limited placement strategies based on the notion of work readiness.

In terms of the effective implementation of supported employment there is a strong argument for funding programmes according to their actual costs (with ongoing analysis of these and the benefits that accrue) rather than spreading the available funds around a larger group of providers who must make ever-increasing compromises in terms of quality and outcomes in order to survive. The end result of this strategy is that the concept of supported employment is compromised, possibly to the point of being lost because the benefits of programmes do not accrue. Even in programmes that are funded on the basis of actual costs the benefits are unlikely to begin outweighing costs until at least

the third year (Bennie, 1996). Funding on the basis of a return on investment beginning after three years is a challenging undertaking in a purchasing environment constrained by one year funding contracts.

As in the USA, issues in New Zealand around the lack of workforce development, levels of funding, the lack of consumer involvement in provider organisations, transition from school, and the reluctance to respond to people with more severe disabilities continue to be highlighted (Bennie, 1996). The lack of coordinated employment and training policies continues to surface (for example DPA's submission to the Employment Task Force in 1995; DPA, 1995). These issues are also part of a broader debate about disability services in New Zealand and one that, fortunately, increasingly involves disabled people. Publications by the Core Services Committee, set up by the Minister of Health to provide policy advice, continue to highlight the lack of coordination in policy and services and the need to meaningfully involve disabled people in the design and management of services (Moore, 1995; Core Services, 1993 a&b).

ASENZ members have discovered enough common ground to reach a consensus about defining supported employment as both a process and an outcome and have identified six core principles: placement first, ongoing support, financial remuneration, universal eligibility, integrated settings and career development (Bennie and Taylor, 1995). However broader dilemmas persist around the role of supported employment in working with individuals on the one hand and on the other hand developing strategies aimed at broader social and structural changes to traditional vocational rehabilitation approaches and the labour market itself. This dilemma is particularly relevant in the context of supported employment's marginal impact (as in other countries) on creating widespread reform of traditional vocational rehabilitation models and a persistent reluctance to respond to those people with more severe disabilities, for whom the concept was originally intended. These observations raise questions about whether, in its current form or model, it has reached its outer limits or capacity in terms of a viable response to these challenges.

Conclusions

Central to the dilemmas facing supported employment is the extent to which it has connected with disabled people, and the disability rights movement. Historically, it has emerged as another incremental reform within vocational rehabilitation owned by a cabal of well-meaning, non-disabled professionals. If supported employment accepts as “natural” the vagaries of a largely deregulated New Zealand labour market and sees its role as “fitting” disabled people into it, then it is ultimately practising assimilation. Charting such a position, whereby the disabled person and the employer are given equal billing as “customers,” places it firmly alongside approaches that deny and ignore the fundamental differences in the positions of power each party has in the context of a deregulated competitive labour market.

This chapter has examined the emergence and current status of supported employment in New Zealand as a product of both the particular development of employment policy for disabled people in this country and its importation as a model developed in an American context. In both countries it is regarded by many as holding great promise for the employment of disabled people, particularly those regarded as “severely disabled”, as well as substantially reforming the traditional vocational rehabilitation industry. On both counts and in both countries it is struggling to deliver on this promise. In New Zealand this struggle has been exacerbated by a particular lack of coherent policy development on the part of the State.

The reasons for the “under achievement” of supported employment can now be summarised in terms of the concept’s failure to confront and determine its relationship with three arenas:

- (1) the wider disability community and the disability rights movement;
- (2) the vocational rehabilitation service system and its traditions;
- (3) the realities of a significantly deregulated labour market.

Expanding the scope of supported employment in a manner that embraces a wider disability audience (and by implication all vocational rehabilitation and job placement services) in addition to a more deliberate and critical stance with regard to the current nature of the labour market, will have some major implications for its theoretical underpinnings. Such expansion will also have a profound impact on how services are delivered or action is taken by

practitioners of the concept. The capacity of supported employment to deliver on the promise it holds, may require substantially removing the limits it has set on its boundaries and on the scope of its interventions in both the vocational rehabilitation service system and in the labour market.

In order to explore such territory we first need to examine critically the notion of disability and the range of theoretical perspectives that are used to explain it and its relationship with the notion of work and employment. In doing so we can expose the theoretical assumptions that underpin supported employment itself. Following this, the views and concerns of disabled people themselves need to be sought and brought to bear on these issues before any attempt can be made to expand and develop what may be an alternative model of supported employment.

CHAPTER FIVE

CRITICAL THEORY, DISABILITY AND ASSIMILATION

Introduction

Disabled people have historically been a disenfranchised group. They have generally been excluded from defining their own needs and aspirations. The position of disabled people has instead been determined by the non-disabled majority through policies and practices that have been imposed on disabled people. While supported employment has demonstrated the possibility of some promising departures from this state of affairs it has yet to deliver on the promises it heralded for the employment of disabled people a decade ago (Wehman, 1994). The theoretical tradition that best describes and explains the circumstances of disabled people and the challenges facing supported employment is critical theory (Fay, 1987).

In order to provide a theoretical explanation for the experiences of disabled people, particularly their employment circumstances, this chapter will discuss the nature of the critical tradition (Fay, 1987), its application to disability and examine the limitations of critical theory. The various critical theorists contribute to a general tradition that devotes itself to examining the experiences of groups who have been marginalised. (For example, Freire, 1981; Gramsci, 1971; Giroux, 1991; and, with regard to the disability arena, Oliver, 1990).

Three distinct theoretical perspectives, the positivist, interpretive and critical, have been influential in directing the policies and practices that operate in the disability field¹. The first two are discussed and critiqued in this chapter. Chapter six will discuss the critical perspective and its relevance for the issues confronting supported employment.

The aim of this critical analysis is to provide supported employment with a theoretical solution that will enable the concept to develop from an important reform movement located within existing approaches, to a model of transformative action that can create and maintain the authentic

¹ These terms are adapted from research paradigms described by Oliver (1992).

participation of disabled people in a labour market that is structurally oriented towards their inclusion. Such a model requires a theoretical perspective that is emancipatory and that has the capacity to empower its audience and lead them to engage in practice or action that is aimed at fundamental change, both at an individual and structural level. In doing so supported employment will then have the capacity to confront and determine its relationships with the wider disability community, with the vocational rehabilitation and job placement service system, and with a competitive and largely deregulated labour market.

Critical Social Science and Critical Theory

The critical social science (Fay, 1987) perspective is deeply embedded in the idea that the social world contains irreconcilable differences which arise out of conflicts between those who have power and those who do not. It is the oppressive features of society that construct the social reality of the powerless that critical social science is most concerned with understanding. However critical social science pursues this understanding in such a manner that it becomes the vehicle for change and the removal of oppression (Fay, 1987). Critical social science has been described as:

An attempt to understand in a rationally responsible manner the oppressive features of a society such that this understanding stimulates its audience to transform their society and thereby liberate themselves (Fay,1987:4).

Meaningful understanding must therefore emerge directly from the lived experiences and frustrations of those individuals or groups who are oppressed, marginalised and disenfranchised. In doing so critical social science rests upon a number of assumptions about human beings and their reality.

Fay (1987) argues that reality is often not what it appears to be. People can develop falsehoods, or at least a variety of understandings, about the nature of the world around them and their place in it (Fay, 1987). While aspects of their lives may be frustrating and unsatisfactory, the reasons for this are unclear and they have become "blinded" by their misunderstanding and "estranged" from the truth (Fay, 1987). People therefore lead lives that are

not liberating, and instead they seem to accept their current situation as natural and inevitable. In other words, they possess a 'false consciousness' (Fay, 1987).

Critical social science also has a very positive view of human potential as it is firmly rooted in the assumption that human beings are activists - capable of rational insight, reflection, enlightenment and the ability, given the right conditions, to radically alter their situation so that frustration and dissatisfaction can be alleviated.

Critical social science pictures humans as fallen, but only in purely secular terms, and as redeemable through their own capacity to transform their lives in radical ways. By means of analysis and effort, humans are thought to be capable of solving their own problems through an enlightened reordering of their collective arrangements. This is an expression of the enlightenment ideal that through reason, humans can achieve a form of existence which is free and satisfying to them (Fay,1987:3).

Critical social science also has a deep concern with the role of ideology and its ability to create, control, manipulate, legitimate or universalise the ideas, beliefs and values that influence a given social order. While critical theories may vary considerably over precisely how ideology is constructed and influenced there is a reasonable consensus around what has been described as "mystification" (Barrett 1991).

Ideology is clearly a general term referring to mystification: it refers to a function or mechanism but is not tied to any particular content, nor to any particular agent or interest. On this definition, ideology is not tied to any one presumed cause, or logic, of misrepresentation; it refers to a process of mystification, or misrepresentation, whatever its dynamic (Barrett 1991:167).

Critical theories will therefore have an interest in "demystifying" particular ideologies in order to reveal their contradictions and falsehoods. Through the use of an "ideology critique" (Fay, 1987) their capacity to control and oppress is removed.

Marxism and Feminism (Ife, 1995) are two of the more notable critical theories which are clearly embedded in the epistemology of critical social science. In particular, the Frankfurt School (Barrett, 1991) has had a well established and influential critical tradition, espousing a number of

variations on neo-Marxist theories of advanced capitalism through the work of Horkheimer, Marcuse, Adorno and Habermas. However, as noted by Fay (1987) there are many critical theories which are not directly influenced by the Frankfurt School and yet are clearly in the critical social science tradition. Examples are: Laing's theory of schizophrenia and political life, Dinnerstein's theory of sexual arrangements and the human malaise, and Denhardt's organisational theory (Fay, 1987:5). The more contemporary theoretical work of Friere (1981) is also an example. In such contexts the language of critical theory has been brought into everyday use.

Understanding the revolutionary temper of our times requires understanding the notions of ideology, false consciousness, alienation, emancipation, autonomy and a host of related ideas which are derived from critical theories and which have become the coin in which a good deal of political activity is conducted today. Moreover, critical social science is explicitly constructed so that social theories might have practical political impact (Fay,1987:2).

Fay (1987) describes conditions for the use of critical theory. The first condition requires a given society in which structural conflict produces suffering and frustration for its members. Secondly, the conflict must reach a point where it threatens to create a breakdown of society. A third condition is that this breakdown or crisis must be caused at least in part by the misunderstandings and falsehoods that members of a society have about themselves and their society ('false consciousness'). Finally, it is necessary that those who are frustrated and suffering wish their oppression would end and that if they developed a different understanding of their situation they would be able to organise as a group, and engage in action to alleviate their suffering and oppression (Fay, 1987).

Having outlined the epistemological position of critical social science and the essential elements of critical theory we now turn to its relevance for disabled people.

Critical Theory and Disability

In applying critical theory to disability this thesis accepts that disabled people are oppressed as a group and that they hold deeply felt dissatisfactions about their life experiences and circumstances in relation to others. However not everyone has the same experience and feels dissatisfied to the same extent. To assume that disabled people are oppressed requires a number of points to be addressed:

At an empirical level , it is to argue that on significant dimensions disabled people can be regarded as a group whose members are in an inferior position to other members of society because they are disabled. It is also to argue that these disadvantages are dialectically related to an ideology or group of ideologies which justify and perpetuate this situation. Beyond this it is to make the claim that such disadvantage and their supporting ideologies are neither natural nor inevitable. Finally it involves the identification of some beneficiary of this state of affairs (Abberley, 1987:7).

Disabled people's experiences of disadvantage have been repeatedly demonstrated in a number of countries. With respect to employment Barnes (1992a) examined discrimination in the British labour market. Glendinning (1991) reviewed the collapse of policy in the area of employment that occurred in the 1980s in Britain. Borsay (1986) analysed the link between policy and unemployment for disabled people. Wehman (1981) and Bellamy (1979) commented on statistics demonstrating the high rate of unemployment for disabled people in the USA that influenced the development of alternatives such as supported employment. In Canada Crawford (1992) established a clear relationship among disability, poverty and unemployment. Ronalds (1990), in a review of developments in employment initiatives, found that 77.4% of disabled people in Australia were still effectively unemployed. In New Zealand the 1986 Royal Commission on Social Policy demonstrated clearly the disadvantage experienced by disabled people in relation to employment (Hunt, 1988). More recently a 1991 Government sponsored working party reached the same conclusion with regard to disadvantage in the New Zealand labour market. After considerable analysis of available research material and statistics it recommended sweeping policy changes to redress current imbalances (Department of Labour, 1991).

There is considerable consensus that disabled people are disadvantaged in employment. However, disagreement exists over the reasons for it and what should be done about it. These differences are deeply embedded in how one conceptualises the notions of disability and impairment. A critical perspective maintains that disadvantage is caused by the oppression of disabled people and that disability is constructed and perpetuated by certain ideologies which in turn are serving the interests of other more powerful groups. Therefore the reason for disadvantage as experienced by disabled people lies within the way in which society is organised (Oliver, 1986; 1990). Thus disability is a social construction and solutions lie in the context of a reorganisation of certain aspects of society and "exposure" of oppressive ideologies. Alternative perspectives lead to different solutions (Oliver, 1990; Sullivan, 1991).

Until the 1990s the study of disability had been held captive by the positivist and interpretive perspectives on disability, by the disciplines of medicine and psychology respectively. While sociology has contributed to the arena it has almost always been within the confines of a psychological or medical model which did not question prevailing assumptions about disability. Even Goffman's (1963) ground breaking work on deviance and stigma is still embedded in the idea of impairment as being a naturally and universally disabling experience for the individual. Critical social science has only recently been applied to the area of disability. (Oliver, 1990; Zarb, 1992). As Abberley (1987) scathingly pointed out:

With a few notable exceptions the sociology of disability is both theoretically backward and a hindrance rather than a help to disabled people. In particular it has ignored the implications of significant advances made in the last 15 years in the study of sexual and racial inequality, and reproduces in the study of disability parallel deficiencies to those in what is now seen by many as racist and sexist sociology (Abberley, 1987:6).

It is not a difficult step to conclude that much of the past and present sociological literature on disability will increasingly be viewed by disabled people as "ablist". If disabled people are to be viewed as oppressed people, then critical theory can be used to redress the current situation. The critical tradition is about social theories that can inform and guide the emancipation of disenfranchised groups. Disabled people are therefore considered a receptive audience for critical theory. In the context of this

thesis, disabled people who are experiencing the frustrations of unemployment or underemployment are of particular concern.

Exploring the area of disability from a critical perspective implies that disabled people may have come to accept false understandings of themselves. In regards to employment these false understandings are perpetuated by structural elements in society that have a vested interest in excluding or restricting the participation of disabled people in the labour market. Certain ideologies may constrain the way disabled people are seen by others and the way they perceive themselves - as unemployable or surplus to the requirements of the workforce. Furthermore, disabled people may be dissatisfied and frustrated by their lack of labour force participation and there could be considerable support for changing this situation. However, change is likely to be problematic due to the false understandings disabled people have of themselves and their situation. Furthermore certain social structures may be at odds with the changes required. For example an unregulated competitive labour market and current vocational rehabilitation and job placement services. Finally, a model of "*supported employment*", grounded in critical theory, might provide the conditions for enlightenment and emancipation necessary for disabled people to transform their situation in terms of employment .

The critical perspective views disability as a socially created phenomenon rather than an inevitable consequence of physical or mental impairment. Rather than an objective or rationally determined category, "the disabled" are created and maintained by ideological, economic and political interests. As a result, disability is "constructed" as a social problem by those with a vested interest in doing so. Just as oppression may be a daily experience for Maori people in a racist society and for women in a sexist society and for gay people in a homophobic society, oppression will be a "fact of life" for those people with impairments in an "ablist society". To be disabled then, is to live with an impairment in a disabling society, a society which is structured to restrict or exclude people on the basis of their physical or mental impairment because it is in the interests of those groups with power to do so.

Critical theory is emancipatory (Fay, 1987) because it provides disabled people with the opportunity for empowerment and enables change to take

place. In this context any critical theory must emerge from the experiences, desires and needs of oppressed (disabled) people rather than be a prescription for change developed by academics, however well meaning.

By resonating with people's lived concerns, fears and aspirations, emancipatory theory serves an energising, catalytic role. It does this by increasing specificity at the contextual level in order to see how larger issues are embedded in the particulars of everyday life. The result is that theory becomes an expression and elaboration of progressive popular feelings rather than abstract frameworks imposed by intellectuals on the messy complexity of lived experience (Lather 1991:61).

Theory and practice are therefore inseparable. The notion of 'praxis' (Freire, 1981) is used to describe the idea of action that is deliberately informed by an intentional analysis of people's situation and reflection, by those people, on action that has gone before:

For praxis to be possible, not only must theory illuminate the lived experience of progressive social groups; it must also be illuminated by their struggles (Lather 1991:55).

Fay's position is similar:

A critical theory wants to explain a social order in such a way that it becomes itself the catalyst which leads to the transformation of this social order (Fay, 1987 : 27).

In order for transformation to occur, critical theory needs to be adopted by the audience for which it is intended. As a result, it requires that a group of people are not just perceived as oppressed by the proponents of a critical theory, but are 'enlightened' to perceive of themselves as oppressed. Furthermore, critical theory must empower in the sense that it can offer a practical means of emancipation through the removal of oppression and the creation of a new social order. Fay (1987) insists therefore that critical theory must at once be scientific - enlightening its audience, critical - empowering its audience and practical - emancipating its audience from oppression (Fay, 1987:23). While disabled people may be deeply embedded in an (oppressive) reality by a complex interplay of history, ideology, economics and a variety of social structures, it will require an equally complex (and often unique) set of conditions that will allow a critical theory

to run its course from enlightenment, through empowerment to emancipation.

This section has demonstrated the complexity of the experience of oppression and has shown how critical theory can provide a way of understanding this complexity. However critical theory also has its limitations.

The Limitations of Critical Theory

Critical theories tend to overplay the extent to which humans are in fact rational beings and to totalise or oversimplify the structural elements of society (Fay, 1987; Ife, 1995). Critical theory can subsequently fail to account for the extent to which humans are deeply embedded in traditions and history, even to the extent that these are interwoven with our biology (Fay, 1987), and which may resist attempts at rational self knowledge. Changes informed by critical theory have not always been in the interests of those concerned. There could be pitfalls in some applications informed by critical theory. Fay refers to these as the "tyranny scenario" (Fay, 1987:209) which involves the replacing of one set of oppressive circumstances for another, thus perpetuating the suffering of people.

While a critical perspective works to involve participants in their own emancipation some practitioners push the revolutionary process forward in the absence of the conditions required for it to be a success. A new social order may be imposed without the consent of those for whom it is intended. The recurring problem of oversimplification lies at the crux of any critical theory and presents as its major challenge (Fay, 1987; Barrett, 1991). Fay evokes a postmodern view of theory that needs to:

Reflect the inherent limitations of reason to unravel the mysteries of human identity and to make the hard choices with which humans are inevitably faced....The result would be theories which were self-consciously local, particular, situated, experimental, and physical, theories whose values were not those of rational self-clarity and autonomy, but were something far less grandiose and mundane (Fay, 1987:212).

Postmodernism (Kenny, 1994) challenges the way in which critical theories insist upon overarching approaches and meta-narratives that attempt to provide universal explanations. The consequences are usually prescriptions for action that provide maps from which practitioners dare not deviate and which, in the end, become themselves tools of domination and control rather than emancipation.

Kenny (1994) draws on the insights of Foucault to describe the limits of critical theory and the contribution of postmodernism:

For postmodernists, the overall theoretical frameworks are at best misplaced; at worst they become tyrannies of their own. The world is conceptualised from the viewpoint of fragmentation, discontinuity, plurality, and even chaos. Thus postmodernism subverts all self-righteousness claims to knowledge, and it is concerned to expose and pull apart (deconstruct) the bits of our existing knowledge. Foucault has pointed out that control is embedded in knowledges and practices at many points in social life. In fact, different struggles will have their own history, techniques and practices (Kenny, 1994: 79).

Rather than pursuing an epistemological debate about the relative merits of critical theory and postmodernism, the intent here is to simply acknowledge the limitations of critical theory from a postmodern perspective. Postmodernism alerts us to the dangers of attempting to develop a critical theory of disability with an associated prescription for transformation. The emancipatory nature of critical theory lies in the process of development as much as in its application. In the context of disability such activity may occur simultaneously across multiple sites and be centred on issues that may or may not be connected, and in fact may be contradictory in terms of outcomes.

Developing a critical account of disability, centred on the enlightenment, empowerment and emancipation of disabled people involves a process of political struggle. In this struggle a group of people attempt to develop cohesion, recognise and understand their oppression and act out strategies aimed at transforming their situation. A critical theoretical perspective of disability should both reflect and inform this process of political struggle. However this political struggle and the theory informing it will also be applied in a number of contexts that may or may not be linked in terms of the particular issues or people involved. Thus the application of critical

theory through an emancipatory approach to supported employment will, at any point of implementation, be one of a myriad of sites in which disabled people are taking part in analysis, action and reflection - at different levels, in different contexts and around a number of issues in addition to employment.

The ways in which we think about the world are embedded in theories about the way in which the world works. Theories are not static, once and for all things. They are both informed by and inform our everyday experiences and as such they are a living and dynamic part of our lives (Kenny, 1994:80).

There is no intent in this thesis therefore, to create or prescribe a meta-plan, informed by a meta-theory which disabled people then apply to all those instances or sites where oppression is taking place. Rather, the aim is to use critical theory as a tool to expose, to explore and to examine the possibilities that supported employment may offer as one strategy to address the oppression of disabled people. Critical theory struggles for solutions, as do other theoretical positions, because the nature of the puzzle is being repeatedly formed and reformed by a social milieu that is itself ever changing as are the relationships between the various pieces. Post-modernists contribute to critical theory by alerting us to its limitations and focusing its potential on projects that are more modest and specific. From a practitioner's point of view postmodernists:

...acknowledge that societies are continually changing, For them, there are multiple sites of power and sources of oppression, and struggles occur at all levels. They place emphasis on responding to domination and control in the multiplicity of ways in which they occur in their everyday work, and they encourage a plurality of viewpoints and practices (Kenny, 1994:77).

Having discussed some of the limitations of critical theory, the remainder of this chapter uses a critical perspective to illuminate how conventional explanations of disability contribute to the oppression of disabled people in subjugating and colonising disabled people. The next section discusses the positivist explanation of disability.

A Positivist Account: Disability as an Individual Problem

The central tenet of any view of disability as an individual problem is the notion of individual pathology. Conceptually this locates disability as something that exists entirely within the person. It also disassociates both impairment and disability as having any dialectical relationship with the social and historical context within which they occur. Impairment, and the inevitable disability it causes, are therefore the result of chance events and unfortunate circumstances which produce "personal tragedy" for the individual concerned (Oliver 1986; 1990). The onus is therefore on the person, along with the "help" of professionals (usually led by medical experts) to overcome to the greatest extent possible the pathology of impairment. The aim is to minimise the disabling effects of impairment so that people can physically and psychologically adjust to their status as less than able-bodied.

Disability then, is observable, measurable and a scientific fact which exists solely within the individual who has the impairment. The theoretical roots of such a view are to be found in the positivist tradition (Popper, 1979) which holds that the only reality in the social world is that which can be observed. Theory, in this context, only has validity when it is supported by empirical evidence. Such evidence will be derived from observing, counting, describing and measuring particular aspects of our social reality. Generalisations can then be made which will have predictive value in explaining and/or managing social life. The positivist tradition is therefore very concerned with norms and averages in terms of behaviour and appearance. Being able to determine what is normal in a purely statistical sense provides a profoundly important justification for intervening in the lives of those who deviate from that norm in some way. Because the only reality is that which can be observed, the possibility that it may have been constructed that way to support certain interests and groups at the expense of others is dismissed.

The initial premise of the positivist view of disability is that impairment is abnormal. Having an impairment in this sense is the antithesis of being able-bodied. Therefore attempts must be made to minimise its disabling effects through cure and treatment. Failing this, the goal is to restrict the person's participation thereby preserving social reality as a world for people

who are able-bodied. In such a world disabled people are either attempting to become as able-bodied as possible or are spared the rigours of participation through outright restriction, with the dependent only roles that are associated with this (Abberley, 1987; Oliver, 1990 ; Morris, 1991). As a consequence, successful disabled people are those who overcome "their" impairment to join normal society. Those who are unsuccessful either did not overcome their impairment or are beyond the scope of present curative and treatment techniques.

Such a view of disability is congruent with the ideologies of contemporary (post) industrial societies and has, for almost two hundred years now, provided the bedrock for intervention in the lives of disabled people. These interventions occur both at the level of the state and through those professional groups assigned with the task of managing disability. Successful participation in industrial society rests on one's ability to work which in turn requires one to compete as an individual in an open labour market. Being able to engage in such competition usually requires one to be able-bodied. This is the norm. As industrial society developed it became increasingly important to distinguish between those who could not work due to circumstances outside their control and those who did not want to work (i.e the deserving and undeserving poor). The motivation for making this distinction was both humanitarian and pragmatic. It was necessary to control and manage those who could not or would not fulfil roles seen as normal and proper (Oliver, 1990; Stone, 1984).

Impairment and the inevitable disability which flows from it have historically been seen as chance events with no material or social basis and therefore disabled people were regarded as deserving of state intervention (Abberley, 1987). With its increasing ability to objectively identify and diagnose abnormalities and diseases, the emerging medical profession was given the task of identifying who was disabled, the basis of their impairment, and what should be done, if anything, to ameliorate what came to be seen as deficits within the person (Oliver, 1990). Over the years these interventions of the medical profession in the lives of disabled people were formally sanctioned by the State through extensive legislation and policy. In response, the scope and sophistication of activity developed to a point where a plethora of allied professions emerged to scrutinise, observe and remediate almost every aspect of disabled people's lives. Thus,

ironically, while disabled people were generally excluded from the workforce, a large industry developed (employing predominantly non-disabled people) to investigate, monitor, support and service the needs of disabled people.

This industry operates largely within the confines of a medical or individualistic model of disability that provides a direct link between medicine, disability, sickness and deficit or pathology. As a result disabled people are variously regarded as less than normal, sick and dependent on others for their support and well-being, a position which is the antithesis of the healthy independent worker (Oliver, 1990; Sullivan, 1991).

The individual or medical model of disability (Oliver, 1990) presents a tidy circle of legitimation which, in the positivist tradition (Popper, 1979), is easily observable and measurable in terms of contemporary social reality. The social world is (statistically) made up of mostly able-bodied/minded people. Contemporary western society extols the virtues of the perfect mind and body. Economic, social and political participation is underpinned by the ideology of competitive individualism. The State, through the medical and allied professions, either restricts the participation of disabled people or ensures participation in a process focused on attempting to come as close as possible to the able-bodied norm. This restriction ensures that current social reality is legitimated and maintained. Disabled people who challenge or have difficulties with this scenario have "adjustment problems" and have yet to come to terms with bodies or minds that are inferior. Not surprisingly, much positivist research is focused on prevention of impairment, or on the body (Sullivan, 1995) and what can be done to, or by individuals, to enable them to adjust or overcome their impaired state (Meyer, 1991; Peck, 1991).

The positivist conception of disability and the associated medical model with its focus on the individual as the problem, has been seriously questioned (Abberley, 1987; Morris, 1991; Oliver, 1986; Sutherland, 1981). These criticisms focus on the scientific and medical tradition which naturalises the problem of disability as fact and unquestioningly accepts it as a state which is inherently negative and inferior (Oliver, 1990). In recent times disabled people themselves have been particularly vehement in their rejection of this model, while acknowledging the contributions it has made

through, for example, vaccinations and surgical techniques (Abberley, 1987). They claim that its description of a benevolent society using its science and technology to identify, measure and monitor people with impairments in order to protect and treat has been, at best, a double-edged sword :

Unfortunately the benefits of medical science have not come without cost; they have placed a mortgage over the lives of disabled people. Arguably the heaviest payments are extracted by the way in which medical science has shaped the social perceptions of disability and disabled people (Sullivan, 1991:257).

The positivist concern with observable outcomes at the expense of process does not sit well with disabled people. Individualistic notions of disability do not recognise the inherent value of the disabled experience as expressed by disabled people themselves. It is becoming readily apparent that these experiences reveal a social reality for disabled people that differs in profound ways from the neat and tidy world portrayed by a positivist conception of disability. For example:

...it is for people with disabilities to decide how we choose to define ourselves, and few of us choose to do so according to the prejudices of people who consider themselves Able-bodied (Sutherland, 1981, :14).

Since the 1960s a second perspective on disability has emerged to challenge the positivist conception and the restriction it has imposed on disabled people. This second perspective will now be examined in some detail because it has had a pervasive influence on current policies and practices.

An Interpretive Account :Disability as a Social Problem

In the following sections a critical analysis is further developed to examine an interpretive perspective (Carr and Kemmis, 1989). Normalisation (Wolfensberger, 1972) or as it has been more recently referred to, social role valorisation (Wolfensberger, 1983), will be discussed in some detail as one of the most widely applied variations of an interpretive perspective with respect to the disability arena. Moreover, it is this theoretical tradition that has largely informed the concept and practice of supported employment. A

critical analysis will thus enable a reconceptualisation of supported employment informed by a critical perspective on disability.

An interpretive account of disability arose out of a sociological tradition which viewed social reality as being created and maintained through the interactions of individuals and groups (Carr and Kemmis, 1989). An interpretive perspective is therefore concerned with the way in which disabled and non-disabled people interact to create the meanings and symbolism attached to the notion of disability. Understanding and interpreting these interactions enables one to define the problem of disability. As a consequence, an interpretive perspective attempts to take the subjective experience of disability seriously. An interpretive view holds that the problem of disability does not lie within the individual, but between individuals and is therefore regarded as a social problem.

There are a number of theoretical strands that inform the conceptualisation of disability as a social problem. The epistemological position at its roots is best represented by the various forms of functionalist sociology (Kenny, 1994). Functionalism explains the social world as an organism consisting of interdependent components which are constantly engaged in consensus building in order to resolve differences.

In general, society is perceived as a functionally integrated organism composed of various subsystems and institutions which are based on consensus. The individual is linked to these institutions and their value systems through a process of socialisation ... (Shirley,1982:19).

Functionalist analysis is therefore concerned with understanding the problem of disability in terms of the values, norms, beliefs and patterns of behaviour associated with disabled people as individuals and as a distinct sub-group in society. It analyses disadvantage and differences through the perceptions that people have of one another and through the nature of their interactions. Functionalism is interested in the meaning (or symbolism) attached to events and experiences. Disability, in this tradition, is thus regarded not as the inevitable consequence of impairment itself, but as the product of the social interactions that the person has with others (Oliver, 1990). Such a view is based on the interactionist sociology of Mead (1934) and Blumer (1969). This interactionism is based on the notion that the self is developed in relation to the organised perceptions of others and

that people will act as they think they are seen by others. As a result, people's reactions to you will determine your own behaviour.

The disadvantage and marginalisation experienced by disabled people can therefore be explained by the negative reactions and subsequent responses by others to a group perceived as deviating from the norm in various ways. The reactions and response of disabled people then reinforce the initial reaction. The task of interactionist sociology is to understand the meanings and experiences associated with these interactions with a view to analysing those processes that contribute to the disadvantaged position of disabled people. By *interpreting* these phenomena, differences between individuals and groups with and without impairments can be reconciled, thereby leading to a solution to the social problem of disability. While the positivist position focuses on individual adjustment by the disabled person, an interpretive approach is concerned with *social* adjustment by society at large.

The interpretive approach has led to a dual focus with regard to policies and practices. At one level there is an abiding interest in changing the attitudes, perceptions and stereotypes of the non-disabled majority towards postures that are accepting and non-discriminatory towards disabled people. At another level it has resulted in a focus on assisting disabled people to enhance their competencies and imagery so that they more closely approximate those of non-disabled people. The result is an increased likelihood and of participation in lifestyle circumstances that reflect cultural norms, for example ordinary homes and ordinary jobs (Towell,1984). Such strategies are aimed at achieving social consensus and preserving social order by asking non-disabled people to be more accepting of individuals with impairments and asking disabled people to accept and aspire to prevailing standards and values in relation to normality.

The origins of these interpretive approaches are to be found in the pioneering work of Goffman and his work on deviance and the notion of stigmatised identities (Goffman,1963). For Goffman, stigma was attached to disabled individuals as a means of identifying those who deviated from established norms in terms of appearance and behaviour. As a result people with impairments acquire stigmatised identities which develop through social interaction. Stigma is seen as an inevitable consequence of

impairment which, by definition, is deviance in the sense that it transgresses societal norms. As a result the labels, language, environments (i.e. the symbolism) that are associated with stigmatised people reinforce their deviance in the eyes of others.

It was in the interests of stigmatised people to do whatever they could to overcome or hide their stigma through association with people, environments and roles regarded as normal or as having status and value. Edgerton (1967) referred to these behaviours as a "cloak of competence" in which the person is attempting to "pass" as someone without deviance and the associated stigma (Goffman, 1963). A variation on this theme was later expressed by Gold (1980) in his "competency deviancy hypothesis" which stated that the more competency a disabled person has, the more deviance will be tolerated in that person by others. Thus a person may be able to offset the stigmatising impact of some aspects of appearance and behaviour by significantly enhancing other aspects thereby generating a greater degree of acceptance. For Gold (1980) the enhancing of employment potential was a central concern.

Goffman's insights and the research it prompted, proved to be a major turning point in the conceptualisation of disability (Gerber, 1990). His interactionist sociology highlighted the disadvantage and outright deprivation experienced by disabled people and challenged the medical model by revealing its more dehumanising aspects. Such interpretations of the experience of disability also provided the basis for developing strategies that would minimise the stigma associated with impairment and promote the acceptance of disabled people in society at large (Wolfensberger, 1972).

Interpretive perspectives emerged during the 1960s as part of a widespread concern around civil and human rights issues. The inhumanity practised in a number of institutions in the USA was exposed through lawsuits. Deinstitutionalisation and the development of community alternatives followed and became widespread through the 1970s and 1980s in most western countries. This had the effect of reinforcing the validity of the interpretive perspective.

Normalisation (Wolfensberger, 1972; 1983) and its emphasis on explaining the problem of disability as arising from the cycle of deviance associated

with a stigmatised identity places it firmly within an interactionist perspective. It has been strongly influenced by the work of Goffman and Wolfensberger's version of normalisation in particular, provides extensive prescriptions on how human services should counter the devaluation of disabled people caused by their deviance. At its core is the "unmaking" of deviance through interruption, avoidance and prevention of "deviancy making" (Wolfensberger, 1972:25).

Normalisation originally developed in Denmark in the early 1960s as part of legislative and policy developments aimed at:

...making available to all mentally retarded people patterns of life and conditions of everyday living which are as close as possible to the regular circumstances and ways of life of society (Nirje 1980:33).

Earlier formulations of normalisation were simply intended as guiding principles and assertions about equal rights and access to a quality of life for people with intellectual impairments. Translated into policy, the concept of normalisation implied that human services should enable people with intellectual impairments to exercise their human and civil rights to enjoy the same quality of life as their non-disabled peers. In many ways the initial formulations of normalisation simply reflected the contemporary liberal trends of many western nations during the sixties of responding to the demand for equal rights of minority groups perceived as disadvantaged.

In the USA similar political developments were underway which included an acknowledgement of the rights of disabled people. In the early 1970s the original formulations of the normalisation concept were developed into a far more sophisticated version (Wolfensberger 1972). This development which included extremely detailed prescriptions for human services in the form of PASS (Wolfensberger and Glenn, 1975) and later PASSING² (Wolfensberger and Thomas, 1983). Wolfensberger's first reformulation defined normalisation as:

the utilisation of means which are as culturally normative as possible, in order to establish and/or maintain personal behaviours and characteristics which are as culturally normative as possible (Wolfensberger, 1972:28).

² Program Analysis of Service Systems Implementation of Normalisation Goals.

This definition has been extended to shift the emphasis onto creating socially valued roles for devalued people as a means of countering the perception that normalisation was simply about making people normal. Wolfensberger renamed the term as social role valorisation (Wolfensberger 1983) or as it is more commonly referred to, 'SRV' (although the term normalisation has remained in general use). Wolfensberger's development of normalisation moved it from a relatively simple concept to a theory about disabled people, how their position as devalued people could be overcome and prescribes a programme of action designed to be applicable to all disabled people, elderly people and any group who are at risk of devaluation by society.

Devaluation is countered in two ways. First opportunities are provided for competence enhancement through the acquisition of more normative behaviour and skills including attention to personal image and deportment. Secondly, valued roles and environments are provided to enhance the status of devalued people (Wolfensberger and Thomas, 1983). As a result social and physical integration are cornerstones of normalisation implementation.

The effect of these strategies has been to shift the responsibility for "passing" from the individual disabled person to a context where it is shared with a burgeoning human service industry and its allied professions and by society at large. A comprehensive evaluation system (PASSING) based on the normalisation concept has been designed to assess the quality of human services for disabled people (Wolfensberger and Thomas, 1983). The concept of normalisation has been vigorously disseminated by academics and implemented by human service professionals throughout the world and is now a pervading influence in policy, practice, legislation and research (Brown and Smith, 1992).

The interpretive view of disability, its expression through interactionist sociology and its widespread implementation through practices like normalisation have contributed significantly to the life circumstances of disabled people. It accounts for reform at a number of levels, for example in the provision of community based services, in the move away from institutional facilities, in affecting greater access to education, in training

and employment, the promotion of advocacy and human rights, and an increasing acceptance of disabled people by society.

There is a growing debate emerging, however, which questions the validity of the approach at both an empirical and moral level (Brown and Smith 1992). Critics claim that the real changes needed are to be found within the power relations and material conditions that can be said to construct the concept of disability in the first place (Chappell, 1992) suggesting that these structures constrain the interpretations available and determine the discourses surrounding disability and the interactions of those involved.

The interpretive perspective and its manifestation in normalisation (and SRV), from a critical perspective, limits itself to what amounts to the assimilation of disabled people into society. A critique of normalisation is the subject of the next section.

A Critique of The Interpretive Perspective

A critical perspective rejects the social problem view of disability because such a view masks the ideologies that create and maintain disability as a 'problem' for individuals (disabled and non-disabled). Alternatively, a critical perspective views disability as a social *creation* and a problem for wider society that will require something far more fundamental than attitude change and 'social adjustment'.

The essential difference between a social constructionist and social creationist view of disability centres on where the 'problem' is actually located. Both views have begun to move away from the core ideology of individualism. The social constructionist view sees the problem as being located within the minds of able-bodied people, whether individually (prejudice) or collectively, through the manifestation of hostile social attitudes and the enactment of social policies based upon a tragic view of disability. The social creationist view, however, sees the problem as located within the institutionalised practices of society (Oliver, 1990:82).

Carr and Kemmis (1989) point out that while social reality can be created and maintained through the interactions of individuals, the range of interpretations available are constrained by the nature of a particular

society. If "ideology is the means by which a society reproduces the social relations that characterise it" (Carr and Kemmis 1989:193) then the discourse surrounding disability will operate to preserve social relations that cement current and historical conceptions of disability.

As society changes, new interpretations of disability may emerge and eventually take centre stage. However previous views are not replaced, but are at best 'displaced'. Such displacement is usually historical and setting specific. The result is that several discourses on disability may operate simultaneously and compete for the attention of disabled people, of policy makers and of human services. A critical perspective argues, however, that the dominant discourse at any point in time in western industrial society will ultimately serve the interests of capital and those who have power in the lives of disabled people. Such a discourse will necessarily be structured to produce certain attitudes and relationships among and between disabled and non-disabled people which circumscribe the range of social interactions available. To place a critique of the interpretive perspective in the context of disability we now turn our attention to the concept of normalisation (Wolfensberger, 1972).

Normalisation as Assimilation

Normalisation is one of the most comprehensive theories of disability which incorporates an interpretive view of the world. From a critical perspective it represents a particular ideology because of its comprehensiveness, prescriptiveness and its pervading influence. A critical account of normalisation should therefore be an essential ingredient in any critical approach to disability.

The theoretical underpinnings of normalisation and its practical implications for disabled people are revealed in the underlying themes which operate as principles that guide the theory and practice of normalisation (Wolfensberger and Thomas 1983). Several of these themes will now be critically examined.

"The Role of (un) Consciousness in Human Services" (Wolfensberger and Thomas, 1983), is a theme which assumes that people are unaware of many

of the realities, especially unpleasant ones , that exist around them. The real agenda of society for disabled people is masked by an array of policies and practices that operate at an unconscious level to devalue and ultimately destroy disabled people.

...normalisation is concerned with the identification of the unconscious, and usually negative, dynamics within human services that contribute to the devaluation and oppression of certain groups of people in a society, and with providing conscious strategies for remediating the devalued social status of such people (Wolfensberger and Tullman 1989:215).

As a result there is an abiding concern with raising the consciousness of those involved in human services so that they are consciously aware of the destructive and devaluing impact of policies and programmes and how such practices and intentions are masked by positive sounding language and imagery. Emerson (1992:5) identifies "a powerful notion of social intent in historical and social processes" in Wolfensberger's writings, alluding to the possibility of structural forces in society which predetermine the behaviour of individuals and groups. Such views have obvious similarities with the critical social science perspective on history and ideology and Wolfensberger certainly acknowledges (Wolfensberger and Thomas, 1983) the existence of 'false consciousness.' Thus it is no accident that a major contribution of normalisation has been the systematic and ongoing exposure of dehumanising and devaluing practices in human services and in society at large, particularly when such practices are cloaked in what appear to be benign and harmless policies and services.

Any similarities between normalisation and critical theory end at this point. The 'problem' is clearly located as being within social processes (i.e between individuals) rather than structures (underlying values and power relations) and that the solution lies in remediating the social status of individuals rather than a reorganisation of society and its values. It is important to note for example that it is raising the consciousness of human service workers and not disabled people that is the focus of normalisation. While Wolfensberger (1989) exhorts us to give up as idealistic the goal of transforming society, it is perhaps more appropriate for disabled people to decide what course of social action is practical.

A central aim of normalisation is for human services to engage in practices that will break the cycle of "deviance making" (Wolfensberger and Thomas, 1983) by preventing the assignation of deviant roles and establishing and supporting people in valued social roles. The notion of "deviancy making" and "role circularity" (Wolfensberger and Thomas, 1983) skip over a fundamental aspect of ideology in that they do not explain how and why society as a whole perceives disabled people as deviant. It is assumed that the non-disabled person's negative reaction to impairment (as a deviation from normative behaviour and appearance) is natural and inevitable with the consequence that appropriate reactions and interactions have to be socially engineered, ostensibly through human services adopting normalisation as a goal.

Such a view is ultimately extremely pessimistic because it sees the construction of disability as an inevitable product of social processes. It is also paternalistic as it assumes that disabled people will always be dependent on an army of human service professionals to engineer circumstances that break the endless cycle of deviancy making. By not accounting for the possibility that these natural and inevitable social processes are themselves socially created as a result of ideological, economic and political forces (Carr and Kemmis, 1989) normalisation, as the product of interactionist sociology, is functionalist in its theoretical underpinnings. The assumption is that consensus is always possible between users and providers of services, particularly through the adoption of normalisation theory. Because of its theoretical roots in functionalist theory, normalisation has tended to emphasise social order and failed to take account of social conflict.

As functionalist theories emphasise stability, consensus and shared values they contain no analysis of opposing interests, inequality and the distribution of power (Chappell,1992:42).

Chappell goes on to observe that normalisation is, in many ways, a theory for professionals. It is primarily directed at improving services as the vehicle for creating socially valued roles:

The possibility that providers and users may actually have deep-rooted conflicting interests arising out of their power relationship and relative social positions, regardless of the quality of the

service setting, is not addressed within normalisation (Chappell, 1992: 42).

Chappell (1992) further challenges normalisation for failing to provide a material analysis. Picking up on Abberley's comment that interactionist sociology fails "to link interpersonal relations with the material base upon which interactions take place " (Abberley, 1987:14) she notes the close link between poverty and disability and the very real material constraints placed on disabled people fulfilling their aspirations despite the presence of high quality services.

Changing attitudes and winning allies do not, in themselves, challenge power structures. Normalisation's value based emphasis on improving services permits the subject of power relations to pass almost unnoticed. Why people with learning difficulties require services, why they are excluded from the labour market and why poverty is a prerequisite of receiving services do not arise (Chappell, 1992:47).

Inevitably, the practices which arise from normalisation serve to preserve existing social relations, particularly those between service provider and users. These relationships have been seriously challenged in other practice arenas, largely because of a critical analysis which takes account of power relations, ideology and material factors.

It would be almost inconceivable for the suggestion to be made without provoking heated debate, that, for example, a service could be staffed entirely by men, be based on masculine definitions of femininity and female deficiency and used entirely by women, yet there not be an unequal power relationship between providers and users. Yet this, in effect, is the claim that normalisation makes and it has passed largely unnoticed (Chappell 1992:42).

The "conservatism corollary" (Wolfensberger and Thomas, 1983) is a further theme that guides the implementation of normalisation. The initial presence of devalued status seen as placing a person at a disproportionate risk of becoming further devalued by even minor deviations in normative behaviours and appearance. As a result normalisation insists that services overcompensate by minimising even minor infractions, by ensuring that dress, behaviour and associations with others are "mainstream" in that they reflect what is regarded as widely acceptable and highly valued. This is

where normalisation runs into endless debate about what constitutes normative or valued roles and norms. It becomes readily apparent that the answers (if in fact there should be any) in modern, multicultural and heterogeneous cultures are problematic.

In arguing that norms are culture specific, Wolfensberger is in danger of assuming that the norms of the dominant group, the dominant ideology, should necessarily become the model focus for normalisation strategies. This would inevitably mean ignoring for example, the different norms associated with class, gender and ethnicity..... It implies an acceptance of the status quo (which is governed by the dominant ideology) and a conservative unwillingness to challenge existing norms (Dalley,1992:103).

The "developmental model", "personal competency enhancement and the power of imitation" and "the dynamics of social imagery" (Wolfensberger and Thomas, 1983) are further themes that are all closely related in the application of normalisation. They illustrate normalisation's preoccupation with "moral authoritarianism" and "conformity" (Dalley 1992). The teaching of skills through the application of behavioural techniques, is a central strategy. Avoiding the unconscious association with imagery and symbols that reinforce the devaluation of disabled people is also important. Thus while normalisation emerged from a concern about equal rights and egalitarianism, its practical implications actively work against the valuing of diversity and difference.

The importance of societal integration and valued social participation (Wolfensberger and Thomas, 1983) are principles that are fundamental to the implementation of normalisation strategies. However, there are some profoundly disempowering aspects to such a strategy which has the effect of dispersing disabled people among the non-disabled population to the point of discouraging relationships among disabled people themselves. The parallels with assimilationist race relations policies are obvious and similarly mask the conflict around power that inevitably arises. The effect of this strategy is one of de-politicisation, making it difficult for disabled people to develop a collective consciousness, an undertaking already made difficult by the medicalised categorisation (and by implication, separation) of people on the basis of their impairments. As Chappell points out: "If they are discouraged from associating how can they develop a collective response

to discrimination?" (Chappell,1992: 45). Political action thus becomes a very difficult challenge.

Although motivated by a concern for redressing inequality and promoting human rights, the absence of an analysis which takes account of the ideological, economic and political forces which shape social relations (and the attitudes and inequalities they produce) means that normalisation restricts itself to the assimilation of disabled people into able-bodied society as it is.

Moreover, normalisation inadvertently maintains people as victims, implying that we should believe that there will always be devalued victims (as defined by deviancy theories)- it would not need to exist as a principle otherwise. Thus there is a vested interest in believing there will always be people in a devalued state who by definition cannot get themselves out of it. This is characterised by the adoption of normalisation largely by professionals and service providers, rather than disabled people themselves. So whilst services have moved away from a treatment model, they have only moved to an advocacy model- others speaking on behalf of disabled people. There has not been a real shift in the balance of power as a direct result of normalisation.....normalisation itself has not contributed a great deal to the politics of empowerment (Whitehead,1992:57).

As a consequence, normalisation ultimately supports the ideological underpinnings of contemporary society by arguing that disabled people should enter society as it is. The role of social services is to enable disabled people to "pass" by enhancing appearance and behaviour and through association with valued social roles. That these appearances and behaviours are set up as the antithesis of the disabled state inherently devalues the existence of people with impairments. Valued social roles usually represent variations on competitive individualism which marginalises the participation of disabled people and indeed creates the disability experience itself. These practices are an inherent contradiction in normalisation theory and practice.

Nevertheless normalisation has gained much support at a legislative and policy level. The notions of deinstitutionalisation and community care prompted by normalisation have not been lost on politicians or the State who also perceive their fiscal implications. Normalisation allows the State to claim the moral high ground of individual rights, choice, freedom,

'community' and integration. At the same time Governments can pursue new right monetarist policy of reducing State spending, reducing welfare dependency and promoting individual and family responsibility. Thus normalisation provided particularly fertile ground for its implementation as an apolitical policy.

While the implementation of normalisation policy has created obvious improvements in the quality of life for many thousands of disabled people, it has also shifted the problem or the site of struggle for disabled people. The oppression experienced in institutional settings is simply replicated in a disabling community. Restriction of activity and opportunity, the power and control of the 'helping' professions and the prejudice of the non-disabled majority serve to isolate and disempower disabled people even though they may live in a community setting. While normalisation may dismantle overt segregation, its apolitical stance on the ideological and economic forces, which structure communities and the social relations within them, renders it as cost effective assimilation. Such a policy is bound to be viewed favourably by a State concerned with fiscal restraint, preserving the accumulation of capital, maintaining order and promoting charitable rather than universalist welfare responses to disability.

Normalisation defines disability as a social problem lying only within social relations. Dominant and disabling ideologies are supported. Inherent and detailed prescriptions for practice are promoted by non-disabled professionals and academics. The dissemination of normalisation theory and practice is rigorous and rigid. Normalisation becomes ideology itself with its own tightly controlled discourse upheld by a small clique of academics and non-disabled practitioners. Normalisation is disseminated through training workshops utilising PASSING (Wolfensberger and Thomas, 1983). These documents double as programme evaluation tools and normalisation training manuals which are delivered through standardised training workshops. The availability of the workshops and training of workshop leaders is closely monitored through Wolfensberger's Training Institute in the USA. 'Franchise' outlets are now operating in the UK, Australia and in New Zealand. As a result thousands of professionals and staff have undergone the training and this has undoubtedly provided considerable impetus for improved services in most western countries. Variations and diluted versions of normalisation training have found their

way into most staff induction and development programmes in many agencies and tertiary training institutions.

Since the late 1970s normalisation has been widely disseminated and incorporated into policy by all the major providers of disability programmes in New Zealand. It forms the philosophical basis of training for the majority of staff who now work in this sector. A small group of professionals and academics have taken responsibility for the promotion of normalisation and for maintaining its 'purity'. Variations of normalisation and its assumptions about disability have also served as platforms for state policies such as community integration, mainstreaming and deinstitutionalisation.

Questions have been raised about the training process and its assumptions about theoretical and moral correctness. Some have asked whether it is about conversion rather than commitment (Lindley and Wainwright, 1992). The impression of ideological dogma is difficult to dispel as there has been strong resistance, sometimes approximating religious fervour, to any open debate about the theory and practice implications of normalisation (Rapley and Baldwin, 1995). Given Goffman's (1963) original insights about *individuals* with stigmatised identities attempting to "pass" under what Edgerton (1967) later described as a "cloak of competence", it is subsequently difficult to dispel the image of *human services* 'passing' under the 'cloak of normalisation'. The former operates at the level of the individual and the latter at a systems level. Both processes construct illusions of integration, accept the inevitability of dominant and disabling ideologies and accept deviance as a natural reaction to impairment. As a consequence they deny disabled people themselves the possibility of offering an alternative analysis based not on observations and interpretations about disability, but on the actual and real experience of disability as oppression.

Expressions of alternatives to normalisation and the interpretive perspective are now emerging from within the disability rights movement. They challenge the need to deny difference and in fact assert that attribute which is the focus of discrimination (Morris, 1991). An essential part of developing an analysis based on the experience of oppression is the forming of a separate group identity for the purposes of solidarity and consciousness raising. The idea of disabled people coming together in such a way,

especially if it involves living and working together, is anathema to the philosophy and practice of normalisation.

However, such developments are prerequisites for the emergence of a critical praxis if the examples of the women's movement, indigenous people's movements and gay rights' movements are any indication. With respect to the emerging disability rights' movement it is becoming clear that, despite the contributions of normalisation, an analysis based exclusively on an interpretive perspective is likely to be more of a hindrance than help in the struggle for emancipation by and of disabled people. An interpretive analysis, such as normalisation, is based on assimilation rather than transformation and ultimately works against the possibility of the latter by preserving existing power relations and supporting the ideological status quo.

The preceding sections have provided a critique of the interpretive perspective. Normalisation as one manifestation of the interpretive perspective was singled out because it has been comprehensively articulated and because of its pervading influence in structuring a particular discourse on disability. The concept of supported employment is, to a significant extent, a product of this discourse. However, supported employment reaches beyond such constraints and signals the possibility of challenging the institutional structures that define work and employability. It has been argued that the interpretive discourse limits and even works against the possibility of structural change in the interests of disabled people. The resulting 'hegemony of normalisation' has muted the coercive excesses of the medical model, but has also been successful in gaining the active consent of liberal reformers (through an ever increasing army of human service workers) in preserving the underlying structures which create disability as social oppression in the first place.

Conclusion

This chapter has introduced critical theory and discussed its relevance for disabled people. Such a theoretical position is appropriate for this field because disabled people have a history of marginalisation and oppression. Critical theory was used to identify three distinct perspectives on disability

that operate to inform policies and practices. These have been introduced as a positivist account which focuses on disability as an individual problem, an interpretive perspective which understands disability as a social problem and, a critical perspective that regards disability as a political problem.

A critical analysis of positivist and interpretive perspectives revealed both to be oppressive for disabled people and with agendas that were based on either outright exclusion of disabled people or their assimilation into society as it is. Both these perspectives were identified as supporting the ideological status quo and therefore thwarting the emancipation of disabled people. The concept of normalisation was examined in some detail because of the overarching influence it currently has. The following chapter further develops a critical analysis by asserting that disability needs to be reconstructed as a political problem, that it is a social creation, and that a transformation of the relations of power and the material conditions experienced by disabled people will be necessary for disabled people to achieve liberation. The particular relevance of a critical perspective for reconceptualising supported employment is then discussed.

CHAPTER SIX

CRITICAL THEORY, TRANSFORMATION AND SUPPORTED EMPLOYMENT

Introduction

Chapter five discussed the nature of critical theory and its relevance for disabled people. Critical theory was used to examine the positivist and interpretive perspectives in relation to disability. This chapter further develops a critical understanding of disability. Fays (1987) four part schema is used to develop a critical theory of disability that can be used to inform a reconstruction of supported employment. The work of Oliver (1990) is drawn on, as a major contribution to a critical theory of disability, to explain the oppression experienced by disabled people. The possibilities that a critical perspective offers for transforming aspects of disabled people's lives, particularly their employment circumstances, is then explored.

The theoretical framework is thus established for understanding the contributions of disabled people themselves and an analysis of their circumstances in relation to employment and the use of employment support services. Moreover, a theoretical basis for reconstructing supported employment is provided.

Disability as a Political Problem: A Critical Account

Although critical theory accepts the interpretive insight that social life cannot be explained in terms of generalisations and predictions (positivism), it insists that the source of subjective meanings within social relations lies outside the actions of individuals. A critical theory of disability is concerned not only with understanding social interaction, but also with exposing the ideological, historical and material factors which create and constrain the nature of those interactions in relation to people with impairments. Critical analysis exposes the underlying causes of oppressive social relations, enhances self understanding and contemplates transformative action. It is through action that enlightenment leads to emancipation, implying not reform, but the

transformation of aspects of disabled people's social world. Consequently, political action is part of the critical tradition.

Fay (1987) presents a schema of the conditions most relevant for examining phenomena in the critical social science tradition. First, that there be a crisis in a social system; second, that this crisis be at least partly caused by the false consciousness of those experiencing it; third, that this false consciousness be amenable to the process of consciousness raising (enlightenment); and fourth, that such enlightenment will lead a group to engage in action.

To have the practical force it requires, critical theory must become an enabling, motivating resource for its audience - it must in short empower them. This empowerment has emancipation as its goal. The whole point of critical theory is to redress a situation in which a group is experiencing deep, but remedial suffering as a result of the way their lives are arranged. Its aim is to overturn these arrangements and to put into place another set in which people can relate and act in fuller, more satisfying ways (Fay, 1987; 29).

In Fay's schema each of the four elements (which he proposes as sub-theories) is aimed at explaining and reconstructing particular aspects of a social order. Enlightenment, empowerment and emancipation are the key processes as one unmasks reality (a theory of false consciousness), understands the urgency (a theory of crisis), develops an alternative understanding (a theory of education), and takes action (a theory of transformative action) (Fay, 1987: 31). Fay's schema will now inform the key elements with respect to the development of a critical theory of disability and with particular reference to supported employment.

1. *A Theory of False Consciousness* will need to demonstrate how a critical theory of disability is superior to traditional explanations. These explanations tend to be embedded, as shown in the previous chapter, in medical, psychological, adjustment and administrative conceptions of disability i.e. disability as individual and social rather than as a political problem. Disabled people are asked to conform to roles and perceptions that are assigned by the non-disabled majority (one of these roles being unemployed). A critical theory must therefore explain historically how and why disability is a social construction rather than an objective, factual, measurable reality. It must do this in a way that explains how disabled people themselves have come to largely accept

medical and social adjustment conceptions of disability and the ways in which these perpetuate their exclusion from employment.

The false consciousness of disabled people, it has already been argued, results initially from their misunderstanding of disability as an inevitable consequence of having an impairment (rather than being the result of particular forms of social organisation). Powerful interest groups as well as social and economic structures with vested interests also maintain such a (false) perception. In the final analysis it must be clear that the reasons for exclusion (from employment) lie not within such a manufactured reality of disability, but within oppressive social and economic structures and the ideologies which support them. The ideology of work, the role of the (welfare) state and the economic and social structure of the labour market will therefore need close examination in the context of disability.

2. *A Theory of Crisis* will be centred on the concept of oppression. A critical theory of disability must offer an explanation which demonstrates that the frustrations and dissatisfactions of disabled people in relation to employment exist to such a degree that a crisis exists that threatens social cohesion. A close examination of the dissatisfactions of disabled people will be necessary in order to establish that oppression exists. The concept of oppression and its manifestation implies that a social crisis exists in that others (oppressors) have vested interests in keeping things the way they are. Oppressed people who seek to articulate their reality in terms other than those prescribed by established ideologies and social and economic structures threaten social cohesion as it is defined by those with vested interests. Disabled people who seek to define their situation differently and suggest that certain social and economic structures should be altered (e.g. employment support services and the labour market) in order to relieve oppression (for example, high unemployment) confirm the presence of a social crisis.

As a consequence, a theory of social crisis will provide an historical account of how the oppression has evolved and how it currently operates, both in terms of the false-consciousness of disabled people and in the context of structural elements in society which maintain oppression - both at the level of the individual (and his/her body) and as a group (of disabled people). In the context of employment therefore, one asks: why do others have a vested interest in excluding disabled people from the labour market and how is this

exclusion maintained to make unemployment for disabled people seem natural, inevitable and acceptable? The answers, it will need to be argued, lie not only within particular forms of social and economic organisation, and the role of the state, but also in the cultural and social values inherent in the notions of impairment, normality and images of the perfect mind and body.

A theory of false consciousness and a theory of crisis form the basis of an ideology critique (Fay, 1987). Such a critique is fundamental to any critical theory first, in unravelling the ideological and structural contradictions that produce oppression and secondly, in providing alternative accounts that are in accord with people's felt dissatisfactions and frustrations. An effective ideology critique therefore demystifies and exposes oppressive ideologies and related structures, thereby removing their power to control the perceptions and actions of people. In this way people develop new understandings about their social situation and the possibility of changing it in fundamental ways.

3. *A Theory of Education.* The concept of supported employment will need to be offered as being able to contribute to enlightenment. A critical theory of disability informing supported employment will enable disabled people, dissatisfied with their unemployment, to develop alternative understandings of why they are unemployed and how this state is maintained. A theory of education will demonstrate how the process of supported employment will contribute to enlightenment and empower participants to take action which will alter those aspects of society which maintain the high unemployment of disabled people.

The educative role of supported employment will result in participants altering their perspective on unemployment. It will be seen not as the result of the disabled persons inability to adjust, adapt and cope with the world of work, but the result of the world's structured attempts to exclude them. The practice of supported employment must therefore include a process of consciousness raising informed by a critical theory of disability.

4. *A Theory of Transformative Action.* Whilst the process of supported employment must be educational it must also provide the site for social and political action. A theory of transformative action will therefore need to detail the structure and form of a supported employment programme. The following will need to be addressed: its location within a traditional human service

agency; a collective of disabled people, or a distinctive organisation that blends elements of both; the nature of the relationship between this structure and other provider agencies in the employment arena; the role of disability and consumer advocacy groups; funding and relationships with the State. Finally, the practice of supported employment (informed by a theory of transformative action) will need to spell out the economic, social and ideological structures that require altering in order to relieve oppression with regard to the employment of disabled people. Due consideration also needs to be given to the process required to fully involve disabled people in a manner that will lead to empowerment and emancipation.

Contrary to the current preoccupation with outputs and outcomes it is likely that a model of supported employment which is informed by a critical perspective on disability will be concerned with process. The act of participating in such a process of enlightenment, empowerment and emancipation (around the issue of disability and unemployment) needs to be away liberating experience. A theory of transformative action must explain how and why this would be the case.

The ideology critique (the first two stages of Fay's schema) was begun in the preceding chapter with an examination of positivist and interpretive perspectives on disability and their oppressive and assimilatory characteristics. Using Fay's (1987) schema the process of critique will now continue with the reconstruction of an alternative (critical) perspective utilising the work of Oliver (1990).

Oliver's Social Oppression Theory of Disability

The development of a critical perspective on disability is still in its infancy, a point acknowledged by Oliver when he suggests that we are only just beginning to apply sociological perspectives to the issue of disability. Such a development could ultimately provide the basis for "nothing less than a social theory of disability" (Oliver, 1990:xi). The critical sociological perspective on disability is new theoretical territory and has not been widely implemented.

As with critical theory, a critical perspective on disability has been widely used for analytical purposes, but is not prescriptive in terms of social change. In

Fay's terms (Fay, 1987) this thesis has established an ideology critique and has demonstrated that false consciousness and social crisis is experienced by disabled people. However, adequate theories of education and transformative action are not yet fully developed. The practice of supported employment which is directly informed by a critical perspective on disability is therefore presented as an appropriate vehicle for disabled people themselves to take charge of changing their exclusion from the workforce. Such a view represents reconstructive action and results in critical praxis.

Oliver's analysis has evolved from his identification of a "personal tragedy theory of disability" (Oliver, 1986:6) which he suggests has controlled the discourse on disability and maintained disabled people in an oppressed state since the onset of capitalism. In this discourse, disability is perceived as an inevitable outcome of one's physical and or mental impairment. As such the disability is regarded as the product of a chance or randomly occurring event, a personal tragedy unique to the person concerned. Disability is seen as resulting directly from the restrictions imposed on people by their impairment. Oliver argues therefore that disability is isolated as an individual problem with no basis in the social and economic organisation of society. Consequently, society's response to disability has been to focus exclusively on the individual with the impairment and what should be done to, with, or for the person (Oliver, 1990).

Oliver adopts a critical perspective by reconceptualising disability as a socially created phenomenon which oppresses people with physical and mental impairments and has its roots in particular forms of social organisation. Disabled people are therefore socially created and disability exists as social oppression, rather than as the inevitable consequence of impairment. People with impairments thus experience social oppression (experienced as exclusion, restriction and discrimination) through living in a society that fails to take account of their needs and aspirations because of the way it is organised, and because of the values and beliefs which support its social and economic structures (Oliver, 1986; 1990). Disability is thus an ideological construct deeply embedded in the cultural, social, economic and political fabric of society. Oliver's analysis demonstrates that the ideologies that create disability have a material basis and that the perception and position of disabled people in any given society will depend on the mode of production, the size of the economic surplus and the values that influence its distribution (Oliver,1990:24).

While Oliver dismisses the intention of endorsing a theory of historical materialism, his book "The Politics of Disablement" (1990) uses this perspective almost exclusively as an analytical tool to unravel the social creation of disability in capitalist society. Oliver demonstrates the historical link between the onset of capitalism and a conceptualisation of disability that would ultimately serve the interests of capital and in doing so oppress disabled people. He goes on to illustrate (Oliver, 1990) how the ideologies of capitalism also support and perpetuate particular perceptions of disabled people and as a result construct disabled identities that fit and reinforce those perceptions.

The social dislocation of families and communities that accompanied industrialisation is identified as a period when a number of economic, social and ideological factors colluded to create disability as a particular form of social oppression. Oliver is not the first to identify this as a watershed period for disabled people. Barnes (1990), Finklestein (1980), Morris (1991), and Ryan and Thomas (1980), also trace the emergent responses to people with impairments during this period. However Oliver's analysis builds on these attempts by identifying the key role of ideology in binding together structural elements in society that perpetuate a specific view of disability that persists in being upheld as the truth - the right and natural way to conceptualise disability. Thus to challenge the prevailing personal tragedy theory of disability is to challenge, in essence, what is almost considered "a law of nature" (Oliver, 1990).

There is no doubt that the advent of the individual wage labourer competing in a labour market as part of the larger market economy heralded an unprecedented need to deal with the problem of those deemed unable to work. Oliver identifies clearly the link between capitalism's need for a particular kind of worker and the problem of what society's response should be to those who did not "measure up". An observation by Ryan and Thomas (1980) is frequently drawn on (by Oliver and others) to make the point:

The speed of factory work, the enforced discipline, the time keeping- all these were a highly unfavourable change from the slower, more self determined and flexible methods of work into which many handicapped people had been integrated (Ryan and Thomas, (1980:101).

When these factors are added to the separation of work from the household and its immediate environs (and support), the need for the worker to be mobile,

and the competitive nature of access to work, it is not difficult to see how disabled people came to be increasingly excluded from the world of work and the means by which to participate in society at large. The absence of any comprehensive welfare system added to the vulnerability of people with impairments.

The call to the medical profession by the state to contribute to a solution to the ensuing dilemma was, as Oliver illustrates, no accident, but an inevitable consequence of the ideologies underpinning capitalism. The ideology of competitive individualism was more than consistent with the scientific individualism that had become associated with medicine. Medicine and capitalism thus can be regarded as important in constructing able-bodied normality and the disabled state as its antithesis (Oliver, 1990). One serves the interests of capitalism by only placing value on workers who hold certain attributes and the other serves the interests of the medical and allied professions by locating the cause of disability with individuals in terms of germs, genes and accidents. Both support each other as mechanisms of social control and as reflections of a humanitarian and rational ethos concerned with care and cure. Oliver sees individualism, capitalism and the medical profession as the perpetrators of disability and describes this relationship in the following terms:

The idea of disability as individual pathology only becomes possible when we have an idea of individual ablebodiedness, which is itself related to the rise of capitalism and the development of wage labour. Prior to this, the individual's contribution had been to the family, the community, the band in terms of labour, and while, of course differences in individual contributions were noted, and sanctions often applied, individuals did not in the main suffer exclusion. Under capitalism that is precisely what happened and disability became individual pathology; disabled people could not meet the demands of individual wage labour and so became controlled through exclusion.

This process of exclusion was facilitated by focusing on the body, of individuals and populations, and with the rise of capitalism, the main group who came to focus their gaze on the body, was the medical profession. As disabled people were part of the process of control by exclusion, the medicalising of disability was connected to the rise of the medical profession and the development of the germ theory of illness and disease (Oliver, 1990: 47).

However the economic determinism implicit in Oliver's analysis may oversimplify these relationships. The role of the particular ideologies that he

identifies as being a critical influence in structuring disability were evident long before capitalism. Society has a long history of attaching certain meanings to impairment and while the nature of a culture's economy can be a significant influence, it is not necessarily a determining factor. Barnes (1990) and Stone (1984) point out that responses to impairment have been consistently negative and exclusionary, despite variations in the mode of production, and cite examples in Greek philosophy, the Roman empire, the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance. In these contexts disability has been variously associated with evil, the practice of infanticide, a consistent religious worship of the perfect mind and body, and the absence of any organised attempt at care or inclusion of people with impairments beyond the random benevolence of others.

The historical record is important to emphasise because the tendency to view disability as primarily a product of capitalism results in a romanticising of life for disabled people in pre-capitalist society. Although Oliver takes issue with writers such as Finkelstein (1980) on this point, he falls into the same trap by implying that somehow things were better or easier for disabled people prior to the onset of industrial society. On the contrary nothing could be further from the truth. The incarceration, degradation and exclusion of those regarded variously as the sick, the infirm and the insane were a regular feature of western society long before either the onset of capitalism or the rise of the medical profession (Foucault, 1977). In fact medical science and the pursuit of knowledge has produced its own contribution to disability quite independent of capitalism in the sense that our population now has a growing number of disabled members that only a few years ago would have been considered "non viable" and would not have lived or even been born.

Although it is important to acknowledge that the availability of resources and technology to disabled people can be a function of the economy and decisions about the economic surplus, it is medical science that has often produced the issue in the first place. The vast possibilities of medical intervention unique to contemporary western culture would more than likely persist in the event of transition to a collectivist mode of production. It is the cultural context of disability that is addressed in the next section.

Disability and its Cultural Context

With reference to cross-cultural perspectives Oliver justifiably condemns the bulk of the anthropological literature in accepting the prevailing personal tragedy theory of disability (Oliver, 1990:15). However a review of this material (Manion and Bersani, 1987) does reveal clearly the cultural specificity of disability and that the personal tragedy view, while present in some non-western societies, is by no means universal, nor is it always the result of the mode of production. Exclusion or restriction of the person viewed as an unfortunate victim of circumstance can be a direct result of a culture's religious and social values, whereas in another culture it may in fact be due to the nature of the economy. Responses to different impairments can also vary within the same culture.

Manion and Bersani (1987), in their overview of the anthropological literature, concluded that while "mental retardation" appears to be universally recognised, "its cognition, interpretation and subsequent treatment are culturally specific" (Manion and Bersani, 1987: 243). The experience of disability which arises from having an impairment is therefore determined by cultural context and not by the impairment itself. Interpretations can be made with regard to other impairments and to the considerable variation in responses to disability in different cultural contexts. Each society has specific responses to impairment and these subsequently define the experience of disability, structure its manifestation and determine the place of disabled people in that society.

An analysis of disability as a social construction also raises the possibility that impairment itself can be viewed as a social product. Abberley (1987) asserts that rather than a chance event or unfortunate unalterable circumstance, impairment itself needs to be viewed in a cultural context. If disability is a cultural creation then the related notion of impairment must also be considered within the social and economic context in which it occurred or developed. Abberley (1987) pursues this theme and notes the tendency to identify the cause of almost all impairments to either germs or the normal wear and tear on the body which includes the unfortunate possibility of chance events like accidents. "Any social involvement is presented as secondary or peripheral to the major identified patterns of 'natural' causation" (Abberley, 1987: 10).

However, an alternative view can be justified where causes of impairment:

...locate explanation not at the 'natural' or 'individual' level, but in the socio-economic context of its occurrence (Abberley, 1987:10).

Moreover, the pace and development of ameliorative techniques and interventions can also be said to be a product of socio-economic factors which determine their availability of which and by decisions which are fundamentally political. Abberley goes on to offer several examples including polio, tobacco consumption and the causation and prevention of phenylketonuria (P.K.U.). Now it is only possible to suffer from P.K.U. in an environment where screening tests and treatment are not available. Abberley reveals the complex relationship between congenital and social factors in the production of impairment.

Abberley (1987) also highlights the differences in the rates and types of impairments between the developed and third world countries, drawing attention to the relationship between impairment and disability, the economic base and social organisation of a given country. In 'developed' countries impairment tends to result from such circumstances as ageing, industrial and motor accidents and the survival rate of previously "non-viable" individuals due to advances in high-tech medicine and its increasing availability. In contrast, impairment in third world countries tends to result from diseases due to the absence or unavailability of vaccines, accidents related to toxic wastes, pollutants and malnutrition. The social and economic context in which particular and political responses to impairment are developed include: the process of production; the consumption (whether intended or not) of its products (and by-products); the present state of knowledge regarding germs and genes and the availability of this knowledge; resources like vaccines and equipment; and the political and social priority placed on preventative and rehabilitative efforts:

Thus such a view does not deny the significance of germs or genes and trauma, but rather points out that their effects are only ever apparent in a real social and historical context, whose nature is determined by a complex interaction of material and non-material factors (Abberley, 1987: 12).

Although his optimism may be a little mistaken given the current state of the disability movement's political consciousness, he concludes by asserting that:

As far as the majority of the world's disabled people are concerned, impairment is very clearly primarily the consequence of social and political factors, not an unavoidable 'fact of Nature' (Abberley, 1987:11).

Abberley challenges the prevailing notion that impairments are the result of chance events, scientific and objective facts, measurable and individually treatable. Such a view simply ignores the cultural context in which impairment occurs and wherein disability is manifested, a view which is at its core, individualistic. As a result, the social and economic structures of society have been ignored with regard to both impairment and the experience of disability. Both have been viewed as a problem that lies within the individual concerned or at best, between these individuals and their interactions with others. The possibility that both impairment and the disability experience as social constructions has, until very recently, been largely ignored.

Abberley observed that there are few, if any culturally universal beliefs about impairment or disability (Abberley, 1987). In a society where the mode of production was hunting and gathering people with physical impairments might experience a marginalised existence. However, prevailing values and forms of social organisation might mitigate against this. Certain forms of physical impairment, for example, might be accorded religious or spiritual value and venerated, or on the contrary the person may be regarded as possessed and treated as an outcast. In such a society, mild intellectual impairment, while recognised, may not be regarded as a significant disability.

In contrast, industrialised society may produce an extremely marginalised experience for those with even mild intellectual impairments because of the requirement to operate or manage complex machinery or processes as part of the means of production. In such a society having a physical impairment may not be as disabling because of technology such as motorised wheelchairs or the presence of 'barrier free' environments.

The experience of disability is not immutable, but is open to manipulation and change. If disability cannot be divorced from its cultural context, it follows that a society has a significant degree of control over the processes and structures which determine impairment and construct the experience of disability. If this experience is discriminatory and or oppressive, the way is open for those social processes and structures that perpetuate oppression to be altered.

The preceding discussion has located disability and impairment within a cultural context. It has been argued that both are a product of specific cultural contexts and therefore open to manipulation, management and control by a society's social and economic structures. While all impairments may not be preventable, their nature, incidence and a given society's response are culturally determined. In the context of this thesis the next question to be examined is how and in what ways has society, managed and controlled the access of disabled people to employment?

Access to Employment: Structural Influences

Industrialisation has had a specific and significant impact on structuring the experience of disability in western society. Its effects should not be overstated however, when set against the pervading influence of the medical profession and the influence of ideologies in supporting these structures. These ideologies have their origins in a broader cultural response which goes well beyond the onset of capitalism. How the relationship between these factors has developed is central to an understanding of disability as social oppression in contemporary New Zealand society, particularly with regard to the ways in which it structures exclusion from the labour market. Such an analysis, or 'ideology critique' (Fay, 1987) is an important step in demystifying the power of personal tragedy theory (Oliver, 1986) as it operates to inform the actions of professional groups and policy makers, and also its role in gaining the consent and co-operation of disabled people themselves.

The ascendancy of the individual wage labourer under capitalism did much to heighten distinctions between the non-disabled and those with physical and/or mental impairments (Oliver, 1990). Until the eighteenth century the distinction between the "deserving and undeserving poor" as defined in the English poor laws had been relatively unproblematic. The numbers of people coming to the attention of officials was relatively small and only 'obvious cases' of lunacy, imbecility and physical impairment being referred to asylums (Oliver, 1990; Stone, 1984).

The widespread social dislocation associated with industrialisation occurred at a time of unprecedented population growth. Increasing numbers of people, particularly those with disabilities, found their way into asylums (for the

deserving poor) and workhouses for the undeserving (Stone, 1984). Until the onset of industrialisation not a great deal of attention had been focused on distinguishing accurately between the deserving and undeserving poor, but it soon became more problematic. Although attempts were made to "sort" people in terms of being deserving or undeserving, the public officials charged with this responsibility had no real basis upon which to make increasingly complex distinctions and were probably overwhelmed with the influx of people (Stone 1984).

By the beginning of the nineteenth century it was becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish between asylums and workhouses with both serving elderly, infirm, insane, vagrant and simply, poor people. Although conditions in these institutions were usually deplorable there was also considerable pressure to build more in order to solve overcrowding. There was a rising call from officials, social reformers and politicians to solve what was becoming an intractable problem (Stone, 1984). At the core of this 'problem' was the perceived need to identify and separate those people who deserved the care and protection of a benevolent state and those who needed a more punitive response for being able, but not willing to participate in the new world of work.

What was required was an objective index to measure capacity to work, a means to quantify incapacity, a procedure whereby disability would be objectified in individuals and thus legitimate their claims to social aid. Medicine was to provide the solution to this dilemma. (Sullivan, 1991: 256).

Discoveries relating to germs and disease and technological advances led to medicine being increasingly seen as a scientific endeavour. As such it was deemed to be capable of rational, objective and successful diagnosis and intervention around almost any aspect of what might ail the human body.

With these tools of legitimation, medical science was incorporated as an apparatus of the state that focused on disability purely in terms of individual, functional impairment and capacity to work. Thus, separated out, specialised institutions arose to care for disabled people; asylums for the mad and hospitals for the physically impaired (Sullivan 1991:256).

The connections between disability, work and the medical profession had now been firmly established. The value placed on competitive employment and its centrality to the productive capacity of capitalism resulted in definitions of disability and work becoming closely intertwined.

In the second half of the nineteenth century these relationships laid the foundations for the contemporary practice of vocational rehabilitation and ultimately the emergence of new reforms such as supported employment. The underpinnings of these developments by powerful ideologies such as scientific and economic rationalism and competitive individualism served to ensure their naturalness or inevitability. Oliver (1990) provides us with a critical analysis of how and why power relations evolved and were maintained to create and perpetuate disabled people as the collective victims of oppression.

With the creation of specialised institutions for disabled people the medical profession now had an exclusive domain in which to pursue the activities of medical science. It was also legitimated by the State to identify, assess and categorise human abnormalities. In particular, the medical profession had an important role in controlling those disabled people who were seen as potentially disruptive to the social order and ultimately to the efficient functioning of capitalism. Along with this role was the mandate to determine and oversee intervention with the institution an ideal environment in which to develop techniques and technologies to carry out these interventions. Not surprisingly a host of allied professions developed to assist in this processes, all practising within a medical frame of reference.

As comprehensive welfare states began to develop during the 20th century the task of determining eligibility to an increasing range of benefit programmes, including financial, housing and eventually vocational assistance, fell to these emergent professions: social workers, psychologists, occupational therapists and rehabilitation workers. However it is still the medical profession that determines the initial categorisation of disability. These professional groups "...either work in organisations hierarchically dominated by doctors or have their professional practice structured by a discourse based on the medical model" (Oliver,1990:48). The power and control exercised over disabled people by medical science and its practitioners is thus maintained.

The work of Stone (1984) is drawn on by Oliver to illustrate these historical developments. Stone provides a comprehensive Weberian analysis of what she describes as a "distributive dilemma". Stone distinguishes between two distributive systems in society: one based on need and the other on work. The distributive dilemma arises when deciding who should be in which category and when. In societies that produce an economic surplus the problem emerges

..as a conflict between work and need as the basis of claims on resources. The essence of the modern welfare state's approach has been to establish categories of need in order to determine who should be allowed to make need-based claims, and to provide for people in these categories out of public moneys administered by state agencies (Stone, 1984:13).

Stone's analysis has value in shedding light on the State's conflicting tasks. On the one hand there is the need to regulate access to the disability category, while still ensuring an adequate quality of life. On the other hand, however, this quality must not be equal to that enjoyed by those who work, as this would undermine the motivation to offer one's labour for supply and threaten the accumulation of capital.

A further dilemma for the State is to identify when rehabilitation will be cost effective. When is it feasible to invest resources in rehabilitating the person, with the ultimate aim of returning the person to the workforce? The decision may have little to do with the person's actual impairment or personal desire to work, but a great deal to do with other issues. Relevant influences include: labour market shortages or surpluses; current resource allocation and related government policy; current definitions and categories of disability and the relative size of those categories; stereotypes and assumptions about disabled people on the part of professionals; and finally, issues of client capture and "manufactured need" (Illich, 1977) serving the immediate interests of professional groups. Rehabilitation thus has an ideological function in supporting the work ethic and participation in the workforce of those perceived as able-bodied and productive.

Oliver (1991) points out that the cornerstone of professional interventions is the notion of "personal adjustment". Professional practice assumes that the person must psychologically come to terms with the limitations imposed by an impairment and engage in a process that will make the person as able-bodied as possible. Rehabilitation is therefore concerned with a return to 'normality' in purely able-bodied terms. To resist or not appear motivated to undergo this process is evidence of "maladjustment" and the need for further rehabilitation. The problem of disability thus lies with the individual .

Approaches based on an interpretive perspective also engage in practices which are adjustment oriented and limited to the level of the individual. This perspective has produced quite extreme positions in professional intervention

as in the practice of social role valorisation (Wolfensberger, 1983, 1989) which explicitly asks disabled people not to associate with other "devalued" groups, promoting homophobia, racism and "disablism". As Oliver points out with regard to stigma and stigmatised identities :

The idea that individuals might confront, reject or ignore, as a deliberate strategy, their stigmas rather than cope with them, is not even considered. Stigma is all embracing, but still an individual problem (Oliver 1990:67)."

Whether grounded in the purely medicalised notion of disability or framed by a social psychological approach the 'problem' is ultimately reduced to the individual and his or her adjustment. While there appears to be increasing scepticism about the theoretical coherence of such approaches (Sullivan 1991, Brown and Smith, 1989) and the lack of empirical evidence in terms of the testimony of disabled people themselves (Abberley, 1988; Barnes 1990,1992; Sutherland, 1981; Zola, 1977) there has been no lessening of the impact and control they exert on the lives of disabled people. A critical analysis of the ideological and cultural underpinnings of these approaches is essential in order to account for their pervading influence.

Hence, professionals are clearly influenced by cultural images and ideological constructions of disability as an individual, medical and tragic problem. The issue of adjustment, therefore, became the focus for professional intervention and reinforced these very images and constructions by rooting them in practice (Oliver 1991:64).

Atkin (1991) illustrates graphically the discourse surrounding disability by drawing on the work of Foucault (1977). The language, labels and processes of this discourse affect identity formation and the use of power to control disabled people in the interests of an ablist society:

Individual behaviour defined as 'abnormal', 'inadequate', or 'unhealthy' is identified and regulated in order to rehabilitate it and render it harmless. Instruction, observation, measurement and routine defuse conflict. Deviant conduct is most often explained by a personal pathology which has to be normalised. The discourse creates abnormality by specifying the nature of the pathological and imposes solutions on the individual through its access to institutions of discipline, punishment and moral regulation. Foucault, amongst others, has shown how the organisation of medicine, psychology, education and public assistance assume enormous powers of supervision and assessment which perpetrate order and control through 'care' and discipline (Atkin, 1991:40).

Such a debilitating discourse does not exist in a vacuum, but has evolved and continues to develop as our history and culture unfold:

...the process of identity formation in respect of disabled people cannot be understood without reference to the historical process leading to the formation of cultural images of disabled people. These cultural images have portrayed disabled people as less than or more than human and have been reinforced by professional conceptions of disability as adjustment to tragedy or the management of stigma. Such conceptions not only fail to take account of history and culture, but also locate the problem with the individual, failing to take account of the ways in which other factors like race and gender may structure the process of identity formation (Oliver 1990:76).

Add the dimension of class and it becomes obvious that disabled people may simultaneously hold a number of subject positions which involve cycles of oppression. Identity formation can be as much a product of these external impositions as internal psychological processes. The addition of other dimensions such as race, gender or class does not produce a double or triple oppression for disabled people, but experiences and consequent identities that are far more complex and unique for the individuals concerned (Morris, 1992; Heyman et al, 1990; Stuart, 1992). Thus while it may be the identification of impairment that initially leads to medical and professional capture the quality and extent of intervention and support may be far more dependent on these other factors rather than any 'objective' measure or assessment of disability.

Having established the complex ways in which society operates to oppress and marginalise disabled people critical theory must also inform the development of processes that might empower disabled people to alter their circumstances. In terms of Fay's (1987) schema we now turn to a theory of education and a theory of transformation.

Critical Theory and Transformation

For critical theory to be a catalyst for transformation it must express itself in a way that will enable its audience not only to adopt its explanations, but to take ownership in terms of its development and practice (Fay, 1987). A critical theory cannot be given to oppressed people like a commodity, but is developed as an expression of people's frustrations and marginalisation. In the absence of a connection between frustration and a response to it, critical theory

is unable to develop because it cannot move from critique to critical praxis and reconstruction.

The question of connections is therefore posed very sharply. Who, among the more popular elements will make the new philosophies 'bend to suit our circumstances'? Who, among 'the scholars' will learn to start out from the good sense of subordinated groups, and turn it into spearhead knowledges? Where, in what spaces, with what organisational forms will this happen; or is it happening already? (Johnson, 1988:28).

The politicisation of disability must occur in the presence of critical praxis. This implies that disabled people are engaged in political analysis for action which necessarily involves critically reflecting on and implementing strategies aimed at transforming aspects of their lives and the social reality they inhabit. As a consequence, critical theory as political action should be directly informed by and carried out by disabled people, as active participants in their own enlightenment and emancipation. Critical reflection on this process subsequently informs analysis, which builds theory, which informs and constitutes a critical praxis.

This "action reflection" paradigm is at the centre of Freire's (1981) approach to education and is one of the fullest expressions of a critical theory of transformation. For Freire a "critical pedagogy" expresses education as being *for* transformation. The two are inseparable and challenge the "banking approach to education" wherein the expert teacher (or society) simply passes on knowledge that the student (social actor) learns without questioning its truth or relevance (Freire 1981:58). Such a process prevents the possibility of critical consciousness and ensures that existing social relations are upheld in the interests of those who have power. The banking approach also reveals itself when potentially transformative knowledge and insight does not connect with its intended audience, but is offered in a paternalistic vein by leaders as a set of directions or in the form of superficial slogans.

At all stages in their liberation, the oppressed must see themselves as people engaged in the vocation of becoming more fully human. Reflection and action become essential. True reflection leads to action but that action will only be a genuine praxis if there is critical reflection on its consequences. To achieve this praxis it is necessary to trust in the oppressed and their ability to reason. Whoever lacks this trust will fail to bring about, or will abandon dialogue, reflection and communication, and will fall into using slogans, communiqués, monologues and instructions. Superficial conversions to the cause of liberation carry this danger. (Freire, Quoted in Hope, Timmel and Hodzi 1987:11).

The process of enlightenment (education) and emancipation (transformation), must therefore be a product of genuine dialogue. The role of "education for transformation" is to build on the initial connection with critical analysis so that an ongoing critical praxis develops. Such a theory of education and transformation is potentially liberating not only because it is intended for those who are oppressed, but because:

It encourages a participatory process that develops people's critical thought, creative expression, and collective action. It links analysis and action, theory and practice. Its major aim is to help people organise more effectively for social change (Barndt 1989:16).

The critical consciousness that arises from such a process threatens established social relations and the oppressive assumptions upon which they are based. In order for disabled people to threaten the dominance of the medical establishment and challenge the assimilatory practices, the controlling discourse needs to be countered with one that empowers people to discover the contradictions inherent in a disabling society.

The oppressed are regarded as the pathology of the healthy society which must therefore adjust these "incompetent and lazy" folk to its own patterns by changing their mentality. These marginals need to be "integrated, "incorporated" into the healthy society that they have forsaken.

The truth is, however that the oppressed are not marginals, are not men living "outside" society. They have always been "inside"- inside the structure which made them "beings for others". The solution is not to "integrate" them into the structure of oppression, but to transform that structure so that they become "beings for themselves". Such transformation, of course, would undermine the oppressors 'purposes; hence their utilisation of the banking concept of education to avoid the threat of student conscientizacao. (Freire,1981:60-61).

Freire's analysis of oppression has immediate relevance for understanding disabled people's experience of restriction and subjugation. For disabled people, domination is experienced through their identification as a pathological departure from a healthy society (through medicalisation) and the requirement that they redress their deviance through assimilation into a structure that by its nature creates deviance in the first place. Such a discourse is disseminated through practices like normalisation with its doctrinaire and clearly "banking" approach to education which simultaneously rejects the medicalisation of disability, vigorously promotes assimilation and in doing so, covertly supports

the ideological and economic bedrock which makes the medicalisation of disability possible.

(Disabled) People have been relieved of the worst of their miseries, encouraged to think rich and live poor, to become in effect, the permanent prisoners of someone else's conception of their happiness (Lovett 1988: 142, words in brackets added).

To escape this ideological prison requires disabled people to move from Freire's (1981) notion of "being for others" to "being for themselves". Acquiescence to segregation and assimilation needs to change to an active redefinition of social reality. Their participation needs to be as disabled people not as people attempting to approximate someone else's conception of normality.

We now turn to consider, within the arena of disability, the possibilities of education for transformation. Exploring these possibilities in practice will become central to the politicisation of disability.

Critical Praxis and the Disability Movement

There is a great deal of doubt that adequate "connections" have yet been made between critical intellectualising by academics and action/reflection politics at a grass roots level. Both practical and theoretical factors currently work against the development of political analysis for action wherein disabled people can engage in dialogue that is likely to generate the politics that Freire had in mind.

Oliver (1990) comments on a number of these factors. At a practical level there are the barriers created by current policy options. Neither the traditional left option of increasing welfare expenditure or the new right option to reduce the scale and scope of the welfare state, fundamentally alter the material conditions of disabled people as:

Simply increasing public expenditure will only serve to lock disabled people further into dependency creating relationships, and reductions and redistribution will condemn disabled people to isolation and loneliness in the community or institutionalisation in residential care (Oliver , 1990: 96).

A political framework already exists therefore, in which the politics of disability have been thoroughly circumscribed by traditional perceptions of disability and never as a political problem per se. Furthermore, the participation of disabled people within existing party politics is hampered by some very basic factors such as the accessibility of party meeting rooms, accessible information and the mobility required to actually vote. Probably more critical is the material reality imposed by the poverty of significant unemployment among disabled people.

...since economic and political status are intimately connected, the lowered economic status of disabled people also erodes their political status. Our society values the efficiency, productivity and economic usefulness of human beings. Disabled adults who are not performing work linked economic roles are marginalised and their input into the political debate is consequently devalued (Jongbloed and Crichton, 1990:33).

As a result the "voice" of disabled people is usually expressed as the views of the large charitable organisations which over the years have built up close relationships with the State. Far from offering a political analysis of disability these organisations reinforce and perpetuate pathological perspectives which are closely tied to fund-raising activities (Oliver, 1990).

Oliver regards the possibilities of changing the economic base as being unlikely in the foreseeable future, not just because of the resurgence of new right economics, but also because of the current problems associated with the political participation of disabled people. The problem goes further, however than just political participation, to one of politicisation of disability and disabled people. Without a more widespread political consciousness among disabled people that challenges the economic and ideological basis of disability, the politics of action will continue to be reduced to liberal reform on behalf of disabled people within existing values and structures rather than transformation. The development of this consciousness to a point where it involves more than just an intellectual elite is currently limited and must overcome formidable obstacles.

The myriad of disability specific programmes and policies, the segregation of disabled people, the inability to gain access to organised society, to experience an integrated and adequate education, to obtain meaningful employment and to socially interact and participate has resulted in a politically powerless and diffuse class of people who are unable to coalesce with other groups of disabled people on common issues, to vote, to be seen or heard (Funk, 1987:24).

Sullivan (1992) has challenged Oliver for ignoring a fundamental contradiction in his analysis:

For Oliver to insist that at one particular historic point material conditions determined consciousness, and then to formulate a programme which relies on changing consciousness in order to change material conditions, demonstrates a remarkable philosophical and theoretical turnabout (Sullivan 1992:262).

Critical theory would argue however, that Oliver' analysis is not contradictory, but merely undeveloped. For material conditions to change, oppressed groups have to first develop an awareness that it is these conditions which shape and create their oppression. This "enlightenment" gives rise to the possibility of developing an emancipatory vision of alternative social and economic structures.

Oliver argues that the disability rights movement is bringing about this critical awareness. At least in the New Zealand context, this assessment of the current development and impact of this movement is overly optimistic. His analysis therefore minimises a crucial aspect of critical theory, that its power to transform the lives of its intended audience is dependent upon the extent to which that audience takes ownership of and develops the analysis it offers.

By the late 1990s a critical theory of disability was still limited to an elite group of people, many of whom are academics and most of whom are involved in leadership roles in the disability rights movement. Consequently the possibility that people with different impairments and experiences might inform such a theoretical discourse tends to be glossed over, contributing to the dangers of a "meta" theory of disability. The paucity of emancipatory research with different groups of disabled people in a variety of material circumstances and around a range of issues perpetuates an absence of critical praxis upon which to reflect and contribute to theoretical dialogue.

Theorising by an elite with only a remote connection with the lives of many disabled people may become an oppressive mechanism, imposing "top down" solutions onto disabled people who do not recognise their own oppression. Rather than a single critical theory of disability a critical perspective will have a number of strands involving a number of sites, issues and levels. The white, university educated male in a wheelchair and the woman with an intellectual impairment incarcerated in an institution for "the retarded" are unlikely to

connect with a single critical theory of disability that seeks to totalise and explain their very divergent histories and circumstances.

While Oliver's analysis of disability represents a major contribution to a critical theory the politicisation of disability in an ongoing dialogue where the map is continually being re-drawn by different groups in different places in response to the specifics of people's situations. A disability rights movement should not be responding to theory that has been "handed to it", but developing it as a response to its actions and reflections on these actions. The power of the disability movement lies in its ability to share and learn from a myriad of circumstances where critical praxis is at work. A critical theory of disability will therefore not be "found", as finding it lies within the struggle of disabled people to alleviate their oppression. A critical theory of education provides the vehicle for the transformation that this implies.

The departure here from Oliver's analysis is not so much in substance therefore, but in an assessment of the position of the disability movement as a vehicle for education in the context of critical theory. Rather than Oliver's emancipatory programme being "questionable" (Sullivan 1992:262) it is more appropriate to regard it as simply "undeveloped". Oliver himself notes the variety of sites of political action by disabled people. He cites the development of the "independent living movement" and the centres for independent living that began in the 1960s in the USA and have now spread to the UK and Australia. (Oliver, 1990). These self help strategies have provided an initial arena for the development of group consciousness and fostered an explicitly critical perspective on the disabling nature of society generally and social services in particular. Development has also taken place at an international level with the formation of Disabled Peoples International as a response to the exclusion fostered by Rehabilitation International. Such movements must also eventually confront the negotiation of a relationship with the State if they are to have transformative potential. Such potential lies in the degree of popular support disability movements have first gained in civil society without which social movements quickly become absorbed into the state apparatus. Transformative potential ultimately rests upon popular support and involvement of disabled people and their allies within the realm of civil society (Oliver, 1990).

As far as the disability movement is concerned, its growth and development have been within the realm of civil society. It has used consciousness and self affirmation as a political tactic and has begun to be involved in political

activities such as demonstrations and sit ins outside the realm of state political activities.. By re - conceptualising disability as social restriction or oppression, it has opened up the possibilities of collaborating or co-operating with other socially restricted groups (Oliver 1990:129).

The consensus that Oliver implies exists in the disability movement (in the UK) is countered by Dalley (1991). She observes that the movement is clearly divided between those committed to policies enabling disabled people to fit more easily into society as it is and those advocating direct action in favour of fundamental change. Questions can also be asked as to the extent of support for the disability movement in civil society and among the diffuse groups of disabled people. Perhaps Oliver goes too far too fast in his assumptions about who the disability movement currently represents and the extent to which it is currently connecting with the majority of disabled people.

A critical discourse on disability requires more than analysis, it requires a means of communicating that analysis in a way that can propel widely divergent groups of disabled people to develop links with each other while still acting effectively within their own communities and reflect on their *own* actions. It is through this process that the disability movement is likely to gather the support it needs in civil society in order to negotiate a productive role with the State. The material basis of disability can then be challenged without having the movement corrupted by the state apparatus and mainstream politics. Given these dilemmas we now turn to an examination of the disability movement in New Zealand

The Disability Movement in New Zealand

In New Zealand the disability movement does have an apparent vehicle for critical praxis. The New Zealand Disabled Persons Assembly (now the Assembly of People with Disabilities) was formed in 1981 as an amalgamation of Disabled Persons International and Rehabilitation International. Representation included "corporate membership" of voluntary and charitable agencies as well as individual disabled people. The result has been a regional network of local assemblies which attempt to represent the interests of disabled people, their families and provider agencies. In practice the authentic voice of disabled people has been submerged in the inevitable compromises with corporate membership, rendering the movement politically neutral. The

Assembly also tends to be dominated by those with physical and sensory disabilities, with only marginal participation by other groups.

The disability movement in New Zealand appears to promote rather than challenge the structural basis of disability. In many instances the leadership comprises non-disabled people with backgrounds in service provision and professional practice. Currently, a critical perspective on disability is just beginning to emerge, largely in academic circles (Ballard, 1994; Sullivan, 1991;1995). These perspectives have yet to impact on the mainstream disability movement, however and have not yet entered the discourse surrounding policy.

The extent to which a critical theory of disability can mobilise its audience lies not in the extent to which it is articulated, but in the degree to which it is claimed by the audience for whom it was originally intended. For disabled people to lay claim to a critical theory of disability they must *experience* it through critical action and reflection. The means and opportunity to participate in such an experience is not yet readily available in New Zealand. More non-disabled academics at present have access to a discourse on a critical theory of disability than do disabled people. The present imperative must be to create arenas where oppressed disabled people can enter into and 'own' such a discourse.

The politicisation of disability emerged as a critique of existing conceptualisations of disability. Oliver (1990) has provided the most fully developed critique in these terms. In doing so he identifies some possibilities for the transformative potential of such an analysis, located within a developing new social movement centred on the emancipation of disabled people. Ultimately, however, the politicisation of disability is only real when a critical theory of disability has moved from critique to political analysis for action. Only when this takes place on a widespread basis can there be said to exist a critical *theory* of disability, because critical theory must be rooted in analysis which is predisposed to action. Freire's education for transformation, involving a critical praxis based on action and reflection, provides a vehicle for achieving this transition.

Grand theorising about the transformation of social, economic and ideological structures is only relevant in the context of strategies for action and critical

reflection that can operate in people's local communities based on issues and concerns that are immediately relevant and identified by disabled people. A social movement that is waiting for theory to become practice is one that is destined for impotence and obscurity. Theory that achieves critical praxis is theory that *becomes* practice through critical reflection and dialogue between the participants on the consequences of their actions. How such a process can inform the concept of supported employment is addressed in the following section.

Critical Theory and Supported Employment

This thesis explores supported employment as a vehicle for the development of critical praxis, informed by a critical analysis of disability. The practice of supported employment must involve a process which enables disabled people to engage in a critical discourse on disability and, through reflection and dialogue, develop a critical praxis which leads them to engage in transformative action that redefines the employment agenda for all disabled people.

Supported employment signals profound changes in traditional approaches to vocational rehabilitation. In terms of its assumptions with regard to universal eligibility and unconditional support it implies that conventional assumptions about productivity, a competitive labour market and individual wage labour, are not in the interests of disabled people. These challenges are not explicitly articulated due to the absence of a coherent theoretical perspective that explains the departures from conventional practices that supported employment signals. Supported employment is largely informed by an interpretive view of disability and struggles to escape the conventions and inadequacies of current approaches to job placement and vocational rehabilitation. These approaches are in turn firmly entrenched in ideologies, definitions and perceptions of disability that are expressed as assimilation and controlled by non-disabled professionals through the human service industry.

Developing the practice of supported employment as a response to a critical discourse on disability implies a reshaping of the original concept as an outcome of critical praxis. A critical model of supported employment must

therefore reflect the complexity of those interactions between the economic, social and cultural spheres and the role and influence of ideology.

The first step in developing such a model is to provide scope and opportunity for the views, analysis and the experiences of disabled people to be brought to bear on the issues at hand. These need to be explored in order to examine the possibilities of supported employment as transformative action. These experiences can then directly inform the possibilities that supported employment may offer as critical praxis. In this sense this thesis represents an initial attempt to develop a connection between critical analysis and the experiences of disabled people around the issue of employment. A re-conceptualisation of supported employment as emancipatory practice will offer disabled people a potential strategy for engaging with the issue of unemployment on their terms and according to their agenda.

Concluding Comments

It has been argued that the critical perspective holds the best promise for understanding the experiences of disabled people and must inform their actions in the future. This chapter has analysed the evolution of disability as an individual medical problem which created and maintains disabled people in an oppressed state. As a result, the notion of disability was revealed as an ideological creation which preserved able-bodied power, minimised disruption to current economic structures (particularly the labour market) and served the interests of professional groups charged with the responsibility of disabled people.

Hence disability is structurally represented by the vocations of doctors and the para-medical professions, and we load responsibility for the restrictions that disabled people experience onto disabled people themselves, who are restricted because of the functional or psychological limitations imposed by their individual impairments rather than by the social restrictions imposed by society.

To sum up, the disabled individual is an ideological construction related to the core ideology of individualism and the peripheral ideologies related to medicalisation and normality. And the individual experience of disability is structured by the discursive practices which stem from these ideologies (Oliver, 1990: 60).

Initially the context for these developments was the onset of capitalism with resulting institutional segregation and the involvement of the medical profession. However by the 1950s several factors resulted in the growth of community services and the emergence of vocational rehabilitation. An acute labour shortage after two world wars, unprecedented economic growth, a growing humanitarian concern over conditions in institutions and an emerging disability rights movement combined to challenge the medical view of disability as an individual problem. Material conditions had also altered and increasing demands were being made to bring more of the growing economic surpluses of western nations to bear on supporting the participation of disabled people in the economic and social fabric of community life.

Nevertheless the prevailing ideological underpinnings of disability did not change. The context of oppression had shifted and reforms, while producing a number of obvious benefits have served to ensure that disabled people and disability remained de-politicised. In this context the practice of vocational rehabilitation and supported employment operated to promote the assimilation of disabled people into society as it, is rather than to promote fundamental change to society in disabled people's interests.

Figure 1 provides a schematic representation which summarises each of the three perspectives on disability that have been explored in this and the preceding chapter. The structures, processes and ideas that inform each perspective are summarised, along with the resulting policies and services. Figure 2 outlines the contributions and shortcomings of each perspective. Supported employment is located in this schema (figure 1) as lying on the border between an interpretive and critical perspective on disability.

The schema is dynamic in the sense that while each of the perspectives have emerged in an historical sequence they have not replaced each other, but rather, co-exist in an ongoing struggle for ascendancy in the minds and actions of disabled people, human services and public policies. This struggle is played out in a series of discourses, each of which operates to construct disability and disabled people in the interests of those who control and structure particular discourses.

FIGURE 1
Disability: Schema of Theoretical Perspectives

POSITIVIST (Medical)	INTERPRETIVE (Social)	CRITICAL (Political)
<p>Disability is an Individual Problem that lies within the individual.</p>	<p>Disability is a Social Problem that exists between individuals.</p>	<p>Disability is a Political Problem that arises because of the powerlessness of disabled people.</p>
<p>Disability is produced as the inevitable consequence of impairment.</p>	<p>Disability is constructed through the interactions between non-disabled and people with impairments.</p>	<p>Disability is created by the conflict that arises out of a society whose dominant values and organisation do not take account of people with impairments.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>
<p>Disabled people are sick and/or incomplete and require treatment, reconstruction; cure and/or 'removal'.</p>	<p>Disabled people are deviant with stigmatised identities. Both disabled and non-disabled people require education, training and awareness.</p>	<p>Disabled people experience powerlessness and oppression and require social/structural change to society, environments and dominant discourses around values/ideologies.</p>
<p>Individual Adjustment led by medical and allied professions.</p>	<p>Social Adjustment led by welfare professions.</p>	<p>Social Action led by disabled people.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>
<p>Occurs through Medicalisation</p>	<p>Occurs through Normalisation</p>	<p>Occurs through Liberation</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>
<p>Promotes dependence. Ignores disabled identity. Seeks preservation and dominance of able-bodied normality.</p>	<p>Promotes independence. Devalues disabled identity. Seeks to minimise diversity and achieve consensus with existing/dominant values/structures.</p>	<p>Promotes interdependence. Values diversity. Disabled people are free to seek, define, promote and experience their own values, norms and culture.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>
<p>GOAL: Segregation</p>	<p>GOAL: Assimilation</p>	<p>GOAL: Transformation</p>
<p>Policies and services based on observations about disability by non-disabled.</p>	<p>Policies and services based on non-disabled interpretations about disability and reaching consensus within these interpretations.</p>	<p>Policies and services based on the experience of disability and the emancipation of disabled people.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">↓</p>
<p>Policies and Services: Institutions</p>	<p>Sheltered Workshops</p>	<p>Human Rights Legislation Compulsory EEO Emancipatory Practice</p>
	<p>Vocational Training</p>	
	<p>Supported Employment</p>	

FIGURE 2
Theoretical Perspectives on Disability: Contributions and Shortcomings

	POSITIVIST (Medical)	INTERPRETIVE (Social)	CRITICAL (Political)
CONTRIBUTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greatly improved life chances • Technology - improved mobility • Hi-tech solutions to communication 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Takes experience of disability seriously and attempts to understand it • Has created vast improvements in quality of life, living conditions for some • Has promoted some attitude change in non-disabled people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Has created possibilities for empowerment • Challenges and exposes excesses and shortcomings of other perspectives • Fostered Disability Rights movement • Encouraged legal and human rights • Potentially liberating
SHORTCOMINGS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ignores experience of disability/ disabled identity • Objectifies disabled person. Availability of technology and medical intervention uneven/ absent • Dependency creating and promotes segregation • Promotes dominance and control of medical and allied professions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does not challenge dominant values and structures which create disability in the first place • Promotes assimilation at expense of fundamental social change. Encourages professionalisation of disability services • Devalues disabled identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Has yet to create a significant degree of unity / solidarity among different disability groups • Difficult to establish productive relationships with the State • Non-specific about strategies at the level of the individual

Understanding the issue of disability is a difficult task in that the factors involved are complex and contentious. They are complex because they entail the intermeshing of social, political and economic factors and are contentious in that the parties involved are motivated by different ideological concerns and objectives. Particular groups have been instrumental in establishing forms of discourse that have legitimated specific images and explanations. These have contributed to the generation of various policies and practices (Barton, 1989:1).

A central agenda for a critical perspective on disability is therefore the deconstruction of those discourses. The transformative potential of a critical theory of disability must develop into critical praxis based on an ongoing action/reflection process embedded in the daily experience of ordinary disabled people. Freire's (1981) "education for transformation" was identified as an approach which could provide the progression from critique to reconstruction.

The practice of supported employment is one site for such action. It is in this context that supported employment can be redeveloped into a vehicle for transformation rather than assimilation, an approach that is owned and developed by disabled people themselves. This chapter has explored the development of a critical theoretical framework for such an emancipatory model of supported employment. The model would aim at the transformation of employment support services, employment settings and the labour market in the interests of disabled people. Currently supported employment is only an important extension of conventional practice in job placement and vocational rehabilitation. In keeping with such approaches, it inevitably leads to the assimilation of small numbers of disabled people into the margins of the able-bodied world of work.

Such "integration" will occur at a level that can be more appropriately described as assimilation. As a result, like traditional approaches, supported employment does not directly confront those broader ideological, economic and social structures that define and determine where, how and with whom we work. While supported employment has undoubtedly contributed to the greater likelihood of employment for some people with disabilities, this has usually manifested itself in ways where they are still marginalised within the workforce. They must "fit in" to a competitive labour market which is not organised for the inclusion of disabled people.

The assimilation of people with disabilities rather than the transformation of labour market and employment practices in their interests, is the result of supported employment's failure to adequately account for the ideological, economic and social structures which currently determine not only the context of employment, but also how disability is defined and responded to. Consequently, there is a paucity of analysis which attempts to explain how these structures interact to establish and maintain the restriction and outright exclusion of disabled people from the labour market.

Before an emancipatory model of supported employment can be further developed the actual experiences of disabled people within the context of current employment support services must also be canvassed. If supported employment is to have transformative potential then it must be directly informed by the ongoing reflection and experiences of disabled people who are excluded, not only from employment, but from the development of those policies and programmes that are supposedly about promoting employment. An analysis of the experiences and perspectives of a group of disabled people who are or have used employment support services, is thus the focus of the following three chapters. This fieldwork and the subsequent analysis are also informed by a critical theoretical perspective on disability.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE EXPERIENCES AND PERSPECTIVES OF DISABLED PEOPLE

Part One: Using Employment Support Services

Introduction

This chapter is the first of three which describe analyse and explain the experiences and perspectives of a group of 14 disabled people all of whom had used employment support services. This chapter is prefaced with two sections, one describing the participants who were interviewed¹ and a second presenting a discussion of the process and schema that was used to examine and understand the content of the interviews. The three part 'schema for analysis' is directly informed by a critical theoretical perspective on disability and also provided the basis for organising the material for these three chapters. Part one of this analysis (people's experiences of using employment support services) is presented in this chapter.²

The Research Participants

While no attempt was made to secure a representative sample of disabled people it is important to emphasise that ten of the 14 people are active in disability rights issues. These people are regularly involved in activities such as helping and advocating with others in their use of employment support services, monitoring and challenging the activities of service providers as well as developing and critiquing public policy in employment and other disability policy arenas. Therefore in addition to using employment support services on occasions themselves, they are regularly interacting with these services with or on behalf of others. As a consequence they frequently debate and reflect on the issues and concerns that arise with the use of employment support services and the policies and values that underpin them.

¹ Details with regard to the recruiting of participants and the interview process itself are provided in chapter two. Individual participant profiles are not provided in order to safeguard anonymity.

² Part two of the schema is presented in chapter eight and part three in chapter nine.

Some of the participants carry out these activities as part of their paid jobs while others do so outside this context. Some of the participants have profiles within the disability sector and are regularly involved in situations where they have the opportunity to influence public policy. Their perspectives are therefore not just drawn from their own personal experiences, but from those of many others whom they listen to, work with and work on behalf of. It has therefore been absolutely essential for me to take great care in preserving the confidentiality of the participants. This has been done by either obscuring their employment, location or the nature of their disabilities, or all three of these dimensions. However this has not been done to the point of compromising the authenticity of their accounts and experiences, or their identity as real human beings. Each participant chose a pseudonym for the purposes of the study.

The people in this study are therefore not a 'representative sample'. Because of my background in the field and the use of a snowballing recruitment strategy, a significant proportion of the participants are also 'commentators' in the arena being studied and are therefore in a unique position to make observations about the performance of employment support services, the changes that disabled people regard as being necessary and the role of disabled people in bringing about these changes.

Four of the participants were women and ten were men. The age range was 22-60 years with the average age being 36 years. Only one of the participants was of Maori descent, one was of non-European descent and the remainder were Pakeha. Three of the fourteen participants received their schooling through the special education system. Five had high school leaving qualifications (three of whom were undertaking university study), two had polytechnic certificates and four had undergraduate degrees. A full spectrum of educational experiences was therefore represented.

At the time of the research six participants were unemployed (which included all three graduates of the special education system), two were in part-time employment and six were in full time employment. Of those who were employed five were working in the disability sector of the human services. Of those unemployed four were involved in volunteer work, all in the disability area, one was undertaking work experience and one attended a sheltered

workshop. Thus ten of the 14 participants were actively involved in disability issues and the disability rights movement.

Eleven of the participants described themselves as having a physical disability. Of these, four had cerebral palsy (three of whom had additional cognitive impairments), three were disabled as the result of accident or injury, one had multiple sclerosis and three had congenital disabilities. A further two participants were blind and one had a visual impairment. All participants had used a variety of employment support services over the years. Some had used a wide range of services while for others their use had been restricted to one or two providers. Table one summarises the pattern of service usage.

TABLE 1
Number of Participants who had used each type of Employment Support Service

Type of Employment Support Service	No. of Participants
Access/Tops training courses	11
Workbridge	13
Sheltered Workshop	6
Department of Labour/New Zealand Employment Service (NZES)	14
Rehabilitation Units (hospital based)	3
Rehabilitation League (now Workbridge)	4
Private sector personnel agency	1
CCS (Crippled Children Society)	4
IHC (Society for People with Intellectual Disabilities)	2
RNZ Foundation for the Blind (RNZFB)	3

At the time of the research seven participants were using employment support services. For three of these people their use could be described as passive rather than active in that an on call arrangement was in place. Of the 14 participants only two were able to confirm that they had ever secured paid employment as a direct result of using employment support services over the years. Nevertheless, all participants had used employment support services at some time, most over a period of several years. The majority had used services during the two years prior to the interviews.

A Schema for Analysis: Analysing the Content of the Interviews

The interview schedule was structured in three areas based on the policy and theoretical analysis described in the preceding chapters. A three part schema was therefore developed around which the interview results were analysed. The components are: people's experiences of using employment support services (Chapter seven); the changes people would like to see in employment support services (Chapter eight); and the role of disabled people in bringing about changes (Chapter nine).

Each interview transcript was read in its entirety several times. Initial analysis of data was done on the basis of six categories as recommended by Patton (1990). These categories identified people's experiences and perspectives on the basis of chronology, key events, settings, people (as individual 'cases'), processes and issues (Patton, 1990: 377). Then, utilising the three part schema described above, all the material in each interview was organised into one of these three parts. Following this, each part was analysed to identify common themes and issues which were then coded accordingly. This process was then repeated by one other person with four of the transcripts to verify the initial organisation of material and the subsequent analysis and coding of the themes and issues within each section. This person had specific expertise in qualitative research and content analysis. Each of the three dimensions of the schema for analysis will now be discussed.

1. People's experiences of using employment support services

The focus in this first part of the schema was on how participants described and defined their own reality and the extent to which it was described as satisfactory or unsatisfactory. The objective was to discover how disabled people, as users of employment support services, perceived their experiences. I was interested in finding out to what extent their explanations were embedded in medicalised and assimilatory conceptions of disability. To what extent did they accept prevailing views about disabled people and their relationship with services? Did they accept powerlessness as an inevitable and natural consequence of being disabled? How did they determine whether an employment support service was responsive or inadequate? Underlying these questions there was also an interest in how they understood the issue of unemployment

and whether they viewed this as an individual problem or the result of factors largely outside their direct control.

In terms of critical theory, there was an interest in determining the extent to which people were frustrated with their circumstances in relation to their use of employment support services (Fay, 1987). Were the dominant ideologies controlling the discourse (Foucault, 1980) on disability preventing disabled people from developing alternative analyses of their situations? Was there conflict arising from the relations of power that existed around those who use and those who provide services? Consequently, it was important to determine whether the collective experiences of those who participated in the study constituted the presence of oppression. Were the frustrations being experienced by people the result of real and significant imbalances with respect to the relations of power between those who used and those who provided services and were these differences the result of structural elements that maintained these imbalances in favour of providers and at the expense of disabled people?

2. The changes that people would like to see in employment support services

The second dimension of the schema was about the extent to which people were able to explain their dissatisfaction and the changes they desired. While it was important to determine the presence of oppression, it was essential to also gain some insight into the extent to which those on the receiving end of oppression perceived of themselves as oppressed. This insight was gained from information people offered in terms of their analysis of their situation and the kinds of changes they saw as being required. As a researcher I was therefore interested in how people analysed their situations and how they framed problems and identified the changes they saw as being needed in employment support services. Did they suggest minor reforms in the system as it was, or did they argue for more fundamental changes that alter institutional arrangements? Had they developed a consciousness that rejected conventional wisdom and demystified (Barrett, 1991) dominating discourses on disability and employment support services?

A cornerstone of critical theory is the notion of self reflection (Fay, 1987) and the process by which participants develop a reflective understanding of their experiences. Thus the focus of the interviews was not only on people's experiences, but on their interpretations and analysis about issues like power and powerlessness. Such an analysis provides insight into the degree to which dominant ideologies have been de-mystified (Barrett, 1991). It also tells us about the extent to which there is a "new" analysis of people's problems and frustrations that might significantly threaten the status quo by challenging existing relations of power. If people are actively seeking to define their situation differently and in ways that threaten the established order of employment support services then the possibility of a "crisis" in the particular arena concerned must be considered. In the context of critical theory the presence of a crisis that threatens the established order is an important prerequisite for the translation of critical theory into critical praxis, that is, political analysis for action that is aimed at fundamentally altering an established order (Fay, 1987; Brandt, 1989).

In summary, the second part of the schema for analysis was focused on assessing the degree to which disabled people's explanations of their situation and the nature of the changes they saw as being required, represented a "crisis" in Fay's (1987) terms, for employment support services.

3. The role of disabled people in bringing about changes

The third dimension of the schema for analysis focused on the extent to which people were involved in change and how this was organised and carried out. As a consequence there was an interest in what people saw as the major barriers to bringing about change and how these could be overcome. To what extent was there a plan and process that consistently enabled increasing numbers of people to gain insight and understanding with regard to their use of employment support services and the circumstance of being disabled and unemployed? Did this understanding propel disabled people to take organised action aimed at transforming the way employment support services operate and to shift the balance of power in favour of disabled people?

The third part of the schema for analysis was, in terms of critical theory, seeking the presence of an educative process that enlightened its audience along with a process that commits people to action aimed at transforming certain aspects of disabled people's lives (Fay, 1987).

The three dimensions that have been outlined express the four theoretical components of a critical theory as identified by Fay (1987): exploring the presence of oppression (part one of the schema); a theory of false consciousness and a theory of crisis (part two of the schema); a theory of education and a theory of transformative action (part three of the schema). A fourth dimension can be identified as the reconstruction of supported employment and this is addressed in chapter ten.

The findings from the interviews were thus organised into a series of themes within each part of the schema. These findings were then discussed in the context of the theoretical concepts that informed the thesis and the consequent implications for policy and practice. These implications for theory, policy and practice in the arena of employment support services for disabled people were then used to reconstruct supported employment as emancipatory practice.

The results of this three part analysis are discussed in the remainder of this chapter (part one: using employment support services), chapter eight (part two: changing employment support services) and chapter nine (part three: the role of disabled people in bringing about desired changes). This analysis thus provided the material and insight for developing the emancipatory model of supported employment which is discussed in chapter ten.

People's Experiences of Using Employment Support Services

The focus of the remaining sections of this chapter is on people's actual experiences of using employment support services.³ The interviews with participants in this study sought to gain insight into what it meant to be a user of employment support services. The aim was to provide information about whether there were "typical" experiences and how these were described by participants as positive or negative. In particular I was interested in finding out

³ The term "employment support services" is an umbrella term that was used throughout the study to describe any employment, vocational or training programme that people used for the purposes of getting a job.

the extent to which service users felt they were in control of what happened to them and how relevant they regarded services in terms of their expressed needs and aspirations. A critical theoretical perspective on disability suggests that agendas other than those of disabled people may be the driving forces behind the policies and practices that determine when and how disabled people are able or entitled to use employment support services (Barton, 1989). This study was interested in the extent to which these agendas were operating and in the process, subverting the interests of service users.

Central to the experiences of service users was their lack of power and the differences in perception between those who use and those who provide services. This study showed that the experience of users was characterised by a sense of frustration and a lack of control over what happened to them. Positive experiences appeared as chance events. Providers of services, on the other hand, saw themselves as efficient and effective operators, pursuing an important mission and dealing with complex issues, for example "difficult clients" and complicated regulations. In this context, the challenges presented by clients were frequently described as individual problems such as lack of motivation or a lack of readiness for work.

A broad range of themes and issues emerged as central to the experience of using employment support services. These included themes that related to services in general: perceptions about lack of choices; attitudes and discrimination; (by employers and service providers) education and training issues; and improvements and positive developments. Other themes were specific to particular aspects or elements of employment support services: lack of follow up; issues around complaining and challenging services; and the role of personal connections. These themes are now discussed, but in the sequence that was determined by the content analysis of the interviews.

Lack of Choice

Employment support services have historically limited choices and options for disabled people (Bellamy, et al 1988). These limits have been imposed by conceptions of disability that have focused on cure, treatment and individual adjustment (Oliver, 1990). Consequently policy and practice have focused on getting people ready for work, usually in the form of endless training that

rarely materialises into a job (Bennie, 1991). These approaches implicitly assume that to join the able-bodied world of work in a competitive labour market one must be as able-bodied as possible, as defined by able-bodied professionals (Abberley, 1987).

Lack of choice was a recurring theme that revealed itself in a number of ways: in terms of employment options, choice of support service and the choices available within services. It seemed to many people that there was a map that someone else had drawn, full of preconceived ideas and predetermined options. As William noted about his introduction to a sheltered workshop:

I had no choice ... people were put in those places where they had no choice in the matter ... and probably in those days there was nowhere else ... worked 9 to 5 Monday to Friday for 15 years in sheltered workshop ... put to work as soon as through the front door.

Over the years William mentioned the possibility of a job to staff, but their reaction was:

No bloody way. It was bloody mean of them, they used to say I would not get a job, but if they could see me now they will be laughing on the other side of their face.⁴

William now looks back and regrets the 15 years wasted in a sheltered workshop and what he could have been doing instead.

Brian too was cornered, by services, into preconceived notions of what blind people should do, i.e a switchboard operator. Sally, who is visually impaired had a similar experience:

They told me I should be a switchboard operator. I'd just got a degree and I wasn't about to be a switchboard operator ... they imposed limits.

Brian commented also on the lack of choice about particular staff as well as about the limitations of the services themselves:

It's very difficult when you don't actually like the person who is supposed to be supporting you, and you usually don't have a choice ... there was never an approach which creatively and pro actively explored options.

⁴ William is currently finishing a tertiary qualification.

The same point about lack of creativity was revealed in Albert's experience with a vocational guidance officer:

We basically had a chat and he said well I can't help you because I didn't have any idea of what I wanted to do or where I wanted to go. Now at 16 or 17 years of age its a bit difficult to do. You can have goals, but then again with disability coming into it, it becomes a problem. I wanted to be an accountant, I was told I couldn't be.

Carol found herself restricted by her age (53) and gender at the New Zealand Employment Service (NZES) which could not be swayed from seeing her as a kitchen hand even though she had a degree in business studies and management experience.

Lack of choice was also revealed in broader policies that determined how services would operate. Guy explains:

The Labour Department had always basically described me as severely disabled and Social Welfare refused to describe me this way, because that would have meant that I'd gone onto the invalids benefit (at a higher rate) and so for the Labour Department it meant that they had less reason to try to get me a job. That's how I was defined in different ways...by their particular needs, their policies.

Thus Guy's eligibility for services, and the choices open to him, were constrained not by his disability, but by how government policy administered resources at that time.

Negative experiences with assessment procedures revealed the ambivalence frequently felt by disabled people about what sometimes seemed like endless scrutiny. Although these experiences were not always negative it was often difficult for people to see their relevance and their application emphasised the lack of choice around the nature and content of the assessment process. Sara Lee explained:

It's like this is what our assessment of you is, like they didn't give you any idea of sort of what else you might be considered to be able to do or give you any idea of how you could utilise those skills for advancement or whatever and yeah they kept the information that they sort of gathered and you weren't allowed to see it, and that didn't wash with me I'm afraid...and that only made me more determined to really try hard and get a job without them.

Brian expanded on the issue of relevance:

They (assessments and testing) are probably useful in the clinical sense to try and measure physical and sensory limitations, but I have some difficulty if you're given a battery of tests and required to conform to a base line. I believe that sound interviewing and information giving is a far better approach to assess what a person can and can't do.

Brian also had concerns about how the whole referral and assessment process was quite superficial and patronising. He described his experience with a hospital based rehabilitation unit which began with his being transported to the assessment in an ambulance. Brian raised the idea of his using a bus or taxi and his concern about linking employment and sickness:

... but that seemed a little bit complex. So if I was prepared to participate in an assessment the ambulance would come and collect me. And I was basically told 'we'll see how committed you are to coming here and if we all agree that you have the motivation we'll put you on work trials.'..I actually felt it was a blatant put down...the assumptions were that I was not capable and at this time I was fresh from a four year commitment to obtaining a degree and I felt quite insulted by any suggestion that I was not capable or was not motivated.

Similar feelings resulted from an assessment experience of Guy's:

As part of my clerical assessment they tipped a whole box of letters and things on the floor and said sort this out into some sort of order...I can always remember feeling pretty lousy about that...thought it was extraordinarily unlike anything I would imagine in an office...and a very unthought out way of looking at what kinds of clerical skills I might need.

However some people found assessment a useful experience and a necessary step to achieve employment. Sam regarded it as something of a necessary ordeal:

I didn't really consider it an invasion of my privacy or anything like that because you know I feel that if you want a job bad enough you're going to have to get down on your knees or at least meet them half way. And I realised too you know that I wasn't going to get anywhere unless people knew who I was, so I was quite prepared to submit to all their questions and stuff like that and it didn't worry me at all.

However Sam also pointed out that the introduction to job placement agencies like Workbridge and NZES could be quite intimidating for people who have spent long periods in sheltered workshops:

... they felt intimidated going into the services ... perhaps they couldn't read the boards and there didn't seem to be the personnel there that would spend the time with them.

In contrast, Carol's experience with assessment was very positive. She described it as "incredibly useful" in that the assessment process was very "therapeutic" and helped her become aware of her strengths and weaknesses. Both Jim and Derek received what they regarded as good quality career planning and counselling.

Participating in assessment processes is a time when people not only find out about themselves, but also find out about all sorts of information in terms of services and resources available (Nisbet, 1992). However this frequently did not happen, particularly in relation to technology that can enhance employment prospects. Sally explained:

Often the job disappears while you're waiting for your technology...there are lots of people who need technology, but who I don't believe get it... they don't know what's available, they don't have access to funding for it and often if you don't have a job you can't get technology... and there are huge issues around training (for using technology).

The comments and reflections of people in this study revealed a vocational rehabilitation system entrenched in specific practices that are largely inviolate. This is because these practices are constrained by particular ideologies that shape the way disabled people ought to be and therefore the kinds of services they ought to receive. The effect is that while referral and assessment processes are promoted as a vehicle to discover people's needs they also act to restrict people's access and eligibility to services and support - and therefore employment (Hagner and Dileo, 1993). These processes are also based upon assumptions that are embedded in medicalised notions of disability that seek to find out what is *wrong* with the person and how they can be *fixed* (Oliver, 1990). In the final analysis the only choice may be whether or not to use the service, although in William's case even this did not appear to be an option.

The lack of choice around the use of services is severely constrained by a long tradition of professional practices that have come to be associated with vocational rehabilitation (Wehman and Moon, 1988). These practices take the form of formal processes and interventions that are regarded by professionals as "in the client's best interests". Some users may have minimal choices within the system established by these processes, but the system itself is not negotiable. People must be assessed, eligibility must be determined, work readiness must be measured, there is a system and people must fit into it. However even within this system people had positive experiences, especially with particular professionals whom they were lucky enough to connect with. The concern is that it appeared to be luck rather than a feature of services that made this possible.

The emergence of supported employment has been in response to the lack of choices that are characteristic of conventional approaches to job placement (Wehman, 1994). This development has been due to the failure of traditional approaches to offer the one choice that primarily motivates disabled people to use employment support services - a job. Such a choice however, frequently becomes dissolved in a sea of assessment, testing and readiness training. The ability of supported employment to supplant these activities with a process genuinely focused on employment as an outcome is a significant departure from conventional practice.

Choice is central to the notion of empowerment. Providers of employment support services interpret choice as the opportunity for users to choose from largely predetermined options or services. For users this is frequently disempowering because the real choices that they wish to make are simply not available.

Lack of Follow-Up

The concept of follow-up is closely linked to the assimilatory basis of traditional vocational rehabilitation and job placement (Bennie, 1996). Follow-up is usually a term that is applied to the service that is provided to disabled people following job placement. Until the emergence of supported employment the idea of unlimited follow-up. When one is "ready for employment" one should not need a great deal of further assistance because one has, in a sense,

"graduated" from the vocational rehabilitation system as an independent and competitive worker. Lack of follow up also manifested itself in the tendency for placement agencies to adopt a "you call us we won't call you" approach. Participants in this study frequently interpreted this as yet another form of testing - to see how motivated people were as job seekers. Alternatively, some participants viewed the lack of follow-up as a simple lack of commitment to the interests of the service user - a lack of consumer focus on the part of the provider.

As a theme the lack of follow up embraces a whole range of feelings and perspectives that collectively send messages to service users that suggest "you are not important". Brian commented:

They were never particularly good at honouring the basic things: returning phone calls, or following through on things. There is an attitude which says 'oh I won't run after you, you just keep hassling me'...there's only so much energy a person can give to job hunting and someone has to be prepared to absorb some of that energy.

By this Brian meant that providing support does not equate with creating dependency and he wondered whether placement agencies really understand the energy required by many disabled people in daily living. Getting to an appointment can be a major and expensive exercise and making it easier is not "doing it for you", but removing barriers that may add up to a large obstacle.

For Peter the lack of follow-up was quite straight forward:

... kept having to phone to keep in touch, they never followed you up. They needed constant reminding and there was always an answer phone.

Peter really disliked the idea of an answer phone during work hours.

For Michael the issue of follow up depended on who the staff were. He had very different experiences around the quality of follow up from different offices of the same agency. Alan felt his expectations were unfairly raised when he registered with a placement agency and after a year had still had no follow-up contact. For Julia, who attends a sheltered workshop, there had been bursts of enthusiasm over the years regarding job placement, but this seemed to fade away especially when there were staff changes. She has yet to be placed in a job.

Albert had three words to remind agencies of their obligations to consumers:

Communicate, contact, connect ... the aim of the game ... you get people who think they know what they're talking about and they shouldn't even be there.

For Sally employment support services tended not to grasp the full range of circumstances that unemployed disabled people face. She saw this lack of consumer focus as a failure to see the person "holistically", particularly when people attempt to make the transition from school to work. Sally described this period as a time of "crisis."

We do have a time of an identity crisis that the world don't recognise...and I don't believe that services recognise or the health system either ... it's an identity crisis when you come out of whatever cocoon you've been living in ... I mean sure you get some tough times when you're growing up. But you've been able to avoid the real tough stuff like the work force. I mean when you hit the work force you discover that there's discrimination out there ... that nobody's going to help you much, that you've got to make it on your own and that's pretty tough as well as this whole business about growing up ... gender issues ... and issues with sexual relations and all that kind of crap that hits you and living an independent life. And it all hits you in one huge dollop ... and I think that often people do have difficulties with it and deal with it in different ways ... some people fall apart, some switch off.

Sally was quick to point out that this does not mean that employment support services have to be "all things to all people", but that they do have to understand and grasp people's total situation.

Lack of follow up, and the consequent lack of what can be described as a consumer focus, raises serious doubts about the ability of employment support services to fully comprehend the reality of living with an impairment in a disabling society (Oliver, 1990). Because the majority of employment support staff are non-disabled these realities are not part of their "lived experience" (Chappell, 1992; Morris, 1991)). As a result the struggles of disabled job seekers are individualised. When a disabled person fails to turn up on time to an appointment this is interpreted as a lack of motivation rather than the lack of an accessible public transport system. As Brian observed, given the issues around mobility, why shouldn't service providers go to users rather than the other way round?

There has been an increasing emphasis in the 1990s by employment support services on the notion of "customer satisfaction". By taking lessons from the business sector some employment support agencies attempt to increase their responsiveness by adopting a business like approach, marketing their services to customers with constant reminders that they are the central focus of the agency's activities. While this can do much to enhance the image of agencies and of disabled people as potential employees, it can also mask the absence of a real understanding of what it is like to be disabled and unemployed. Being understood as a customer is not necessarily the same as being understood as a disabled person. Reducing a person to being a customer can easily oversimplify complex circumstances.

The degree of follow-up emerged as an important criterion around which service users determined the extent to which an employment support service was committed to their aspirations. Follow-up also meant the degree to which services understood their circumstances as unemployed and disabled.

Discrimination by Employers and Service Providers

The disadvantage experienced by disabled people in relation to employment is reflected in statistics that repeatedly reveal unemployment rates of around 40% (Stroombergen, 1991). The ideological foundations of disability that create disabled people as sick, dependent and "invalid" as productive human beings produce policies that have consistently failed to take their employment aspirations seriously (Barnes, 1992a&b). These policies have created a vocational rehabilitation industry with a vested interest in getting people ready, but not actually achieving employment for significant numbers of disabled people (Whitehead, 1979). Not surprisingly, disabled people are thus likely to experience a host of discriminatory attitudes, practices and behaviours from employers and service providers that are an outcome of underlying ideologies and policies that reject the notion of disability and work as compatible concepts (Oliver, 1990).

Many participants in this study related experiences which they believed constituted discrimination. Sometimes these experiences were quite overt or concrete and at other times more subtle. William observed that his relationships with co-workers "seemed" to be difficult because of the perception of others

that he was “a bit simple”. For Sara Lee personal experience of discrimination involved a situation where “disability issues and personality issues were all muddled up” and she commented that in these circumstances discrimination on the grounds of disability was “very insidious and hard to prove and do anything about”. Both Carol and Alan believed that age discrimination was also combined with disability issues to keep them unemployed.

At other times the experience of discrimination was concrete. William cited a pay packet of \$2.30 a fortnight in a sheltered workshop and a further situation where:

... there was this arrogant prick there (at a job placement agency) and he put me in a sheltered workshop. The pay was \$20 a week, but I turned up once and there was no work so I had to fork out money to go home. I got mad and stormed out and never went back.

Such experiences gave rise to anger, others created feelings of anguish and frustration. Sara Lee talked about a job interview she once had for a proof reading job:

When I walked into the office the guy wasn't there, and I was told to take a seat and he came in and interviewed me and was really impressed ... my speech impediment didn't worry him...and he offered me the job right there and then, and I said when can I start, he said Monday, and I said choice I'll be there. I got up to leave and he said 'oh you're crippled, we don't want that kind here. You haven't got the job, don't turn up on Monday'... I just didn't know what to do, sort of like I didn't do anything wrong.

For Sara Lee this raised the whole issue of whether or not one should disclose one's disability prior to a job interview as she had seen the advantages of a specialised placement agency “doing a sales job” in advance. Sara Lee tried generic employment agencies (she registered with 6) and did not get one response in 18 months. She cited this as a clear case of discrimination and simply “not being taken seriously.”

Brian described “EEO window dressing” as a result of repeatedly applying for a job with a disability services provider, and the resulting self doubt: “was it me or was it my disability?” During subsequent efforts to find a job Brian came across the popular concept of an “unpaid job trial” which he found highly discriminatory:

I will be employed on the same basis as anyone else, the three month probation or whatever is at a wage rate consistent with the award or whatever is agreed to by the employer and myself ... was I acceptable as a new employee or not? ... job trials are really about a trial for the employer, but this is discriminatory because all employees start with a probationary period, but it's still paid.

Brian went on to observe the contradictions and discrimination that operate within organisations' EEO policies:

... there's a contradiction in that we haven't got beyond accepting that there may be extra financial cost in employing a person with a disability and being prepared to find ways of meeting that cost or of providing the end requirements to make the job match the person without focusing on cost ... you must have been prepared to find it (money) otherwise you wouldn't have employed me.

Brian asserted that while employment was positive many of the battles around discrimination only emerge following employment. He gave an example of the assumptions about how people will do their jobs. By not allocating Brian a car (he is blind) he was removed from the status implied by such an allocation which is highly important in some workplace cultures. Brian's solution was to remove the status itself so that it can't "implicitly discriminate against people with disabilities". For Peter the issue of discrimination came down to being able to make a simple, but central choice:

I want my own freedom, to try and get a normal job ... an outside job.

Peter's use of the words "freedom" and 'outside' convey a sense of restriction and segregation that is more usually used by people who talk about being on the "inside" of prison. Peter's sense of disempowerment was brought home to him recently when a person from a job placement agency and his potential employer negotiated a wage without him being present, "I just felt like walking out the gate".

For others the sense of discrimination became abuse. Julia was really concerned about the way staff in the sheltered workshop she attended "mimicked" those who were non-verbal and had speech impediments. She felt like saying to staff "act your age ... sometimes I get so mad I want to hit them". Julia was also concerned about the way that sheltered workshops discriminated by concentrating on placing those with less severe disabilities which left those

with more complex needs stuck together back in the workshop “where there's nothing left to do”. In this sense removing the diversity from the situation became a form of discrimination.

Albert spoke of someone else's experience in a job interview:

I know a guy who went for a job interview and he was asked the alphabet. Now how downgrading is that? The guy can speak for himself, he knows what he wants, he knows how to get it, and to get that thrown in his face, I mean you'd never want to apply for a job ever again.

However it is not just employers whose attitudes are discriminatory, but also providers of employment support services as Derek revealed:

I found the Manager really patronising and I felt he was really nervous around me which I found quite interesting considering it was an employment agency for disabled people.

At other times institutionalised discrimination (Barnes, 1992a) and the attitudes of employers combined to produce restriction and exclusion. Sally gave an example involving under-rate work permits:

I hated it, it went against the very grain ... not that anyone else knew about it, but I felt that I was less valued as an employee, that I would have less opportunity for personal growth and development and that my work wasn't valued ... the employer issued it like an ultimatum ... if you want this job you do this ... I knew I wouldn't get any promotion, and I couldn't bear to see people who were my peers rising above me ... I felt I was stigmatised.

For many participants the very circumstance of being unemployed was concrete evidence enough of discrimination. As Sara Lee said:

Well its really depressing because you know in your heart that you can do it.

William had strong views on the subject of unemployment and the self-fulfilling prophecy it creates:

... in some ways its not being a complete person ... because people tell them they're useless and they think this about themselves and then they start believing it...

However, as Sally pointed out, the level of work force participation by people with disabilities is difficult to ascertain because no one keeps any statistics:

it's hard to know because people with disabilities, I believe, have always worked ... it's just that they have been really invisible, made invisible.

This statement reinforces the slogan often adopted by disability rights groups, "if you're not counted, you're discounted" which Sally used to summarise the issue. This invisibility also comes about when issues of discrimination on the basis of disability become intertwined with issues around gender, race and age.

The most difficult aspect for many of the participants in this study was the dual discrimination, first by employers and second by those very employment support services that were supposedly there to assist them to confront and deal with discrimination. For some it almost seemed that employers and service providers were colluding or conspiring to exclude and restrict disabled people from jobs. While there may not be a "plot" per se, it is clear that employers and service providers are indeed part of a broader policy and ideological context that operates to regulate access by disabled people to the labour market (Daley, 1992; Glendinning, 1991).

Employers are drawing labour from a market that is made up of individual wage earners competing with each other for their attention. Employers are also concerned with minimising the cost of labour. In this context a disabled person is likely to be viewed neither as productive nor economic. Such conclusions are drawn from the cultural stereotyping of disabled people as unproductive and dependent individuals and the structuring and organising of work on the assumption that a normal worker is one that is non-disabled (Jongbloed & Crichton, 1990).

The activities of employment support providers are frequently determined, not by the imperatives of disabled people, but by the size of any economic surplus and broader policy frameworks that determine funding levels for health and welfare (Abberley, 1987; Glendinning, 1991; Borsay, 1986). These policies will determine the extent of the investment that can be made by employment support services in assisting disabled people into employment and therefore the people they are likely to determine as potentially employable. Moreover, the presence of a labour shortage or surplus will also have a marked impact on the effort that might be made in assisting disabled people into productive

work. The emergence of vocational rehabilitation as an industry at a time of acute labour shortages is an example (Sullivan, 1991). Although policies that are designed to address discrimination can counter restriction and exclusion, history demonstrates that broader economic imperatives and their bases in competitive individualism can quickly erode any gains that are made (Sullivan, 1992; Oliver, 1990).

The discrimination experienced by disabled people with regard to employment is thus the result of certain structural features of society. These construct particular discourses around disability that in turn manifest themselves in policies and practices of both employers and employment support services. Definitions of disability and their power to discriminate are constantly shifting in response to these discursive practices leading one to the conclusion that perhaps disability is simply whatever current policy says it is (Hahn, 1987).

Complaining and Challenging - The Lack of Power

Challenging employment support services about their performance or quality emerged as a difficult undertaking for participants in this study, largely because of the lack of power associated with being a service user. This powerlessness was also illustrated by the difficulties in recruiting participants for the study in that people were concerned about the repercussions if it was known that they had criticised providers. This lack of power is closely associated with the medicalisation of disability and the subsequent control that a host of professional groups have come to exercise over disabled people, in the purported interests of their cure, treatment and rehabilitation (Chappell, 1992; Oliver, 1990). The spectre of professional rather than user control over services and the consequent lack of power for service users is central to understanding the difficulties encountered in challenging service providers (Drake, 1994).

In terms of people's experiences individually, the act of making a complaint or challenging services was often reduced to issues about individual staff, making it difficult to address systemic issues. Brian's experience illustrated this:

*I never liked him when I met him. And his response to me when he was aware that I was angry with him was 'oh well that would affect our relationship'... I told him I didn't give a bugger about our relationship...he had a job to do and I didn't think he was doing it ...
... I feel generally that I've always had to battle. That and an overriding feeling that often depressed me when things got a bit tough.*

People were often placed in the difficult position of “asking” for services or support that is supposed to be pro-actively offered to service users. This was very frustrating as Sally explained:

I hate asking, It's like asking for charity when it's actually your right. You have to grovel to get some of the things. And I can really identify with people who don't get what they need because they're too tired, they find it so difficult to ask.

This reluctance can also be due, as William believed, to the fact that providers are intent on protecting their reputations. There were also the difficulties expressed by Albert about complaining as a single individual:

Making complaints is difficult when you're on your own, you need the support of others to complain.

A reluctance to complain or challenge appeared to be quite endemic because of the perception that this would threaten the quality of the service or negatively affect one's access to services. Guy talked about the “great gratitude system” that places constraints on the extent to which disabled people will complain about services or working conditions because they have been made to feel they have been given a special chance:

They've gone to all this trouble to get you placed and then in a week's time you say, hey I'm not getting tea breaks or I'm really being pushed too hard and I don't like it. I mean you can imagine, ... 'you ungrateful sod, that's OK you can finish that job, but don't expect me to do any more for you' ...

Another perspective on challenging services was related to the issue of unrealistic expectations, as Derek explained:

People are looking for a saviour. They've got sick of sheltered workshops and places like CCS and IHC and other agencies being client catcher. Workbridge comes along with this slick image and they're looking for a saviour that's going to help them out of that situation.

Carol pointed out however, that there seemed to be an enormous gap between the publicity and marketing of Workbridge and the reality of actually using their services. Her perception was that every time a new “glossy” on the organisation appeared this gap just increased. In this context it is not difficult to understand the growing cynicism about this approach to marketing employment support services. As Jim noted, such an approach did not match

the agency's, reluctance to respond to people in sheltered workshops. On the other hand, as Sally indicated, a vigorous approach to "customer service" is long overdue in this arena.

Complaining or challenging the performance of services was frequently reduced to the nature of the relationship between the service user and a particular professional or staff person. Usually people were not offered a choice in this regard and indeed staffing levels in agencies often make this impractical or unrealistic. Nevertheless the centrality of the relationship between service user and particular personnel cannot be overstated. How well people get along with their placement officer, counsellor or coordinator at a personal level is crucial to how the quality of services is perceived. This is the human face to the agency and the broader service system. How coherent and relevant national policy frameworks are and what the overall quality or performance of an agency can be of little consequence in the context of the personal relationship between the service users and the human service workers to whom they are matched.

The nature of these relationships may have to do with the competency of human service staff, but certainly depend on the extent to which a personal connection develops between service user and employment support service staff. As a consequence challenging the performance of the agency is reduced to criticising someone you may like as a person or someone you do not like, but who controls access to the assistance and resources you need. Well developed agency complaint procedures are of little help in the context of either scenario. Moreover, it may be difficult to see past the level of personal relationships to examine underlying or structural causes for the lack of agency or professional performance, such as a lack of organisational capacity, poor staff supervision, lack of staff training, lack of agency funding and poor policy frameworks and legislation.

Given the complex array of possibilities for the source of the problem, challenging an agency or making a complaint can be a daunting prospect if service users proceed on their own. Agencies and staff will spring to protect their reputations, staff will blame agency policies and agencies will blame Government policies. There is also the real prospect that both agency and staff will blame the service user as the source of the problem: being unrealistic,

ungrateful, not motivated enough, too demanding, difficult client or behaviour problem.

As Albert pointed out, it is important not to challenge services on your own, but to organise support first. This preparation increases the chances of "informed complaints" that are the result of collective analysis, increasing the chances of getting at the crux of the issue. Having support also increases knowledge - about entitlements, agency and Government policies and practices, and about the expectations that users should have of providers. Knowledge is power and it seems that in the arena of employment support services for disabled people, the power currently lies with providers and not users of services.

Underlying the difficulties of complaining and challenging is the construction of disabled identities as compliant and dependent (Oliver, 1990). The very act of complaining or asserting one's rights is a direct contradiction of these identities and immediately challenges the control that professionals and services exert over disabled people. Just as disability itself is created as an individual problem, complaining and challenging services is linked to the individual's 'performance' as a 'good' client (Barnes, 1990; Barton, 1989).

The Role of Personal Connections

Although all participants had used employment support services, only two were able to say conclusively that they had gained employment as the direct result of using such services. A far more significant factor in achieving employment was the presence and use of personal networks. This raises concerns about the actual effectiveness of employment support services and their tendency to create careers for non-disabled professionals, but not jobs for disabled people (Oliver, 1991; Wolfensberger, 1989).

The increasing emphasis that supported employment places on the development of natural supports in the workplace (Hagner and Dileo, 1993) and the involvement of personal networks in the career planning process (Nisbet, 1992) are features that are likely to be welcomed by service users. These are developments that have a great deal of potential to diffuse the dependence on a single "client-professional" relationship and to develop a

collaborative process with employers rather than a "place and pray" strategy (Rusch and Mithaug, 1980). As a result personal connections can be incorporated as a key ingredient in the service delivery process rather than supplanted by rehabilitation and job placement "services".

This study pursued the question of personal networks with participants. Many were quick to point out the crucial role they can play. Sara Lee described the shift in emphasis from using services to using personal networks:

I wouldn't want anyone to go through what I went through...and one day my partner and I were sitting around and we thought OK who do we know that might be able to get you a job ... and we came up with Guy ... so I'll ring Guy ... 'I'm really desperate mate I want a job can you help ... and he said ' well look there's a vacancy coming up and I'll put your name down ...

Sara Lee and her friend Guy then went back to the employment agency with this job in mind, talked openly about Sara Lee's strengths and needs and looked at job sharing possibilities. What emerged was a situation that was initiated and driven by Sara Lee and her friend.

Guy himself emphasised the role of connections in both his initial employment and subsequent career:

I'd made the connections you see, I think that was important, by getting in there and working for 6 months (PEP type scheme) ... people know you're employed there on that basis ... and people start thinking ... hang on we could use someone to do something else.

Guy also pointed out the importance and relevance of being part of the community in terms of enhancing employment possibilities:

... the importance of key people at each point along the progression (to employment and career) ... But I was involved politically, and I was involved in a community and therefore I got to know people and so when an opportunity came up I was someone people thought of.

Sally talked about her career in terms of a "personal journey" that always involved key people:

... it was part of what I would call my personal journey ... where I met people with disabilities who were supportive...and there were other people ... and I've often thought that the disability services don't mean much, it's

often the support of the people you come across in your daily life that actually means more than disability support services. And I would say that in everything I've ever done in terms of my career advancement would be because of the support of other people in the workplace ... people who were helpful as work mates.

Sally acknowledged that though it had become easier for her to find personal support, it may be extremely difficult for other people. For William the path to developing personal connections involved becoming a consumer representative on the governing Board of an employment support service. In this way he could keep reminding services directly about their obligations to the people they serve.

Even though Julia had experienced all sorts of policy changes in the running of the sheltered workshop she attends, the quality of her daily experiences ultimately rested upon the day to day personal relationships she encountered. There are important lessons here for the way in which employment support services should acknowledge that, as individuals, disabled people are also inevitably part of a particular social milieu that involves interdependent relationships. A group of people (many of whom were disabled) came up with the following definition as the result of a consensus conference sponsored by the Ministry of health:

People with disabilities, their families/whanau, care givers, cultural identity and communities form interdependent relationships. Embracing and considering the roles and needs of these groups and the wider social context is also essential in facilitating the full participation of people with disabilities (Core Services, 1992:15).

Clearly these interdependent relationships cannot be ignored in the planning, development and implementation of job placement services. Personal networks hold resources, information and connections that can be crucial to a successful employment outcome. A focus on the notion of the service user as "customer" (Workbridge, 1995) brings with it the danger of isolating the person as the only reference point and overlooks the role of personal networks and how they might help or hinder a person's employment prospects. This becomes particularly relevant when there may be up to five or six people involved in a disabled person's care and support over the course of a typical week, in addition to friends and family.

The experiences of people in this study suggest that these personal connections and networks are often a source of support and a resource to draw upon. Conventional approaches to vocational rehabilitation and job placement tend to ignore these connections and networks, and in doing so overlook a host of resources and possibilities that can be brought to bear on achieving employment outcomes (Hagner and Dileo, 1993). It is significant that the practice of supported employment attempts to acknowledge the importance of personal connections and to integrate them into the planning and delivery of employment support services.

It was also apparent from the observations of Guy, Sally and Julia, for example, that those personal connections that are developed in the workplace itself can become crucial in moving on to other jobs and further improving job prospects. Embracing these factors may be an important step if employment support services are going to rise to the challenge of moving from the relatively straight forward idea of jobs, to careers for disabled people. Without such an approach, it is likely that employment support services will continue to limit themselves to the assimilation of disabled people into the fringes of the labour market.

Education and Training

The creation of disability as restriction and exclusion has operated to marginalise disabled people in education as well as employment. The concept and practice of special education has emerged to restrict access by disabled people to the regular education system and the opportunities that this involves. If one is not taken seriously as a potential member of the work force then one's education is also not likely to be taken seriously and subsequently, one's educational needs will also be seen differently. The result has been the development of educational curricula within special education that are largely non-functional in terms of preparation for the world of work (Wilcox and Bellamy, 1987).

Until the emergence of mainstreaming and inclusive educational strategies participation in special education inevitably led to segregated employment in sheltered workshops or day programmes. Even within the context of inclusion, however, a marginalising experience is perpetuated in practices such as the provision of "teacher aides" and the continuation of special education curricula.

Disabled students may receive a second class educational experience that frequently ignores aspirations that involve employment.

Training has always been an important ingredient in vocational rehabilitation, but has been closely linked to a readiness model (Brown, et al, 1979) with a focus on adjustment rather than the pursuit of specific qualifications. In New Zealand the vocational training industry has fed off this model for at least ten years with the provision of endless life skills, pre-employment and vocational training courses for disabled people producing a generation of "course junkies". The supported employment approach of providing individualised training 'on the job' in the context of a specific person/job "match" is still a very novel approach. Traditional training providers and conventional job placement agencies have a great deal of difficulty in making this conceptual leap (Bennie, 1991; McLoughlin et al, 1987).

Participants in this study had a variety of experiences with regard to education and training. The relationship between segregated education and segregated employment or long term unemployment is clear (Wilcox, 1987). Those participants in this study who had attended regular schools had far better employment outcomes. However, as Sally pointed out, being mainstreamed was not always easy. She was a strong supporter of inclusive education practices, but:

It was tough, bloody tough, and there were bits of my education that I'm missing, but what it did teach me was how to use the system to get what I needed more than it would have ever done had I been closeted in some special school.

Sally also spoke of the isolation from other people with disabilities:

That creates some difficulties in mainstreaming because you've got no sense of reality to measure yourself against. You're measuring yourself all the time against other people's reality and you never quite know what's yours and what isn't and you get lots of mixed messages and confusion ... that's one thing that mainstreaming does for you, it teaches you to take risks.

 Sally acknowledged that proper resourcing of inclusive education would overcome many problems. For others their educational experience was about reduced expectations and missed opportunities. Sara Lee described her high school experience:

The way it was decided that I wasn't going to sit School C I reckon really stunk, like I wasn't even part of that decision ... I think it was a really crazy thing to do ... and I had a real stigma about that for years especially when I started looking for work and it really dawned on me how important it was to have those bits of paper.⁵

William emphasised the value of Access courses⁶ and the avenue they provided to catch up on learning opportunities missed at school, but in his experience:

Courses are patronising and controlling, not treating disabled members as adults.

For Sara Lee becoming employed provided opportunities for further training that simply did not exist when she was unemployed. However she was sceptical about whether these would be translated into promotion because the notion of "careers" for disabled people is not taken seriously enough. The result, according to her, is a form of discrimination where disabled people are kept in positions for which they are clearly over qualified. Being underemployed was a common experience for participants.

Training is also used to manage unemployment and have people in a perpetual state of "getting ready" as Sara Lee explained:

Workbridge seem to come up with these training ideas when things don't go quite as well as they planned I think ... like it's kind of preoccupying you, so 'oh well Workbridge is very good like they got me this training ... yeah Workbridge reminds me of the Rehab League again.

Participating in training to enhance employment prospects has proved to be a double edged sword for people with disabilities. On the one hand disabled people lack qualifications, but on the other they are frequently trapped in a 'training treadmill' for most of their lives. Sally believed there are "huge issues" about getting people the right skills and countering the negative experience that education has been for so many disabled people:

The community of people with disabilities, the whole disability community and that includes all of us, the people who work in it, people with disabilities, everyone has got to come to grips with this stuff about skills, about lifelong learning ...

They don't have good skills and that's often because they've been so isolated ... I mean look at this whole business of isolating people in ghettos and then

⁵ Sara Lee later passed School Certificate as an adult student.

⁶ State funded life skill courses for the long term unemployed.

they all come out looking and behaving the same ... it's very important that people have self esteem, and are able to maximise who they are and be proud of who they are ... and I don't think a lot of people have that.

Sally went on to observe that the issue is further compounded by the poverty experienced by many disabled people and how this makes self esteem and presentation very difficult.

Although acknowledging the importance of education and training opportunities, Guy cited as crucial to his work force entry the jobs, that were created through PEP schemes⁷, how they were his "foot in the door". He commented that disabled people's experiences of endless training are now mirrored by other long term unemployed people:

... its about control, keeping people off the streets really, if you want to be really simple about it ...

Guy therefore had "major reservations" about the training emphasis, even with newer agencies.

Basically this thing about continuing training, that people just continued to train you know for 25 years ... the 25 year trainee.

Albert also had some strong views on the subject:

The thing is that putting people on training courses and putting people in sheltered workshops and places like that isn't putting them into employment. You've got to realise there are jobs out there.

Albert gave an example of a particular course he attended:

They could have said to me, well what would you like to be doing in five years' time, I knew what I wanted, it was just getting it, it (the course) didn't further my employment goals ... they could have said to me this is how you go about it (getting a job) and we will supply you with the support to get you into employment.

Brian also emphasised the training value of voluntary work which had opened the door to disability politics and advocacy and contributed significantly to his

⁷ These schemes were job creation programmes in the 1980s involving public works and community projects where the State heavily subsidised employers for the cost of wages.

career. He added that the costs of volunteering need to be met by organisations using them.

While the value of training is not dismissed there is a strong sense that it tends to detract from the need for employment support services "to get on with it". It is important not to underplay the important role that training can play in enhancing employment prospects, but for many disabled people it has been a trap that has postponed rather than led to employment. The preoccupation with adjustment and work readiness in conventional approaches to job placement has ensured an endless supply of disabled people who "need training" to "get ready" for employment. Moreover training does not, in itself, change workplaces, employment practices or labour market policies that operate to exclude disabled people (Borsay, 1986).

A focus on training maintains a very important facade, preserving conventional job placement practices by maintaining people in the role of job seeker and limiting the labour market to non-disabled people by ensuring that only those who are "ready" gain access. This arrangement also preserves a burgeoning training industry which employs significant numbers of non-disabled trainers. It is difficult to dispel the conclusion that the status quo has a vested interest in making sure that only a small proportion of disabled job seekers actually achieve and maintain the status of employee (Wolfensberger, 1989).

Improvements and Positive Developments

It is important to acknowledge that people's experiences in using employment support services were not all negative. There were occasions, particularly when people had positive relationships with individual personnel, when things appeared to go well. Participants were specifically asked about any recent improvements in employment support services. While encouraging developments were noted, these were frequently described with qualifications. Sally commented:

I think there have been some stunning changes, although when I'm feeling depressed I feel nothing's changed.

Sally went on to list important developments in recent years: Equal Employment Opportunities (EEO) policies in Government departments, the

emergence of Workbridge, the Mainstream Programme (a supported employment programme in the public sector), the development of other supported employment programmes and the presence of more financial support.

Brian saw the marketing of employment support services as much improved and cited Workbridge as an example. The result, he maintained, is a better acknowledgement that employment is a key part of a person's life.

... before this it was always coloured by the idea that a person with a disability should be grateful for having a job because there are others who haven't.

Sam gave an example of the value of 'Disability Pride Month' and involves good business awards for employers of disabled people:

I sort of got to realise that there were lots of employers out there who were not only open to employing people with disabilities, but actually went out of their way to help you know provide opportunities for people with disabilities, and I found that quite sort of heartening really.

Sam also commented on how both Workbridge and the New Zealand Employment Service (NZES) were good at "keeping his spirits up" during a long period of searching for jobs.

The policy analysis in chapter four demonstrated that there have been significant activities and developments in the last decade with regard to employment support services. However few participants in this study identified programmes or specific developments as major improvements. Despite numerous policy and systemic changes around the organisation and delivery of services, these appear to have had a negligible effect in terms of the practice of employment support and quality of services, from the perspectives of most of the participants in this study. While some of their experiences are historical, their views are also informed by their close association with many contemporary service users and current involvement in policy issues.

This lack of reform may be due to the fact that the foundations of employment policy for disabled people in New Zealand have not shifted in any fundamental ways. The isolation of policy development as a welfare or health issue, rather than an employment issue, has kept disabled people out of the mainstream in

terms of legislation and public policy. The idea of service continuums and work readiness still dominate programme and policy development. Not surprisingly, supported employment tends to be regarded as a new option within the present system rather than as a challenge to the system itself.

Within this context the experience of using employment support services is characterised by high levels of frustration. The first part of the interviews with participants in this study was aimed at shedding light on the degree to which disabled people's experiences constituted oppression. Their experiences strongly suggested that the lack of participation by disabled people in the work force is reinforced and perhaps even fostered by the way in which employment support services operate. The result is a sense of powerlessness that is quite tangible. The participants in this study were aware of this powerlessness and did not accept that the current state of affairs should be inevitable.

A degree of reflective analysis (Fay, 1987) is revealed in participants' comments as they attempt to understand the broader issues and structures that create a marginalising experience when using employment support services. The power of service providers and policy makers and the powerlessness of service users was revealed as participants described their experiences. Moreover, they are also disabled people who can recognise that their marginalisation is the result of factors that are largely out of their control and who are aware that those with power seem to have a vested interest in retaining the status quo. This situation is "fertile ground" for critical theory (Fay, 1987) and lends credence to the argument that disabled people, in the context of unemployment and as users of employment support services, are oppressed (Abberley, 1987).

Conclusions

This chapter has introduced the participants in a research process aimed at gaining insight into the experience of using employment support services and the perspectives of service users on changing these services. A three part analytical schema utilised to understand these experiences and perspectives has been outlined. The results and analysis of the first part of this schema has been presented.

Many participants in this study found that using employment support services was something of an ordeal. Getting a service that was relevant and met

people's expectations was like a lottery, highly dependent on the luck of connecting particular staff. There were no guarantees of receiving a quality service from any organisation.

The reality of using employment support services was characterised by feelings of disenchantment, disappointment, frustration and anger. The participants in this study were deeply aware of the shortcomings of employment support services and were under no illusions that they could improve. Perceptions about a lack of choices a lack of follow-up and experiences of overt discrimination by employment support providers suggested that there is an enormous gulf between providers and consumers on how they view the effectiveness of employment support services. Marginalisation in terms of employment for disabled people appeared to be reinforced through their marginalisation and disempowerment by employment support services. This is a fundamental contradiction in that those services and resources that are supposed to enhance the employment possibilities for disabled people frequently seem to have a neutral or even negative impact in this regard.

Concerns over the quality of employment support services appeared to be compounded by a sense of isolation and helplessness about the possibilities for change: "sometimes it feels like nothing's changed"; "What can one person do?". The use of employment support services by disabled people was characterised by a lack of choice (within and between services) a lack of power (others decide how services are organised and delivered) and a lack of support (from service providers and their exclusion of personal networks). The relative absence of these three dimensions interacted to produce a sense of powerlessness and frustration that was fundamentally oppressive and marginalising. The comments of participants suggested the beginnings of an analysis by disabled people as to the reasons for this oppression and the possibility of praxis that can be illuminated by the struggles that these individuals are involved in (Lather, 1991).

Even given such a challenging context, there was considerable consensus and clarity about what needs to change. This was the focus of the second part of the interviews which will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE EXPERIENCES AND PERSPECTIVES OF DISABLED PEOPLE

Part Two: Changes Needed in Employment Support Services

Introduction

The second part of the interviews with participants sought their views and perspectives on the changes they saw as being necessary to improve employment support services. Participants were given the opportunity to engage in reflective analysis (Fay, 1987) regarding the changes that they would like to see in employment support services. This included their views and reflections about policies and broader structural issues that determine employment outcomes for disabled people. Specific questions were also asked around particular aspects of services and related policy.

These particular aspects emerged as central issues or developments in the theoretical and policy work that preceded the interviews and thus it was important to canvass the views of participants on these matters. The recent development of Workbridge as a placement agency with national coverage has had a significant impact¹. In addition, the numerous policy reviews that took place since the Community Funding Agency (CFA) took over service purchasing responsibilities in this arena provided an ongoing vehicle for debate. Furthermore, emerging perspectives on disability derived from critical theory signalled the intention of disabled people to redefine their relationship with service providers and professionals (Oliver, 1990; Shakespeare, 1993; Zola, 1977).

Participants in this study identified a number of common themes when it came to identifying changes needed in employment support services. These covered issues of both policy and practice and revealed a perception that fundamental change is required. Participants demonstrated a level of analysis that rejected traditional assumptions about unemployment and disability and maintained that the control exerted by non-disabled people over the design and delivery of

¹ Only one participant had not used this service at the time of the interviews.

employment support services needed to be radically altered in favour of disabled people. In addition, participants also had some clear views about how the service system should be reorganised and how policy should be altered to encourage such changes.

These changes at the level of both policy and practice were signalled earlier in the context of examining policy and theory in relation to employment and disability (Chapters three to six). This examination, together with an analysis of the changes identified by the 14 participants who were interviewed, has implications for the future of supported employment if it is to have a role in responding to the demands of disabled people. In particular, its relationship with both the wider vocational rehabilitation system and the labour market itself require some discussion. These issues will be specifically addressed in some detail in the last two sections of this chapter.

Participant's views about the necessary changes centred around several broad areas. The notion of support was a recurring theme, encapsulating ideas of how employment support services should operate in terms of attitudes and practices. The word support was frequently used to talk about what services should do (particularly after placement) as well as the attitude and general approach services should have. Consumer involvement was a change seen as crucial both in terms of issues like decision making and in the overall running of services. Changes were also identified in relation to improving provider competence in areas such as the skills and knowledge of staff. Finally, a range of structural and policy changes were articulated as central to creating real and lasting change in the way employment support services were organised and delivered.

Support

The notion of support has been one of the founding principles of supported employment. The concept developed from an acknowledgement that it was in the post placement phase that the delivery of assistance was most crucial. (Rusch, 1990). Moreover, supported employment continues to expand the scope of activities that can support people, particularly in the harnessing of support that occurs "naturally" in employment settings (Hagner and Dileo, 1993). The idea of support has come to be synonymous with a greater acknowledgement

of the interdependent nature of relationships. "Independence" in the community can often be translated by services into isolation and vulnerability without ongoing attention to the need for personal networks (O'Brien, Lyle-O'Brien and Schwartz, 1990).

In this context the idea of "support" accepts that there are structural features of our workplaces that will continue to pose barriers to disabled people no matter how "ready" they are for work (Bennie, 1991). Therefore services need to focus on supporting the participation of disabled people as they are, rather than postponing participation until services decide that people are ready to participate. In practice this has come to echo a position that is consistent with a critical perspective on disability whereby disabled people are demanding that they enter society now and engage in changing aspects of society to take account of their needs. In service delivery terms the notion of support has been translated into services in which the disabled person and providers of services enter into ongoing partnerships to address issues and barriers that will inevitably arise in a disabling society (Brown and Smith, 1992).

The term "support" was used by participants in this study in a number of ways to evoke this sense of an ongoing partnership. They urged employment support services to essentially "get on with it", to be practical and proactive and to be "actively involved" in the actual workplace - "making it happen", to keep the focus on "jobs" and people keeping their jobs. This message was summarised by Guy:

so its about real jobs and you know real work situations and what support do you need to that ... in terms of paid work and employment you've got no substitute for being there and doing it because that's how you make the important connections ... when you're in, when you're there then the potential to create your own support networks is much increased ... you start to make those connections, and people will then do what is necessary in order to maintain you there. That won't happen beforehand though, you can't set it up to be there when you get there, it's got to be done as you are there.

For Guy real support could only be developed once the job had started and so he regarded making connections as absolutely central to the support role of employment support services.

He explained:

When we look at services that are trying to set up support networks...they don't look to those things that are already there (in the workplace), what you might call the natural support networks that people might have ... but services meet needs when they're not being met in other ways, and then you have to wonder why there are those gaps. And if you have a service that tries to meet that need does that not then create a barrier ... one of the things any service has to do is confront itself: is it by its existence depriving or blocking out the possibility of a person making the connections and becoming part of a community?

For Sam "support" meant a high level of visibility for support personnel in the community. He drew a distinction between this and what he referred to as "bureaucratic" or office bound services:

He goes out in all sorts of weathers to make sure they're OK on their job and he actually gets them work ... he's got people all over town ... he's into employment, he's visible, people know him, they respect him and he's got their best interests at heart.

William added a further dimension in his understanding of support:

Support for people on the job and support the person looking for a job ... support should be more friendship oriented, preparation with co workers ... some people need to have advocates alongside them.

This reinforced Guy's points about making connections in the context of actual jobs and real work settings. Brian also acknowledged the importance of connecting with workplace culture as:

... people with disabilities who don't have a history of being employed do not, may not have a clear view of what it's like.

Albert was quite emphatic about the notion of support, especially in the context of his expectations follow-up from employment support services personnel:

Go to the employer and say, 'now you've employed this person we are here to assist you if you feel it's necessary, If there are any problems, please feel free to come to us if there are things that you want that will enable your employee or you employer to further or better him/herself, and we will help you and we will guide you and we will inform you ...

Albert went on to emphasise that there is nothing wrong with getting support:

*We are normal people, we want assistance, that's why we come to services
... acceptance for who I am, not what I've got.*

Brian preferred the notion of support rather than help because "support is more definite and action oriented". Support was a theme that embraced several strands, all of which tended to reflect a demand for employment support services to involve themselves with service users in an ongoing role. Participants in this study were using the term to talk about being in partnership with providers, actively involved in achieving employment goals and urging service providers to do the same.

There was also the underlying message that the unemployment crisis facing disabled people was the collective responsibility of disabled people and employment support services. However, the reality for many was the overwhelming message from providers that unemployment was an individual problem and that providers are there to help individuals overcome their problem. This was in stark contrast to the approach that participants in this study were looking for - a partnership where users and providers work together in reaching solutions to an unemployment problem created by factors outside the control of single individuals.

Many of the participants in this study had quite vague understandings of what the concept of supported employment was because at the time of the interviews it was only just beginning to emerge in New Zealand. However, it is significant that their references to support and the discussions surrounding the idea are very consistent with how supported employment incorporates support as central to its philosophy and practice. The principle of "ongoing support" is a distinguishing feature of supported employment (Rusch, 1990; Powell, et al, 1992). The idea of support was also important in conveying a sense of shared ownership by which disabled people, employment support services and policy makers all needed to accept responsibility for the solution to the problem of unemployment.

Consumer Involvement and Provider Competence

The idea that disabled people might actually work in disability services and manage them confronts long established power relationships between service providers and users (Chappel,1992). Professionals and clients have clearly defined roles: non-disabled professional experts administering their knowledge and skills to dependent, needy, unknowing and compliant disabled people (Barton, 1989). Having significant numbers of disabled people working in and managing disability services is also anathema to proponents of social role valorisation (Wolfensberger, 1983) who regard such a scenario as a kind of multiple devaluation. Disabled people, on the other hand may adopt such a strategy as an empowerment strategy related to the simple notion of services for and by disabled people.

The idea of disabled people being involved in both the design and delivery of employment support services is still a novel one in practice, although the rhetoric has been around for nearly a decade. Some of the participants in this study represented a vanguard of disabled people working in the social services, particularly those concerned with disability. However it is still non-disabled professionals and public servants who usually hold those key positions that shape disability policy, and the design and delivery of services.

When asked about the changes they would like to see in employment support services, participants in this study held a strong conviction that people who use employment support services should have a central role in both defining how they operate and in the actual delivery of services. For some people this meant that disabled people should be fairly represented at governing board level. Other people stressed that providers should employ more disabled people as staff. What emerged was a belief that increasing the involvement of consumers was central to increasing the competence of providers and thus the effectiveness of employment support services. The following comment by William reflected the sentiments of many of the study participants:

... suggestions for improvements generally go unheeded ... complaints should be kept quiet so the organisation isn't given a bad name ... consumers need to be part of the decision making in the overall organisation ... they should have the right to be involved ...

Sara Lee's picture of the ideal employment support service was one in which:

... the people employed by the agency would be people like me, people with disabilities and with lots of experience and understanding of the issues ... I've got lots of skills and a lot of knowledge, and a lot of experience ... because of all my unsuccessful attempts at getting a job.

Several participants mentioned a preference for agency staff to be disabled themselves. This was seen as an important way of ensuring that staff would be able to understand the realities associated with being disabled and unemployed. For many this understanding could only come with the experience of disability. However as participants such as Guy pointed out this does not mean that all staff have to be disabled, just that they be significantly represented, particularly at senior levels.

For some participants the lack of understanding by staff was a serious shortcoming, as William emphasises:

I stress that I want to be treated like everybody else, I don't need sympathy, all I want is understanding.

For Sally this lack of understanding was seen to be pervasive within the disability sector because of the history of charity and dependency creating:

... the fact that they've always controlled us, and that they have been charities and that they've been doing good to people.

The absence of empowering approaches for people using services was cited in a variety of ways and was revealed in how participants detailed the ways in which they would like employment support services to change. These changes related to both the overall approach to delivering services by organisations and the practices that participants would like to see as a matter of routine. There was a strong feeling among many participants that real changes are not going to occur until disabled people are employed in significant numbers by providers of employment support services and in positions that can readily influence the organisations and agencies. This perception included those government agencies responsible for the development of policy and the funding of services. Because this involvement is not happening to the extent that people think it should, there was an air of cynicism about past and current changes.

The following comment from Derek echoed these sentiments:

I think I could write a book about the things that have supposedly changed. The same services are being funded that were funded five years ago with one or two exceptions.

For Sally one of the fundamental shortcomings of most employment support services was the lack of what she referred to as “service or customer service mentality”, an orientation that puts “the customer at centre stage”. She said we can learn from the commercial sector in this regard and saw such an orientation going a long way to improving the attitude of staff. People with disabilities would be taken seriously and respected as “job seekers”. Sally explained that in her current employment many of her colleagues were not from the disability sector:

... they've not been involved with disability before, and yet I've found that they've behaved far more appropriately towards me both personally and as you know a group than I've found other people in the disability sector. They treat me as an equal and an individual and they get on with the job which is providing a service to a group of people ... it's a service philosophy.

It was also this service philosophy which Sally saw as being needed to counter the inadequacy of information about the labour market:

I believe that people with disabilities are poorly served in terms of labour market information, where the growth areas are, what are the important skills to have, where the most likely places for jobs are, so that when you're making decisions at important times in your life you don't make the wrong decision and penalise yourself forever after.

These perceptions were echoed by Brian:

Employment services need to be managed by experts in employment as well as disability ... so you must treat a job seeker as a person worthy of employment.

Brian also emphasised the need for services to provide information about prospective jobs and in considerable detail. He also believed it was time to start getting creative about restructuring workplaces so that people with disabilities could be included:

Well I don't think it's good enough to just ring up a person and say ... 'here's a job if you want to apply for it' ... when it happens you don't think too much about it, you just think well fuck this, it's just another hassle. I suppose now I'd be asking, if I was looking for a job tomorrow, I'd be asking like the foreman, what sort of person is this, what's the CEO like, what happens in the tearoom ... we need to become quite assertive about talking about making jobs match people. Can the things that a disabled person cannot do because of their disability be transferred to other staff members and those staff members have some of their responsibilities transferred back to the other (disabled) person?

Brian alluded to the idea of consumers seeing themselves as customers who have rights and expectations about what services should be able to do. Sam pointed out another dimension of marketing which revealed that people may sometimes need to be enabled to see themselves as potential employees:

People need to be helped to use services...there must be tremendous scope to actually promote the business of finding a job much more attractively to people with disabilities ... bring it within their reach and let them realise that they are capable of going out and getting a job.

A further dimension of provider competence was raised when some participants commented about the inability of services to understand the importance of specialist support in the workplace. Such support was not seen as inconsistent with "integration", but part of having a diverse work force. Brian cited an example:

One of the things that I feel about all vocational services, regardless of which agency, is that they do not provide quality feedback to visually impaired clients. They would never, never did provide feedback on things like grooming, or written presentations, or body language or anything like that and I maintain to this day, and I have colleagues who professionally disagree with me, but I maintain that sort of feedback is crucial to a blind person ... colleagues believe that sighted applicants don't get feedback so why should blind people ...

Brian went on to say that his own co-workers gave him feedback, but failed to incorporate this into their work with clients in generic settings. He saw this as a fundamental contradiction - that an employment support service did not follow their own advice to other employers. This example also illustrated the lack of attention paid to the potential for support that can be negotiated from within the workplace.

Brian made the point that:

The whole person applies for the job, not just the bit without the disability, it isn't something you carry along beside you.

The issue of access to services was also raised as a dimension of provider competence and one that needed to go well beyond just being wheelchair accessible. As Brian observed:

Agencies should be physically and technologically accessible. Transport should not be a hassle, they can come to you ... Agencies must have the capacity to communicate according to the communication requirements of the individual ... agencies like this shouldn't be giving the impression of 'well we'll make some special allowances for' or 'we'll put some energy in'. These things should just be part of the enablement process.

For other participants issues around competency of employment support services was reflective of specific experiences they had encountered. For William "A place that listens" was crucial. "I just feel they pull people off the street" was Julia's comment about her agency's hiring practices. Albert commented that: "I have a problem with most disability organisations in that they're too top heavy, they're too administration heavy". Brian was also concerned that employment support services tend to concentrate their activities on entry level jobs rather than professional and management positions. He wondered whether they in fact have the expertise to negotiate and support disabled people into these positions.

As a theme, consumer involvement and provider competence echoed the calls that are being increasingly made for the authentic involvement of disabled people in the design and delivery of the support services they use (Oliver, 1992; Oliver, 1990; Barton, 1989; Morris, 1991). Moreover, the widespread implementation of current best practices in supported employment has been extremely problematic (Renzaglia & Everson, 1990). Comments from participants in this study suggested that this is a problem across the whole spectrum of employment support services. Disabled people are developing far higher expectations in terms of employment outcomes and these are being translated into higher expectations of employment support services.

Involving consumers and provider competence were regarded by most participants as closely related with the latter being dependent on the former.

The widespread involvement of disabled people in the delivery and management of employment support services, while creating a host of new employment opportunities, does not mean that every disabled person is being called to pursue a career in the social services. However there is a view that employment support services are likely to be more relevant and more effective if disabled people are central to decisions about policy and practice. Professionals and practitioners with disabilities may provide a more welcoming and empathetic response to service users, but this should not imply that such personnel should be without appropriate knowledge and skills to do the job.

In the longer term, the widespread involvement of disabled people in policy development, in organisation management, and in the development and delivery of training for staff who work in disability services, will all be central to improving the relevance and competence of service providers. These changes may be vital in countering the tendency that Sally observed in the disability sector where staff (who are mostly non-disabled) have been colonised by the charity ethic. Moreover, there are much broader workforce development issues that need resolving. For example, the implementation of best practices has historically been a major problem for of employment support services because of inadequate funding levels and the resulting lower status as a career option (Sale, 1990).

Involving disabled people in the design and delivery of services in order to increase the competence of employment support services is an example of structural change that also requires parallel changes in policy. Participants had some quite forthright views on the nature of these structural and policy changes.

Structural and Policy Changes

A perspective on disability informed by critical theory argues for fundamental changes to the way we understand the needs of disabled people. Central to these changes is where the "problem" of disability is located. Traditional views placed the problem as a "personal tragedy" unique to the person concerned (Oliver, 1990). Alternatively a critical perspective places the problem with society and the social oppression of disabled people (Abberley, 1987). The real

solutions to the problem of disability will therefore be found in removing disadvantage and restriction that are structured into a disabling society. This will require substantial shifts in public policy, and consequently, in the way that support services are organised and delivered.

The people interviewed in this study were able to articulate a range of changes that revealed a level of analysis well attuned to the structural disadvantage experienced by disabled people. Many of the changes being advocated represent a major departure from current policy and service delivery arrangements. Coupled with the demand for a central role by disabled people in the design and delivery of services, these changes represent a significant potential threat to the status quo and the careers of thousands of non-disabled professionals. Whether disabled people will organise themselves to the extent that this status quo will be directly challenged remains to be seen, but the reality for disabled people implies that there is a crisis (Fay, 1987) of confidence in current employment support services.

One of the central issues to emerge in this study with respect to changes in policy was the need to “integrate” the policy, organisation and delivery of employment support services in a way that was more coherent and reflective of the ultimate goal of jobs for disabled people. The comments of participants closely echoed conclusions that had already been drawn in the analysis of employment policy in chapter four. Many participants identified the issue of changing jobs for disabled people from a welfare issue to an employment issue. In practical terms many were emphatic that policy development and funding for employment support services needed to shift from the Department of Social Welfare to the Department of Labour. They believed that Workbridge, as the only nationwide placement service, needed to become somehow attached to or become part of The New Zealand Employment Service (NZES). Brian put his case in the following way:

That's where the statistics are, that's where the research is done, that's where employers go when they assess the market place, the labour force, that's the reference for trade unions, their job is people's employment, that's where employment issues for other disadvantaged groups are addressed.

Not only are disabled people marginalised in terms of employment, but the policies to address this issue are also kept on the margins, away from

“mainstream” employment policy. Guy maintained that the reason this situation prevails is because it is:

...part of an ongoing view of people with disabilities as welfare recipients ... even us getting jobs ... it's still an act of welfare, rather than simply a part of a process which other people have.

He elaborated further:

If you want education services then you go to those places that provide education services, if you want employment services then you go to those places that provide employment services, if you want health services then you go to those places that provide health services.

Although there might need to be a specific focus or specialisation within generic services (in this case the Department of Labour), Guy felt strongly that services espousing integration should themselves be integrated in terms of organisation, delivery and policy.

Sally added a further dimension on the subject of integration, but in terms of services needing to be comprehensive:

I think the perfect employment support service would be fairly well integrated, it would be able to offer you a range of things, it may not do it all themselves ... but before people made a choice they would be given sufficient information about the labour market.

Jim placed Sally's ideas in the context of Workbridge:

Workbridge should be part of NZES. The two currently work in competition with each other even though they have some kind of protocol ... Workbridge could then step back a little from placement and focus on advocacy, planning, promotion and brokerage.

The apparent focus by Workbridge on placement numbers to the exclusion of other outcomes was a real concern to Guy:

Because as soon as you start wanting to place, place, place above all else ... then you will spend time on those people you can easily place and the people that require a little bit more support and continuing ongoing support are simply not going to have that, it's not going to happen ...

... I would like the emphasis to come off placement targets and emphasis going on simply providing the kind of support that is necessary for a person to be placed in a quality paid employment situation.

However Guy still regarded Workbridge as a positive development:

... to the extent that it was a formal recognition that people with disabilities should have opportunities in the community.

Policy, though, should go beyond the provision of opportunity and, in Guy's view:

... be based on notions of equity and the right to employment, paid employment ... The right to paid employment is in fact a right and not a matter of luck or chance or good fortune ... at a certain level we should be able to work in ways that we're all socially responsible for each other.

Guy believed therefore that employment support services should be working at the structural level as well as the individual level:

See that's the thing isn't it, the emphasis has always been on what we can do for the individual. I mean what happens is that someone makes, like I make it, and get there and then the same problems occur to somebody else, it doesn't change ... I mean it hasn't changed anything really because no one's actually looked at what's happening in the first place, like what's wrong with the practice that produces that kind of situation ?

As a consequence fundamental changes are not only being asked for in terms of the organisation and practices involved with employment support services, but in terms of the values and principles that underpin employment policy in New Zealand for everyone. At the core of these policies is the ideology of competitive individualism (Oliver, 1990) which assumes that a competitive labour market is the "natural" way to organise work. It has already been demonstrated that such a structure tends to restrict or exclude disabled people on the basis that they are the antithesis of the able-bodied worker.

Guy referred to a "trickle up" process whereby the presence of more and more disabled people in the workplace will help to bring about some of the practices and policy changes he would like to see and to break down other barriers. Although he did not see the mere presence of increasing numbers of disabled people in the workplace on its own as enough, he regarded it as an important prerequisite.

The increased presence of disabled people in the work force raises an important possibility regarding the development of new policy. Often innovative practice or new approaches will not be led by new policy, but will direct it by pushing the limits and exposing policy and legislative gaps and inadequacies (Wehman, 1994, Rusch, 1990). As we have already seen in New Zealand, with supported employment's emphasis on placement first, it has quickly found itself in uncharted territory in policy terms. As a result it has been vulnerable to misinterpretation and marginalisation on the public policy agenda. Nevertheless, it has included disabled people who were never previously considered "eligible" for employment in the workplace where their needs and aspirations cannot be ignored. As a result, policies are beginning to develop which both endorse and resource these initiatives.

Many participants commented on the disincentives created by the income support system when one moves into employment, particularly the way in which abatement regimes operate to create very high levels of marginal tax (Taylor, 1996). The complexity of this benefit system meant that people were unable to offer specific suggestions for changes other than to stop "tinkering" and "overhaul it completely".

In a similar vein, the subject of "under-rate permits" was also raised. These permits allow employers and employee representatives to agree on a below award or below minimum pay rate due to the person being unable to fulfil employer productivity expectations because of their disability. While the utility and appropriateness of such permits is discussed elsewhere in this thesis² it is important to convey the views of those who have actually worked under the auspices of these permits.

Sally's comments were already noted in part one (chapter seven) about the stigmatising effect of these permits. Derek had also been "on one", but like Sally, had major reservations about the way they currently operate. There was an acknowledgement that some kind of system is needed to ensure that those with more complex needs can be appropriately remunerated in today's workplaces, but in a manner that is not stigmatising and that can respond to the notion of "productivity" in far more lateral terms.

² Refer to chapter four pages 72 and 79.

Sally explained:

That's what worries me about under-rate permits, they don't actually allow for training, they don't allow for job readjustments, or career development or anything. So there's no obligation on the employer to change the way they do anything. So if you change the way you do things then the person would be as productive as the next person because you do things slightly differently. In my own case for example, it could have been doing different things with the work rosters so that you know I wasn't penalised by things that were difficult for me and giving me different assignments to do.

The application of under-rate permits appeared to work against this kind of job restructuring or redesign.

Benefit system disincentives are the product of the policy duality that was discussed in chapter four. This duality has, at its core, conflicting objectives with regard to the delivery of support and resources. This duality reflects the tension between how to ensure on the one hand that disabled people are provided some kind of safety net, yet respond on the other to demands for participation as contributing members of the community. At the same time this "distributive dilemma" (Stone, 1984) needs to ensure that disabled people are not placed in a position of advantage where support from the State places them in a better position than those non-disabled people earning low wages, thereby undermining the work ethic.

The consequence of the current system is that many disabled people face huge disadvantages by taking on part-time work, because they lose most of the assistance to meet the cost of disability as soon as they earn any wages. At current wage rates, the alternative is for a disabled person to take on a full time job with an hourly wage of at least \$9 to retain the same level of financial security as provided by full benefit entitlements. With the current (1996) minimum wage set at a little over \$6 an hour the possibilities of such work for the majority of long term unemployed disabled people are remote indeed.

Much of the State assistance that is provided is made available on the faulty assumption that this will not be needed once the person becomes employed, implying that somehow getting a job cures disability! The reality is that the costs of disability remain following employment and can increase (for example transport and clothing). Current policy fails to distinguish between income support and the provision of State assistance to meet the extra costs of living

with an impairment in a disabling society - whether or not one is employed. The costs of this individual assistance can only be reduced if the State makes a longer term investment in addressing institutionalised forms of discrimination and makes structural changes. Possible targets for change include: tighter building codes around access, strengthened human rights legislation and compulsory EEO. The likelihood of significant spending in these areas has already been assessed as remote (Chapter four) given the libertarian ethos currently dominating social policy in New Zealand.

Participants in this study confirmed the negative impact of particular policies and aspects of services that had been signalled earlier in the research process. Issues were raised around the performance of Workbridge and its location in the service system and the need to shift employment issues for disabled people into the mainstream employment policy arena. This latter issue is closely related to the theoretical argument of relocating the source of the disability "problem" from one where disabled people are regarded as welfare dependants to one where disabled people are struggling for power and political rights - including the right to be employed (Barnes, 1992a).

These issues now need to be addressed specifically in the context of their implications for supported employment. If supported employment is a concept and set of practices that is going to be able to significantly redress the inadequacies of current employment support services then its relationship with both the present service system and the disabling nature of New Zealand's deregulated labour market needs to be explored. The participants in this study asserted that there is a need for fundamental change to the policies, practices and structures that govern employment support services. In doing so they also alluded to solutions that embrace much of the promise of the concept of supported employment, even though none have used a service that could be described as supported employment.³

The final two sections of this chapter are therefore intended to draw together the threads from the preceding analysis in order to examine the capacity and limits of supported employment as a response to the issues raised by study participants. This discussion is organised around the relationship of supported

³ It is important to note that at the time of the interviews (1994) supported employment services in New Zealand were only just beginning to emerge.

employment with first, the wider vocational services system and secondly, with the labour market itself.

Supported Employment and the Wider Vocational Services System

Supported employment emerged as a response to the limitations of sheltered workshops and day programmes and their tendency to demand endless years of readiness training for jobs and other opportunities that rarely materialised (Bellamy et al, 1988). However sheltered workshops and segregated day programmes are just two components of a traditional and pervasive approach to vocational rehabilitation. The other components of the vocational rehabilitation system are represented by disabled people who spend their working lives on a “rehabilitation merry-go-round”.

Conventional vocational rehabilitation is characterised by a process that insists that a person must be assessed as job ready before being considered for placement (Shafer, 1988). Typically the focus of assessment is on determining eligibility for services and the extent of readiness for work. A plan of work adjustment training is then developed (sometimes referred to as an individual rehabilitation plan) which can involve training, job trials, work experience and counselling. This plan is usually aimed at ameliorating those deficits identified during assessment. There is also a time limit on the length of adjustment training, depending on regulations, policy and available funding. When people are assessed as ready they are placed in jobs and provided with follow-up support of varying degrees of sophistication, but which is always time limited. The time limit depends on agency regulations and policies.

At any point in this process, but particularly during initial assessment, the person’s eligibility for services (and the possibility of employment) can be terminated. At this juncture people may be referred to a sheltered workshop or day programme (for longer term adjustment and training), or simply labelled as “permanently unemployable” and refused further services. Sometimes there is no time limit for work adjustment training with the consequence that the person can find themselves on an endless cycle of training and work experience.

All vocational rehabilitation and job placement services in New Zealand (excluding some emerging supported employment providers) subscribe to this traditional approach to varying degrees. These services include: Crown Health Enterprise (CHE) rehabilitation services, ACC and Workbridge. Sheltered workshops and other segregated day programmes serve the casualties of this system as well as those who are never referred to vocational rehabilitation and job placement services due to perceptions about the severity of people's disabilities or the reluctance of the system to serve them. Those who fail the system and find the prospect of sheltered workshops and day programmes unpalatable either languish at home or participate in day activities provided by residential services and adjust to a lifestyle that will never include the prospect of work.

While the potential impact of supported employment on overcoming the limitations of sheltered workshops and segregated day programmes has been well documented (McLoughlin et al, 1987) its wider potential to challenge and provide alternatives to the traditional practices of the wider vocational rehabilitation system has only been explored tentatively. These developments are limited to making vocational rehabilitation relevant to those with more severe disabilities.

A model of supported employment has dramatic implications for vocational rehabilitation services as we know them today. Critical issues related to vocational evaluation, eligibility, the 60 day closure and pre placement work adjustment activity are but a few of the practices that are being increasingly scrutinised by professionals in the field. Supported employment calls into question the merit and validity of some of these practices for persons with truly severe disabilities (Wehman, 1988:3).

Shafer also comments on the potential for supported employment to redefine the notion of employability:

Supported employment represents a significant break with traditional rehabilitation values regarding productivity and self sufficiency. Specifically, Supported Employment implicitly accepts individuals who will require repeated and extended services (Shafer, 1988:64).

Supported employment thus espouses the notion of equity. It suggests that because of the disabling impact of a competitive labour market some individuals will need more support and resources than others in order to become participants. Equity is applied by reversing the process from "assess-

train-place-time limited support," to "plan-place and ongoing support." Consequently there is an argument for a shift in resources from assessment and training to the provision of ongoing support. Shafer (1988) warns that traditional practitioners may find the two approaches incompatible and argues for the separate provision of supported employment instead of including it as integral to the delivery of vocational rehabilitation services.

The integration of vocational rehabilitation and supported employment has been explored at a practical and conceptual level (Szymanski et al, 1988; Tooman et al, 1988). However these tentative attempts are limited to exploring ways for supported employment to 'fit into' vocational rehabilitation rather than arguing for the transformation of vocational rehabilitation based on supported employment concepts. The inclusion of supported employment as a legitimate process in vocational rehabilitation is developing as one that is specifically reserved for people labelled as severely disabled, as an alternative to sheltered workshops and segregated day programmes, but not as an alternative approach to vocational rehabilitation.

In practice and policy terms, supported employment thus becomes another option in an already crowded rehabilitation market place where it must compete for the attention of policy makers and service purchasers. As a result its potential relevance for anyone in the vocational rehabilitation system is largely overlooked along with its potential to overturn the very foundations of the system. There are thousands of disabled people on the vocational rehabilitation "merry-go-round" (in permanent work adjustment training) who could also benefit from supported employment, but for whom it would not be considered because they are not perceived as "severely disabled". Thus while the vocational rehabilitation system is challenged for excluding people with severe disabilities, one has to begin asking why, if it holds so much promise for this group, does supported employment exclude those without severe disabilities? It has even been suggested that one of the roles of vocational rehabilitation case managers is to ensure that supported employment does not serve those who only require short term or time limited support (Wehman, 1988).

Some disabled people may be well served by longer periods of training (they could have a specific entry point into the work force identified that requires a particular qualification) and others may not need more than a few days or

weeks of post placement support. Many people (not just those in sheltered workshops) could have aspirations for immediate work force entry (including some of the participants in this study) if there were not time limits on post placement support and follow up or restrictive entry criteria on the eligibility for vocational rehabilitation services.

In the final analysis the relevance of assessment and endless training is so problematic that its appropriateness, coupled with the mistaken notion of time limited support leading to long term employment, needs to be widely questioned for anyone using vocational rehabilitation services. The process and components of supported employment may need to be expanded and altered to accommodate the full range of vocational rehabilitation consumers. However the principles and values that underpin it appear as relevant for everyone, based as they are on the full inclusion of disabled people in the economic and social fabric of their communities.

The potential for supported employment to lead to the successful “conversion” of segregated programmes has been well documented (Hagner and Murphy, 1989; Parent and Hill, 1988). It is also becoming apparent that most attempts at conversion result in supported employment being added on as a new option in addition to segregated services rather than displacing these (Rucker and Browder, 1994). One of the reasons for this is the failure to acknowledge the multiple role that many sheltered workshops play in providing educational, recreational and social activities as well as work opportunities (albeit in segregated settings). Supported employment needs to be regarded as one part of a much broader integration “conversion” strategy. This means that conversion strategies often fail to acknowledge the “bigger picture”. In a similar way, supported employment policy is regarded as an “add on” to conventional vocational rehabilitation services (just for people with severe disabilities), rather than as part of a broader reform movement aimed at the “bigger picture” of the vocational rehabilitation system and all disabled people.

The tendency for advocates and practitioners of supported employment to reserve the concept for people described as severely disabled inadvertently promotes the segregation it strives to overcome. The consequence may very well be the long overdue reform of sheltered workshops, but with little impact on the broader service system and those disabled people who attempt to use it to secure employment. There is the strong possibility that we will have two

systems, "vocational rehabilitation" and "supported employment", with each attempting to exclude service users on the basis of their perceived or assessed "level" of disability. Paralleling this will be two separate work force training strategies that rarely interact with separate (and costly) funding mechanisms.

In New Zealand these two systems are already emerging, represented by ACC, Workbridge and other vocational rehabilitation providers on the one hand, and a small, but growing group of supported employment providers on the other. In terms of work force development, rehabilitation studies teaching programmes proceed without the significant inclusion of supported employment in the curriculum, thereby perpetuating traditional and conventional practices. In Australia there are "supported employment programmes" and "competitive employment and placement programmes", each reserving their services for a particular category of person based on perceptions about their level of disability and employability.

The idea of one vocational and employment support service system that includes all disabled people, respects and takes seriously their employment aspirations (as opposed to determining eligibility) and provides ongoing post placement support on the basis of need has some obvious appeal. This would mean a vocational rehabilitation service system underpinned by the values and principles of supported employment. Converting not just sheltered workshops, but the whole philosophy, values and principles that underpin the vocational rehabilitation service system must become a central agenda for policy advocates and practitioners of supported employment. If not, supported employment it will remain in its own "niche market" as a minor option in a service system that is dominated by conventional thinking. The result will be policies that ensure the continuation of sheltered workshops for those described as severely disabled and the "readiness merry-go-round" for those who are deemed eligible for job placement services provided by agencies such as Workbridge and ACC.

Supported employment must therefore confront and challenge, not just sheltered workshops, but the foundations of conventional vocational rehabilitation, and in doing so demonstrate its relevance for all disabled people. The development of strategies and the negotiation of productive relationships with a far broader spectrum of practitioners, policy makers, providers, researchers, trainers and consumers is therefore in order. By limiting itself to

people regarded as severely disabled supported employment will be unable to develop the capacity for more widespread implementation and reform. The recent "marketing initiative" in the USA to expand supported employment (APSE, 1994) is concerned only with displacing sheltered workshops and is not addressing deeper questions about the wider vocational rehabilitation service system.

Supported Employment and the Labour Market

Historically the creation of a labour market based upon free and open competition between individuals has done much to structure the exclusion of disabled people from the contemporary work force (Barnes, 1990). Because such a structure was developed on the assumption that workers would be able-bodied it is not surprising that conventional approaches to vocational rehabilitation (which accept a competitive labour market as natural and inevitable) focus on getting the disabled person as able-bodied as possible before consideration of actual placement (i.e. the readiness approach).

This arrangement has in turn spawned a whole human service industry devoted to getting disabled people ready for employment and provided numerous careers for non-disabled professionals. Comparatively few tangible outcomes have resulted however, in terms of significant long term employment for disabled people at rates similar to their non-disabled counterparts. As the participants in this study have indicated, the time has come for disabled people to determine who works for who. There is also little evidence to suggest that, despite fifty odd years of an expanding vocational rehabilitation industry, the employment rate for disabled people has altered significantly.

Any variations in employment rates are far more likely to be the result of changing performances of national economies. These variations alter the size of the required labour market and determine the proportion of any economic surplus available for targeting assistance to the unemployed and thus increasing the size of the labour pool. (Borsay, 1986; Jongbloed and Crichton, 1990). Consequently, if supported employment claims to offer better outcomes than conventional approaches to job placement, its relationship with such a disabling structure as a competitive labour market needs to be assessed and determined. Moreover, disabled people themselves may have views about the

validity of an economic structure that has proved to be extremely discriminatory with regard to their participation.

Structural alterations and interventions in a largely deregulated competitive labour market in the interests of disabled people are unlikely however, if there is not significant participation by disabled people. Study participants were adamant about such an imperative. There have been significant policy developments in the labour arena the last decade (and in a number of countries) around interventions in the labour market to increase employment opportunities for disabled people: anti-discrimination legislation, affirmative action, contract compliance, EEO policies, employment equity legislation (Lunt and Thornton, 1993). However many of these interventions have been eroded or removed with the advance of economic rationalism and the absence of organised resistance by disabled people, whose work force participation has remained well below that of their non-disabled counterparts (Sullivan, 1991). Consequently disabled people's representation in the union movement has been insignificant. Furthermore, the union movement itself has been decimated by new right economic policies in New Zealand.

Any advance of employment policies and interventions based on a social or political model of disability (Borsay, 1986) have not been matched by similar strategies in vocational rehabilitation and job placement services which have clung to an individualistic approach based on readiness. The result has been that the service system has not produced "graduates" in significant numbers to take advantage of any labour market interventions that have been in the interests of disabled people. Moreover the significance of these interventions for disabled people has frequently been "lost" on job placement services. A striking example of this situation can be seen in the lack of recognition of the relevance of short-lived employment equity legislation in New Zealand in 1990 by employment support providers and the disability movement.

The relative absence of disabled people in the labour market, particularly in its most valued arenas, means that their ability to alter it in their interests is severely compromised. Access to work and the material security it brings in our society are closely linked to one's social and political status, without which one's ability to affect change in one's interests is largely lost. A strategy such as supported employment which insists on the direct and supported participation of disabled people in the labour market, has a great deal of potential for

significantly altering the participation rate of disabled people in the work force. The potential is then increased for structurally altering the labour market and employment settings in their interests. It is therefore essential that supported employment demonstrates its relevance to all disabled people and connects effectively with the disability movement. The link between the importance of work and the political as well as economic status of disabled people cannot be overemphasised:

... in a society whose central activities are production and consumption, those who cannot participate in the marketplace are marginalised ... employment is fundamental - for social participation, personal satisfaction and access to goods, services, opportunities and experiences that are available in an affluent society (Halliday, 1992:10).

The marginalisation that comes with unemployment severely undermines disabled people's opportunities to engage with and change those structural conditions (such as the nature of the labour market) that cause a lack of social, political and economic participation in their communities. Thus access to the work force is not just the key to altering material conditions, but is crucial in expanding the participation of disabled people in work and subsequently influencing other policies and structures in their interests.

Besides its importance in terms of economic condition, work is the basis of social and political status. Work is where many social relationships are formed and social status established. Without the opportunity of working, integration into society is limited ... Since economic and political status are intimately connected, the lowered economic status of disabled people also erodes their political status. Our society values the efficiency, productivity and economic usefulness of human beings. Disabled people who are not performing work-linked economic roles are marginalised and their input into the political debate is consequently devalued (Jongbloed and Crichton, 1990:33).

Supported employment is clearly underpinned by a model of disability that sits on the border between interpretive and political perspectives on disability. It challenges the relevance of classifying people according to individual deficits, it asserts the right and need of all disabled people to have the opportunity to participate and be included in a nation's work force and to be rewarded in the same way as others for their contributions. In doing so it challenges our understanding of productivity and the meaning of employment. If work is to be central to our economic participation in society then we must have a way of organising and structuring work that is inclusive, that provides opportunities

for everyone to participate. Such developments are unlikely to occur unless disabled people are directly participating, or attempting to participate, *as* disabled people, rather than being excluded until a vocational rehabilitation professional deems that they are ready. The relevance and power of supported employment is its insistence on direct entry and ongoing support. In doing so the focus shifts from asking what people need to acquire before they can be eligible for work to asking what support and environmental changes need to occur in order for them to make their contribution in the workplace now.

The support and environmental changes that supported employment requires strikes at the very heart of our understanding of notions such as productivity and employability. Supported employment challenges us to redefine, or at the very least expand, what we mean by work, its contribution and importance to the individual and how we recognise and measure the participation of those that have never been included before. Attempting to resolve these questions within the framework of a competitive and largely deregulated labour market is problematic, precisely because it is structured to exclude those who do not measure up to able-bodied normality. Answers may lie not just in labour market intervention, but in redefining some of the roles and responsibilities of the labour market for those that have not been previously included.

To date, supported employment has regarded the labour market as sacrosanct, as an unalterable truth. Its limited success in including those with the most severe disabilities (Wehman, 1994) may have less to do with the minimal implementation of best practice than with the need for a reassessment of what we mean by the labour market, integration and productivity. Without such scrutiny, practitioners of supported employment will always be drawing a line somewhere regarding who can and cannot be served, because acceptance of the labour market as it is limits our understanding of work. Supported employment must therefore seek to redefine the notion of work and productivity if our labour market is to somehow include those people for whom it currently has no means of defining in these terms. Work, in whatever shape or form it may take, is somehow central to being human. If we attempt to draw a line and say that some should not or cannot participate in work then we undermine the essential humanity of those people. We may have difficulty in understanding how some might participate and how that participation might be recognised, but the important message of supported employment is not to

draw a line in the first place. Supported employment must challenge and overcome the line that has already been drawn by a competitive labour market.

Gold (1980) attempted to redefine, in sociological terms, what is meant by “mental retardation”. Although framed in behaviourist language his definition has implications for both disability generally and the labour market because he argued for a shift in power and a shift in how we define our economic and social relationships. He was suggesting that we do not draw a line:

Mental retardation (disability) refers to a level of functioning which requires from society significantly above average training procedures and superior assets in adaptive behaviour (equitable access) on the part of society, manifested throughout the life of both the society and the individual (ongoing support) Gold, 1980:148, Words in brackets added).

Supported employment first needs to explicitly align itself with those policy positions that structurally alter and intervene in the labour market in disabled people’s interests. It then needs to go even further and incorporate strategies that promote and extend these policies. Instead it has focused on assisting a small group of people labelled severely disabled into the very margins of the labour market, into entry level casualised jobs where wages are low and the jobs are the first casualties of frequent labour market contractions. It has demonstrated its validity and power to alter the workplace in the interests of disabled people in this context. The expansion of supported employment and its more widespread implementation will now depend on its ability to shift from the margins of the work force to arguing for more fundamental change in the labour market, the adoption of supported employment principles throughout vocational rehabilitation and in employment policy, and an ability to connect with and be supported by the wider disability community.

These issues raise the possibility that supported employment may have the potential for moving beyond workplace assimilation towards redefining and transforming aspects of the labour market that prescribe where, how and with whom disabled people work. The implementation of public policy that intervenes in the labour market implies increased public expenditure, which is unlikely in an era when the state is constantly seeking ways of minimising such intervention. The more widespread implementation of supported employment, utilising a shift in existing vocational rehabilitation and job placement expenditure (from readiness training to placement and support) is more likely to hold appeal. Such a shift can only occur if the relevance of supported

employment is grasped by the wider disability movement and those involved in the development of policy. If expenditure on conventional strategies is producing poor outcomes, then supported employment must demonstrate its superiority in these terms, and not just for those labelled severely disabled, but for all disabled people seeking the opportunity to participate in the work force. By implication, supported employment must articulate and be explicit about its position on and relationship with a competitive labour market.

Conclusions

The participants in this study had deeply felt concerns about the way employment support services operate. Although they acknowledged the importance of some changes they had serious misgivings about the ability of employment support services to solve the crisis of unemployment amongst disabled people.

The word “crisis” is used quite deliberately here in terms of critical theory (Fay, 1987). The contributions of the participants in this study included their widespread knowledge and involvement with many other disabled people, their collective perception of the fundamental changes needed and their convictions that they needed to be at the centre of these changes. Collectively, these factors suggest very strongly that there is a potential threat to the apparent status quo around the issue of employment for disabled people. An emerging crisis is being hastened by the growing awareness that employment support services, rather than solving the problem of unemployment, may be contributing to the problem and even maintaining unemployment at certain levels.

The perceptions of the participants in this study revealed a yawning gulf between what actually happens when one uses employment support services and what should happen from a user’s perspective. It is this user perspective that does not appear to be taken seriously enough, either by providers of employment support services or by the developers of public policy in this arena.

The notion of “support” was clarified by study participants and was a concept repeatedly used to explain the lack of an active and ongoing relationship on the

part of employment support services. Participants wanted this relationship to be respectful and empowering rather than patronising and dismissive. Employment support services find it difficult to respond effectively to these demands. Participants wanted an employment support service as an ally and source of advocacy, not as another obstacle or barrier to employment.

Consumer "sovereignty" was frequently regarded as the solution to the enormous differences in the positions of power between providers and consumers. As well as wanting to be at the centre of decision making as users of services, participants also voiced a strong desire to control the delivery of services and the development of relevant public policies. The situation that currently exists whereby mostly non-disabled people are controlling services and policies needs to be turned on its head, in the view of the participants in this study. These changes may be the ultimate answer to improving the consumer involvement and thereby competence of provider organisations.

Participants revealed that training was an issue that was proving to be a double edged sword. Sometimes access to the right training is crucial to enhancing employment prospects and achieving employment related goals. At other times the insistence by many employment support providers for further training creates a treadmill whereby endless participation in training becomes itself a barrier to employment, particularly for those with more severe disabilities and complex needs. This predilection of employment support providers for training is related to the reported absence of active support that was clearly focused on employment and "making it happen".

Inevitably participants expressed the need for fundamental changes to the way employment support services are provided and for the policies that determine the organisation of services. Policy development, in their view, needs to be brought in from the margins of welfare and placed at centre stage, in the same arena as employment policy for all other New Zealanders. In a similar vein, while Workbridge (as the only cross-disability placement organisation with national coverage) was seen as an important and positive development, it too needed to be "integrated" with the public national job placement agency that everyone else uses - the New Zealand Employment Service (NZES).

Following an analysis of participants' perspectives on the need for changes the possible contributions of supported employment were explored. While

participants had not used supported employment services their comments were frequently consistent with values and practices that supported employment attempts to represent. The comments of participants with regard to the widespread reform of current employment support services was examined in the context of supported employment. This discussion revealed a need for the concept to develop a more explicitly critical stance towards the disabling nature of the current labour market in New Zealand and towards the employment support services system. Supported employment was consequently found to require substantial development as a concept and in practice if it is to respond more adequately to the agenda that its proponents have set.

The important message from participants was not only in the detail of the changes in employment support services they saw as being necessary, but in their desire to be both the architects and builders of these changes. For many participants there was an alternative vision emerging which saw disabled people as the central players in transforming the way that society responds to their employment aspirations. If supported employment is to make a contribution in this context then it has yet to "connect" with disabled people.

How this connection might be developed is explored in chapter ten. Prior to this however, the perspectives of participants on the current and potential future role of disabled people in bringing about the necessary changes are explored.

CHAPTER NINE

THE EXPERIENCES AND PERSPECTIVES OF DISABLED PEOPLE

Part Three: The Role of Disabled People in Changing Employment Support Services

Introduction

This chapter explores the third element of the analytical schema which relates to disabled people's experiences and views about their participation in changing employment support services. In part one (chapter seven) it was revealed that there was a degree of frustration and marginalisation around the use of these services that constituted the experience of oppression (Fay, 1987; Abberley, 1987). This oppression was constructed and maintained by the traditional and powerful position of service providers and their adherence to disability perspectives that individualised and medicalised the "problem". Part two (chapter eight) demonstrated that the participants in this study had largely rejected traditional disability perspectives and identified changes that, if implemented, would radically alter the organisation of services and place disabled people "in the driver's seat" of policy development, management and delivery of services. Part three will now explore the extent to which this analysis has been politicised and converted into organised action by disabled people and directed at achieving these changes.

Four major themes emerged with regard to participants' perceptions about the role of disabled people in bringing about changes to employment support services. The first of these are the personal stories of being involved in bringing about change, either on their own or as part of a group. The second theme revolves around the challenges and difficulties involved when disabled people try to bring about change. The third theme, although related to the second, is specifically in reference to issues with what is referred to as the "disability movement". The fourth and final theme involves issues raised around "the language of disability". Discussions with participants about the issue of language shed further light on perceptions about the nature of disability, how problems are defined and how these should be solved.

As in parts one and two the interviews focused on an exploration of specific issues that had emerged from policy and theoretical analysis. A critical perspective on disability is concerned with a political agenda aimed at transforming aspects of disabled people's lives. The actual presence of, or potential for, political analysis for action (Barndt, 1989) was deliberately canvassed. The interviews revealed important knowledge about personal involvement in change, the challenges and difficulties involved for disabled people in the change process, the disability movement and the language of disability.

Inevitably, discussion in these areas frequently went well beyond the scope of employment support services. Nevertheless, the role of disabled people in bringing about change needs to be seen in this wider context. Employment support services are but one of many interconnected "arenas for change" that engage disabled people in attempts to improve and reconstruct their circumstances.

Personal Involvement in Change

The personal experiences of many participants revealed a group that were active participants in their own emancipation rather than the passive victims of oppression (Oliver, 1990)¹. The thoughts and views that unfold in the following sections also showed a sense of frustration about the lack of more widespread activism and the problems of building a disability movement that is made up of a very diverse group of people with strongly felt sectional interests. These interests are the product of different histories that are often specific to different types of impairments and, have historically made collective action across the disability community difficult (Shakespeare, 1993).

The majority of participants in this study were involved in disability rights issues. Many were actively involved in DPA (The Assembly of People With Disabilities), the nationally networked organisation that serves as an umbrella group for promoting disability rights and related issues in New Zealand. In addition many were working in the "disability sector", as front line support staff, in policy and in training roles. Some were also active at Board level in

¹ However, it is important to note that this is not a 'typical' group of disabled people and they are probably only representative of a small vanguard of activists.

organisations. Outside these roles participants also demonstrated a willingness to get involved. Sara Lee, for example, frequently wrote to newspapers and politicians about inappropriate use of language because she felt “passionately” about this. William clearly saw himself on a life long mission:

My aim is to prove to non-disabled people they are wrong about us ... it is not us that is disabled, They are disabled, not us.

William felt strongly about personal involvement in creating change:

Self advocacy is about how to make a noise...because when you're disabled you are not supposed to make a noise ... I wasn't getting paid until I made a noise about it and got the manager ... and then they had no choice.

Sara Lee was not very involved with disability issues until after she became employed which in itself seemed to have a politicising effect:

Getting a job is empowering and enlightening because you suddenly realise what you've been missing out on and why shouldn't all disabled people experience this like me.

For others participating in collective action had been an empowering experience. Brian got involved in such a situation when he made a formal complaint about an agency manager, received an unsatisfactory response and then went to DPA to see if others were having similar problems:

People did come out of the woodwork as soon as my own circle of friends knew that I was having problems and that I was doing something about it and anecdotes came to me. It was a great buzz to me actually as a consumer rights issue really, and I remember that we met with the person in question and his supervisor and his CEO and finding that fairly soon after he'd been dismissed ... the issue wasn't so much that the agency wasn't finding me a job, the issue was the quality of the service and the attitude of the individual concerned. And I still remain quite surprised at the degree to which there was dissatisfaction ... I really thought people were happy just to accept what they were given and that one demonstrated to me that they were not.

The sense of achievement that comes from successful collective action was echoed by Peter when he and his co-workers in a sheltered workshop “won” a pay increase:

And in the end he (the manager) said 'you guys know how to shoot from the hip', and then he walked out the door. He couldn't face us after that ... everyone was over the moon I reckon ... see we got somewhere ... won over, won the case.

Derek described a piece of collective action in which a group of consumers took over an agency through the democratic process at an AGM, but emphasised the incredible amount of planning and hard work "behind the scenes" that had been necessary. Derek believed strongly that disabled people have yet to appreciate the time and energy required to achieve successful collective action.

For Sally there was no choice about being involved in change and she echoed the sentiments of many who regarded themselves as activists:

*If I didn't think I could change the world I wouldn't want to be involved ...
If you're not counted, you're discounted.*

The empowering impact of participating in collective action, as opposed to "going it alone" was a significant factor in the development of people's political awareness. However as Derek observed, getting organised for action was a difficult and time consuming endeavour. In addition, there is a heavy emphasis among both providers and consumers of services on the notion of self-advocacy. This emphasis may well be at the expense of collective action, in that encouraging people to "stand-up for your rights" as a single individual assumes that people are able to do so from a position of strength and with the resources and knowledge to exercise one's rights. In a world where the power, knowledge and resources are held by others, the mutual support, collective analysis and action of a group are likely to be far more empowering and effective (Barndt, 1989). The notion of self-advocacy can also flourish in such a context. As Peter emphasised it was the fact that "we got somewhere" that was the source of celebration in winning a pay dispute.

Critical theory rests on the assumption that action without analysis is meaningless (Freire, 1981). One of the conditions necessary for this critical praxis (Freire, 1981) to develop is a coming together of people who share similar experiences in terms of their oppression (Fay, 1987), so that a collective consciousness can develop. The merits of collective versus individual action had already been confirmed by the experiences of some participants in this study.

The Challenges and Difficulties

A critical perspective on disability (Abberley 1987; Oliver and Zarb, 1989) reminds us of the practical difficulties that disabled people must confront in their quest for control over their lives and over the support services they need to use. Poverty, lack of accessible information, lack of mobility and philosophies like normalisation (Wolfensberger, 1972) that are suspicious of disabled people coming together in groups, all conspire to make collective action difficult. The creation of disability as dependency (Barton, 1989) maintains disabled people as passive recipients of services. When these roles are challenged the problem is still individualised. Activists are "trouble makers", "problem clients" "resistive" and have "challenging behaviour". Attempts to respond to demands for consumer involvement are frequently reduced to tokenism and, in the case of the VOSP² programme for example, fail to account for power relations that favour providers over users (Barnes, 1990).

Creating opportunities for disabled people to manage employment support services was seen by several participants in this study as an essential prerequisite for fundamental change to proceed. William took this further by suggesting that disabled people should also play a key role in the design and provision of training for staff and paid caregivers. In addition Jim, Albert, Brian, Guy and Derek, were all adamant that disabled people should have a central and formally recognised role in the monitoring and evaluation of services. In this sense participants felt that those who are oppressed and marginalised by services should be fully involved in, and in fact, lead the transformation of those services (Fay, 1987).

Consumer involvement and empowerment thus embraces all aspects of services: policy and design, management and governance, programme delivery and evaluation, as well as enhancing the status of user (Drake, 1994). However these participants were also quick to point out the barriers, limitations and contradictions involved with such multiple aspirations.

Brian acknowledged that having disabled people "*really running organisations really helps*", but once employed in such circumstances there are new pressures to deal with. As an employee with a disability organisation Brian felt he had to modify his approach to creating change:

² The Vocational Opportunities Support Programme - refer to chapter four page 80.

I can't be the activist and confrontationalist like I used to be, I'd still like to be, and perhaps I've sold out, I don't know, because now I'm on the inside, but all I can do is say to people that when you're on the inside your battles are a little different.

Brian cited as an example the contradiction that many disability and job placement agencies advocate with mainstream employers about changes, which they themselves are reluctant to make in relation to issues like EEO and job restructuring:

you automatically have two hats because you are potentially another consumer or customer of that agency's services...as well as having the hat of being the representative of that agency.

Consequently Brian was "stuck in the middle" and held up as an example of consumer empowerment and successful EEO policies by the agency, yet he felt that the organisation was still profoundly disempowering with the consumers whom he was trying to support and advocate for as an employee of the agency. Brian elaborated:

When you complain about your agency or employer the response is often 'why should you be any different than anyone else ... it's this level playing field thing ... and if you maintain that people with disabilities have diverse needs which are not easily understood you run the risk of being labelled as feeling sorry for yourself ... and I tend to believe that if you value humanity, you value our diversity and our structures need to be opened to that diversity.

Brian therefore emphasised the need for disabled people to be employed throughout the organisation not just in front line positions or just in management. He also saw the danger of disabled people in senior management being "colonised" by a discriminating work culture and losing touch with consumers and staff with disabilities:

... they become insulated from the wider experience of people with disabilities ... they forget what it's like not to have a job, information or resources.

Guy expressed similar views:

I think we've got to be in there, running those organisations ... because they can only be really accountable if we are the people determining how they can be accountable and what the needs are. But I don't think that means only exclusively people with disabilities, I'm not a separatist.

Guy made the point that not every disabled person wants a career in the human services but:

... if there is a specific focus on making a difference for people with disabilities then it's got to be controlled by people with disabilities.

Just having people with disabilities on the board or having a majority interest does not, by itself, solve the problem. There are clearly costs and benefits to becoming involved in change for those individuals who join service providers as employees. Guy went on to explore in some detail the deeper or hidden power imbalances that are historical and that operate in the daily lives of disabled people to work against the possibility of bringing about change (Barton, 1989). He used DPA as an example of an organisation which, constitutionally at least, gives equal power to consumers and service providers, but he then went on to talk about disability services and organisations in general:

There's a conservatism about the fact that we're so dependent on services that we can't when it comes down to changing them, they've got to be on our side because we can't challenge them. So we have to believe they're on our side ... in terms of power and the relationships of power things are still I think flawed ...

When you think about people who have been institutionalised, people who are very vulnerable, people who have relied for their very life on non disabled people, then to say look, you know we've got to start challenging these people for whom we've relied for our life on, very scary stuff.

Guy gave some examples:

*... if I'm going on about this (complaining) and someone says 'well as punishment for speaking out you're going to be done out of food for a day', you know I might reconsider my views you know.
and ...*

When you have to rely on someone to do your trousers up ... and then you go into an argument with that person ... then the tone of the argument is going to be mediated by the fact that I have to ask that person to do my trousers up.

Derek further illustrated the dependency creating that occurs in the relationship disabled people have with services and how this reduces the likelihood of taking the initiative to challenge their situation:

They're so used to being spoon fed everything, the idea of doing it for yourself is quite a new concept and I don't mean that in a patronising way. I think it's just that people have got so wrapped up in that, well it's been done for us all our lives, we've been fed in the wrong directions.

William also emphasised the different agendas providers might have when he referred to the fact that:

... change is difficult when providers are trying to protect their reputations.

As Guy suggests:

...it comes back to a position of who's controlling who and who are you (services) accountable to.

Recent moves by service providers to enable participation at board level in their organisations (Drake, 1994), were viewed by many participants with scepticism. Derek, for example, was concerned about tokenism:

People will patronise you and put up with you being there, but it really annoys me because there's a whole process there that all this change that's supposed to be going on within New Zealand about getting consumers onto Boards, doing client satisfaction surveys ... they're using people with disabilities that haven't got the skills on those boards ... and they're coming up with the same results they used to come up with ... very much a token.

A further difficulty that disabled people face in bringing about change on their own behalf is the strong desire to "pass" (Goffman 1963) as a non-disabled person. Sara Lee explained:

Like seven years ago, before I got my job, if you said to me 'Sara Lee why don't you work with people with disabilities' I would have said get stuffed because back then I wanted to be treated like a person without a disability, but my attitudes have changed.

For Sara Lee, the change was partly a result of the prejudice she experienced in attempting to gain entry to the workforce. This experience caused her to re-

examine her strategies and assert her rights as a disabled person. Sally commented on another dimension on this issue of identity:

And for some people who have been born with disabilities they haven't got where they've got by having a disability, they've got there by denying it, by suppressing it, by pretending they haven't got it.

In this way their skills and knowledge are lost to the process of change, but also as Sally emphasised, their solidarity with other disabled people also dissipates, even if their success has been due in part, or at least initially, to support services:

... the people who are advantaged, and they're often male, saying 'well bugger you I've made it, I'm going to be a successful person out there in the big world and bugger the rest of you crips, I don't want to have a bar of you, you'll just drag me down, and that's the disability equivalent of the queen bee.

Derek had this observation to make on the issue:

If we can't accept ourselves (as people with disabilities) how can we expect the public to accept us?

Several participants believed that it was important for those in successful and influential positions to identify closely with their disability and to take on the responsibility of being a role model to others as well as to share their experiences. Furthermore, it was believed that these individuals had an obligation to support and encourage others and to be a source of inspiration. Parallels can be drawn here with the idea of the gay pride movement.

Guy explained, however, that there is also a down side to highlighting the success of individuals. He observed how the system enabled some people with disabilities to succeed, implying that everyone else can too, if only they would try harder. In this way the current system is validated and systemic and structural barriers are ignored or minimised. For Brian, being identified as an example of "success" created some real compromises in terms of his own activism. Clearly, the needs and aspirations of disabled people and those of disability services are not always the same and Brian was, in many ways, caught between these different agendas - loyalty to the organisation and loyalty to service users.

Those who rely on services on a daily basis, particularly for areas like attendant care and mobility, face considerable dilemmas if they are going to engage in activities that challenge those services. This reinforces the need for collective versus individual action. Just as individual staff, paid care givers and providers can seek protection from professional and organisational associations, it is crucial that service users are able to secure support, advocacy and protection from groups and organisations that they trust and that represent their interests. The reluctance to challenge those services that provide essential support stems from more than the cycle of dependency (Barton, 1989) maintained by providers and professionals. A further factor is the powerlessness that comes from being isolated as an individual service user who has individual needs and therefore little or nothing in common with other users of the same service, or with people who have different impairments.

For those not caught in the oppression and powerlessness that goes with being dependent on services (Oliver, 1991; Daley, 1991) there appears to be a burden of responsibility to support and encourage the efforts of other disabled people. This involves maintaining links with the struggles in which other disabled people are engaged and resisting the temptation to be co-opted by providers and employers as their token contribution to disability equality. However doing so may compromise one's obligations to employers and providers and thus threaten the status that has been achieved.

The challenges and difficulties associated with getting involved with change appear to be the product of a broader problem concerning the disability movement in New Zealand. The idea of a "disability movement" implies that disabled people are organised in some way with a collective analysis and a plan for action across a number of fronts or issues. The reality may be quite different, as the comments of participants suggested, something far less organised and more random and therefore vulnerable to the organised subversion of those who exercise power over disabled people.

The Disability Movement and Change

The development of a disability movement that can develop as a political force for change in disabled people's interests holds great hope for many activists. Oliver (1990) is confident that it is within such a social movement that disabled

people can develop the collective analysis, vision and action to overcome oppression and marginalisation. While the disability movement is reported to be emerging as a political force to be reckoned with in some countries, these reports usually come from those in leadership positions within the movement. The comments of participants in this study suggested that the view "from below" may be quite different. As a result the following section presents considerable detail with regard to the extent and depth of analysis offered by participants.

The focus of the disability movement in New Zealand is The Assembly of People with Disabilities or DPA, an acronym which was kept after a recent name change from the Disabled Persons Assembly.³ DPA has been able to build a significant relationship with the State and, as commentators have observed in such instances, the emergence of a more radical agenda for change has been difficult to develop (Drake, 1994; Shakespeare, 1993). As a consequence, discussions with participants in this study about the current status and future development of the disability movement as a vehicle for change, frequently became an assessment of the performance of DPA. Although most of the participants in this study are involved in DPA to varying degrees, there was a general view that it lacked the leadership and political maturity to be an effective agent of social change. There were a variety of views on why this was the case.

For Guy it was due to largely overlooked compromises and the powerlessness that ultimately comes with having a dependent relationship with services:

... an historic compromise because in the end we were afraid to go that full journey to our own organisation, we still actually were quite dependent ... and it's not to say that services (in DPA) don't have a part, but it's a question of what relationship ... it's ultimately a controlling relationship because of the wider context in which people with disabilities live, which is we're dependent on services ... because at the moment you've got people with supposedly an equal vote, but then on the other hand they're the people (services) who make decisions about the daily lives of people with disabilities ... so there's an imbalance already and people don't recognise that imbalance ... ultimately they (services) have an interest that is separate.

³ DPA was formed in 1981 as a coalition of the Rehabilitation Association, Disabled Peoples International and providers of disability services. At the time these providers were, and continue to be, the larger 'voluntary' charities.

Sally commented in a similar vein:

I find the passivity and apathy in the disability community very frustrating...I know why it's there, it's there because their minds have been colonised, it's there because they're too vulnerable, I mean it's all very well for me to stand up and rant and rave, I'm not going to have my services cut off if I'm unpleasant.

The use of the term "colonised" acknowledges the presence of false consciousness (Fay, 1987) and the hegemonic influences of dominant ideologies (Femia, 1981). Sally believes it is very important that people who are not in positions of powerlessness speak out. She went on to cite a lack of resources (in the sense of knowledge, skills and expertise rather than financial) as another reason for the disability community not being political. She commented on the contrast with the relative success of the ACC Consumers Network (a consumer based lobby group) in which disabled people could draw on views of themselves and the expertise and resources they had prior to their accidents:

... and so they are able to take action on the basis of their previous lives ... a lot of people in other groups have been disabled since birth and therefore they're part of a ghetto.

For Sally this "ghetto" has produced a lack of information, expertise and expectation. The result she said is a disability rights movement that is compromised by:

A lack of education and information, often they cannot see the big picture ... the lack of analysis, of understanding the issues, the lack of preparedness to sit down and work at the issues in an appropriate way ... partly it's isolation ... hard to get hold of material ... a lack of intellectual curiosity and I think that's been fostered by a lack of education and by low expectations.

Others echoed Sally's views and emphasised the need to develop "awareness" and "analysis" that was a reflection of their own realities, not that prescribed by others. As Guy explained:

We've got to have resources to be able to train an increasing number of people in disability awareness and consciousness, what are the issues and get people into some of those key areas ... it's already happened to some extent, but I think at the moment we get coopted, we get coopted and sort of sucked into and become part of the machine in a way.

Guy talked of the “disability boys regime” and the issue of how to keep people with disabilities in key positions honest, or alive in terms of structural change; how we go about preventing them from being colonised by the state bureaucracy. This was similar to Sally's comments about the “disability queen bee” referred to earlier.

The subject of resources to develop what is essentially "training for analysis" (Freire, 1981) was also raised by Derek who saw the need to develop training that is practical, relevant and empowering. He was concerned that pieces of social action are either failing or not happening because people try and skip the process:

... people see the end result and want to mirror that end result without going through the processes of having people complain, writing, doing the everyday things ... if we can change the organisations (providers), start upskilling people with disabilities so that they are thinking more clearly and being able to methodically work through the processes.

Derek related these comments to his concerns about DPA:

Instead of getting in and doing research and coming up with practical solutions, they're just looking at dealing with the policy of Government. The Government's setting the direction for us instead of us setting the direction for Government ... DPA feel really proud of themselves because they meet with the Minister every week or month, but they don't see that its a con. It's the Minister that setting that up for them and it keeps them in the Minister's back pocket ... I don't believe we have an effective political organisation in New Zealand, I really don't.

Derek believed there were not enough disabled people involved in the movement who had been on the "receiving end" of services in a significant enough way to understand what it was like to be a consumer. Hence they were reluctant to “get political” or take on the “real issues”. For Derek the central issue was quite simply:

that our environment sucks, that the way people treat us sucks.

Brian summarised the disability movement and DPA as:

“not politically able, not very reflective and too small” and he felt DPA's association with the “corporates” (members who are service providers) hinders

its ability to take on an “objective consumer driven stance, particularly when a corporate is being scrutinised or criticised.” These comments from Derek and Brian confirmed what Guy referred to as:

A real tension between the two wings if you like, between people who want to write to your MP and lobby and do all those nice respectable things, and people who are quite prepared to go out and sort of wave banners and get arrested and all that kind of stuff.

This tension combines with the tendency for leadership to be coopted and the voice of protest to be muted, as Derek maintained:

... a lot of the people that were originally loud and outspoken people have now got jobs and have got to shut up basically, or they're working on policy and the people who are left ... they can speak loudly, but don't make sense when they do.

Derek added that he was concerned that DPA was not “putting energy into bringing on the next generation of activists” and Sally agreed that the current leadership was not dynamic enough to foster new leadership:

I don't think self help groups identify young people and support them through and help them.

The absence of alliances with other marginalised groups was also a worry for some participants as Sally noted:

I think that self help groups in the disability area sometimes don't learn from other groups or join forces with other groups or don't seek support from other groups ... I think it's really important, I mean we're all in this crap together, whether you've got a disability or whatever.

The difficulties with the development of the disability movement go further than the politics of protest, as they are also rooted in the realities of living with a disability in a disabling society, as Brian explained:

It's the energy that the disability consumes and so you end up with a paradox that those people with disabilities who become spokespeople, publicly acknowledged as being experts, may not be truly representative.

As a result those people who are most likely to use and be dependent on services, whose experiences are most reflective of the marginalisation and

oppression of disabled people, are also those people whose voices are most likely to go unheard. Julia's situation provides an example. She would really like to get involved in a local self-advocacy group, but the lack of affordable and accessible public transport made it almost impossible to get to meetings.

Those who are seen to “represent” disabled people’s interests may have little connection with the vulnerabilities, poverty, and isolation of the majority who use services. Sally issued a challenge to organisations that regard themselves as of and by disabled people:

To do whatever they need to do to be politically active ... I believe very strongly in being politically active in a wide range of things ... I think that the organisations should be a lot more politically active than they are.

Brian also spoke of an intensely personal commitment to harnessing the energy created by dissatisfaction:

You’ve got to take that energy instead of using it for a wingeing type exercise, turn it into something constructive, and that does actually mean, from my experience, being consistently determined, that what I believe is right, not just for me, but for others who are alongside or who are still to come.

Brian believed that disabled people should seize the opportunities provided by the new political system (MMP)⁴ and

... get involved in political parties, policy formulation, attending party conferences, hassling electorate chairmen and generally becoming involved.

Guy’s approach to change and the role of the disability movement was also motivated by a deep sense of personal involvement and a strong belief in the need for “fundamental change”:

I’m talking about fundamental change, so what I do in terms of my own personal way of working is to fight for every reform and strengthen every reform we can, but also be aware that reforms always await repeal. You know until there is something fundamental about the way in which society works which guarantees as much as possible that those reforms become the dominant values and that they become the central motivating and driving force for why we do things. So I can agree with lots of people on the reforms, but I think I part company with lots of people about the need for fundamental transformation, and time will tell who is actually right on that one...

⁴ New Zealand's new electoral system: Mixed Member Proportional representation.

Guy gave an example:

... the financial costs of a truly accessible environment may be huge and this financial barrier will remain until we as a society decide to do something fundamentally different with the economic surplus ... all that technology that lies there, available, potentially liberating people, which can't be accessed because the money is not there.

Several participants suggested that disabled people need to become more formally involved in the monitoring and evaluation of services, either on a professional basis or in a role that is intrinsic to self-help groups and the disability movement. There appear to be some real constraints to overcome if this is to be a more widely accepted role. As Sally pointed out groups of disabled people struggle to compete for funding with more established disability service providers. Jim, for example, had been an unpaid advocate and monitor of services for several years and was only now arriving at the possibility of paid employment for this work.

Although there is a network of approximately 15 disability resource and information centres around the country (funded as such), the possibilities for these to be a focus for the development of self-help groups and disability "activism" appears to be largely overlooked. As Sally said:

... they could actually be really empowering ... I don't think there is a clear philosophy.

These centres are equally accountable to providers and consumers and direct their services at both. Many are actually run by non-disabled people. Nevertheless they remain as potential "sites" (supported by public funds) for the location and development of disability activism. The State's funding of disability "information and awareness" could be translated into "political analysis for action" given a vehicle or process of "conscientisation" (Freire, 1981) in the context offered by these potential "sites".

Guy also emphasised however, that activities like the monitoring and evaluation of services require a level of sophistication and sense of power that are largely undeveloped:

One of the difficulties in this is you're talking about a fairly thin layer of disabled people who have actually managed to break through to a point where they would be in a position to do that ...

...because if you have been entirely dominated by services and someone says 'hey look you go along and get into monitoring those services you're bound to still feel reliant on.

The recent amendments to the Human Rights Act (1993) to include disability as grounds for discrimination were seen by many participants as a significant development. Several participants saw it as not being strong enough however, particularly the clause exempting Government from many provisions until 1998. There also appeared to be a degree of hesitation and scepticism about using the provisions of the Act by laying a complaint, although this may simply reflect the fact that it is recent legislation.

In 1994 a visit by three disability activists from the USA challenged the disability movement in New Zealand for failing to use the new legislation, and initiated highly publicised exposure of Wellington's inaccessible public transport. This exposure then led to a complaint to the Human Rights Commission and a highly visible campaign which has included some street level activism.

It is unlikely the campaign would have developed without the catalyst of the Americans' visit which proved important in initiating a more activist approach to bringing about change on the part of disabled people in New Zealand. For the group involved in what has become known as the "accessible bus campaign"⁵ it is unlikely that this will be the last piece of social action they become involved with, as a group or as individuals. This kind of activity can reinforce the emancipatory power of participation in struggle and the educative process of analysis that is the product of reflecting on action (Freire, 1981). It is the action itself that produces the connection between theory and practice. As one of the participants in this study reported, it is interesting that DPA, traditionally the group in New Zealand that advocates for the rights of disabled people, did not initially want to lay a complaint about inaccessible public transport, but advocated "more research on the issue."

The annual 'disability pride month' has been another, albeit low key attempt, at disability awareness in New Zealand. Intended as a national celebration of diversity and disability pride it does not go far enough for some participants,

⁵ The accessible bus campaign developed from the first formal complaint about disability discrimination under the 1993 amendments to the Human Rights Act.

while for others there was a perception that it could "backfire". Sara Lee believed that Disability Pride Month should be:

A real big celebration, so that we're really seen, and really heard, and really sort of just out there. It's like I'm really interested in getting involved with drama ... I've got all these dreams. Like my real dream is to get a part on Shortland Street ... there's no real people with disabilities (on Shortland Street) and it's like the only time you see people with disabilities in advertising is on CCS ads ... it's like we can consume shampoo and soap and tampax and whatever so why shouldn't we be advertising it as well ... a very big approach. A real exposure like you know we can do this, we can do that, don't play with us. We're there.

Brian offered a contrasting view:

So Disability Pride is an effort to raise the public consciousness of what people with disabilities can do, but I wonder if it abdicates some of society's responsibilities. It's very easy to say 'hey well you know look aren't they wonderful' when there might be nine other others similarly disabled and, for whatever reason, are not achieving.

Thus people are encouraged, and seen by the public, to overcome their disabilities with institutionalised discrimination and structural barriers going unchallenged.

The subject of a Ministry for Disability arose on several occasions with many wanting to see a Minister of Disability (in Cabinet) and a disability policy department much like that of the Ministry of Women's Affairs. However others did not share this view and saw in it the danger of "ghettoising disability policy" with government still able to convince everyone that it is doing well, simply by virtue of having a specific ministry. Having more people doing more work on disability policy across a range of departments was seen as more preferable to a Ministry (by some). Sally explained:

You see for women it's a bit different, women make up half the population and you know there's a lot more impetus out there to keep them honest. It's a different dynamic for people with disabilities, there's a lot of people out there controlling us, telling us what to do, and organising our lives and setting our agendas and living off us really.

It is important not to understate the control that is exercised over disabled people through the service system, founded as it is by medicalised and individualised perspectives on what constitutes the disability problem (Oliver,

1991). The result of this medicalisation has been to categorise and separate people according to their impairments. This not only makes bringing together the whole disability constituency extremely problematic, but diminishes the possibility of their identifying with a common set of experiences, despite the differences in impairments. The challenge of the disability movement is to acknowledge these differences and to develop a group identity around those experiences that are common to all people with impairments. However, as Shakespeare (1993) observes:

Disability is less a unitary concept than race and gender: the experiences of people with visual impairment, restricted growth or spinal injury will differ markedly, and factors such as the onset of the condition will also influence the experience, as well as the obvious dimensions of race, class and gender. It is important not to ignore differences between impairment, despite the tendency of writers to gloss over difference in favour of the totalising and unifying role of oppression (Shakespeare's, 1993:225).

Valuing the different experiences that differing impairments produce is an important element in recognising that the disability movement will be made up of a multiplicity of struggles. Within these struggles the movement must also discover an identity that will effectively bring the threads together in a way that is not contradictory and divisive, but liberating for the majority of disabled people. Derek emphasised "that we're all in this crap together". The "crap" is the experience of disability that has a commonality no matter what impairment one lives with in a disabling society. Discovering and communicating this commonality, and forging a group identity are the critical tasks facing the disability movement.

The crucial issue regarding identity is the process whereby individual people with impairment come to recognise themselves as disabled, focusing on the social oppression which is basic to that condition. People are socialised into particular ways of viewing disability, which are based on individualised and medicalised attitudes. Disability is widely seen as individual medical tragedy, by disabled people as much as by non-disabled people (Shakespeare, 1993:255).

Sally spoke of the "colonisation" of disabled people's minds which makes it very difficult to escape the cycles of dependency created by services and professionals and see things differently. For people to develop alternative perspectives they must have more than exposure to the intellectualising of academics, even if they are disabled. They must have the opportunity to participate in collective analysis and action. Group consciousness and identity

needs to develop in the context of political and collective action (Barndt, 1989). The frustrations being expressed by participants in this study were the product of a lack of opportunity for collective action grounded in the experiences and analysis of those who participate. It is through this action that analysis and group consciousness develops (Freire, 1981).

From the comments of Beadle (1995), the accessible bus campaign in Wellington is emerging as a good example of a developing political consciousness through social action. This piece of social action is clearly honing analytical and political skills and developing the political consciousness of those involved. However as Beadle (1995) observes, the absence of an organised disability movement with a "rights consciousness" to support such activities has been very isolating for those directly involved. On the other hand Beadle's comments also reveal that the campaign has been a salutary lesson in exposing the political naiveté and co-option of organisations like DPA, and the desperate need for a more radical agenda.

At present the agenda for action by disabled people is being determined by others. The State launches a policy initiative and invites feedback and consultation. The disability movement responds (as Derek reminded us) with submissions and consultation meetings. The reality is that the disability movement is caught up in a process determined by the State in which the lines between consultation and public relations become blurred. Disabled people frequently become the unwitting, and unpaid, participants in State policy marketing campaigns sold as consultation exercises.

A further example of co-option is the tokenism that both service providers and the State engage in by asking for representation of disabled people on boards and in policy forums, or making occasional appointments to management positions. As some participants in this study were quick to point out, such "window dressing" creates a certain illusion around consumer involvement. Those disabled people who find themselves in such positions are at great risk of being isolated from the interests they supposedly represent and can easily fall victim to being co-opted into organisational culture and the State bureaucracy.

The disability movement has yet to develop a credible record of praxis wherein political analysis has been translated into and is informed by action (Barndt,

1989; Freire, 1981). It has made a significant contribution to the development of alternative disability perspectives that challenge and reveal repressive ideologies and practices. This analysis has yet to significantly unite disabled people in collective action to the extent that the struggle itself becomes the educative process whereby new perspectives on disability can be understood, evaluated and debated by disabled people. Ideology critique has not been widely translated into an educative process that informs and propels its audience to engage in transformative action (Fay, 1987). This ideology critique is still largely the province of disabled intellectuals and non-disabled academics and not those who have to use employment support services. This is the audience for whom repression and marginalisation are a daily lived reality and this is where crucial connections between critical theory and practice have yet to be made.

The Language of Disability

The issue of language was specifically raised in the interviews because it offers a window through which to view how disabled people see themselves. The discourses on disability that surround them will inform and be informed by the way in which problems are identified and defined, and how solutions are developed to address these. Language provides insight into the way people involve themselves in bringing about change at a personal level and how this impacts on the current and future development of the wider disability movement.

Guy stated the issue succinctly:

So what we think about ourselves shapes what we do in terms of how and what we're addressing, what issues we're raising.

Nevertheless many participants were quite dismissive of the subject of language and the use of labels. These views ranged from "it's words, it's a word game, a mind game" through "goes with the flow" to "too much energy gets wasted on all of that."

So while some participants had strongly held and quite extensive views on the subject of language, others did not. This appeared not to be a reflection of a lack of concern for the underlying issues so much as a lack of opportunities to

reflect and think critically with others about the issues involved, and how they shaped ones view of the world and one's role in it. Central to these opportunities was access to an educative process to enable an examination of disability issues and related politics. For some people this had occurred through university study in the social sciences, but for others it had been through dialogue with friends and acquaintances with disabilities. As Sally commented:

It's been a long journey for me ... all this stuff ... and it took me a long time to get to a point where I could feel quite clear on these issues, and I can understand why there is such a lack of clarity because people are at different stages on their journeys and some people never get far along them at all in that sense.

Sally felt very strongly about the issue of language, particularly the use of terms such as "differently abled":

It's up to people with disabilities to decide definitions really ... it's bullshit and crap ... it doesn't tell us anything, it's weasiling around it ... we have disabilities let's be proud of who we are, how can you separate your disability from who you are, if you try and do that I think it creates some real difficult identity issues ... I think we should be claiming it (language) back really, I think we should claim it back and we should own it, it's who we are, it's part of our identity, it's part of the rich diversity of human kind.

Brian echoed these sentiments on the use of terms such as "differently abled" and "physically challenged" suggesting that they are made up by non-disabled people to make themselves feel more comfortable:

We shouldn't gloss over the realities that some disabilities can be very restricting, so we ought to acknowledge that disability is there, but we should acknowledge also that people have disabilities, disabilities don't have people.

Brian was using the term "disability" to refer to impairment. His comments stressed the importance of not glossing over the very real restrictions that these impairments sometimes impose. The terms "disability" and "impairment" are continually used interchangeably in the discourse on disability thereby frequently confusing the debate about causes of and solutions for the "problem".

Derek linked Sally's notion of a personal journey around the issue of language and labels to that of the disability movement itself:

It (language) goes through phases and I think because we mature as people and as organisations or as a group of people and our concepts of what we want to change, so to me language is really important because it says what stage we are in our development and growth.

Guy has spent some time reflecting on the use of language and saw it as at the centre of a necessary debate that is about where the disability movement should be heading in New Zealand:

There are some terms that seem to express and capture what we're trying to say about ourselves better than others ... if you say 'people with disabilities' then it implies that people first, disability second ... well I don't see things quite that way because I don't think of disability in terms of what you have is one, two, three or as an item. To me disability is an experience you have not a thing that you have. So for me to say that I'm a disabled person, I see that as the best reflection of what it is that is happening to me. Because I'm disabled by the society that I live in, I don't have some thing that belongs to me, that's part of my baggage if you like.

Guy held views very similar to those of Oliver (1990) and Abberley (1987) and felt that the disability community could do well to debate the language issue ('people with disabilities' vs 'disabled people') as a means of getting at what he describes as the "real debate":

... about how do we view our experience. If we look at how we view our experience, to me it (the term 'disabled people') seems to capture it more accurately and give a much better sense of it; to look at our experience as one of being disabled and if you say 'disabled person' it then means you ask the question 'why' and 'by what'. Whereas if you say a 'person with a disability', that says to you, well, there you are.

Guy said he understood the motives behind the term "people with disabilities" with people asserting their humanity as a result of a dehumanising history, but he maintained there is:

... a lack of understanding of what disability is, I think that probably the majority of us, to some extent, view disability as something you have ... it's not a biological fact, it's not something which is a condition, people have conditions (or impairments), but there is something which goes on to transform those conditions into a disability ... disability is not what you have, it's what happens ... 'people who experience disability' ...

Guy used this phrase ("people who experience disability") to both capture his understanding of the issue and to avoid the objections of those who insist on the correctness of the term "people with disabilities". Ironically DPA has recently changed its name from Disabled Persons Assembly to 'The Assembly of People with Disabilities' (although it retained the original acronym), thereby reinforcing Guy's view that the issue needs further debate. He summarised his position by adopting the slogan:

Who we are is Okay, what happens to us is not.

Guy made the point that support staff and caregivers can be far more optimistic and empowering about their work if they believe it is possible to alter the experience of disability as opposed to not being able to change a condition or impairment.

In an interesting twist on this theme Peter encouraged a recognition and valuing of the diversity that is the human condition:

I reckon every one's normal, no one's perfect.

The tendency to use the terms impairment and disability interchangeably or to use disability to refer to both, reinforces Guy's assertion that the issue of language needs to be debated as a means of reaching a deeper analysis about the position of disabled people. It is clear from the comments of some participants that the disability movement in New Zealand, and thus disabled people's political consciousness, has not substantially moved to a point where the majority are able to identify themselves as disabled people who are oppressed by a process that is similar across all impairments. Until this consciousness develops a more widespread base, the mobilisation of disabled people in New Zealand as a unified political force will be unlikely (Shakespeare, 1993).

Supported Employment and the Disability Community

The preceding discussion has examined a range of issues in relation to the disability movement and the development of a political consciousness by disabled people. The implications for supported employment in terms of its relationship with this disability movement need to be canvassed. Because

Supported Employment has promoted itself as an option that only has relevance for people with severe disabilities an awareness of its potential for a wider audience of disabled people has not developed. This positioning of supported employment has also created a number of misconceptions about the concept and practice of supported employment among disability consumer groups. These beliefs include: it is only appropriate for people with intellectual disabilities; that it only has relevance for people in sheltered workshops; that it is not really work for pay; it only involves mobile crews and enclaves; and that it is an important prerequisite if people are to move on to open employment (Disabled Persons Assembly, 1992).

As a result the disability movement in New Zealand, which has tended to exclude people with intellectual disabilities, has not really developed an adequate understanding or awareness of supported employment. This has been reinforced by its proponents insisting on reserving it as something that only has relevance for people with severe (and usually intellectual) disabilities. Supported employment has therefore developed essentially as a concept "owned" by a well meaning and innovative group of non-disabled professionals who regard themselves as operating largely in the interests of people with intellectual disabilities.

Not surprisingly the disability movement's advocacy in terms of employment policy and services has tended not to give the role of supported employment any more significance than a promising development for people in sheltered workshops (Disabled Persons Assembly, 1992). Its philosophical and conceptual underpinnings are therefore not brought to bear on an analysis or assessment of the shortcomings of vocational rehabilitation and job placement services. On the contrary, such analysis in New Zealand appears to be constrained by a relatively unquestioning stance with regard to the principles and beliefs that conventional vocational rehabilitation and job placement are based upon. Although increasing numbers of disabled people are undertaking training in rehabilitation and disability studies, these programmes have little to offer with regard to supported employment or the broader ideas and concepts it represents. This situation could rapidly change if the widespread relevance of supported employment could be demonstrated to an increasing number of consumer groups and practitioners who then demanded that it feature significantly in training curricula.

As has been demonstrated in previous chapters, however, there is no doubt that the wider disability community has had ongoing concerns about the lack of performance of vocational rehabilitation and job placement services. Supported employment has yet to demonstrate what it can offer in terms of addressing these wider concerns and how it might go about doing so. Disability consumer groups are increasingly being involved in, and consulted about, the development of policy and the evaluation of services. It is now essential therefore, that supported employment develop strategies that establish relationships with these groups. In this way the concept can resonate with people's concerns and contribute to analyses and discussions that explore and develop solutions to the inadequacies of current employment and vocational rehabilitation policies and practices.

This agenda suggests that supported employment should not restrict itself to being a model for the delivery of employment support services, but expand in scope to become a vehicle for analysis and action by and for disabled people, aimed at transforming employment support services.

Revisiting the Schema for Analysis

The schema that was used to analyse the interviews with participants had its origins in the examination of a critical perspective on disability. This examination was based on an understanding of critical theory as a process of critical analysis for action. Fay (1987) described critical theory as comprising four components (or "sub theories"). These four stages explain the process undertaken by oppressed groups as they begin to understand the reality of their oppression (a theory of false-consciousness), specify the reasons for and sources of their oppression (a theory of crisis), develop a group identity and consciousness (a theory of education), and participate in collective action (a theory of transformation).

These four components were developed into a three-part schema that was used to develop a semi-structured interview schedule. 14 disabled people who had used employment support services were interviewed. This same schema was also utilised to analyse and understand the experiences and perspectives of these individuals. The schema looked at the experiences of people and the presence of oppression in light of the non-performance of employment support

services (part one - chapter seven). Part two (chapter eight) examined the degree to which people had rejected traditional explanations for the unemployment crisis among disabled people and how they specified the changes that were needed in employment support services. Part two thus addressed issues around a theory of false consciousness and a theory of crisis. Part three (chapter nine) looked at the role of disabled people in bringing about identified changes and thus examined issues around a theory of education and a theory of transformation.

This schema proved to be a useful tool to both organise and analyse people's experiences and perspectives and to understand these in relation to critical theory. This analysis has enabled the potential contribution of supported employment to be assessed as a response to the unemployment crisis facing disabled people. In terms of critical theory, (Fay, 1987) some reconceptualising of the concept is necessary if it is to be an emancipatory vehicle and to address relationships with the service system, the labour market and with the wider disability community. An educative process that is linked to the goal of transformation (Freire, 1981) in relation to employment and employment support services has yet to develop. Supported employment has the potential to contribute in this context.

There is an emerging view among some disabled people that rejects traditional explanations for high unemployment among disabled people and identifies current employment support services as being part of the problem. However this analysis has not been politicised to the extent that it has led to coherent and organised collective action. Several of the participants in this study had been personally involved in attempts to bring about changes in the way employment support services operate. The feeling of empowerment that comes with successful and collective social action was described as an uplifting experience by some, bringing with it a conviction that real change could indeed come from the "grass roots".

However such opportunities for creating change appeared as random and isolated events, unconnected with previous or subsequent attempts to challenge services. Moreover, comment was frequently made about the lack of analysis and planning that took place with regard to attempts at bringing about change. While self advocacy was seen as important, it was the support that comes from others and the collective action that may ensue that was crucial to bringing about change, as opposed to the actions of single individuals.

Unfortunately agency complaint procedures seem to encourage individual actions keeping the focus on the individual as the problem, rather than organisational and systemic issues or problems.

Participants in this study demonstrated a wide range of views and varied in the level of sophistication with respect to analysing problems and proposing solutions. However there was also consensus that something fundamental needed to change about the way services were provided, and for some this was seen as part of broader social and economic change.

The difficulties and challenges associated with bringing about change were very closely linked to the powerlessness associated with being “dependent” on services. This dependency manifests and reveals itself in a variety of ways. Participants reported a process of “colonisation” that went with having to use services. Although this was explained in a variety of ways, the end result is that the disabled person becomes a passive recipient of services and support, accepting of individualising conceptions of disability and reluctant to question or challenge the quality of services because of the perception that this will undermine their access to services. People dependent on services should be “grateful” for the help and assistance they are getting.

Living with an impairment in a disabling society, with inadequate or inappropriate services, is time and energy consuming. This leaves little time for planning and organising social change. Other “realities” also collude to make the involvement of disabled people in bringing about change problematic. Services often isolate people and make it difficult for them to form relationships or connect with others having similar experiences (Funk, 1987). Poverty and fixed incomes can make it financially challenging to get to meetings or attend education and training opportunities. The lack of education was frequently cited as a major barrier, not in a formal sense of qualifications, but in the sense of not fostering “intellectual curiosity” or having access to new information and material that explores new ways of looking at disability and disability issues.

While many welcomed the moves by organisations to open up their governing bodies to “consumer representation” there is the ever present danger of tokenism in which disabled people are given a seat in the boardroom, but without accessible information or support. This paternalism replicates the powerlessness already experienced as a consumer of services.

With an increasing involvement in policy and management positions the meaningful involvement of consumers in positions of influence appeared to be constantly threatened with the problem of “co-option”. How to keep the vision for change alive in such people, how to ensure they don’t “sell out” and how to keep them in touch and accountable to those at the “grass roots” presents as a constant challenge. A challenge, it seems, the disability movement has not yet risen to.

While participants had comprehensive views about what was wrong with employment services and seemed quite clear about the changes that were needed, they were less clear about how they should proceed to bring about these changes. At times the challenges and difficulties associated with such a task seemed overwhelming. In addition some deep concerns and reservations were expressed about the disability movement in New Zealand as a source of inspiration and support for bringing about change.

The disability movement was variously described by participants in this study as “naive”, “immature”, “isolated” and “lacking leadership”. Discussion was centred on DPA, but also on other self help groups that come and go and tend to be more disability specific. For historical reasons the disability rights movement in New Zealand is essentially about the development of DPA which has become an “umbrella group” for all disabled people. This all encompassing role, while enabling the establishment of a relationship with the State bureaucracy, has effectively prevented the development of alternative groups, particularly ones with a more radical agenda. Certainly Government has found it very convenient to be able to “deal” with disabled people through one umbrella group which has involved both consumer and provider representatives.

This duality in terms of consumer and provider accountability within DPA has effectively muted the development and expression of a more radical agenda for disability rights in New Zealand. Even local services providing disability information and awareness have evolved, not as sites for a focus on rights and justice, but as a part of the service system, accountable to both consumers and providers.

The absence of a New Zealand disability rights movement that is entirely by and for disabled people seemed to be the source of immense frustration for

some of the participants in this study. As a result, the analysis and political agenda of disabled people themselves, struggles to find expression. Such an agenda rarely finds its way on to the public stage unimpeded by the conflicting interests of providers and professionals. These difficulties were revealed in discussions with participants about the language of disability and the absence of widespread debate about “disability” itself and what the “problem” is.

The participants in this study readily acknowledged that disabled people in New Zealand are only just beginning to see the need, as Guy put it, “to take the full journey to their own organisation.” In the context of changing employment support services it seems likely that random improvements or minor and incremental reforms will continue at the expense of more searching and fundamental changes, as long as there is the absence of a disability movement with political analysis for action as part of its agenda.

Concluding Comment

This chapter has canvassed the role of disabled people in bringing about change to the arena of employment support services. It has presented and examined the experiences and views of a group of disabled people who have, to varying degrees been involved in trying to change employment support services as well as use them. Their actual experiences, how they would like to see these services change and what they considered to be the role of disabled people in bringing about these changes, has been described in these last three chapters. These experiences have been examined in terms of the potential for the presence and operation of critical praxis.

This analysis has revealed that there is deeply felt frustration and dissatisfaction about the way in which employment support services operate and that quite fundamental changes are needed so that these services work more effectively in the interests of employment for disabled people. However translating this frustration and the perceived need for change into action is problematic and carries with it a range of barriers and difficulties. Central to this is the absence of a disability rights movement in New Zealand that is entirely for and by disabled people. This has meant that potential “sites” for the development of reflective analysis and collective action have been lacking.

Given the reality of the users of employment support services, supported employment has been introduced as holding the potential for altering or transforming that reality in the interests of disabled people. This raises some questions about the future of supported employment in such a context. On the basis of the unfolding analysis, what are the implications for the theory and practice of supported employment along with the public policies that underpin it? Has the concept of supported employment, informed by a critical theory of disability, the potential to offer disabled people a “site” and process by which they can develop political analysis for action aimed at transforming their employment circumstances? What would the practice and implementation of supported employment constitute, given such a setting?

It is to a consideration of these questions and their implications for supported employment practice that we now turn and in doing so offer an alternative model of supported employment as emancipatory practice.

CHAPTER TEN

SUPPORTED EMPLOYMENT AS EMANCIPATORY PRACTICE: TOWARDS TRANSFORMATION

Introduction

Critique and reconstruction are the cornerstones of critical theory (Fay, 1987; Lather, 1991). One without the other is therefore incomplete. The preceding chapters of this thesis have provided a critique of supported employment and the policy arena in which it operates. In addition, the experiences and perceptions of people who have used a wide range of employment support services have been examined. In this chapter a reconstruction of supported employment is undertaken as a response to the issues and concerns that have been raised. This chapter concludes with a summary of the research journey that has been undertaken in this thesis, along with recommendations for further research and demonstration. Before proceeding with these tasks a summary of the argument of the thesis will be presented.

This thesis revealed that supported employment was a promising departure from conventional practice, but was struggling in terms of widespread implementation. In addition, it had yet to make an impact in terms of significantly changing the way conventional employment support services operate. Furthermore, supported employment had not connected with a wider audience of disabled people. Disabled people themselves were however, deeply concerned about the non-performance of employment support services. They were convinced that they should be the architects and managers of the changes required, but were frustrated by the lack of unity and collective action on the part of disabled people.

The reconstruction of supported employment emerges from the congruence between what disabled people are saying about employment support services, what the concept of supported employment could offer in response and, in addition it uses the analysis offered by critical theory (Fay, 1987) to develop the essential elements of an emancipatory model of supported employment. Within the parameters of this thesis, the goal is to identify a process, a range of

activities and the contexts in which an emancipatory model of practice could be applied. The reconstruction uses the experiences, frustrations and aspirations of disabled people, together with the theoretical and policy analysis, to develop the concept of supported employment beyond its current limitations. Critical theory (Fay, 1987) makes the links between understanding the nature of the problem, the possible solutions, and how the solution could be implemented. Supported employment, based on emancipatory practice (Giroux, 1988), represents transformative action (Fay, 1987) in that it attempts to shift practice from a goal of assimilation to one of transformation in terms of the employment circumstances of disabled people.

The policy analysis revealed that employment support services were delivered on the basis of individual entitlements that target assistance to individuals. Thus individuals became the basic 'unit' of service delivery. Because access to services was determined by the supply of a limited resource, rather than being demand led, individual service users were competing with each other for support. The way in which services were delivered and used increased people's sense of isolation and powerlessness. Even marketing the "customer" orientation of the service provider could sometimes create the illusion of an effective and "empowering" service. In the context of individuals, isolated and competing with each other for finite resources, services were delivered on the basis of the individual's ability to fit criteria they had no control over determining and governed by policies they had no input into developing.

Supported employment presents a number of possibilities that are departures from this state of affairs through the involvement of the individual's personal network in the planning and delivery of support, the notion of universal eligibility and the commitment to ongoing support. These characteristics of service delivery all suggest a move away from conventional approaches. It is within this notion of 'support' that the relations of power have the potential to be altered in disabled people's interests because they confront, even if only tentatively, those structures and institutional practices that construct disability as restriction and exclusion.

The messages of initiatives such as supported employment and supported living is that people do not have to be independent, or competitive, or even close, to still be active, learning, valued members of their communities (Ferguson and Olson, 1989: 10).

This study has shown, however that both the organisation and delivery of supported employment services are still firmly wedded to a service system where the client-professional relationship and its power imbalances are central. It is also a service system which remains dominated by the assimilationist bedrock of normalisation philosophies which preserve valued social roles and structures as defined by the non-disabled majority.

Indeed, one could argue that the functionalist origins of normalisation's emphasis on social roles and monolithic cultural values have allowed the service system to rather easily adopt the appropriate rhetoric of reform without really challenging the systemic inequities (Ferguson and Olson, 1989: 10).

Supported employment, in its current form, is unlikely to address systemic inequities if it is not owned by disabled people themselves. The "support" in supported employment currently takes the form of what is provided by professionals to clients. "Support" needs to include that which is provided by disabled people to other disabled people and the support that comes from collectively intervening in institutional and structural arrangements to alter the relations of power within employment support services and in the labour market itself. Supported employment, as emancipatory practice, could thus incorporate the analysis, concepts and the practices that alter aspects of competitive employment so that disabled people can be authentically included in the workforce.

Frustration and anger were recurring themes for disabled people interviewed for this study, in their attempts to use employment support services. These feelings revealed an underlying sense of powerlessness, at the centre of which were the unequal positions of power represented by the professional-client relationship. This sense of powerlessness was exacerbated by the knowledge that things could and should be different. Furthermore, as single individuals, participants in this study sometimes found it difficult to specify the exact nature of the problems that caused this sense of powerlessness. Consequently, the prospect of trying to change the situation as single individuals, was daunting and for many quite unachievable.

Conceived as emancipatory practice, supported employment becomes a concept that should underpin all employment support services and all employment policy relating to disabled people. Such an agenda is problematic for current providers of supported employment services because they are

structured as a service to disabled people. The alternative approach is supported employment as critical praxis (Freire, 1981), a rallying point through which disabled people identify what is wrong with employment support services and engage in collective action aimed at ameliorating these inadequacies. Within such a context supported employment has the potential to break out of its current limits and to develop the capacity to affect all vocational rehabilitation and job placement services, all people with disability *and* those aspects of employment policy that structure exclusion in the labour market. As a consequence the ownership of supported employment is transferred from professionals to disabled people and its practice irrevocably altered.

Such a reconstruction of supported employment provides a vehicle through which a critical theoretical perspective on disability can move from analysis to action, and in the process, enable disabled people to move from the beginnings of critical reflection and enlightenment towards emancipation and ultimately to transformation (Fay, 1987). We proceed now to a reconstruction of supported employment as emancipatory practice.

A Framework for Supported Employment as Emancipatory Practice

Rees (1991) has developed ten “steps to empowerment” which are consistent with Fay’s (1987) schema for critical theory. These “steps to empowerment” will be used as a framework to outline an emancipatory model of supported employment. These steps are derived from concepts articulated by Freire (1981) and outline a practical process which addresses the theoretical requirements outlined by Fay (1987). The process enables participants to move from enlightenment to empowerment and then emancipation. Figure 3 illustrates how the schemes of Fay and Rees are compatible and how this can be translated into an emancipatory model of supported employment comprising four phases.

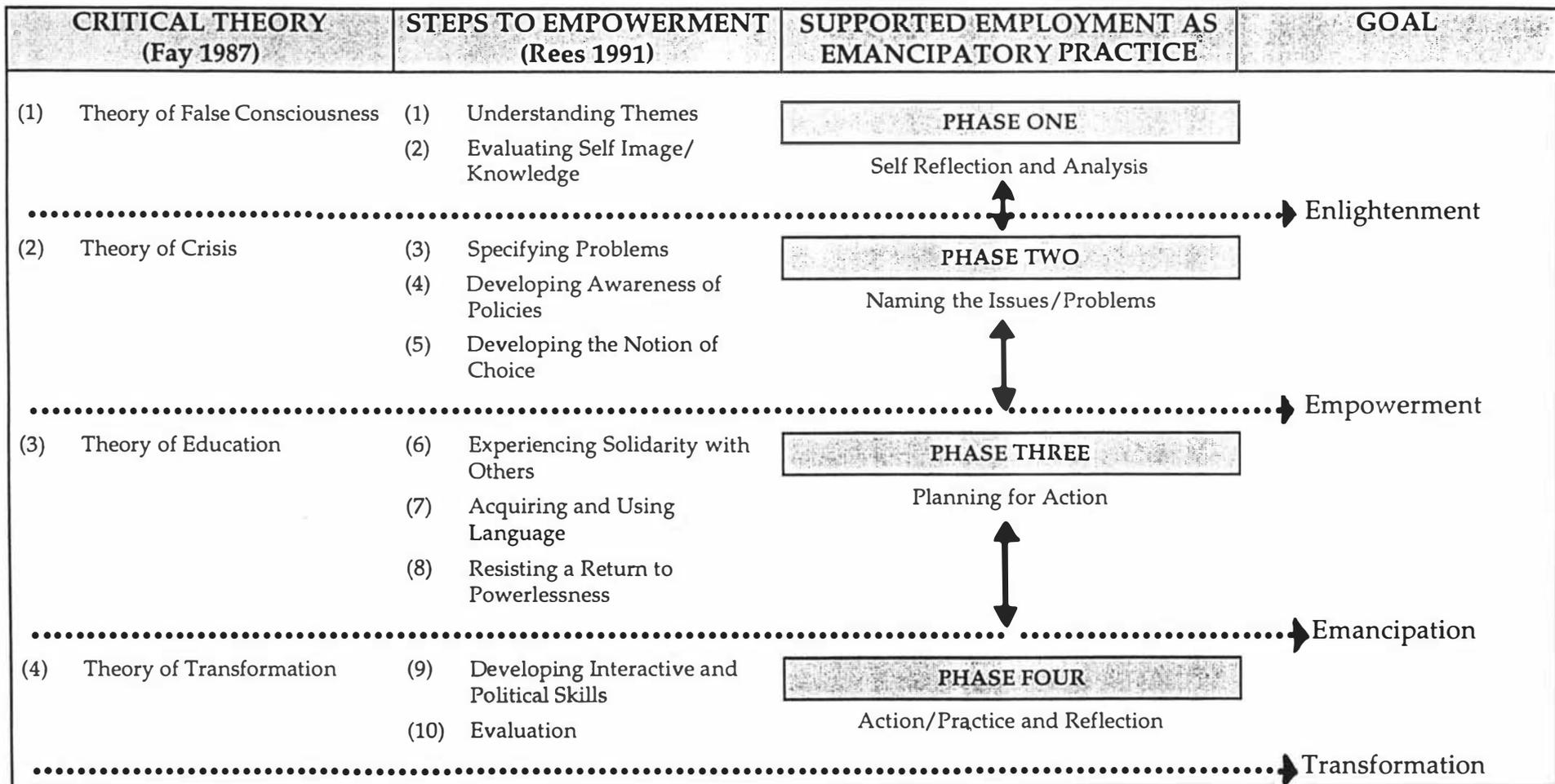
The process does not represent a linear progression from stage one to stage ten (Rees, 1991), but a process whereby the stages interact and construct each other as connections are made between participants’ experiences and external contexts. In the tradition of Freire (1981), Rees (1991) is adamant about the political literacy that the process engenders throughout, both in thought and in

action. Participants identify the cause of their oppression in the unequal distribution of power and structural inequities. In the context of disability this involves relocating the causes of high unemployment away from individual deficits, as ascribed by professionals and services, to the structural barriers inherent in the labour market, specific social policies and the poor performance and even collusion of employment support services.

Enabling people to make connections between their lives and the political and economic trends in other contexts contributes to political literacy. This externalising, making connections between one context and another, is not only a means of focusing on the distribution of power and its consequences, it is also the guard against that easy tendency to privatise or localise problems - as though no one else shares them, as though they are only the product of individual short comings (Rees, 1991:87).

An emancipatory model of supported employment comprises four phases: Self reflection and analysis; naming the issues and problems; planning for action; and action/practice and reflection (Figure 3). By drawing on the views, comments and experiences of those disabled people who participated in this study, along with conclusions that have been drawn from policy and theoretical analysis, we can begin identifying key tasks, activities and issues that need to be addressed within each of the four phases of the model of “emancipatory supported employment”. Furthermore, this process will be underpinned by a critical theoretical position which has at its core a shifting of power and the emancipation of its audience who become simultaneously the consumers and the practitioners of an emancipatory model of supported employment. We can now embark on a description of supported employment as emancipatory practice using the four phase framework outlined in figure 3. Such a description presupposes a site, place, group or project where disabled people have determined that employment and employment support services will be the primary focus of analysis and activity.

FIGURE 3
The Development of Supported Employment as Emancipatory Practice



In New Zealand there are currently a number of opportunities where such connections might be made, where groups of disabled people may join together around the issue of employment. These sites include local branches of DPA; Disability Information Centres, consumer forums and groups within existing service providers; action research projects; and training courses specifically for disabled people. A group or project may form in response to the initiative or connection of one or two individuals or because of a particular event or circumstance that people may experience or relate to. For example, complaints about a particular employment support provider, statistics about unemployment figures or changes in government policy that are regarded as adverse could prompt a connection among people.

The following sections describe each of the four phases of supported employment as emancipatory practice. Each phase incorporates the relevant “steps for achieving power” from Rees’ (1991) framework and is illustrated in relation to the key issues and tasks for supported employment as emancipatory practice. Organisational forms and the roles of practitioners are also explored.

Phase One: Self Reflection and Analysis

The reconstructed model of supported employment begins with enlightenment. Essentially this means discussing common experiences through a sharing of individual biographies. Rees (1991) calls his first two steps to empowerment “understanding themes” and “evaluating self image and knowledge”. These two stages are intertwined and begin the process of consciousness raising that contributes to enlightenment. Such a process can develop into an analysis that offers new explanations for people's experiences and circumstances. For Fay (1987), this process is explained as a theory of false-consciousness. For Rees the themes that develop from this self reflection and analysis:

... refer to those aspects of biography which depict experiences of power and powerlessness, explained perhaps with reference to relationships of relative equality or those characterised by feelings of being dependent or being controlled (Rees, 1992:90).

During this first phase the process enables participants to legitimise and take each other's personal histories and experiences seriously and to begin making the links between personal troubles and public issues. In this context there are

important opportunities for people to re-evaluate themselves in terms of the contributions they can make and the information they can share. A journey of discovery unfolds as participants are enabled to analyse their circumstances and experiences. Developing such “literacy” is central to emancipatory practice and echoes Freire’s (1981) emphasis on education as a political tool:

This approach starts with people’s daily experiences and helps them analyse the conditions of their lives, so they can act together to change those conditions ... it encourages a participatory process that develops people’s critical thought, creative expression, and collective action. It links analysis and action, theory and practice. Its major aim is to help people to organise more effectively for social change (Brandt, 1989:16).

In this sense, understanding themes and evaluating self-image and knowledge is about groups understanding who they are, their history and their interests.

As a pedagogical practice, literacy means making one’s self present as part of a moral and political project that links the production of meaning to the possibility of human agency, democratic community and transformative social action. Literacy means more than breaking with the predefined, it also means understanding the details of everyday life through the larger categories of history, culture and power (Giroux and Trend, 1992:66).

Sharing the experiences of using employment support services and the experience of unemployment is the beginning point for an emancipatory model of supported employment. This thesis has explored these experiences in some detail with 14 disabled people and found that there was a crisis of confidence in the ability of many current services to respond effectively and to include disabled people in a way that is empowering.

In this first, phase developing awareness and confidence as a group involves discussing common experiences that explore the powerlessness of being a ‘consumer’, that identify the similarities and differences in people’s experiences and that exchange information about employment support services. The collective knowledge and experience of service users can be a vital source of information about how agencies operate and can provide essential details about entitlements and available resources. Discovering and identifying what makes the difference between a ‘good’ service and a ‘bad’ service can also help people make the best of what is available and begin to identify shortcomings.

The importance of employment needs to be canvassed and its centrality in their lives explored. Links need to be made between people's experiences and the policies that govern the operation of employment support services and of the labour market. In this way the process of reflection about their experiences enables participants to identify the broader context in which employment support services are located. Finally there needs to be a connection with the principles and values represented by the notion of supported employment. Do these resonate in any way with the group concerned? Do they begin to echo people's experiences and articulate people's issues and concerns? In this way the relevance of supported employment can be viewed in light of the group's interests and concerns, as defined by the group.

Central to this beginning phase is the definition of the focus of activity by the participants and their analysis of their experiences. While there may be a process underpinned by an emancipatory model, there is no map in terms of context or form. The map is drawn and shaped as the participants define the issues, develop strategies and decide on the context or location of implementation.

The integration of current supported employment practice, a critical theory of disability and the perspectives of the participants in this study, emphasise that employment opportunities for disabled people should be available universally (not according to level of disability), on the basis of citizenship (not one's 'productive' capacity) and with support that is ongoing (not time-limited). Consequently, the relevance of emancipatory supported employment can be applied across all employment support service providers, in the interests of all disabled people and directly address itself to employment policies and labour market structures.

What constitutes practice however, is determined in the context of particular groups addressing particular issues, concerns and priorities that they themselves prioritise. The particular practice arena may therefore be localised, regional, or national in scope and have a specific focus that is unique to the analysis and needs of a particular group. These may be about a variety of issues such as: particular providers, the absence of services, employment support services generally, all or particular aspects of policy, or particular employers. The focus may be on particular or general aspects and may shift over time as the group learns from its experiences and reassesses its priorities and focus.

Thus while the first phase of emancipatory supported employment begins the process of analysis and enlightenment, it is the second phase that specifies and contextualises this analysis, bringing with it the need to make choices.

Phase Two: Naming the Issues and Problems

On the basis of the themes and knowledge that have developed around the issue of employment and the possibilities offered by the concept of supported employment, the process moves from enlightenment to the beginnings of empowerment. For Rees (1991) this involves “specifying problems”, the third of his ten “steps to empowerment”. Such a task is a response to the reality that:

... people with long experiences of powerlessness are likely to have had their problems defined for them ..The art of conceptualising problems and sorting one from the other carries with it the seeds of self-learning, and some skills in analysing the relationship between themselves and the representatives of authority (Rees, 1991:92).

During this second phase participants begin to name the issues and/or struggles that concern them and prioritise these, selecting an initial focus (Brandt, 1989). In order to name problems, issues and struggles succinctly and to prioritise these, a degree of what Rees describes as “economic literacy” is required.

Discussing how policies and services affect people has two effects. There is the obvious outcome of enabling them to know that services and other resources exist to which they are entitled. Secondly, the act of demystifying what policy is about becomes part of an overall educational and political process (Rees, 1991:93).

For Rees this process constitutes a “developing awareness of policies” and the consequent possibility of “developing the notion of choice” - the fourth and fifth steps to empowerment (Rees, 1991). From this there develops an awareness of “opposing interests” (Brandt, 1989), that others may have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. With this recognition comes the opportunity and the challenge of choices.

It requires moving from the assumption that there is no alternative to accepting ones lot, to deliberation over what might be possible ...

Difficulties in encouraging a belief in the importance of choice and the confidence-boosting experience in choosing, are not the result only of people's passivity, poverty, disability, lack of confidence or limited knowledge. Despite protests to the contrary, powerful professions and institutions have vested interests in maintaining their own power and so hindering others experience of choosing (Rees, 1991:93).

The opportunity to make choices that are based on an alternative analysis of the world can be a very empowering experience. The growth and spread of such insights can begin to threaten the cohesion of established arrangements and power relations. Challenging the "there is no alternative" position of traditional vocational rehabilitation and its insistence on notions of work readiness and time limited post-placement support, could represent the beginnings of a "crisis" in terms of Fay's (1987) schema for critical theory. For Fay a theory of crisis requires:

... examining the felt dissatisfactions of a group of people and showing both that they threaten social cohesion and that they can not be alleviated given the basic organisation of society and the self-understandings of its members (Fay, 1987: 31-32).

Exploring and validating people's concerns and opening the possibility for making choices about alternatives, means that differences can not only be accommodated, but welcomed into employment settings. When the veil of economic rationalism (Rees, 1991) is lifted its role in legitimating high levels of unemployment among disabled people is also dissipated.

The contemporary political project of the right has constructed a discourse rooted in a foundational narrative that eradicates difference and the other in favour of a set of absolute values that totalise all social relations. Such a project is, at root, profoundly anti-democratic; ... It is through a contestation of this anti-democratic impetus that the left can develop a politics that connects with the everyday life of citizens in a manner that affectively matters to them. This is, at once, both a political and pedagogical project - a project of uncovering the right's veiled disdain for the populace's potential participation in democratic decision making, and a project for reactivating collective struggles (Sholle, 1992:281).

The notion of supported employment as emancipatory practice is thus revealed as a site where the form and shape of supported employment begins to emerge. At this point the group begins to shift its analysis from critical self reflection to a collective analysis that is representative of group interests. The group may decide, for example, to assess the forces at work within and around a specific

employment support service, identifying key individuals and relationships that impact positively and negatively on those who use its services. Alternatively, a particular employment or labour market policy that needs changing may be the focus. Who were its proponents? What were their interests and motivation? Who did they represent? Who supports the present policy and why? Are there others who want change? Are they potential allies?

Within such activity the group's confidence, knowledge and expertise grows and along with it an increasing sophistication with regard to the degree and level of analysis. This can contribute to a growing belief in the possibility of bringing about change, of transforming aspects of their lives to a point that they are no longer a source of frustration and anger. The possibility of real jobs and productive relationships with employment support services become possibilities as an increasing number of providers commit themselves to the implementation of supported employment.

At this point the group's analysis and the empowerment that accompanies it are propelling people towards collective action. The urge to "do something" can be strong and it is at this stage that many groups are poised to either develop into a cohesive force for change or to dissolve in a sea of disillusionment.

Phase Three: Planning for Action

The third phase continues the process of self reflection and critical analysis , but begins to apply this to the realm of action. Planning for action begins the process whereby the group becomes actively engaged in their own emancipation. Fay's (1987) theory of education explains the shift from critical self-reflection to collective or group consciousness and the conditions that empower a group to consider the possibility of taking action on their own behalf.

For Rees (1991) empowerment needs to involve "experiencing solidarity with others", his sixth "step to empowerment." The confidence that comes from sharing experiences and the identification of common grievances, issues and challenges is a powerful form of education that enables people to think about ways of changing their circumstances. These are the building blocks of solidarity. Articulating experiences, specifying problems and talking about

alternatives enables people to make the links between their current circumstances, the reasons for this and how things could be different. Expressing such thoughts and ideas will inevitably involve the acquisition and use of new words and phrases - a language that expresses and reinforces group identity and solidarity. Rees (1991) refers to "acquiring and using language" as the seventh "step to empowerment". As a result new relationships will be formed, both within the group and with those other individuals and organisations they have decided to engage with.

A test of the value of acquiring and using new language lies in the evidence that the users are making connections between one context of power and another. The language of power and politics enables people to understand some consequences of economic rationalism and the values which characterise that philosophy; it raises questions about policies which promote social divisions and thus avoids any preoccupation with private issues (Rees, 1991:95).

"Resisting a return to powerlessness" is Rees' (1991) eighth "step to empowerment". New relationships and insights provide an important safeguard for resisting a return to powerlessness. They also actively support those who choose, either individually or collectively, to behave or act differently on the basis of their new knowledge and power. The support produced by solidarity is essential and emphasises the value of responding collectively to circumstances which insist on individualising problems at the expense of examining institutional causes.

As the skills of analysis develop and group confidence grows, it becomes possible to examine the specifics of particular problems or issues laying the foundations for action. Brandt (1989) refers to this as "assessing the forces". This process involves identifying the major actors (individuals, groups and organisations) in the economic, political and ideological spheres that are "with us, against us and uncommitted on the issue" (Brandt, 1989:37). As a result the real and expressed interests of these major actors can be clarified, allies can be named and the balance of forces for and against can be assessed (Brandt, 1989:37). This political analysis provides the basis for determining what action might be taken, providing:

...the 'critical' link between analysis and action. Neither analysis for its own sake nor action without analysis is useful in working for social change. They need each other (Brandt, 1989:37).

As the group is now beginning to embark on new territory (in the realm of ideas and action) attention to group process and strategies specifically aimed at building solidarity and confidence are crucial. Analysing issues or situations by "assessing the forces for and against" builds skills, contributes to a new language and develops solidarity. New knowledge is created about the world and how it could be different. It is a journey of discovery and enlightenment that is empowering and thus contributes to the possibility of action and emancipation.

There are a range of possible activities that a "supported employment collective" could consider. Some of these activities may be oriented to building further group knowledge and developing a greater understanding of the forces at work in employment support services and the wider disability policy and service system. Other planning activities may be more focused on direct action aimed at a particular service provider or policy. Yet other activities may sit on the borderline between analysis and action. Ultimately a firm bedrock of information, analysis and understanding will build solidarity and prevent a return to powerlessness.

Possible activity for a local group is to evaluate vocational and job placement agencies in their area to determine strengths, weaknesses and gaps. In the process the group could assess the degree to which agencies espouse and practice supported employment principles. Workshops and seminars could be provided for disabled people on supported employment and its possibilities. In the process, the expertise and knowledge of practitioners who are committed to supported employment values and principles could be co-opted. The group is now poised for action, on the borderline between planning and implementation.

Depending on the priorities established and choices made by such a group, the 'shape' of supported employment could vary significantly as could its organisational forms. It will also evolve and change over time, as participants alter priorities and choices in response to shifting power relations, broader changes in policies and practice and the development of participants, as individuals and as a group. Consequently, supported employment activities could be very localised in nature or be aimed at addressing issues and changes on a national scale. As a result supported employment groups or collectives may need to negotiate relationships and co-operation with each other.

Groups will also have to consider the issue of resourcing their activities and the possibility of employing paid staff along with the responsibilities and complexities of doing so. Some activities could well be resourced under the auspices of funding from philanthropic trusts and from Government agencies. In New Zealand, for example, the evaluation and monitoring of services, disability awareness and education, self-advocacy training, services provision and research projects are already funded through contracting arrangements. However deciding to accept Government funding may compromise the group's independence and its ability to engage in activities not considered as being in the interests of current government policy objectives.

On the other hand, the group may be able to further its shorter term objectives through using the State's resources without compromising its longer term aims. Disability awareness and self-advocacy training can be translated into consciousness raising or daily activities and research into 'social action' and action research. The State could fund 'self-advocacy training', for example, which would legitimately provide a vehicle for consciousness-raising.

In planning for action the group may consider getting directly involved in the delivery of services to fill perceived gaps and to answer the demand for consumer controlled services. Consequently an analysis of those factors that will work for and against such a possibility, will be required. Alternatively, the group may decide to undertake an education campaign on the advantages of supported employment over traditional approaches. The target audience will need to be assessed. Are there allies within that can be co-opted? Why do they need educating and what are their interests? The consequence of planning for action, whatever the focus, is the involvement of disabled people in action and their active engagement in their own emancipation. Thus emancipatory supported employment moves into a fourth phase and in doing so creates the possibility of transformation.

Phase Four: Action/Practice and Reflection

The group is now engaged in action. Evaluating and reflecting on the results of that action are central to maintaining direction and focus, particularly if opposing forces develop strategies that counter or block the outcomes the

group is seeking. A cycle of action and reflection (Freire, 1981) is essential if the group is to maintain the momentum for change.

Groups benefit from taking action on their own behalf. Provided the action has a tangible end product, such as obtaining a benefit, completing a letter or speaking out at a meeting, there is usually some pleasure and value in reflecting on what has been learned from such an experience ... The idea of planning is inherent in the shared endeavour and makes inevitable the discussion of timing, tactics and strategy (Rees, 1991:97).

Rees describes “developing interactive and political skills” and “evaluation” as the ninth and tenth “steps to empowerment” (Rees, 1991). These components are essential if the group is to sustain itself in what may become transformative action. A “theory of transformative action” is identified by Fay (1987) to explain the requirement for critical theory to become “an enabling, motivating resource for its audience,” and that it must “empower them” (Fay, 1987:29). Supported employment, as emancipatory practice, will be continually identifying aspects of the employment support services arena that must be altered in disabled peoples’ interests and engaging in action to bring about specific changes. Transformation is thus the goal of emancipatory practice.

Initially action may be tentative and short term, involving small steps such as writing letters, making phone calls and attending meetings. At first, action may be oriented at building the group’s capacity and developing skills that are needed for the longer term, perhaps recruiting or co-opting new members that have specific knowledge which the group needs. Resource issues may loom at this stage and the group may need to position itself to seek funding for equipment and the possibility of employing workers. Engaging in action is ultimately informed by a political analysis that includes:

*... identifying strategies that build on our strengths, take advantage of their weaknesses, and tap the uncommitted;
... Selecting the most effective strategies, by evaluating the constraints and possibilities of those proposed;
... Proposing new tactical alliances and how to build them” (Brandt, 1989:46).*

A number of activities involving direct action and participation in the employment support services arena may be considered by a group, depending on their analysis and the priorities that are established. A group could develop support and advocacy strategies that assist disabled people to make the most of services and demand a ‘fair go’. They could directly challenge specific

providers for not delivering appropriate services or refusing to serve people . A decision could be taken to challenge and confront specific employment and labour market policies and offer alternatives. At a local level, a group could ensure the election of group members to agency Boards or get involved in government policy review and development activities. A group could reward success through reinforcing and celebrating the efforts of agencies and employers who demonstrate a commitment to supported employment.

In entering the practice arena the group declares itself and its interests, bolstered against opposing forces by a process that continually reflects on the action it takes, maintaining solidarity and developing in response to an agenda that is defined by the group and for the group's interests. Evaluating the group's effectiveness can take the form of looking at the changes and growth in group members as well as the changes that have been brought about as a result of analysis, planning and action. Rees (1991) offers some questions to guide an evaluation process:

Has alienation and isolation been replaced by involvement and participation? Has an apolitical approach to solving problems been replaced with political understanding and skills? Has compliance towards professionals and social institutions changed into timely and effective assertiveness? Has the tendency to see problems only as the product of individual shortcoming been overcome by an understanding of structural issues, and by the beginnings of pertinent social analysis? Has new knowledge and the confidence that comes from possessing and testing it, taken over from the powerlessness that had been maintained by ignorance (Rees, 1991: 97).

While employment may be the central focus of the group and its activities, emancipatory practice ensures that the process of getting a job is empowering. Developing an understanding that unemployment is the product of disabling economic policies and ideological positions is an empowering step on the journey of emancipation. This journey will engage with the level where policies are formulated, legislation is developed and labour market structures are determined. In discussing an "economic empowerment approach to disability in New Zealand" Hunt (1995) observed that:

If disabled people are to achieve full participation by gaining equal opportunities in the open labour market, thereby acquiring access as a significant group to the social and political systems there are some fundamental changes necessary. The philosophical standpoint from which disability is viewed will determine, whether consciously or not, the nature of

policy in relation to disability in the labour market, and the nature of services available. It will also determine the success or failure of the forces of change (Hunt, 1995:83).

Interactive and political skills can be used by the group to actively engage with individuals, services and policies to bring about the changes that analysis has identified. These changes will have been specified and prioritised on the basis of criteria that the group has determined. As a result the agenda of supported employment has moved beyond its traditional limits and now has the capacity to involve the wider disability community, the wider vocational and job placement service system and the labour market itself (along with the policies and institutional practices which determine its structure).

If a model of supported employment as emancipatory practice were implemented and began to achieve the goal of transformation, a number of observable changes may be discernible, in the group as a collective, and in the employment support services arena. The group may have a profile, an emerging reputation and could be regarded by some as potential force for change in the interests of disabled people's employment. In the longer term, changes in the nature of employment support services and of the labour market may be linked to the group's activities. Group members may be able to identify institutionalised practices and policies that are keeping them from employment and consequently there is less 'victim blaming' in terms of people's unemployment. A sense of solidarity around the collective predicament of disabled people and the lack of access to the labour market is also likely to be evident.

The group will probably have a name and organisational identity, its own premises and employ staff. It will have funding for some of its activities. Such activities may include: disability awareness training (consciousness raising), advocacy and research (action research), disability information (political and economic analysis) and self-advocacy ("how to get the most out of your placement coordinator or job coach").

The group will have developed a reputation for insightful submissions and presentations at conferences and select committee hearings. Subsequently, the group will be sought out for membership of government working parties and policy reviews. Through this participation the group will develop its own vision of employment policy and service provision. It may be formally

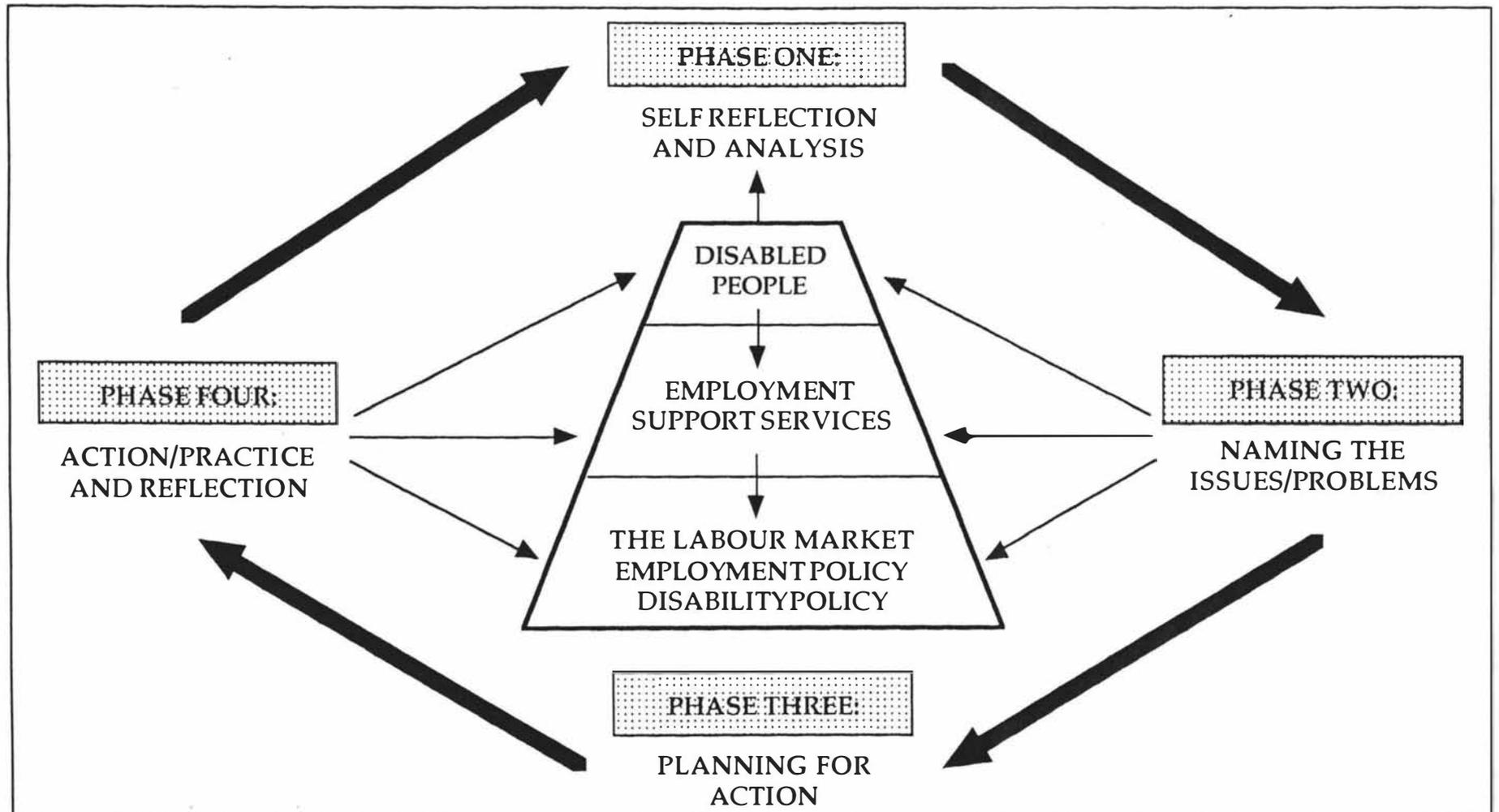
involved in the monitoring and evaluation of services. Ultimately, the group will be able to identify changes in policy and legislation that it can claim a part in bringing about. The group may be linked with similar groups in other parts of the country.

Employment support services may find that the nature of their relationships with consumers is changing, for example individual job seekers could be more assertive and knowledgeable about their rights and entitlements. Eligibility criteria are challenged and consumers demand support that is not time limited. Consumers will not accept readiness and work adjustment training, but demand jobs now! A lack of response to complaints leads to collective action and public protest and individual job seekers have support people and advocates accompanying them. Providers are also likely to increasingly find that disabled people and their allies are voted on to agency governing bodies. Agency staff are more exposed to and begin practising the values and principles of supported employment.

An emancipatory model of supported employment, underpinned by a critical theoretical understanding of disability, is offered as a pathway to achieve the fundamental changes that are necessary, in services, in policies, in labour market structures and in workplace practices. Figure 4 illustrates the processes involved in an emancipatory model of supported employment and its relationships with the practice arena. This involves disabled people, employment support services and the labour market.

Turning the preceding scenarios into reality will require the sustained implementation of a model of supported employment as emancipatory practice. In this context it is important to consider some of the implications for practitioners who may work in the context of such a model.

FIGURE 4
A Model of Supported Employment as Emancipatory Practice



Emancipatory Supported Employment: Implications for Practice

The previous sections have outlined the development of supported employment as emancipatory practice. A range of scenarios have been drawn which illustrate this approach to unemployment and disability. The notion of “community building” is integral to such an approach:

Community building involves strengthening the social interactions within the community, bringing people together, and helping them communicate with each other in a way that can lead to genuine dialogue, understanding and social action. The loss of community has results in fragmentation, isolation and individualisation, and community building seeks to reverse these (Ife,1995:191).

A group cannot remain fixed on localised issues and activities, but must find ways of directly interacting with those organisations and institutions that define services and policy . Truly emancipatory supported employment:

...needs to fashion institutional practices that challenge existing institutions by directly confronting the power relations through which they govern. This means actively working to create new institutional practices that directly and indirectly impact upon policy decisions (Sholle, 1992:287).

Supported employment as emancipatory practice must remain open to the possibility of implementing supported employment values and principles in any context and at any level of intervention: the individual, employment support services, the employment and disability policy arenas and those arrangements that determine the nature of the labour market itself.

In order to develop the collective analysis and understanding implied by emancipatory practice, participants need to work together outside the confines of the traditional client-professional relationship and its inevitable inequalities of power. The fuller implications of supported employment need to be identified and explored in such a setting by disabled people themselves. The journey needs to be defined and led by disabled people as they critically examine the nature of all employment support services and of the labour market itself.

Supported employment is thus re-defined as the mechanism or ‘site’ for enabling disabled people to make connections and define supported employment practice which is focused on changing services and the labour

market. Such a scenario means we need to be much less precious about who or what is claiming to be supported employment, but reinforcing its implementation and 'supporting' it in whatever policy or practice setting it reveals itself and with whatever group of disabled people.

The aim of this chapter has been to describe an emancipatory model of supported employment. In doing so a number of possibilities and scenarios have been identified. The result has been a re-conceptualisation and reconstruction of supported employment. In this context the 'support' in supported employment does not describe non-disabled professionals doing things to disabled people, but rather outlines how disabled people can support each other to use services, change services and change these aspects of the competitive labour market. which excludes and restrict. Supported employment thus represents a vision that challenges rather than accepts the notion of competitive employment.

Supported employment will be consequently redefined as an analysis and strategy for fundamental changes in employment services, policies and labour market structures, not as a new option within existing arrangements. The practice of supported employment as social change will therefore constantly change its form or function as a reflection of the issues, struggles and problems involved, and will depend on the group's own developmental stage. The common thread is the critical and structural analysis of employment issues, informed by a critical theoretical perspective on disability and supported employment, and rooted in the particular communities, policies, services or institutions that are the present focus of analysis.

Practitioners of supported employment will no longer include only professionals (usually non-disabled) who work for service providers and claim to provide a supported employment "service" or "programme". Disabled people will also be practitioners by participating in groups that critically analyse their circumstances and embark on social action strategies to change employment support services, policies and aspects of the labour market. Practitioners of supported employment will also be those organisers, workers, facilitators, coordinators and allies that disabled people employ and co-opt in their emancipatory struggle to overturn exclusion and restriction in the labour market and redress the collusion of employment support services. Because of

the solidarity that emancipatory practice builds, it is likely that an increasing proportion of these practitioners will be disabled people.

Emancipatory practice will place demands on disabled people to develop frameworks for practice that are based on an integration of analysis and action as "critical praxis". Each practitioner will need:

... to be constantly reflecting on the nature of his/her practice, to be using the experience of practice to gain a deeper understanding of the community, society and social change, and to be evaluating theory in terms of practice and practice in terms of theory. Critical reflection, analysis and action go hand in hand (Ife, 1995:230).

Practitioners of a reconstructed model of supported employment will therefore need a range of skills that are built around their analysis, awareness and experience. Skills will include: well developed communication skills; facilitation skills for effective groups and meetings; adult education skills; knowledge of information and funding sources; writing skills; the ability to motivate, enthuse and activate; conflict resolution and mediation skills; advocacy and representation skills; skills in making public presentations and working with the media; management, organisation and research skills (Ife, 1995: 247). These requirements have profound implications for the preparation of personnel to work in the disability arena and for broader workforce development strategies. It will also be essential for disabled people themselves to be central to the design and implementation of these changes.

Giroux and Trend (1992) warn of the tendency for proponents of critical theory and practice to adopt a paternalistic stance whereby intellectuals "hand down" a theory or model to those engaged in struggle.

This establishes a hierarchy that identifies writers, teachers, artists and scientists as 'experts' to whom 'ordinary' people must always look for knowledge, insight or inspiration. Intellectual products pass from institutionally certified senders to common place receivers in a manner that translates very well into the economic metaphors of modern capitalism (Giroux and Trend, 1992::61).

The idea that the intellectual is part of an "emancipatory vanguard" (Sholle, 1992:178) ignores the possibility that disabled people:

... can participate in the production and acquisition of their own learning, and as people who in doing so can speak with a voice that is rooted in their own sense of history and place (Giroux and Trend, 1992:67).

In commenting on the nature of practice that is emancipatory Rees says that:

... it would be easy to fall into the trap of thinking that because practitioners have a work plan and control certain information, they also have moral superiority or greater wisdom as to what ought to be done. To fall for that temptation would run counter to the ends and means of empowerment (Rees, 1991:89).

The outcomes of research and academic work can be viewed more appropriately as points of connection or catalysts that provide tools which enable people to utilise, define and create their own knowledge. The "... intent is to mobilise knowledge and desires that may lead to significant changes in minimising the degree of oppression in people's lives" (Giroux and Trend, 1992: 68).

The dangers of paternalism need to be offset by the obligations of intellectuals, researchers and professionals who are attempting to operate within a critical theoretical framework.

Caution about professionals defining reality for those who appear to have less power than they do, is not the equivalent of saying that practitioners do not have a lot to share with clients and cannot influence them. They pass on information, provide support, generate ideas and participate in making plans. But in doing so they recognise that the other party possesses different information and has had different experiences ...

A concern for equity, married to a recognition that client groups possess valuable energy, information and experiences, should highlight the wisdom of struggling for partnership not superiority. Consciousness is likely to be changed through the stages of empowerment, but it is not a one-way process (Rees, 1991:89-90).

Intellectuals and practitioners need to ensure that there are safeguards built into their work that counter any tendencies towards paternalism.

Conclusion

This thesis has been a journey. It began with some concerns about the concept of supported employment and the gaps between what it promised in the mid 1980s and the reality of the mid 1990s. These concerns were explored through a detailed review of supported employment, its origins, development and current status. The emergence and development of supported employment in New Zealand was described as part of a broader examination of employment policy and employment support services for disabled people in this country. Many parallels were found between the New Zealand and North American context with regard to supported employment.

This work raised questions about the capacity of supported employment, as it was currently conceptualised, to deliver on the vision it held for the employment circumstances of disabled people. The theoretical underpinnings of supported employment were explored in order to understand and explain the limitations of the concept. This analysis involved a detailed examination of theoretical perspectives on disability, how these perspectives were constructed and how they influenced policy and practice. This work signalled the need to reconstruct the concept of supported employment so that it could better serve the interests of disabled people.

The views and perspectives of 14 disabled people who had used employment support services were analysed in relation to the critical theoretical analysis. The experiences of these disabled people provided valuable insights into understanding and explaining the lived reality of users of employment support services. The perspectives these people echoed the restriction and exclusion that employment support services practice as part of their collusion with the interests of those who have power in the labour market. However these individuals were also clear about the possibilities for *inclusion* if the balance of power, within services and policy development, shifted towards disabled people. Their views on the changes that were needed, and the role of disabled people in bringing about these changes, provided a significant contribution to a reconstruction of supported employment as emancipatory practice.

This thesis has explored how employment support services can contribute to social oppression (Oliver, 1990). It has identified supported employment as a concept that, even with its current limitations, has the potential to offer the

possibility of unconditionally including disabled people in the labour market. An emancipatory model of supported employment has been developed as a means of achieving the power that disabled people need in order to change employment support services and the labour market in their interests.

Further Research

Further work is required to demonstrate the capacities of supported employment as emancipatory practice. The potential to transform employment support services and the nature of the labour market will only be revealed through critical praxis (Freire, 1981). An action research project, which itself is committed to an emancipatory and participatory methodology (Oliver, 1992), would provide an appropriate vehicle to engage with the possibilities raised in the context of this thesis.

There is also room for New Zealand research into the impact of current supported employment practice in order to evaluate its capacities and limitations and the differences between an emancipatory model and more conventional service delivery options. This work needs to be linked to intensive policy analysis. The absence of an overall public policy framework, with clearly defined principles and a cohesive direction, will continue to make innovation and the implementation of best practice extremely problematic. Workforce development strategies are also unlikely to be responsive amidst such policy chaos.

Shifting responsibility for State policy and purchasing from the margins of welfare into the mainstream employment policy arena has been identified as an important prerequisite to addressing policy and service delivery issues. The State clearly needs as a matter of some urgency, to address the dismal performance of current public policy in this arena as described in chapter four. An emancipatory model of supported employment may prove to be a vehicle, in the longer term, for the sustained improvement of policy and employment support services wherein disabled people can authentically participate in the generation of knowledge and information that can be crucial to more relevant and empowering employment support services.

Supported employment, as emancipatory practice, provides a potential site for disabled people to participate in the struggle to achieve inclusion in the labour market and therefore broader participation in the political, social and economic fabric of their communities. This thesis must therefore represent only the beginning of an ongoing commitment to join with those for whom disability and unemployment are a lived reality.

APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE SUPPORTED EMPLOYMENT AND DISABLED PEOPLE IN NEW ZEALAND

Introduction

Script Outline

Thank you for making time available for this interview. Are there any final questions about the information sheet and consent form that you would like to go over? The interview should take around a couple of hours, but if you would like to stop for a break or continue at another time just let me know.

The questions I'm going to ask cover five areas. Firstly, a section on basic information like age and sex etc, then a section on your experiences with specific employment support services. This is followed by two further sections. One on general issues around your use of employment support services and then a general look at your employment and education. A final section will focus on general disability issues. If you think of something that you wanted to say about a previous question just go ahead, we can always come back to the question at hand. The important thing here is that this is your story.

I just want to make sure that we both understand the term "employment support service" in the same way. This term refers to any service, facility or programme or organisation that you've used that has helped you into paid work either directly or indirectly through training. It includes job placement services, supported employment programmes, work preparation/job skills courses, vocational training services, vocational guidance/counselling, sheltered workshops and vocational rehabilitation programmes.

Just before we get started I want to do a quick sound check. (Note: spare tapes, spare batteries). OK lets go.

Section One: Demographic Data

Script Outline

This section just covers some basic personal details and involves assigning you a letter in order to preserve confidentiality. You are letter : _____

1. Could you tell me your:
Age? _____
Sex? _____
Ethnicity? _____
2. Are you currently: EMPLOYED or UNEMPLOYED?
3. Could you tell me what educational or professional qualifications you have?
4. What level of schooling did you reach? Qualifications?
5. Did you receive any of your education in a special school or special class? If so, could you provide some brief details?
6. Are you currently using employment support services? _____
7. I'm also recording the city/town in which you are currently living.
Location _____
8. What disability label(s) is/are used by professionals to describe or categorise you _____
9. What label or description(if any) do you use.

10. Could you list for me all the Employment Support Services you've used?
Prompt: examples of services are/have you ever used: Vocational guidance counsellor, work experience programme at school, Workbridge, Rehabilitation league, Dept of Labour, NZES, a sheltered workshop, supported employment programme, Taps, Access or Tops training course, Other job skills/job seeking courses, hospital rehab unit, ACC rehabilitation officer/coordinator, Aftercare.
(WRITE DOWN THE ONES THAT HAVE BEEN USED)

Section Two: Specific Experiences with Employment Support Services

Script Outline

Now I'm going to ask a series of questions about each of the services you've just given me. The first one was:

11. How did you first get in touch with this service?
12. What did the service do to start off with?
13. How were you involved in decisions about whether or not you needed the service?
14. How were you involved in deciding what the service would do to help you? Prompt: e.g. an assessment, a meeting of some kind.
15. What activities and tasks did the service involve you in?
Prompts: assessment, work experience, training programmes, work activity, counselling, vocational guidance, job placement.
16. How many hours per week were you involved in the service?
17. How long were you involved with the service?
18. What did the service do that was helpful?
19. Were there things that staff/professionals did really well?
20. What would you(have) like(d) the service to do more of?
21. What did the service do that was not helpful?
22. Were there things that staff/professionals did not do very well or not at all?
23. What would you have liked the service to do less of, or not at all?
24. How did this affect you?

25. Do you think the service helped you get a job(s)?
26. In what ways did the service help/not help?
27. If the service did help you get a job(s) -
 - What did the service do to help you stay in a job?
 - Were these activities helpful or unhelpful/in what ways?
 - How satisfied were you with the job(s)?
 - How long did you stay in the job(s)?
 - Why did you leave the job(s)?
28. Generally, were you satisfied or dissatisfied with the service? Why?

Section Three: General views and thoughts on Employment Support Services

Script Outline

OK, now I'm going to ask some more general questions on your views of these services that you've used. Please feel free to give as much detail as you wish.

29. Can you tell me about any particular changes in employment support services (positive or negative) that you've noticed over the years?
30. If you were unhappy or dissatisfied with employment support services what would you do?
31. Did you ever complain or suggest improvements?
32. What happened when you did this?
33. In what ways do you think Employment Support Services should change?
 - Prompt: Imagine there are no problems with money etc, what is your idea of the perfect employment support service?
 - How should things be done properly?
 - Prompt: the way they are organised, the way they operate, things about staff/professionals?

34. How do you think these changes can be made?
Prompt: what and who needs to change?
35. What do you think the role of people with disabilities should be in bringing such changes about?
36. Are you or have you been involved in making these changes?
Prompt: If so, what is your involvement?
If not, what part if any, would you want to play?
37. What would (or does) make it difficult for you to get involved in making changes to employment support services?

Section Four: General Issues around Employment and Education

Script Outline

Now I'm going to give you an opportunity to make some general comments about your education and employment experiences. Check: How do you feel/would you like to take a break (we're about half way)/would you rather continue at another time.

38. Can you tell me about any significant events or experiences (positive or negative) that occurred when you were at school? (or polytech/college/university?)
Prompt: Things that happened that made you very happy/sad/frustrated/angry?
39. Can you tell me about any significant events or experiences (positive or negative) that have occurred in your employment history?
Prompts: Things that happened in your jobs that made you very happy/sad/frustrated/angry?
40. Can you tell me about your first job/work experience?
41. How have you got jobs in the past?

42. What are some of the reasons why you've left or changed jobs?
43. What have your experiences of unemployment been like?
44. What effect has unemployment had on you?
45. How do you cope with this?
46. What effect has unemployment had on your family /the people you live with?
47. What are some of the particular difficulties/barriers that you've personally come across when trying to:
 - Get a job?
 - Learning a job?
 - Hang on to a job?
 - Get around at work/use equipment (physical access)?
 - Get along with supervisors and co workers?
48. How do you feel about your (un) employment situation at the moment?
49. Where do you see yourself in 5 years/10 years time?

Section Five: General Disability Issues

Script Outline

This last section of the interview looks at your views on general disability issues and the role of disability /self help organisations(eg. DPA/People First) in bringing about change.

50. There are a variety of terms and phrases used to describe and label people such as yourself. What terms and phrases do you prefer and why?
Prompt : e.g. people with disabilities, Disabled people, Handicapped, people with impairments, the disabled, the differently abled etc.

51. Do you get together with other disabled people very often?/for what reasons?
52. Is this a useful/helpful thing to do /In what ways?
53. If not, would you like to meet with other disabled people/how would this be helpful/useful?
54. Are you aware of any disability/self help groups?./or:
55. What disability/self help organisations do you belong to or are you involved with?
56. What kind of involvement do you have/what do you do?
57. What do you think the role of disability/self help organisations is in bringing about some of the changes that we have been talking about?
58. How effective are they?
59. How could they have more effect?
60. What would (does) get you involved/more involved in these organisations?
61. Are there any particular rules/regulations that you would like to see changed or introduced to make it easier for people with disabilities to get jobs?
Prompt : changes to the law /changes to agency policies and procedures.
62. Have you ever been involved in a research project before/what happened/what was it like?
63. Are there any other comments or experiences that you would like to share with me?

Concluding Script Outline

OK, thats it, thank you very much for your time and sharing so much of yourself with me. Its been very interesting and I'm sure will make a valuable contribution to the project.

If you suddenly think of something else that you think should be included please give me a call and we'll have another chat.

I'll get the interview typed up in the next week or so and then give you a copy to keep. If there is anything in the interview that you don't want me to use please let me know. I'll call and check this out with you anyway.

Again, thank you very much for your participation.

Garth Bennie
79 Wikiriwhi Cres.
Palmerston North

Ph. (06) 357 2277

29 March 1994

Dear

Please find enclosed a typed copy of the interview we did recently. This is an opportunity for you to have a look at what we discussed and to consider:

- If there are things that you would like to talk some more about.
- Making changes to statements that are incorrect or have not come out right.
- Indicating parts that you would like to see altered to preserve confidentiality.
- Indicating parts that you do not wish to be used at all.

It might be useful to go through the interview and mark with a pen any changes you would like to make or areas you would like to talk about further.

I'll be in touch in about a week to arrange the follow-up interview. Again, thank you very much for your participation.

Regards

Garth Bennie

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abberley, P. (1987). The Concept of Social Oppression and The Development of a Social Theory of Disability. *Disability, Handicap and Society*, 2 (1): 5-19.
- Abberley, P. (1988). The Body Silent: A Review. *Disability, Handicap and Society*, 13 (3): 305-306.
- Accident Compensation Act 1972 (No. 42). *Reprinted Statutes of New Zealand*, 16: 149-151: Government Printer: Wellington.
- Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance Act 1992 (No. 13). *Statutes of New Zealand*, 1: 64-192. Government Printer: Wellington.
- Agosta, J. and Brown, D. (1994). Taking on Obstacles to Supported Employment in Policy and Practice. *TRN Infolines*, 5 (7): 1-3.
- Albin, J. (1992). *Quality Improvement in Employment and Other Human Services*, Paul Brookes: Baltimore.
- Albrecht, G.L. and Levy, J.A. (1981). Constructing Disabilities as Social Problems. In Albrecht, G.L. and Levy, L.A. (Eds.). *Cross National Rehabilitation Policies: A Sociological Perspective*. Sage Publications: London.
- Annable, G. (1989). *Supported Employment in Canada*. Canadian Council on Rehabilitation and Work: Winnipeg.
- Association for Persons in Supported Employment (1994). Continuing Our Commitment: APSE Adopts an Action Plan for Supported Employment. *The Advance*, 5 (3):1-3, Author.
- Association for Persons in Supported Employment (1995). CARF Seminar. *The Advance*, 6 (1): 12, Author.
- Association for Persons In Supported Employment (1996). European Union For Supported Employment Holds International Conference, *The Advance*, 6 (4):14. Author.
- Association for Supported Employment in New Zealand (1995). *ASENZ Business Plan*, Author: Palmerston North.
- Atkin, K. (1991). Health, Illness, Disability and Black Minorities: A Speculative Critique of Present day Discourse. *Disability, Handicap and Society*, 16 (1): 37-47.
- Babbie, E.R. (1995). *The Practice of Social Research*. Wadsworth Publishing: Belmont.

- Ballard, K. (Ed.) (1994). *Disability, Family, Whaanau and Society*. Dunmore Press: Palmerston North.
- Barndt, D. (1989). *Naming the Moment: Political Analysis for Action, A Manual For Community Groups*. Jesuit Centre for Social Faith and Justice: Toronto.
- Barnes, C. (1990). *Cabbage Syndrome: The Social Construction of Dependence*. Falmer Press: London.
- Barnes, C. (1992a). Institutional Discrimination Against Disabled People and The Campaign for Anti-Discrimination Legislation. *Critical Social Policy*, 34: 5-22.
- Barnes, C. (1992b). Qualitative Research: Valuable or Irrelevant? *Disability, Handicap and Society*, 7 (2): 115-124.
- Barrett, M. (1991). *The Politics of Truth: From Marx to Foucault*. Polity Press: Cambridge.
- Barton, L. (Ed.) (1989). *Disability and Dependency*. Falmer Press: London.
- Baumgart, D. and Van Wallegem, J. (1986). Staffing Issues for Implementing Community Based Instruction. *Journal of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps*, 11 (2): 92-102.
- Beadle, C. (1995). Human Rights Act Legalises Discrimination: The Accessible Bus Campaign. *New Zealand Journal of Disability Studies*, 1: 104-120.
- Becker, H. (1964). *The Other Side: Perspectives on Deviance*. The Free Press: New York.
- Bellamy, G.T. , Horner, R. H. and Inman, D. (1979). *Vocational Rehabilitation of Severely Retarded Adults: A Direct Service Technology*. University Park Press: Baltimore.
- Bellamy, G. T., Horner, R.H., Sheehan, M. R. and Boles, S. M. (1980). *Structured Employment and Workshop Reform: Equal Rights for Severely Handicapped Individuals*. Unpublished paper, Specialised Training Centre: University of Oregon.
- Bellamy, G.T., O'Connor, G. and Karan, O.C. (Eds.) (1979). *Vocational Rehabilitation of Severely Handicapped Persons*. University Park Press: Baltimore.
- Bellamy, G.T., Rhodes, L.E., Mank, D.M. and Albin, J.M. (1988). *Supported Employment: A Community Integration Guide*,. Paul Brookes Publishing: Baltimore.

- Bellamy, G.T., Rhodes, L.E. and Albin, T.J. (1986). Supported Employment. In Kiernan, W.E. and Stark, J. A. *Pathways to Employment for Adults with Developmental Disabilities*. Paul Brookes Publishing: Baltimore: 129-138.
- Bellamy, G.T., Rhodes, L.E., Bourbeau, P.E. and Mank, D.M. (1986). Mental Retardation Services in Sheltered Workshops and Day Activity Programmes: Consumer Benefits and Policy Alternatives. In Rusch, F.R.(Ed.). *Competitive Employment: Issues and Strategies*. Paul Brookes: Baltimore. 257-271.
- Bellamy, G.T., Rhodes, L.E., Wilcox, B., Albin, J., Mank, D., Horner, R.H., Collins, M. and Turner, J. (1984). Quality and Equality in Employment Services for Adults with Severe Disabilities. *Journal of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps*, 9 (4): 270-277.
- Bellamy, G. T., Sheehan, M. R., Horner, R. H. and Boles, S. M. (1980). Community Programmes for Severely Handicapped Adults: An Analysis of Vocational Opportunities. *Journal of The Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps*, 5 (4): 307-359.
- Bennie, I.G. (1989). *Standards for Supported Employment*. IHC: Wellington.
- Bennie, I.G. (1990). *Employment Support Services For New Zealanders with Intellectual Handicaps* . IHC: Wellington.
- Bennie, I.G. (1991). *Employment Support and Continuing Education (Study Guide)*. School of Special Education, Auckland College of Education: Auckland.
- Bennie, G. (1991) Supported Employment: Emerging Issues and Developments. *New Zealand Journal of Industrial Relations*, 16 (3): 291-300.
- Bennie, I.G. (1992). *Supported Employment*. Unpublished Paper. Author: Palmerston North.
- Bennie, G. (1996). Critical Issues for Supported Employment in New Zealand. In Bennie, G. (Ed.) *Supported Employment in New Zealand: Getting the Job Done*. Network Publications: Levin. 1-9.
- Bennie, G. and Taylor, J. (Eds.) (1995). *Work 'N' Progress*, Newsletter of the Association For Supported Employment in New Zealand, 1 (1).
- Black, J.W. and Meyer, L.H. (1992). But ... Is it Really Work? Social Validity of Employment Training for Persons with Very Severe Disabilities. *American Journal on Mental Retardation*, 96(5): 463-474.
- Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic Interactionism*. Prentice Hall: Englewood-Cliffes.
- Bolt, R. and Heggie, E.G. (1982). *Report of the Rehabilitation Committee*. Department of Social Welfare: Wellington.

- Borsary, A. (1986). Personal Trouble or Public Issue? Towards a Model of Policy For People With Physical and Mental Disabilities. *Disability, Handicap and Society*, 1: 179-195.
- Breen, C., Haring, T., Pitts-Conway, V. and Gaylord-Ross, R. (1985) The Training and Generalisation of Social Interaction During Break-Time at Two Job Sites in the Natural Environment. *Journal of the Association for People With Severe Handicaps*, 10 (1): 41-50.
- Brown. H. and Smith, H. (1989). Whose Ordinary Life is it Anyway? - A Feminist Critique of the Normalisation Principle. *Disability, Handicap and Society*, 4 (2): 105-119.
- Brown. H. and Smith H. (1992). *Normalisation: A Reader for the Nineties*, Tavistock/Routledge: London.
- Brown, L., Nietupski, J. and Hamre-Nietupski, S. (1976). The Criterion of Ultimate Functioning. In Thomas, M.A. (Ed.). *Hey, Don't Forget About Me!* The Council for Exceptional Children: Reston. 2-15.
- Brown, L., Branston, M.B., Hamre-Nietupski, S., Pumpian, I., Certo, N. and Gruenwald, L. (1979). A Strategy for Developing Chronological Age Appropriate and Functional Curricular Content for Severely handicapped Adolescents and Young Adults. *Journal of special Education*, 13 (1): 83-90.
- Brown, L., Pumpian, I., Baumgart, D., Van Deventer, L., Ford, A., Nisbet, J., Schnider, J. and Gruenwald, L. (1981). Longitudinal Transition Plans in Programs For Severely Handicapped Students. *Exceptional Children*, 47: 624-630.
- Brown, L., Shiraga, B., York, J., Kessler, K., Strohm, B., Rogan, P., Zanella, K., Van Deventer, P. and Loomis, R. (1984). Integrated Work Opportunities for Adults with Severe Handicaps: The Extended Training Option. *Journal Of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps*, 9 (4): 262-269.
- Brown, L., Udvari-Solner, A., Long, E., Davis, L., Ahlgren, C., VanDeventer, P. and Jorgensen, J. (1987). Integrated Work: A Rejection of the Segregated Enclave and Mobile Work Crew. In Brown, L., Udvari-Solner, A., Long, E., Davis, L. and Jorgensen, J. (Eds.). *Educational Programmes for Students with Severe Disabilities, Vol xvii*. Madison Metropolitan School District: Madison.
- Cahil, M. (1991). *Exploring The Experience of Disability*. Health Services Equal Opportunities Development Unit: Wellington.
- Calkins, C.F. and Walker, H. M. (Eds.) (1988). *Enhancing Employment Outcomes, Habilitation Planning Package For Improving the Social Competence of Workers with Developmental Disabilities in Integrated Settings*. Institute for Human Development: University of Missouri-Kansas.

- Callahan, M. (1992). Job Site Training and Natural Supports. In Nisbet, J. (Ed). *Natural Supports in School, at Work, and in the Community for People With Disabilities*, Paul Brookes: Baltimore. 257-275.
- Carr, W. and Kemmis, S. (1989). *Becoming Critical: Education, Knowledge and Action Research*. Falmer Press: London.
- Chadsey-Rusch, J. (1990). Teaching Social Skills on the Job. In Rusch, F.R. *Supported Employment: Models Methods and Issues*. Sycamore Publishing: Sycamore. 161-180.
- Chadsey-Rusch, J. (1992). Toward Defining and Measuring Social Skills in Employment Settings. *American Journal on Mental Retardation*, 96 (4): 405-418.
- Chappell, A.L. (1992). Towards a Sociological Critique of the Normalisation. Principle. *Disability, Handicap and Society*, 7 (1): 35-51.
- Code, L. (1992). A Work-Able Solution: An Employer Driven Supported Employment Network. *Entourage, Autumn*: 19-23.
- Commonwealth Department of Human Services and Health (1994). *Supported Wage System Handbook*. Author: Canberra.
- Community Funding Agency (1994a). *Outreach*, 12: August/September, Author: Wellington.
- Community Funding Agency (1994b). *Report from the Working Group to Review Vocational Support and Employment Placement Programmes for People with Disabilities*, Author: Wellington.
- Community Funding Agency (1994c). *Operations Manual: Vocational Services*. Author: Wellington.
- Community Funding Agency (1995a). *Outreach*, 19: October/ November: 4. Author: Wellington.
- Community Funding Agency (1995b). *Vocational Services One-off Development Funding*. Correspondence: Dated: February 3rd.
- Community Funding Agency (1996). *National Services Plan: Funding Decisions 1995/6*, Author: Wellington.
- Condon, E., Carson, B., Freeman, T. and Pellegrino, C. (1993). Employment Specialist, Job Coach, Job Trainer, Job Coordinator, Trainer, Advocate: What is the Professional Identity Of Supported Employment Direct Service Personnel? *The Advance*, 4 (2): 1-2.

- Conley, R.W., Rusch, F.R., McCaughrin, W. and Tines, J. (1989). Benefits and Costs of Supported Employment: An Analysis of the Illinois Supported Employment Project. *Journal of Applied Behaviour Analysis*, 22 (4): 441-447.
- Conley, R.W. and Noble, J.H. (1990). Benefit Cost Analysis of Supported Employment. In Rusch, F.R. (Ed.). *Supported Employment: Models, Methods and Issues*. Sycamore Publishing: Sycamore. 271-288.
- Crawford, C. (1992). Why People with Disabilities Can't Get Jobs and How We Can Solve That Problem: An Introduction to On Target? *Entourage, Autumn*: 3-5.
- Curl, R.M. and Chisholm, L.A. (1993). Unlock Coworker Potential in Competitive Employment: Keys to a Cooperative Approach. *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation*, 3 (3): 72-84.
- Daley, G. (Ed.). (1991). *Disability and Social Policy*. Policy Studies Institute: London.
- Daley, G. (1992). Social Welfare Ideologies and Normalisation. In Brown, H. and Smith, H. (Eds.). *Normalisation: A Reader for the Nineties*. Tavistock/Routledge: London. 100-111.
- Davis, S. (1994). A Status Report to the Nation on the Inclusion in Employment of People with Mental Retardation. *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation*, 4 (4): 243-254.
- Dean, J. A., Slovic, R. and Mank, D. (1995). 'No One Ever Asked Before': Expanding the Notion of Long-Term Support Resources for Supported Employment. *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation*, 5: 187-193.
- Department of Labour (1990). *Review of the Disabled Persons Employment Promotion Act*. Author: Wellington.
- Department of Labour (1991). *Developing An Integrated Policy To Facilitate Employment and Training of People With Disabilities*. Author: Wellington.
- Department of Social Welfare (1990). *Vocational Opportunities Support Programme: Issues, Policy, Plan, Providing a Choice for People with Disabilities*. Author: Wellington.
- Department of Social Welfare (1991). *Vocational Opportunities Support Programme for People with a Disability: Getting Started, Suggestions for a Community Development Process*. Author: Wellington.
- Dileo, D. (1991). *Reaching for the Dream! Developing Individual Service Plans for Persons with Disabilities*. Training Resource Network: St. Augustine.

- Dileo, D. and Langton, D. (1993). *Get the Marketing Edge: A Job Developers Toolkit for People With Disabilities*. Training Resource Network: St. Augustine.
- Disabled Persons Assembly (1992). *A Blueprint for Change: Future Directions in Vocational Opportunities For People With Disabilities*. Author: Wellington.
- Disabled Persons Assembly (1994). *Summary of Submission to the Employment Task Force*. DPA: Wellington.
- Disabled Persons Community Welfare Act 1975 (No.122). *Statutes of New Zealand*, 2: 519-705. Government Printer: Wellington.
- Disabled Persons Employment Promotion Act 1960 (No. 42). *Reprinted Statutes of New Zealand*, 6:149-151. Government Printer: Wellington.
- Disabled Soldiers Re-establishment Act 1930 (No. 38). *The Public Acts of New Zealand (reprint) 1934*, 8: 1085-1087. Government Printer, Wellington.
- Drake, F.D. (1994). The Exclusion of Disabled People From Positions of Power in British Voluntary Organisations. *Disability and Society*, 9:(4) : 461-480.
- Drake, R.E., Becker, D.R., Xie, H. and Anthony, W.A. (1995). Barriers in the Brokered Model of Supported Employment for Persons with Psychiatric Disabilities. *Journal of Rehabilitation*, 5: 141-149.
- Edgerton, R.B. (1967). *The Cloak of Competence: Stigma in the Lives of the Mentally Retarded*. University of California Press: Berkeley.
- Emerson, E. (1992). What is Normalisation? In Brown, H. and Smith, H. (Eds.). *Normalisation: A Reader for the Nineties*. Tavistock/Routledge: London. 1-18.
- Employment Contracts Act 1991 (No. 22). *Statutes of New Zealand*, 1: 184-274, Government Printer: Wellington.
- Employment Equity Act 1990 (No. 61). *Statutes of New Zealand*, 2: 1045-1082. Government Printer: Wellington.
- Ernst and Young (1990). *Report to Department of Social Welfare: Vocational Services for People with Disabilities, Part II: A Preliminary Cost Analysis*. Department of Social Welfare: Wellington.
- Ernst and Young (1993) *Discussion Paper Prepared For Vocational Services Working Group*. Community Funding Agency: Wellington.
- Everson, J. M. and Moon, M. S. (1987). Transition Services For Young Adults with Severe Disability: Defining Professional and Parental Roles and Responsibilities. *Journal of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps*, 12 (2): 87-95.

- Everson, J. M. and Moon, M. S. (1990). Developing Community Programme planning and Service Delivery Teams. In Rusch, F.R. (Ed). *Supported Employment: Models, Methods and Issues*. Sycamore Publishing: Sycamore. 381-394.
- Everson, J.M. (1991). Supported Employment Personnel: An Assessment of Their Self-Reported Training Needs, Educational Backgrounds, and Previous Employment Experiences. *Journal of the Association of Persons with Severe Handicaps*, 16 (3): 140-145.
- Fay, B. (1987). *Critical Social Science*. Polity Press: Cambridge.
- Femia, J.V. (1981). *Gramsci's Political Thought: Hegemony, Consciousness and the Revolutionary Process*. Clarendon Press: Oxford.
- Ferguson, B., McDonnell, J. and Drew, C. (1993). Type and Frequency of Social Interaction Among Workers With and Without Mental Retardation. *American Journal on Mental Retardation*, 97 (5): 530-540.
- Ferguson, P. and Olson, D. (Ed.). (1989). *Supported Community Life: Connecting Policy To Practice in Disability Research*. Specialised Training Programme: Oregon.
- Finkelstein, V. (1980). *Attitudes and Disabled People: Issues for Discussion*. World Rehabilitation Fund: New York.
- Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish*. Penguin: Harmondsworth.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*. Wheatsheaf. Brighton.
- Freeman, T. and Wood, W. (1993). Slaying the Readiness Monster: A Consumers Right to Choose Supported Employment. *The Advance*, 4 (1): 1-3.
- Freire, P. (1981). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Continuum Publishing: New York.
- Funk, R. (1987). Disability Rights: From Caste to Class in the Context of Civil Rights. In Gartner, A. and Joe, T. (Eds.). *Images of the Disabled, Disabling Images*. Praeger: New York.
- Gerber, D.A. (1990). Listening to Disabled People: The Problem Of Voice and Authority in Robert B. Edgerton's *The Cloak of Competence*. *Disability, Handicap and Society*, 5 (1): 3-22.
- Gervey, R., Parrish, A. and Bond, G. (1995). Survey of Exemplary Supported Employment Programmes for Persons With Disabilities. *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation*, 5: 115-125.

- Giroux, H. (1988). *Schooling and the Struggle for Public Life*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis.
- Giroux, H. (Ed.). (1991). *Post Modernism, Feminism and Cultural Politics*. Suny Press: Albany.
- Giroux, H. and Trend, D. (1992). Cultural Workers, Pedagogy and the Politics of Difference: Beyond Cultural Conservatism. *Cultural Studies*, 6 (1): 51-72.
- Glendinning, C. (1991) Losing Ground: Social Policy and Disabled People in Great Britain, 1980-1990. *Disability Handicap and Society*, 6 (1): 3-19.
- Goetz, L., Lee, M., Johnson, S. and Gaylord-Ross, R. (1991). Employment of Persons with Dual Sensory Impairments: Strategies for Inclusion. *Journal of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps*, 16 (3): 131-139.
- Goffman, I. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on The Management of Spoiled Identity*. Prentice - Hall: Englewood Cliffs.
- Gold, M. W. (1972). Stimulus Factors in Skill Training of Retarded Adolescents on a Complex Assembly Task: Acquisition, Transfer and Retention. *American Journal of Mental Deficiency*, 76: 517-526.
- Gold, M.W. (1973). Research on the Vocational Habilitation of the Retarded: The Present, The Future. In Ellis, N.R. (Ed.). *International Review of Research in Mental Retardation (Vol. 6)*. Academic Press: New York.
- Gold, M. W. (1980a). *Try Another Way: Training Manual*. Research Press: Champaign.
- Gold, M. W. (Ed) (1980b). *Did I Say That?: Articles and Commentary on The Try Another Way System*. Research Press: Champaign.
- Goodall, P. and Bruder, M.B. (1986). Parents and The Transition Process. *Exceptional Parent*, April: 22-28.
- Gordon, J. and Walton., R. (1996). Phoenix Supported Employment Service. In Bennie, G. (Ed). *Supported Employment in New Zealand: Getting the Job Done*. Network Publications: Levin. 17-29.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections From the Prison Notebooks*. Lawrence and Wishart: London.
- Griffin, C. (1994a). Job Carving: A Guide for Job Developers and Employment Specialists. In Wood, W.M., Everson, J. M., Panscofar, E. and Bourbeau, P. (Eds.). *APSE Papers Volume One*. Association for Persons in Supported Employment. Richmond. 37-46.

- Griffin, C. (1994b). Organisational Natural Supports: The Role of Leadership in Facilitating Inclusion. *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation*, 4 (4): 296-307.
- Griffin, S.L., Test, D.W., Dalton, B.A. and Wood, W.M. (1995). Long-Term Supports and Services: Toward Definition, Clarification, and Implications for the Future. *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation*, 5: 177-185.
- Hagner, D., Nisbet, J., Callahan, M. and Moseley, C. (1987). Payment Mechanisms for Community Employment: Realities and Recommendations. *Journal of the Association for People with Severe Handicaps*. 12 (1): 45-52.
- Hagner, D.C. and Murphy, S.T. (1989). Closing the Shop on Sheltered Work: Case Studies of Organisational Change. *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation*, 55 (3): 68-74.
- Hagner, D. and Dileo, D. (1993). *Working Together: Workplace Culture, Supported Employment and Persons with Disabilities*. Brookline Books: Cambridge.
- Hagner, D., Butterworth, J. and Keith, G. (1995). Strategies and Barriers in Facilitating Natural Supports for Employment of Adults With Severe Disabilities. *Journal of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps*, 20 (2): 110-120.
- Hahn, H. (1987) Advertising the Acceptably Employable Image: Disability and Capitalism. *Policy Studies Journal*, 15 (3): 551-570.
- Halliday, B. (1992). Economic Integration: A Theme For The Future. *Entourage, Autumn*: 10-11.
- Harder, P. and Econs, E. (1995) Experience the Service: Welcome to Shoreline Employment Service. *The Advance*, 6 (1): 94.
- Haugh, B. (Ed.) (1993). *Transition From School To Adult Life For Pupils with Disabilities: Best Practices in Planning and Programming Transition to Adult Life*. New Jersey Department of Education: New Jersey.
- Hauritz, M. (1986). *Steps to Develop a Training Programme in Vocational Settings*. Granville Work Preparation Centre Project, Macquarie University: Sydney.
- Health and Disability Services Act 1993 (No.22). *Statutes of New Zealand*. Government Printer: Wellington.
- Health Reforms (Transitional Provisions) Act 1993 (No. 22). *Statutes of New Zealand*. Government Printer: Wellington.
- Heyman, B., Bell, B., Kingham, M.R. and Handyside, E.C. (1990). Social Class and the Prevalence of Handicapping Conditions. *Disability, Handicap and Society*, 5 (2): 167-184.

- Hill, M.L., Wehman, P., Kregel, J., Banks, P. and Metzger, H. (1987). Employment Outcomes for People with Moderate and Severe Disabilities: An Eight Year Longitudinal Analysis of Supported Competitive Employment. *Journal of the Association for People With Severe Handicaps*, 12 (3): 182-189.
- Hope, A., Timmel, S. and Hodzi, C. (1987). *Training for Transformation: A Handbook for Community Workers I*. Mambo Press: Harare.
- Hughes, C. and Rusch, F. R. (1989). Teaching Supported Employees with Severe Mental Retardation to Solve Problems. *Journal of Applied Behaviour Analysis*, 22 (4): 365-372.
- Human Rights Act 1993 (No. 82). *Statutes of New Zealand*. Government Printer: Wellington.
- Hunt, R. (1988). People With Disabilities. In *Report of The Royal Commission on Social Policy Volume IV: Social Perspectives*. New Zealand Royal Commission on Social Policy: Wellington.
- Hunt, R. (1995). An Economic Empowerment Approach to Disability. *New Zealand Journal of Disability Studies*, 1 (1): 76-86.
- Ife, J. (1995). *Community Development: Creating Community Alternatives - Vision, Analysis and Practice*. Longman: Melbourne.
- Illich, I. (1977). *Medical Nemesis: The Expropriation of Health*. Bantam Books: Toronto.
- Inge, K.J., Barcus, J.M. and Everson, J.M. (1988). Developing In-service Programmes For Supported Employment Personnel. In Wehman, P. and Moon, M.S. (Eds.). *Vocational Rehabilitation and Supported Employment*. Paul Brookes: Baltimore. 145-161.
- Inge, K. and Dymond, S. (1994). Challenging Behaviours in the Workplace: Increasing a Students Access to Community-Based Vocational Instruction. *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation*, 4 (4): 272-284.
- Jiranek, D. and Kirby, N. (1990). The Job Satisfaction and/or Psychological Wellbeing of Young Adults with Intellectual Disability and Non Disabled Young Adults in Either Sheltered Employment, Competitive Employment or Unemployment. *Australia and New Zealand Journal of Developmental Disabilities*, 16 (2):133-148.
- Johns, K. (1991). *Employment and Training Policies For People with Disabilities: A Literature Review*. Labour Market Analysis Unit. Department of Labour: Wellington.

- Johnson, D. R., Bruininks, R. and Thurlow, M. (1987). Meeting the Challenge of Transition Service Planning Through Improved Inter-Agency Cooperation. *Exceptional Children*, 53 (6): 522-530.
- Johnson, R. (1988). Really Useful Knowledge 1790-1850: Memories for Education in the 1980s. In Lovett, T. (Ed). *Radical Approaches to Adult Education*, Routledge: London.
- Jongbloed, L. and Crichton, A. (1990). Difficulties in Shifting From Individualistic to Socio-Political Policy Regarding Disability in Canada. *Disability, Handicap and Society*, 5 (1): 25-36.
- Juhrs, P.D. and Smith, M.D. (1989). Community Based Employment for Persons with Autism. In Wehman, P. and Kregel, J. (Eds.). *Supported Employment for Persons with Disabilities: Focus On Excellence*. Human Sciences Press: New York. 163-176.
- Kenny, S. (1994). *Developing Communities for the Future: Community Development in Australia*. Thomas Nelson: Melbourne.
- Killam, S.G., Flippo, K., Drouet, R. and Keul, P. (1996). APSE's Certification Committee Recommendations on the Certification of Supported Employment Personnel. *The Advance*, 6 (4): 1-3.
- Klos, R. and Stephenson, S. (1996). Supported Employment: A Rural Town Perspective, The Gracelands Way. In Bennie, G. (Ed.). *Supported Employment in New Zealand: Getting the Job Done*. Network Publications: Levin, 42-47.
- Konig, A. and Schalock, R. (1991). Supported Employment: Equal Opportunities for Severely Disabled Men and Women. *International Labour Review*, 130 (1): 21-37.
- Kregel, J. and Sale, P. (1988). Pre-service Personnel Preparation of Supported Employment Professionals. In Wehman, P. and Moon, M.S. (Eds.). *Vocational Rehabilitation and Supported Employment*. Paul Brookes: Baltimore. 129-143.
- Kregel, J., Shafer, M.S., Wehman, P. and West, M. (1989). Policy Development and Public Expenditures in Supported Employment: Current Strategies to Promote Statewide Systems Change. *Journal of the Association for People with Severe Handicaps*, 14 (4):283-292.
- Kregel, J. and Wehman, P. (1989). Supported Employment: Promises Deferred for Persons with Severe Disabilities. *Journal of the Association for People with Severe Handicaps*, 14 (4): 293-303.
- Kregel, J. and Unger, D. (1993) Employer Perceptions of the Work Potential of Individuals with Disabilities: An Illustration from Supported Employment. *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation*, 3 (4): 17-25.

- Kruetzer, J.S. and Morton, M.V. (1988). Traumatic Brain Injury: Supported Employment and Compensatory Strategies for Enhancing Vocational Outcomes. In Wehman, P. and Moon, S. (Eds.). *Vocational Rehabilitation and Supported Employment*. Paul Brookes: Baltimore. 269-290.
- Laclau, E. and Mouffe, C. (1985). *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. Verso Press: London.
- Lagomarcino, T. R. (1990). Job Separation Issues in Supported Employment. In Rusch, F.R. (Ed.). *Supported Employment: Models, Methods and Issues*. Sycamore Publishing: Sycamore. 301-316.
- Lather, P. (1991). *Getting Smart: Feminist Research and Pedagogy Within the Postmodern*. Routledge: New York.
- Lavigna, G.W., Shaull, J.F., Feheley, D. and Willis, T. (1994). Managing For Quality: The Programme Status Report, *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation*. 4 (1): 18-28.
- Law, C (1990). *A Look in Our Own Backyard: Observations on Employment for Workers with Disabilities in Victoria*. Unpublished paper. Department of Community Health and Disability Services: Melbourne.
- Lewis, G.M., Lawn, R. W. and Navarro, R. E. (1987). *Rapid Entry Training: Field Manual*, P.E. Publications: Perth.
- Likins, M., Salzberg, C., Stowitschek, J., Lignugaris-Kraft, B. and Curl. R. (1989). Co-Worker Implemented Job Training: The Use of Co-incident Training and Quality Control Checking on the Food Preparation Skills of Trainees With Mental Retardation. *Journal of Applied Behaviour Analysis*, 22 (4): 381-393.
- Lindley, P. and Wainwright, T. (1992). Normalisation Training: Conversion or Commitment? In Brown, H. and Smith, H. (Eds.). *Normalisation: A Reader for the Nineties*. Tavistock/Routledge: London. 19-34.
- Lovett, T. (1988). *Community Education and Community Action*. In Lovett, T. (Ed.). *Radical Approaches to Adult Education*. Routledge: London.
- Lunt, N. and Thornton, P. (1993). *Employment Policies for Disabled People: A Review of Legislation and Services in Fifteen Countries*. Social Policy Research Unit: University of York.
- Lutfiyya, Z. M., Rogan, P. and Shoultz, B. (1988). *Supported Employment: A Conceptual Overview*. Centre on Human Policy. Syracuse University: Syracuse.

- Manion, M. and Bersani, H. (1987). Mental Retardation as a Western Sociological Construct: A Cross Cultural Analysis. *Disability, Handicap and Society*, 2 (3): 231-246.
- Mank, D.M., Rhodes, L.E. and Bellamy, G.T. (1986). Four Supported Employment Models. In Kiernan, W.E. and Stark, J.A. (Eds.). *Pathways to Employment for Adults with Developmental Disabilities*. Paul Brookes: Baltimore. 139-153.
- Mank, D., Buckley, J. and Rhodes, L. (1990). National Issues for Implementation of Supported Employment. In Rusch, F.R. (Ed.). *Supported Employment: Models, Methods and Issues*. Sycamore Publishing: Sycamore. 289-300.
- Mank, D. (1994). The Underachievement of Supported Employment: A Call for Reinvestment. *Journal of Disability Studies*, 5 (2):1-23.
- Martin, J.E. and Mithaug, D.E. (1990). Consumer-Directed Placement. In Rusch, F.R. (Ed.). *Supported Employment: Models, Methods and Issues*. Sycamore Publishing: Sycamore. 87-110.
- Mason, C., Carey, C., Jaskulski, T. and Stukey, T. (1995). Providing Supported Employment and other Vocational Rehabilitation Services to Individuals with HIV/AIDS. *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation*, 5: 55-64.
- McCaughrin, W.B., Ellis, W.K., Rusch, F.R. and Heal, L.W. (1993). Cost Effectiveness of Supported Employment. *Mental Retardation*, 31 (1) : 41-48.
- McIssac, R. (1991). Supported Employment Strategies for the 90s. *Entourage, Summer*: 8-21.
- McLouglin, C.S., Garner, J.B. and Callahan. M. (1987). *Getting Employed, Staying Employed: Job Development and Training for Persons with Severe Handicaps*. Paul Brookes: Baltimore.
- Mead, G. H. (1934) *Mind, Self and Society - From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviourist*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago.
- Meyer, L. (1991). Advocacy, Research and Typical Practice: A Call for the Reduction of Discrepancies Between What is and What Ought to be, and How to Get There. In Meyer, L., Peck, C. and Brown, L. (Eds.). *Critical Issues in the Lives of People with Severe Disabilities*. Paul Brookes: Baltimore. 629-648.
- Minimum Wage Act 1983 (No. 115). *Statutes of New Zealand*, 2: 953-957: Government Printer, Wellington.
- Minister for Community Services (1985). *New Directions: Report of the Handicapped Persons Programme Review*. Australian Government Publishing Service: Canberra.

- Moore, T. (1995). *Habilitation and Rehabilitation*. National Advisory Committee on Core Health and Disability Support Services, Ministry of Health: Wellington.
- Morris, J. (1992). Personal and Political: A Feminist Perspective on Researching Physical Disability. *Disability, Handicap and Society*, 7 (2): 157-166.
- Morris, J. (1991). *Pride Against Prejudice: Transforming Attitudes to Disability*. Womens Press Ltd: London.
- Mosley, C. R. (1988). Job Satisfaction Research: Implications for Supported Employment. *Journal of the Association for People with Severe Handicaps*, 13 (3): 211-219.
- National Advisory Committee on Core Health and Disability Support Services (1993a). *Self Help and Empowerment: People With Disabilities, Challenging Power and Promoting Change*. Ministry of Health: Wellington.
- National Advisory Committee on Core Health and Disability Support Services (1993b). *Client Orientation*. Ministry of Health: Wellington.
- National Advisory Committee on Core Health and Disability Support Services (1994). *Core Services for 1995/96*. Ministry of Health. Wellington.
- National Association of Rehabilitation Facilities (1989). *Supported Employment in Context*. NARF, Washington D.C.: Author.
- New Zealand Society for the Intellectually Handicapped (1990). *Philosophy and Policy Document*. IHC: Wellington.
- Nirje, B. (1969). The Normalisation Principle and its Human Management Implications. In Kugel, R. and Wolfensberger, W. (Eds.). *Changing Patterns in Residential Services for the Mentally Retarded*. Presidents Committee on Mental Retardation: Washington D.C.
- Nirje, B. (1980). The Normalisation Principle. In Flynn, R.J. and Nitsch, K.E. (Eds.). *Normalization, Social Integration and Community Services*. University Park Press: Baltimore.
- Nisbet, J. and Callahan, M. (1987). *Assessing the Quality of Supported Employment Services*. Institute on Disability: Durham.
- Nisbet, J. and Hagner, D. (1988). Natural Supports in the Workplace: A Re-examination of Supported Employment. *Journal of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps*, 13 (4): 260-267.
- Nisbet, J. (1992). *Building Relationships and Planning Natural Job Supports*, Unpublished Paper. Institute on Disability, University of New Hampshire: Durham.

- Noble, J.H. and Conley, R.W. (1987). Accumulating Evidence on the Benefits and Costs of Supported and Transition Employment for Persons with Severe Disabilities. *Journal of the Association for persons with Severe Handicaps*, 12 (3): 163-174.
- O'Brien, J., Lyle-O'Brien, C. and Schwartz, D. (Eds.). (1990). *What Can We Count on to Make and Keep People Safe?: Perspectives on Creating Effective Safeguards for People with Developmental Disabilities*. Responsive Systems Associates: Lithonia.
- O'Connor, G. (1994). *Social Skills, Supported Employment and Transition*. Ministry of Education: Wellington.
- Oliver, M. (1986). Social Policy and Disability: Some Theoretical Issues. *Disability, Handicap and Society*, 1(1): 5-17.
- Oliver, M. (1990). *The Politics of Disablement*. Macmillan: London.
- Oliver, M. (1991). Speaking Out: Disabled People and State Welfare. In Dalley, G. (Ed.). *Disability and Social Policy*. Policy Studies Institute: London. 156-162.
- Oliver, M. (1992). Changing the Social Relations of Research Production? *Disability, Handicap and Society*, 7 (2): 101-114.
- Oliver, M. and Zarb, G. (1989). The Politics of Disability: A New Approach. *Disability, Handicap and Society*, 4 (3): 221-239.
- Panscofar, E., Steele, D. and Wood, R. (1993). Consumer Assessment: Ten Important Considerations. *The Advance*, 4 (3): 1-3.
- Parent, W.S., Twardzik, G., Kregel, J. and Metzler, H. (1992). Social Integration in the Workplace: An Analysis of the Interaction Activities of Workers with Mental Retardation and Their Co-Workers. *Education and Training in Mental Retardation, March*: 28-38.
- Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. Sage Publications: Newbury Park.
- Peck, C. A. (1991). Linking Values and Science in Social Policy Decisions Affecting Citizens with Severe Disabilities. In Meyer, L., Peck, C. and Brown, L. (Eds.). *Critical Issues in the Lives of People with Severe Disabilities*. Paul Brookes: Baltimore.
- Pedlar, A., Lord, J. and Van Loon, M. (1889). *Supported Employment and Quality of Life*. Centre for Research and Education: Kitchener.

- Petty, D.M., Dukes, M., Alavi, J. and Henderson, C. M. (1994). The Importance and Implementation of Best Practice Elements as Perceived By Supported Employment Professionals. In Wood, W.M., Everson, J. M., Panscofar, E. and Bourbeau, P (Eds.). *APSE Papers Volume One*, Association For Persons in Supported Employment: Richmond. 67-100.
- Phoenix, (1994). *Funding Concerns*. Correspondence, September.
- Phoenix, (1996). *Double Dipping?* Correspondence, May.
- Pirie, A.J. (1977). Accident Compensation in New Zealand: The First Two Years. In Palmer, G.W.R. (Ed.). *The Welfare State Today: Social Policy In New Zealand in the Seventies*. Fourth Estate Books: Wellington. 165-183.
- Popper, K. R., (1979) *Objective Knowledge*. Oxford University Press. London.
- Porterfield, J. and Gathercole, C. (1985). *The Employment of People with Mental Handicap: Progress Towards an Ordinary Working Life*. Kings Fund Centre: London.
- Powell, T. H., Panscofar, E.L., Steere, D.E., Butterworth, J., Itzkowitz, J.S. and Rainforth, B. (1991). *Supported Employment: Providing Integrated Employment Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities*. Longman. New York.
- Pumpian, I., Shepard, H. and West, E. (1989). Negotiating Job Training Stations with Employers. In Wehman, P. and Moon, M.S. (Eds.). *Vocational Training and Supported Employment*. Paul Brookes: Baltimore. 177-192.
- Ramsing, K.R., Rhodes, L.E., Sandow, D.S. and Mank, D.M. (1993). A Paradigm Shift: Quality Responsibilities for Vocational Rehabilitation Professionals. *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation*, 3 (4): 5-16.
- Rapley, M. and Baldwin, S. (1995). Normalisation - Metatheory or Metaphysics? A Conceptual Critique. *Australia and New Zealand Journal of Developmental Disabilities*, 20 (2): 141-157.
- Rees, S. (1991). *Achieving Power: Practice and Policy in Social Welfare*. Allen and Unwin: Sydney.
- Rees, S., Gordon, R. and Stilwell, F. (1993). *Beyond the Market: Alternatives to Economic Rationalism*. Pluto Press: Leichardt.
- Rehabilitation Act 1941 (No.25). *Statutes of New Zealand*, 307-319. Government Printer: Wellington.
- Rehabilitation Network of New England (1989). *Catalogue of Exemplary Programmes*. The Network Inc: Andover, Author.

- Reid, P. and Hitchcock, J. (1996). Continuing Education and Intellectual Disability. In Bennie, G. (Ed.). *Supported Employment in New Zealand: Getting the Job Done*. Network Publications: Levin, 48-60.
- Renzaglia, A.M. and Everson, J.M. (1990). Preparing Personnel to Meet the Challenges of Contemporary Employment Service Alternatives. In Rusch, F.R. (Ed.). *Supported Employment: Models, Methods and Issues*. Sycamore Publishing: Sycamore, 395-408.
- Revell, W. G., Arnold, S. and Wehman, P. (1985). Supported Work Model of Competitive employment for Persons with Mental Retardation: Implications for Rehabilitative Services. In Wehman, P. and Hill, J. (Eds). *Competitive Employment for Persons with Mental Retardation: From Research to Practice*. RRTC: Virginia Commonwealth University.
- Revell, W. G. (1992). Regulations and Guidelines for the State Supported Employment Programme. In Griffin, S.L. and Revell W. G. (Eds). *The Rehabilitation Counsellor Desk Top Guide to Supported Employment: Revised Edition*. Rehabilitation Research and Training Centre, Virginia Commonwealth University: Richmond. 21-34.
- Revell, W.G., Wehman, P., Kregel, J., West, M. and Rayfield, R. (1994). Supported Employment for Persons with Severe Disabilities: Positive Trends in Wages, Models and Funding. *Education and Training in Mental Retardation and Developmental Disabilities, December*: 256-264.
- Rhodes, L.E. and Valenta, L. (1985). Industry Based Supported Employment: An Enclave Approach. *Journal of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps*, 10 (1):12-20.
- Rhodes, L.E, Ramsing, K. and Hill, M. (1987). Economic Evaluation of Supported Employment: A Review of Applications. *Journal of the Association for People with Severe Handicaps*, 12 (3): 175-181.
- Rhodes, L., Sandow, D., Mank, D., Buckley, J. and Albin, J. (1991). Expanding the Role of Employers in Supported Employment. *Journal of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps*, 16 (4): 213-217.
- Rogan, P., Hagner, D. and Murhpy, S. (1993). Natural Supports: Reconceptualising Job Coach Roles. *Journal of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps*, 18 (4): 275-281.
- Ronalds, C. (1990). *National Employment Initiatives for People With Disabilities: A Discussion Paper*. Australian Government Publishing Service: Canberra.
- Rucker, R.E. and Browder, D.M. (1994). Conversion From Sheltered to Integrated Employment: Current Practice and Future Directions. *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation*, 4 (4): 255-264.

- Rusch, F.R. (1990). (Ed). *Supported Employment: Models Methods and Issues*. Sycamore Publishing: Sycamore.
- Rusch, F.R., Chadsey-Rusch, J. and Johnson, J.R. (1991). Supported Employment: Emerging Opportunities for Employment Integration. In Meyer, L.H., Peck, C.A. and Brown, L. *Critical Issues in the Lives of People with Severe Disabilities*. Paul Brookes: Baltimore, 145-169.
- Rusch, F.R. and Hughes, C. (1989). Overview of Supported Employment. *Journal of Applied Behaviour Analysis*, 22 (4): 351-363.
- Rusch, F.R., Johnson, J.R. and Hughes, C. (1990). Analysis of Co-Worker Involvement in Relation to Level of Disability Versus Placement Approach Among Supported Employees. *Journal of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps*, 15 (1): 32-39.
- Rusch, F. R. and Mithaug, D. E. (1980). *Vocational Training for Mentally Retarded Adults: A Behaviour Analytic Approach*. Research Press: Champaign.
- Rusch, F. R. and Schutz, R. P. (1979). Non-sheltered Employment of the Mentally Retarded Adult: Research to Reality? *Journal of Contemporary Business*, 8 (4): 85-98.
- Ryan, J. and Thomas, F. (1980). *The Politics of Mental Handicap*. Penguin Books: Harmondsworth.
- Sale, P. (1990). Preparation of Supported Employment Personnel. In Kaiser, A.P. and McWhorter, C.M. (Eds.). *Preparing Personnel to Work with Persons with Severe Disabilities*. Paul Brookes: Baltimore. 227-240.
- Sandys, J. (1987). Issues of Supported Work. *Entourage*, 2 (4): 12-15.
- Schalock. R.L. (1988). Critical Performance Evaluation Indicators in Supported Employment. In Wehman, P. and Moon, M.S. (Eds.). *Vocational Rehabilitation and Supported Employment*. Paul Brookes: Baltimore. 163-174.
- Schalock, R. L. and Kiernan, W.E. (1990). Interagency Service Delivery Coordination. In Rusch, F.R. (Ed.). *Supported Employment: Models, Methods and Issues*. Sycamore Publishing: Sycamore. 215-228.
- Shafer, M.S. (1988). Supported Employment in Perspective: Traditions in the Federal-State Vocational Rehabilitation System. In Wehman, P. and Moon, M.S. (Eds.). *Vocational Rehabilitation and Supported Employment*. Paul Brookes Publishing: Baltimore. 55-66.
- Shafer, M.S., Banks, P.D. and Kregel, J. (1991). Employment Retention and Career Movement Among Individuals with Mental Retardation Working in Supported Employment. *Mental Retardation*, 29 (2): 103-110.

- Shafer, M., Rice, M. and Metzler, H. (1989). Integration in the Workplace: Perspectives and Experiences of Employees Without Disabilities. In Wehman, P. and Kregel, J. *Supported Employment For Persons with Disabilities: Focus on Excellence*. Human Sciences Press: New York. 137-162.
- Shafer, M.S., Wehman, P., Kregel, J. and West, M. (1990). National Supported Employment Initiative: A Preliminary Analysis. *American Journal on Mental Retardation*, 95 (3): 316-327.
- Shakespeare, T. (1993). Disabled People's Self Organisation: A New Social Movement? *Disability, Handicap and Society*, 8 (3): 249-264.
- Shanly, A. and Rose, J. (1993). A Consumer Survey of Adults with Learning Disabilities Currently Doing Work Experience: Their Satisfaction with Work and Wishes for the Future. *Mental Handicap Research*, 6 (3): 250-262.
- Shelton, C.S. and Lipton, R. (1983). An Alternative Employment Model. *Canadian Journal of Mental Retardation*, 33 (2): 12-16.
- Shirley, I. (1982) (Ed.). *Development Tracks: Theory and Practice of Community Development*. Dunmore Press: Palmerston North.
- Shole, D. (1992). Authority on the Left: Critical Pedagogy, Post modernism and Vital Strategies. *Cultural Studies*, 6 (2): 271-289.
- Sinnott-Oswald, M., Gliner, J.A. and Spencer K. C. (1991). Supported and Sheltered Employment: Quality of Life Issues Among Workers with Disabilities. *Education and Training in Mental Retardation*, 26 (4): 388-397.
- Smith, M.D. and Belcher, R.G. (1994). Factors Influencing the Integration of Employees with Autism. *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation*, 4 (1): 52-59.
- Smith, V. (1991). Some Economic Issues Affecting Public Policy on Disability. *New Zealand Journal of Industrial Relations*, 16 (3): 273-280.
- Social Security Act 1938 (No. 7). *Statutes of New Zealand*, Government Printer: Wellington.
- State Sector Act 1988 (No. 20). *Statutes of New Zealand*, 1: 224-292, Government Printer: Wellington.
- State Services Commission (1990). *The Invisible Minority: A Report of the Policy Development Working Group on The Employment of People With Disabilities*. Wellington: Author.
- States Services Commission (1995). *Environmental Scan*. Correspondence. Dated: October, 2nd.

- Steinback, W., Steinback, S., Nietupski, J. and Hamre-Nietupski, S. (1986). Establishing Effective Community Based Training Stations. In Rusch, F. (Ed.). *Competitive Employment: Issues and Strategies*. Paul Brookes: Baltimore.
- Steele, D. (1994). The Merits of Supported Employment. *Mencap News: September*: 16.
- Steere, D.E., Wood, R., Panscofar, E., Rucker, R., Harder, P. and Harvey, P. (1994). Best Practices in Technical Assistance: Enhancing the Quality of Supported Employment Services. In Wood, W.M., Everson, J. M., Panscofar, E. and Bourbeau, P (Eds). *APSE Papers Volume One*. Association For Persons in Supported Employment: Richmond. 115-130.
- Stineman, R.M., Morningstar, M.E., Bishop, B. and Turnbull, H.R. (1993). Role of Families in Transition for Young Adults with Disabilities: Toward a Method of Person Centred Planning. *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation* 3 (2): 52-61.
- Stodden, R. and Boone, R, (1987). Assessing Transition Services for Handicapped Youth: A Cooperative Inter-Agency Approach. *Exceptional Children*, 53 (6): 537-545.
- Stone, D. (1984). *The Disabled State*. Temple University Press: Philadelphia.
- Story, K. and Lengyel, L. (1994). Strategies for Increasing Interactions in Supported Employment Settings: A Review. In Wood, W.M., Everson, J. M., Panscofar, E. and Bourbeau, P (Eds.). *APSE Papers Volume One*. Association for Persons in Supported Employment: Richmond. 47-66.
- Story, K., Rhodes, L., Sandow, D., Loewinger, H. and Petherbridge, R. (1991). Direct Observation of Social Interactions in a Supported Employment Setting. *Education and Training in Mental Retardation, March*: 53-63.
- Stroombergen, A. H., Miller, J. and Jensen, B. (1991). *Estimates of the Labour Force Participation and Employment Status of People with Disabilities 1990*. Department of Labour: Wellington.
- Stuart, O. W. (1992) Race and Disability: Just a Double Oppression? *Disability, Handicap and Society*, 7 (2): 177-187.
- Sullivan. M. (1991). From Personal Tragedy to Social Oppression: The Medical Model and Social Theories of Disability. *New Zealand Journal of Industrial Relations*, 16 (3): 255-272.
- Sullivan, M. (1995). The Anomalous Body in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Disability Studies*, 1(1): 9-28.
- Sutherland, A.T. (1981). *Disabled We Stand*. Souvenir Press: London

- Szymanski, E. M., Buckley, J., Parent, W.S., Parker, R.M. and Westbrook, J.D. (1988). Rehabilitation Counselling in Supported Employment: A Conceptual Model for Service Delivery and Personnel Preparation. In Rubin, S.E. and Rubin, N.M. *Contemporary Challenges to the Rehabilitation Counselling Profession*. Paul Brookes: Baltimore.
- Szymanski, E., Hanley-Maxwell, C. and Parker, R.M. (1990). Transdisciplinary Service Delivery. In Rusch, F.R. (Ed). *Supported Employment: Models Methods and Issues*. Sycamore Publishing: Sycamore. 199-214.
- Taylor, J. (1996). Some Emerging Trends in Supported Employment. In Bennie, G. (Ed.). *Supported Employment in New Zealand: Getting the Job Done*. Network Publications: Levin. 10-16.
- Test, D.W. (1994). Supported Employment and Social Validity. *Journal of The Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps*, 19 (2): 116-129.
- Test, D.W., Bond Hinson, K., Kuel, P. and Solow, J. (1993). Job Satisfaction of Persons in Supported Employment. *Education and Training in Mental Retardation*, March, 38-46.
- Test, D.W. and Wood, W.M. (1995). It Almost does Take A Rocket Scientist to be an Employment Specialist. *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation*, 5: 257-259.
- Theobald, G. (1995). P.C. or not P.C.: Who Cares Anyway? *New Zealand Journal of Disability Studies*, 1: 134-136.
- Theobald, G. (1995). Viewpoint: Towards a Disability Culture. *New Zealand Journal of Disability Studies*, 5: 137-140.
- Thompson, L., Powers, G. and Houchard, B. (1992). The Wage Effects of Supported Employment. *Journal of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps*, 17 (2): 87-94.
- Thornton, C. and Maynard, R. (1989). The Economics of Transitional Employment and Supported Employment. In Berkowitz, M. and Hill, M.A. (Eds.). *Disability and the Labour Market*. ILR Press: New York.
- Tines, J., Rusch, F.R. and McCaughrin, W.B. (1989). *Supported Employment in Illinois: Benefits Versus Costs: Volume 5*. Secondary Transition Intervention Effectiveness Institute, University of Illinois: Champaign.
- Tooman, M.L., Revell, W.G. and Melia, R.P. (1988). The Role of the Rehabilitation Counsellor in the Provision of Transition and Supported Employment Programmes. In Rubin, S.E. and Rubin, N.M. *Contemporary Challenges to the Rehabilitation Counselling Profession*. Paul Brookes: Baltimore.
- Towell, D. (1984). *An Ordinary Working Life: Vocational Services for People with Mental Handicap*. Kings Fund Centre: London.

- Trach, J. (1990). Supported Employment Programme Characteristics. In Rusch, F. R. (Ed.) *Supported Employment: Models, Methods and Issues*. Sycamore Publishing: Sycamore. 65-86.
- Tuckerman, P., Morgan, J, Smith, B. and Delahunt, R. (1992). The Relative Costs of Supported Employment: Job Support Six Years On. *Australian Disability Review*, 4: 49-60.
- Warriner, R. (1996). Supported Employment for People Who Experience Psychiatric Disability: 24 Months Down the Track. In Bennie, G. (Ed.). *Supported Employment in New Zealand: Getting the Job Done*. Network Publications: Levin. 30-41.
- Wehman, P. (1981). *Competitive Employment: New Horizons for Severely Disabled Individuals*. Paul Brookes Publishing: Baltimore.
- Wehman, P. (1993). *Life Beyond the Classroom: Transition Strategies for Young People with Disabilities*. Paul Brookes: Baltimore.
- Wehman, P. (1994). Toward a National Agenda for Supported Employment. *The Advance*, 5 (2): 1-3.
- Wehman, P., Hill, J. and Koehler, F. (1979). Placement of Developmentally Disabled Individuals into Competitive Employment: Three Case Studies. *Education and Training of the Mentally Retarded*, 14: 269-276.
- Wehman, P. and Hill, J (Eds.). (1985). *Competitive Employment for Persons with Mental Retardation: From Research to Practice*. RRTC: Virginia Commonwealth University.
- Wehman, P. and Kregel, J (1985). A Supported Work Approach to Competitive Employment of Individuals with Moderate and Severe Handicaps. *Journal of the Association of persons with Severe Handicaps*, 10 (1): 3-11.
- Wehman, P. and Kregel, J. (1989). *Supported Employment for Persons with Disabilities: Focus on Excellence*. Human Sciences Press: New York.
- Wehman, P. and Kregel, J. (1994). Toward a National Agenda for Supported Employment. *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation*, 4 (4): 231-242.
- Wehman, P., Kregel, J. and West, M. (1990). The National Supported Employment Initiative: Expanding Employment Opportunities For Persons With Severe Disabilities. *OSERS News in Print*, 3 (3): 7-13.
- Wehman, P. and Moon. M.S. (Eds.). (1988). *Vocational Rehabilitation and Supported Employment*. Paul Brookes Publishing: Baltimore.

- Wehman, P., Parent, W., Wood, W., Kregel, J. and Inge, K. (1989). The Supported Work Model of Competitive Employment,: Illustrations of Competence in Workers with Severe and Profound Handicaps. In Wehman, P. (Ed.). *Supported Employment for Persons with Severe Disabilities: Focus on Excellence*. Human Sciences Press: New York. 19-68.
- West, M., Kregel, J. and Revell, W. (1994). A New Era of Self Determination. *The Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps Newsletter*, 20 (7):11-12.
- West, M.D. and Parent, W.S. (1992). Consumer Choice and Empowerment in Supported Employment Services: Issues and Strategies. *Journal of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps*, 17 (1): 47-52.
- West, M., Revell, W. G. and Wehman, P. (1992). Achievements and Challenges I: A Five year Report on Consumer and System Outcomes from the Supported Employment Initiative. *Journal of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps*, 17 (24): 227-235.
- Westwood, R., Mitchell, D., Hunt, D., Phillips, K. and Woodyard, G. (1988). *An Investigation into the Transition of Intellectually Handicapped Adolescents from School to Adult Living, Work and Post Secondary Education*. Education Dept, University of Waikato: Hamilton.
- Whitehead, C. W. (1979). Sheltered Workshops in the Decade Ahead: Work and Wages or Welfare. In Bellamy G.T., O'Connor, G. and Karan, O.C. (Eds.). *Vocational Rehabilitation of Severely Handicapped Persons*. University Park Press: Baltimore
- Whitehead, S. (1992). The Social Origins of Normalisation. In Brown, H. and Smith, H. (Eds.). *Normalisation: A Reader for the Nineties*. Tavistock/Routledge: London.
- Wilcox, B. (1987). Why a new Curriculum? In Wilcox, B. and Bellamy, G.T. *A Comprehensive Guide to the Activities Catalogue: An Alternative Curriculum for Youth and Adults with Severe Disabilities*. Paul Brookes: Baltimore. 1-10.
- Wilcox, B. and Bellamy, G.T. (1982). *Design of High School Programmes for Severely Handicapped Students*. Paul Brookes: Baltimore.
- Winking, D. L., Trach, J.S., Rusch, F.R. and Tines, J. (1989). Profile of Illinois Supported Employment Specialists: An Analysis of Educational Background, Experience and Related Employment Variables. *Journal of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps*, 14 (4):278-282.
- Wolfensberger, W. (1972). *The Principle of Normalisation in Human Services*. National Institute on Mental Retardation: Toronto.
- Wolfensberger, W. (1975). *The Origin and Nature of our Institutional Models*. Human Policy Press: Syracuse.

- Wolfensberger, W. (1983). Social Role Valorisation: A Proposed New Term for the Principle of Normalisation. *Mental Retardation*, 21 (6): 234-238.
- Wolfensberger, W. (1989). Human Service Policies: The Rhetoric Versus the Reality. In Barton, L. (Ed.). *Disability and Dependency*, Falmer Press: London. 23-41.
- Wolfensberger, W. (1990). A Most Critical Issue: Life or Death. *Changes*, 8 (1): 63-73.
- Wolfensberger, W. and Glen, S. (1975). *PASS 3: Program Analysis of Service Systems, Handbook (3rd Edition)*. National Institute on Mental Retardation: Toronto.
- Wolfensberger, W. and Thomas, S. (1983). *PASSING (Programme Analysis of Service Systems' Implementation of Normalisation Goals): Normalisation Criteria and Ratings Manual (2nd Edition)*. National Institute on Mental Retardation: Toronto.
- Wolfensberger, W. and Tullman, S. (1989). A Brief Outline of the Principle of Normalisation. In Brechin, A. and Walmsley, J. (Eds.). *Making Connections: Reflecting on the Lives and Experiences of People with Learning Difficulties*. Hodder and Stoughton: London. 211-219.
- Wool, P. (1990). Vocational Stabilisation for Persons with Psychiatric Disability (Or Square Pegs and Round Holes). *The Advance*, 1 (4): 1-2.
- Wood, M. (1988). Supported Employment for Persons with Physical Disabilities. In Wehman, P. and Moon, M.S. (Eds.). *Vocational Rehabilitation and Supported Employment*. Paul Brookes: Baltimore. 341-364.
- Wood, R., Steere, D.E., Powell, T. H., Rammler, L. and Butterworth, J. (1988). *Quality Standard Outcomes For Integrated Employment (Prototype Version)*. Institute For Human Resource Development: Glastonbury.
- Workbridge (1994). *Workbridge: The One Stop Job Shop for People with Disabilities*. Wellington: Author.
- Workbridge Marketing (1995). *Workbridge '95'*. Christchurch: Author.
- Zarb, G. (1992). On The Road To Damascus: First Steps Towards Changing The Relations of Research Production. *Disability Handicap and Society*, 7 (2): 125-139.
- Zola, I. (1977) Healthism and Disabling Medicalisation. In Illich, I. (Ed.). *Disabling Professions*. Marion Boyars Publishers: London.

